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ANNALS

OF THE

PERSECUTION IN SCOTLAND

FROM THE

RESTORATION TO THE REVOLUTION.

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BY JAMES AIKMAN, ESQ.,

Author of the History of Scotland, &c.

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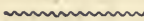
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ANNALS OF THE PERSECUTION.



BOOK I.

A. D. 1677.

Meeting of the ministers in Edinburgh—Persecutions for not attending the kirk—Lord Cardross—Conventicle at Culross—Bond—Lauderdale comes to Scotland—Pretended moderation—Alarm of the Bishops—Carstairs attacks John Balfour's house—Council's design of raising a standing force—Resolutions of the West country gentlemen—Conventicles increase—Communion at East Nisbet—Common field-meeting—King authorizes calling in the Highland clans.

EARLY in the year, a pretty large meeting, both of the indulged and unindulged ministers, had been held in Edinburgh, for the purpose of considering the religious state of the country, and for endeavouring to heal the differences which still subsisted among themselves respecting what should have been long before dismissed as vexatious—the conduct of those who had declared against the resolutions, and who still lay under the sentence of some of the church courts. It commenced inauspiciously, Mr. Blackader having proposed that before they proceeded to business, some time should be set apart for fasting and humiliation on account of their defections, especially the tokens of disunion which began to appear respecting the indulgence. This gave rise to some

unpleasant altercation. Mr. Richard Cameron, then a probationer, with two others, being called to account for their preaching separation from the indulged, declined the right of the meeting to interfere with their conduct, it not being a lawfully constituted judicatory, and continued to express their disapprobation of the indulgence and of such as accepted it.

Eighteen years' persecution had now thinned the ranks of the earliest and most experienced of the "outed" ministers, who, although they never approved of the conduct of the indulged, yet had striven by all means to live in brotherly fellowship with them. But as age and infirmity, or death, removed them from the field, their places were supplied by young zealous preachers who being educated among the sufferers, and associating only with them, were not fully aware of the evils of division, nor did they sufficiently guard against the causes of it. In their sermons, the older ministers proclaimed the glad tidings of salvation through a crucified Saviour, and the necessity of fleeing for refuge to the hope set before them in the gospel; and dwelt not so much upon the immediate causes of their persecution, although they did not shun in declaring the whole truth, to vindicate their allegiance to Christ as sole Head and King of the Church, bearing ample testimony against the usurped supremacy of their temporal monarch and the tyranny of his ecclesiastical creatures, the bishops. On the other hand, as was remarked by one of themselves, the younger and more inexperienced ministers insisted more strenuously in their sermons upon the controverted points; and in their private intercourse spoke too sharply of the conduct of such as did not go their lengths, by putting harsh constructions upon their actions, and perhaps flattered too much some "frothy professors," not properly considering the difference between a proselyte to a party and a true Christian. Upon these topics they delighted to expatiate, till their minds became highly excited; and, unhappily, instead of moderating, encouraged a similar humour

among their hearers, in the hope of managing them, though sometimes they themselves were forced by the people to go further than they intended or inclined.

The fervour of numbers of young converts newly brought in by the gospel ran high. The zeal and success of the first reformers, and of those more lately in 1638, were with them animating and frequent subjects of conversation; their conduct was much extolled, while that of the ministers in leaving their charges in 1662, and the people's in suffering the curates to be thrust in and hearing them, was as greatly condemned. The king's perjury, too, was often held up to execration, and his assumed supremacy represented as an object of equal abhorrence with that of the man of sin.

The meeting, however, after these disagreeables were discussed, decided that the sentences should be removed, and that both parties should hold ministerial communion. They also advised that the indulged should invite those who were not, to preach in their pulpits; and likewise that they should themselves preach "wherever" a proper opportunity offered, and the necessities of the people required. With this last recommendation many of the ministers readily complied; and the people evincing a great desire for hearing, conventicles continued to multiply, and so numerous was the attendance, that it was found unadvisable to execute the severe laws against them to their full extent: only a few conspicuous individuals of the richer or more active, were singled out for persecution, to satisfy the vengeance of the prelates and the avarice of the needy gentry or soldiers. Robert Blae, late bailie in Culross, was fined four thousand merks for one conventicle—Adam Stobbie of Luscar, three thousand, for withdrawing from public ordinances, aggravated by converse with intercommuned persons; and, after payment of the fine, was ordered to be transported forth of the kingdom—John Anderson, younger of Dowhill, accused of a tract of non-conformity, which the prosecutor being unable to prove, the whole was referred to his oath, when

he refusing to swear, was held as confessed. But he voluntarily acknowledged that he had for several years deserted his own church at Glasgow, and heard the indulged, by one of whom he had had a child baptized, and that he had been at five conventicles; for which grievous offences, and because he would not promise to hear his parish minister, he was amerced in four hundred pounds sterling, and ordered to lie in Edinburgh tolbooth till it was paid. After remaining about four months in prison, he compounded for nearly the half and got out. Nor were ladies treated with more tenderness, Lady Kinkel being fined five thousand merks, and Lady Pitlochrie one thousand, because they dared to hear the gospel preached by men who understood it, and declined countenancing the ministrations of state-puppets.

One of the most popular of the persecuted preachers, and peculiarly obnoxious to the primate, was Mr. James Fraser of Brea, a gentleman by birth, and possessed of considerable property. He happened about this time to be in Edinburgh, and the town-major being solicited by Sharpe, was induced by great promises of reward, meanly to entice a servant-maid of one of his relations with whom he lodged, to betray him. When engaged in family worship upon Sabbath evening, January 28, about ten o'clock the major burst in, caught the culprit in the very act, seized him, and haled him off to prison; then went rejoicing to the archbishop, who, delighted with the intelligence, rewarded the exploit by a piece of money and the promise of more; and, next morning at day-dawn, sent strict orders to the jailer to keep Mr. Fraser close, nor permit any person to have access to him, till he was examined by a committee of the council. When he appeared before them, he was questioned as to his being a preacher at field-conventicles, which, as it was a capital offence by law, he declined answering. He acknowledged that he was, although most unworthy, a minister of the gospel, independently of the bishops, but denied that the subject of his discourses was either disloyal or traitorous

as the archbishop asserted—what he preached was repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ, and no other thing than what was contained in the prophets and the New Testament. That, as for rising up in arms against the king, upon the pretext of religion, which the archbishop alleged, he maintained he had expressly told him, that he never knew any of the most zealous asserters of the liberties of the people who maintained the propriety of rising in arms upon pretence of religion—pretences affording no ground or warrant for any man's conduct. Respecting matters of prerogative and privilege, these were things of a ticklish and thorny nature, not within his sphere, nor did he think himself called to meddle with them. As to preaching the gospel either in houses or fields, when opportunity offered, so far from thinking it unlawful, he believed it to be duty; and meetings for this purpose, to be ordinances of Christ, instead of “rendezvouses of rebellion,” as the archbishop termed them. Being insidiously asked, seeing these were his opinions, whether he had ever preached in the fields? he refused to acknowledge that he had, adding that if they thirsted after his blood, and wished to take his life on that account, they could not expect he should himself reach them the weapon. Let them bring proof; for he was resolved no man living should find him guilty of such a weakness as turning evidence against himself.

After his examination, he was sent back to prison, to be kept in solitary confinement; but that night, he remarks in his Memoirs, was the sweetest he had enjoyed for many years—“The Lord was a light round about me, and HIM they could not shut out; I was lifted up above death, sin, hell, and wrath, and the fears of prelates and papists, by a full sense of the divine favour!” Next morning he was awoke about six o'clock, and ordered to make ready to march for the Bass, where he was carried accordingly, and remained there till July 1679.

Subjected to the caprice of their jailer, the situation

of the prisoners here was extremely uncomfortable, especially such of them as had moved in the middle and higher ranks of life. Their female servants were frequently changed; whenever any appeared to be attentive or sympathizing, they were turned away and new ones sent, or, what was worse, they were attempted by the ruffian soldiers, who, if they succeeded, would shamelessly charge the ministers with the crime. Sometimes they were shut up in holes in the rock, and deprived even of the society of their fellow-sufferers—their letters were intercepted, opened, and read—their provisions, which they were obliged to purchase from the governor, were extravagantly dear, and consisted chiefly of hard fish and oatmeal—melted snow was their common drink in winter, or, at other times, a little brackish water, unless they paid well for the spring—they were harassed by the soldiers obtruding rudely among them and vexing them by their obscenities and blasphemies, or endeavouring to ensnare them upon political topics, especially upon the Lord's day, or when they observed others in serious conversation with them about their souls; for their confinement there was blessed to the conversion of several of their keepers, who would never otherwise have come under the sound of the gospel.

But perhaps the most outrageous act of pillage which occurred this year, was perpetrated upon Lord Cardross. On the 7th of August, he was served with an indictment for having had two children baptized by persons who were not his own parish ministers, nor authorized by the established government of the church, nor licensed by the privy council. His lordship's defence was cogent and irrefragable. He had one child born to him in the town of Edinburgh, while he was confined prisoner in the Castle; and not being permitted to attend his wife in her confinement, nor perform any duty relating to the infant, he did not conceive himself concerned in the act of parliament respecting baptisms, being in no liberty or capacity to satisfy its appointment; nor

did he inquire further than to learn that the child was truly and Christianly baptized, without once asking by what minister the same was done;—seeing, therefore, that the foresaid act was made expressly against wilful withdrawers, and such as presumed to offer their children to be baptized otherwise than is therein ordained, these things were nowise chargeable upon him a prisoner, having neither ordinary parish, or settled family, nor so much as access to have presented his child for baptism. In conclusion, he appealed to the moderation of the council, reminding them of his protracted sufferings; and informing them that the child was since deceased, besought them not to add affliction to the afflicted; but he appealed in vain. These men had no feeling. He was robbed of half a year's valued rent of his estate, because his lady in his absence had performed an act of maternal piety towards her child.

While the council were thus urging the pecuniary processes, in order more vigorously to incite their already too willing agents, they warranted the sheriffs, bailies of regalities, and other inferior officers, to appropriate to themselves the fines levied from all persons below the degree of an heritor; and, for those of heritors, they were to reckon with them. Of the extent of these exactions, no proper account remains; but as several of the soldiers received large donations, the sums must have been considerable; and the persecutions were chiefly carried on against those who could pay. In cases where the under-officials were remiss, "the committee for public affairs," who were always upon the alert, took the matter under their own cognizance. A conventicle having been kept at Culross, on a Sabbath about this time, was dispersed by the military, and eighteen persons sent to jail. The committee finding that some of them had been set at liberty without their permission, ordered the magistrates to call them all back to prison, and "condescended" upon the most substantial of them, whom they appointed the said magistrates to produce before the council within

eight days, to be dealt with as they should deserve, *i. e.* fined according to their circumstances.

Besides its all-pervading inquisition abroad and at home, the prelatie despotism of Charles had a malignity peculiarly its own, that delighted to destroy the very profession of Presbyterianism. The wretched, or, as he has been designated, "the merry monarch," used to say, Presbyterianism was not the religion of a gentleman. I cannot pretend to define the religion of a gentleman; but if his majesty's were a specimen, the more dissimilar Presbyterianism was to it the better.*

To be grave and decorous in conduct, devout and consistent in religious observances, were considered as unequivocal marks of Whiggery and disloyalty. At this period a majority of the inhabitants of the Scottish Lowlands were so distinguished, particularly in the west and south-west; and these quarters coming more immediately in contact with the prelatists were more severely visited, as they were staunch to their principles, and zealous for their creed. There, therefore, the bitterest efforts of the government were directed.

Upon the 2d of August, a proclamation was issued for enforcing a bond, obliging the subscribers, with their wives, children, cottars, and servants, regularly to attend public worship in their parish churches, and not to be present at any conventicles, neither at any marriage or baptism, except such as were duly celebrated or administered by a regular incumbent, under the statutory penalties. A few days after, a commission was appointed to carry this act into exe-

* Evelyn, certainly no Whig, gives the following description of a Sunday at court:—"I can never forget the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming, and all dissoluteness, and as it were total forgetfulness of God, it being Sunday, which this day se'ennight I was witness of. The king sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleveland, and Mazarine. A French boy singing love songs in that glorious gallery, while about seventy of the great courtiers, and other dissolute persons, were at basset round a large table; a bank of at least two thousand pounds in gold before them, upon which the gentlemen who were with me made reflections with astonishment." *Mem.* vol. i. p. 585.

cution. Immediately a very full meeting of the noblemen, gentlemen, and heritors of Ayrshire assembled, at which a representation was drawn up, refusing the bond, as requiring impossibilities; for they asserted the counsellors themselves were unable to enforce compliances in their own families, and how did they expect plain country gentlemen to become bound for numbers over whom they could, in these matters, have no control? but they proposed an easier and surer expedient for preserving the peace of the country, and that was by extending and protecting the liberty of the Presbyterians. The council was highly displeased at this address; and the Earl of Loudon, by whom it was signed, was in consequence exposed to so many unpleasant attacks, that he went into voluntary exile, and died at Leyden. Clydesdale followed Ayrshire. The Duke of Hamilton opposed it; and the heritors of Lanarkshire, at a full meeting, unanimously agreed to decline the bond; even those who were not partial to Presbyterianism reprobated it, as fraught with ruin to their estates, seeing they could not promise for all their own families and servants at all times, much less for those of their tenants.

The vexations occasioned by the bond, added to the other severities, had spread so widely, that it was computed, before the end of this year (1677), about seventeen thousand persons, of every rank, sex, and age—from the noble to the cottar-servant, man, woman, and child—from the grey-headed veteran to the infant at the breast, who was forced to lodge with its intercommuned mother on the heath—had suffered, or were suffering every extremity for no crime but hearing the gospel, and worshipping their Maker according to their conscience.

Lauderdale having come down to Scotland with his Duchess, to get one of her daughters by her former husband married to Lord Lorn, afterwards first Duke of Argyle, the Presbyterian ministers in Glasgow, Paisley, Hamilton, and the neighbouring districts, thinking that when he came upon so joyous an oc-

casion, he would be more susceptible of kindlier feelings, deputed Mr. Matthew Crawford to proceed to Edinburgh and consult with their brethren there, to try if possible to get the sentence of intercommuning pronounced against so many of their faithful fellow labourers annulled, and the prisoners on the Bass released. Mr. Anthony Murray, a relation of the Duchess, who was employed to intercede with the Duke, obtained an interview, and urged his Grace to grant this their humble request; but all the answer he obtained was, "as for himself, he (Lauderdale) was ready to do him any kindness in his power, but he would grant no favour to that party, because they were unworthy of any." Next council day, however, when several of the lords represented that pressing the bond would ruin their tenants and lay their lands waste, he seemed inclined to relax, and not only spoke about a third indulgence, but even intimated his desire for it to some of the ministers by Lord Melville; and Commissioners were in consequence sent from several parts of the country to consult about a supplication to the king. No sooner did the two archbishops learn what was in agitation, than they vehemently assailed the Duke, complaining heavily of his concessions to their enemies; in reply, he assured them he had no intention of granting any liberty to non-conformists, only it was necessary to amuse them till he got a force raised sufficient to suppress them, as they were then too numerous to be rashly meddled with. The representations, however, which he had received, subscribed by so many respectable heritors, who could not be considered fanatics, were not to be altogether despised; and, in the month of October, the council enacted (Sir George Mackenzie, who had lately been admitted to be his majesty's advocate, says, upon his suggestion)*—that

* Mackenzie's Hist. p. 322. Sir John Nisbet was turned off because he would not give the rapacious Duchess of Lauderdale a sum of money; and Sir George Mackenzie, whose memory was long execrated in Scotland as "the bloody Mackenzie," was made king's advocate, Sept. 7, this year. Primrose had been removed from the lucrative place of clerk-register by the same influence, and Sir

if any person who is cited be ready to depone or pay his fine, he be not troubled with taking of bonds or other engagements, the law itself being the strongest bond that can be exacted of any man; and all the expenses of process were to be remitted.

Knowing well the unstable nature of their eminence, the prelates were tremblingly alive to whatever they imagined might shake it; and they instantly took the alarm at these equivocal symptoms of moderation, which they supposed had that tendency. Like others in later times, they commenced their attacks upon the liberty of the people, by endeavouring to work upon their fears. Rumours were spread of extensive conspiracies which had no existence, and terrible plots which no one had ever heard of but themselves. On the present occasion, an incidental scuffle gave some grounds for raising the cry of insurrection, and bringing in a host of barbarians to live at free quarters upon a peaceable population. Carstairs, elated by the nefarious premium which he had obtained for his infamous conduct towards Kirkton, and desirous of showing his gratitude to Sharpe, from whom he had his commission, redoubled his activity against the Presbyterians, and was guilty of numerous revolting atrocities in the eastern quarters of Fife. The heartless wretch had turned Lady Colville out of doors in the month of October, and forced her to wander houseless on the mountains and in the fields, at the risk of her life and to the great detriment of her health. He had imprisoned not a few respectable inhabitants; and, patrolling the district attended by some dozen vagabond concurrences,* without any other authority than the archbishop's commission, under pretext of searching for the intercommuned persons, he broke into gentlemen's houses, seized their horses, and was guilty

Thomas Murray, a friend of her own, was nominally appointed; "but her Grace had from him the profits of the place. To stop Sir Archibald's mouth, they bestowed upon him the office of justice-general and sore against his heart." *Kirkton's Hist.* p. 383.

* A concurrence—the lowest attendant upon messenger or sheriff-officers.

of various plunderings, as also divers wanton outrages.

A few gentlemen, six or seven, some of whom were obnoxious to government, having casually met in the house of John Balfour of Kinlock, or Burleigh, the same miscreant who had scented them out, suddenly advanced on the house, with twelve of the "bishop's evangelists" on horseback. The gentlemen were altogether taken by surprise, and one of them happened to be standing outside when they came up. Philip Garret, an Irish tinker—one of the said worthies—the first in advance, seeing a person at the door, without asking any questions, fired but missed; and the gentleman immediately went into the house. Garret dismounted and was following; but the gentlemen within being by this time alarmed, one of them fired, and Garret fell wounded in the shoulder. Carstairs' party returned the salute in at the windows of the chamber where the gentlemen were, and wounded one of them. The others then sallied forth and briskly attacked their assailants, who instantly fled. They pursued for a while, but no more blood was shed. Garret afterwards recovered.

This act of justifiable self-defence against an illegal attack of unauthorized ruffians was eagerly seized upon by the prelatists, who were watching for some occurrence which might justify them in using "a vigour beyond law" which they meditated against the Presbyterians. At their instigation, the council declared it an high act of rebellion and resisting of lawful authority; summoned the actors before them; and, upon their non-appearance, denounced them as rebels, and delated the whole body as accomplices or abettors of the deed.

Charles, whose designs upon the constitution of England and freedom of the people—now beginning to be discovered—had involved him with his English parliament, exceedingly anxious to get a pretext for keeping up a standing army, communicated his wishes to Lauderdale, who, readily entering into

them, proposed first to try some such measure in Scotland, where he knew he would be backed by the whole prelatie interest, and gratify at once the bishops and the king. Instructions were accordingly transmitted to the council, who, in "a frequent meeting," held on the 17th of October, sent particular expresses by sure bearers to the Earls of Glencairn and Dundonald and Lord Ross, to call together the commissioners of the excise, and militia, and justices of the peace, at Irvine, on the 2d of November, and to represent to them how highly his majesty was displeas'd at the extraordinary insolences committed in these shires, by abusing the orthodox clergy, invading their pulpits, setting up conventicle-houses, and keeping scandalous and seditious conventicles in the fields—these great seminaries of rebellion—and requiring them to take such effectual course for reducing these shires to a quiet obedience of his majesty's laws—the true and only rule of loyalty and faithfulness—as might prevent severer measures from being taken for securing the peace; and informing them, in case of their failure, that the council was fully resolv'd to repress by force all rebellious and factious proceedings, without respect to the disadvantages of the heritors, whom his majesty would then look upon as involved in such a degree of guilt as would allow of the greatest severity being used against that country.

The shires now denounced were the wealthiest and most civilized, as well as the most religious districts in the ancient kingdom; they therefore presented the additional lure of a rich harvest of plunder, especially as they abounded in that class, the strength and sinews of a nation, the small landed proprietors—yeomen—or, as they were styled, heritors, who were generally well educated and particularly versed in the polemics of the day. A meeting of these, therefore, was call'd, when the following resolutions were adopted, after two days' serious deliberation:—1st, They found it not within the compass of their power to suppress conventicles. 2d, A toleration of Pres-

byterians is the only proper expedient for preserving the peace; and, 3d, It should be granted to an extent equal to what his majesty had graciously vouchsafed to his kingdoms of England and Ireland. These resolutions were communicated to the three noblemen, who immediately wrote to the council, and told them that the meeting had taken place and reported —“That, after the consideration of the whole affair, it was not in their power to quiet the disorder,” but took no notice of the reasonable and effectual remedy they had recommended. Before their letter arrived, the council had decided. A minute, dated the day before the heritors met, was drawn up by them, stating, “That, upon information of the growing disorders and insolences in the western shires, it was thought fit a proclamation be drawn, in case of an insurrection, and the nearest Highlanders ordered to meet at Stirling, and letters writ to noblemen and gentlemen, to have their vassals and tenants ready at a call.” A magazine of arms and ammunition was formed at Stirling, all the regular forces were ordered to Falkirk to have their full complement made up by new levies, and all the straggling parties were called in. Besides these warlike preparations, his majesty, in consequence of the alarming reports sent him, offered the co-operation of the English army, several troops of whom were marched to the borders; and Viscount Granard, commander of the forces in Ireland, received instructions to hold himself in readiness to pass over to Scotland upon a moment’s notice.

Such were the mighty preparations during a period of the most profound repose, interrupted only by the footsteps of those upon the mountains who published salvation. Of these, the indefatigable and successful John Welsh and John Blackader were among the most prominent. The former, descended from a race of confessors, whose memory was deservedly dear to the persecuted, had a reward offered for his head by the council; and he rode usually accompanied by ten or twelve faithful adherents,

termed his body guard. The following is an account by the latter, of a remarkable communion held at East Nisbet,* where both were present, which seems to have created a great sensation:—

“At the desire of several people in the Merse, Mr. Blackader, and some other ministers, had resolved on a meeting in Tiviotdale, and day and place were fixed for keeping a communion; but from apprehensions of danger, this resolution was changed, as it was feared they might come to imminent hazard. It was agreed to delay it a fortnight; and advertisement was sent to the people not to assemble. The report of the first appointment had spread throughout the country, and many were prepared to resort thither from distant and divers quarters. This change had occasioned great uncertainty: some had taken their journey to the Merse, willing to venture on a disappointment, rather than miss so good an occasion by sitting still. Mr. Blackader was determined to go, seeing his stay would discourage others; and if kept back, they would blame him. He told them it was not likely the meeting would hold; yet, lest any should take offence, he was content to take his venture with them. On Friday night he took horse accompanied with a small body of attendants, and was joined by Mr. John Dickson at the port, who rode with him eleven miles that night. Many people were on the road, setting forward to be in time for sermon on Saturday morning. Not a few be-west of Edinburgh, hearing the report of the delay, remained at home, and others returned on the way. Nobody was certain, either from far or near, till they reached the place; where they would all have been disappointed, if providence had not ordered it better than

* Dr. McCrie has the following note in the *Memoirs of George Brysson*, p. 281:—“The following extract,” from *Memoirs of a Mrs. Goodal*, the wife of a mechanic, MS. in the Advocates’ Library, “supplies the date of the communion at East Nisbet—‘I must make mention of three communion-dayes the Lord trysted me with in Scotland. The first was at East Nisbet in the year 1678, in the spring of the year,’ &c. at the very time when the Highlanders were ravaging the west.”

human arrangement; for the earnest entreaties of the people had prevailed with Mr. Welsh, in the same way as Mr. Blackader, to venture at a hazard. And had it been delayed a day or two longer, it would have been utterly prevented, as the noise was spread, and the troops would have been dispersed to stop them.

“Meantime the communion elements had been prepared, and the people in Tiviotdale advertised. Mr. Welsh and Mr. Riddell had reached the place on Saturday. When Mr. Blackader arrived, he found a great assembly, and still gathering from all airts, which was a comfortable surprisal in this uncertainty; whereat they all marvelled, as a new proof of the divine wisdom wherewith the true Head of the church did order and arrange his solemn occasions. The people from the east brought reports that caused great alarm. It was rumoured that the Earl of Hume, as ramp a youth as any in the country, intended to assault the meeting with his men and militia, and that parties of the regulars were coming to assist him. He had profanely threatened to make their horses drink the communion wine, and trample the sacred elements under foot. Most of the gentry there, and even the commonalty, were ill set.

“Upon this we drew hastily together about seven or eight score of horse on the Saturday, and equipped with such furniture as they had. Picquets of twelve or sixteen men were appointed to reconnoitre and ride towards the suspected parts. Single horsemen were dispatched to greater distances, to view the country, and give warning in case of attack. The remainder of the horse were drawn round to be a defence at such distance as they might hear sermon, and be ready to act if need be. Every means was taken to compose the multitude from needless alarm, and prevent, in a harmless defensive way, any affront that might be offered to so solemn and sacred a work. Though many, of their own accord, had provided for their safety; and this was more necessary, when they had to stay three days together, sojourning by *the*

lions' dens and the mountains of leopards; yet none had come armed with hostile intentions.

“We entered on the administration of the holy ordinance, committing it and ourselves to the invisible protection of the Lord of hosts, in whose name we were met together. Our trust was in the arm of Jehovah, which was better than weapons of war, or the strength of hills. If the God of Jacob was our refuge, we knew that our cause would prosper;—that in his favour there was more security than in all the defences of art or of nature. The place where we convened was every way commodious, and seemed to have been formed on purpose. It was a green and pleasant haugh, fast by the water side, (the Whitadder.) On either hand there was a spacious brae, in form of a half round, covered with delightful pasture, and rising with a gentle slope to a goodly height. Above us was the clear blue sky, for it was a sweet and calm Sabbath morning, promising to be indeed one of the days of the Son of Man. There was a solemnity in the place befitting the occasion, and elevating the whole soul to a pure and holy frame. The communion tables were spread on the green by the water, and around them the people had arranged themselves in decent order. But the far greater multitude sat on the brae-face, which was crowded from top to bottom, full as pleasant a sight as was ever seen of that sort. Each day, at the congregation's dismissing, the ministers, with their guards, and as many of the people as could, retired to their quarters in three several country towns, where they might be provided with necessaries for man and horse for payment.

“Several of the yeomen refused to take money for their provisions, but cheerfully and abundantly invited both ministers and gentlemen each day at dismissing. The horsemen drew up in a body till the people left the place, and then marched in goodly array at a little distance, until all were safely lodged in their quarters; dividing themselves into three squadrons, one for each town where were their re-

spective lodgments. Each party had its own commander. Watches were regularly set in empty barns and other out-houses, where guards were placed during the night. Scouts were sent to look about, and get intelligence. In the morning, when the people returned to the meeting, the horsemen accompanied them: all the three parties met a mile from the spot, and marched in a full body to the consecrated ground. The congregation being all fairly settled in their places, the guardsmen took their several stations as formerly.

“ These accidental volunteers seemed to have been the gift of Providence, and they secured the peace and quiet of the audience; for from Saturday morning, when the work began, until Monday afternoon, we suffered not the least affront or molestation from enemies, which appeared wonderful. At first there was some apprehension, but the people sat undisturbed; and the whole was closed in as orderly a way as it had been in the time of Scotland’s brightest noon. And, truly, the spectacle of so many grave, composed, and devout faces, must have struck the adversaries with awe, and been more formidable than any outward ability of fierce looks and warlike array. We desired not the countenance of earthly kings; there was a spiritual and divine Majesty shining on the work, and sensible evidence that the Great Master of assemblies was present in the midst. It was, indeed, the doing of the Lord, who covered us a table in the wilderness, in presence of our foes, and reared a pillar of glory between us and the enemy, like the fiery cloud of old, that separated between the camp of Israel and the Egyptians, encouraging to the one, but dark and terrible to the other. Though our vows were not offered within the courts of God’s house, they wanted not sincerity of heart, which is better than the reverence of sanctuaries. Amidst the lonely mountains, we remembered the words of our Lord, that true worship was not peculiar to Jerusalem or Samaria; that the beauty of holiness consisted not in consecrated buildings, or material temples. We

remembered the ark of the Israelites, which had sojourned for years in the desert, with no dwelling-place but the tabernacles of the plain. We thought of Abraham and the ancient patriarchs, who laid their victims on the rocks for an altar, and burnt sweet incense under the shade of the green tree.

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

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

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

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

“The afternoon sermon was preached by Mr. Dickson, from Genesis xxii. 14; and verily might the name of the place be called Bethel, or Jehovah-jireh, where the Lord’s power and presence was so signally manifested. After so thick and fearful a darkness had overshadowed the land, the light of his countenance had again shone through the cloud with dazzling brightness, and many there would remember the glory of that day. Well might the faith of the good old patriarch be contrasted with theirs on that occasion; they had come on a journey of three days into the wilderness to offer their sacrifice; they had come in doubt and perplexity as to the issue; but the God of Jacob had been their refuge and their strength, hiding them in his pavilion in the evil day. The whole of this solemn service was closed by Mr. Blackader on Monday afternoon, from Isaiah liii. 10.”*

To complete the picture, I shall give a description of a common conventicle, one of “the rendezvouses of rebellion,” also by Mr. Blackader:—

“Some time before the communion at East Nisbet, Mr. Blackader kept a very great conventicle at Lilsly (Lilliesleaf) moor, in Forrestshire. They had

* Crichton’s life of Blackader, p. 198, *et seq.*



The Sheriff accosted by his Sister at the Conventicle.

The first of these was the discovery of gold in California in 1848. This led to a great influx of people to California and the establishment of the state in 1850. The second was the discovery of gold in Colorado in 1859. This led to a great influx of people to Colorado and the establishment of the state in 1876. The third was the discovery of gold in Nevada in 1859. This led to a great influx of people to Nevada and the establishment of the state in 1864. The fourth was the discovery of gold in Idaho in 1860. This led to a great influx of people to Idaho and the establishment of the state in 1890. The fifth was the discovery of gold in Montana in 1862. This led to a great influx of people to Montana and the establishment of the state in 1889. The sixth was the discovery of gold in Wyoming in 1869. This led to a great influx of people to Wyoming and the establishment of the state in 1890. The seventh was the discovery of gold in Utah in 1863. This led to a great influx of people to Utah and the establishment of the state in 1896. The eighth was the discovery of gold in Arizona in 1863. This led to a great influx of people to Arizona and the establishment of the state in 1909. The ninth was the discovery of gold in New Mexico in 1861. This led to a great influx of people to New Mexico and the establishment of the state in 1906. The tenth was the discovery of gold in Texas in 1845. This led to a great influx of people to Texas and the establishment of the state in 1845.

knowledge that the sheriff, and some of the life-guards, were ranging Lilsly moors on the fore-part of the day; upon which the meeting shifted their ground within Selkirkshire, thinking themselves safe, being out of his bounds. Watches were set; and the forenoon's lecture was got over without disturbance. About the middle of the afternoon-preaching, alarm was given that the sheriff and his party were hard at hand, riding fast; whereupon he closed, giving the people a word of composure against fear. The people all stood firm in their places without moving. Two horses were brought for the minister, to fly for his life; but he refused to go, and would not withdraw, seeing the people kept their ground, and so dismissed the horses. The militia came riding furiously at full gallop, and drew up on the burnbrae, over against the people; but seeing them stand firm, they seemed to be a little damped, and would speak nothing for a while. At this moment, an honest countryman cast a gray cloak about Mr. Blackader, and put a broad bonnet on his head; so he remained in that disguise among the people, unnoticed all the time of the fray. The sheriff cried, 'I charge you to dismiss in the king's name:' the people answered resolutely from several quarters, 'We are all met here in the name of the King of heaven, to hear the gospel, and not for harm to any man.' The sheriff was more damped, seeing their confidence; he was the Laird of Heriot. His own sister was present at the meeting; and stepping forth, in a fit of passion, took his horse by the bridle, clapping her hands, and crying out, 'Fye on ye, man; fye on ye; the vengeance of God will overtake you, for marring so good a work;' whereat the sheriff stood like a man astonied.

"One of the soldiers comes riding in among the people, and, laughing, said, 'Gentlemen and friends, we hope you will do us no harm.' This was all a pretence; they had come to look for the minister, and were edging nearer the tent; but they were or-

dered instantly to be gone, and join their own associates, as more appropriate companions.

“The people still refusing to dismiss, the sheriff called out Bennet, Laird of Chesters, and Turnbull of Standhill, who were present in the congregation, and with them he negotiated that they would dismiss the meeting, otherwise he must use force. Accordingly, at the entreaty of Chesters, they withdrew. This had more influence with them than all the sheriff’s threatenings. The minister, all this while keeping his disguise, sat still till the dragoons were gone, and then took horse, with a company of seven or eight gentlemen. About twelve at night, he reached Lasswade, (being the hind harvest,) and got to Edinburgh early in the dawning, about the time of the opening of the ports. This was a remarkable escape, as they had sought the minister among the crowd during the scuffle, and passed often by him without ever discovering him. The reason of his riding all night, was to avoid danger; for all the nobles and gentlemen from Edinburgh were to ride next day to the race at Caverton-edge, when the roads to Tiviotdale would be full of them.”

Plied incessantly by the council, whom Sharpe ruled, with exaggerated rumours of the sedition and discontent that reigned in the west, Charles at last sent as ample powers as the primate had desired; and followed them up by commencing active operations for putting down such dreaded and hated meetings as the above described.

First always in every act of oppression, the council had already written to some Highland chieftains to raise their clans, and send to the refractory west a sufficient number of kilted missionaries, to propagate by forcible, if not convincing, arguments, the prelatical gospel. The chieftains, in return, most willingly offered their services; and the council immediately communicated to the king their loyal tenders, requesting his royal sanction to the measure. His majesty told them, in reply, that he had heard with much satisfaction of their requiring the noble

men and others, who had numerous vassals and followers in the Highlands, to come to their aid, and of the readiness of these noblemen and gentlemen to comply with their request. He therefore authorized them to command all these forces to march to the disturbed shires, or wherever conventicles had been kept, and to take effectual measures for reducing them to due obedience "to Us and OUR laws," by taking free quarter from those that were disaffected, disarming such as they should suspect, and seizing and securing all horses above such a value as they should think fit; at the same time, causing heritors and life-renters to give bond for their tenants and all who resided on their lands; and the tenants and fathers of families to do the like for those who resided with them, that they should keep no conventicles, but live orderly, attend the parish churches regularly, and not harbour or converse with any intercommuned person.

For the more completely carrying these orders into execution, they were not only to punish the disobedient, but whomsoever "they might judge disaffected," by fining, confining, imprisonment, or banishment. They were also to plant garrisons wherever they thought it necessary; and if the forces now ordered were not sufficient, they were empowered to call to their assistance the troops stationed in the north of England and Ireland. A report was at this time very generally spread and believed, that the Duke of York had said there would be no peace in the country till the west were turned into a hunting-forest; and the conduct of those in power appeared as if they had heard and approved of the sentiment.

BOOK II.

A. D. 1678—1679.

Privy council forbids emigration—Mitchell's trial and execution—
Highland host—Committee of the council arrive at Glasgow—
Deputation from Ayr sent to the Commissioner—Bond refused—
Committee proceed to Ayr—Earl of Cassilis—Law-burrows—
Case of Lord Cochrane—Ravages of "the Highland Host"—
Their return home—Earl of Cassilis goes to court—Duke of
Hamilton follows—Complaints dismissed—State of the country.

CAPRICIOUS as cruel in their tyranny, the council would neither allow the Presbyterians to live peaceably at home, nor permit them to seek liberty abroad, especially if they were persons of rank, whom they wished to make participators of their tyranny, as they could not induce them to be willing associates in their crimes. Having learned that several noblemen and others of high station, disgusted with their proceedings, were preparing to leave the country, they issued a proclamation, January 3, forbidding any person, lord or commoner, to remove forth thereof upon any pretext whatsoever, without a special license from them, under the highest penalties; and to make assurance doubly sure, they ordered the principal among them, whom they considered as their political rivals, or who were more moderate in their principles, to attend "a committee of the privy council," appointed to accompany the forces in the west country, to receive their orders and obey their commands.*

* Numbers of the persecuted in England had left that country for America, and were founding the states of New England, New Jersey, Massachusetts, &c., which formed asylums for their brethren.

Before proceeding to detail the transactions of this savage horde and their directors, I shall advert to a transaction still more disgraceful to the council, as setting at defiance all moral decency, and bursting asunder every tie that gives security to society, which can only exist well where the obligations both of the rulers and the ruled are held sacred. I mean the trial and execution of James Mitchell.

Cowards are proverbially cruel, and the renegade primate was not remarkable for courage. He seems to have been constantly haunted with the terrors of assassination. Fearing his own treacherous "law-screened murders" might provoke some other resolute arm to retaliate, he could not be at rest while Mitchell lived, and appears to have imagined that the destruction of that poor man was necessary to secure his own safety. He therefore resolved, by making an example of him, to show that the sacred person of a priest was not to be threatened with impunity. Accordingly, Mitchell was brought from the Bass to Edinburgh in the end of last year, and received an indictment to stand trial for his attempt. On January 7, 1678, he was brought to the bar of the Justiciary, where Primrose, justice-general, sat as one of his judges, and Sir George Mackenzie acted as accuser, both of whom were perfectly acquainted with the promise of pardon which had been made. Primrose had been summoned as a witness, but was dispensed with; and, had he possessed the smallest particle of common feeling, or of common honesty, he would never have consented to sit as a judge—much less would Mackenzie, who had acted as his

ren during these perilous times. Many of the Scots who flocked to Holland, also sought refuge in the New World. But it would appear the Scottish prelatists being, as all turncoats are, more violent than the English persecutors, wished to retain their more conscientious countrymen at home, that they might have the pleasure of tormenting them, and enjoying the yet higher gratification of revelling on their fines. The prohibition in Scotland was intended, besides, to answer another purpose, to prevent any of the nobility proceeding to court without leave; for Lauderdale knew well the advantage of engrossing the royal ear.

advocate on the former trial, have now come forward as his prosecutor; yet so it was. Primrose, however, transmitted privately to Mitchell's advocate, a copy of the act of council in which the assurance was contained. Lauderdale had been previously warned of its existence by Kincardine. The pleadings, before entering upon the evidence, were long and ingenious. His advocates, Sir George Lockhart and Mr. John Ellis, contended that the libel was not relevant,—as a mere attempt, when unsuccessful, could never constitute the crime of murder; that by the laws of this kingdom, by the civil law, and the common opinion of civilians, it was not a capital offence, except in cases of parricide or treason; and, besides, the act charged was assassination or murder committed for hire—a term and a crime unknown in Scottish law; nor is it charged against the prisoner that he was hired by any person to commit the deed. As to the confession, if such a thing existed, which the panel refused to acknowledge, it was extrajudicial, not being made in presence of the assize, who are judges of the whole proof, and therefore could not be admitted, unless taken together with the promise of pardon by which it was elicited. But they especially insisted upon the promise of pardon, as rendering any charge founded upon such confession totally irrelevant.

The Lord Advocate replied, that, by act 16, parl James VI. *nudus conatus*, attempting and invading, though nothing followed, is found relevant to infer the pain of death; and by the common law, an attempt is capital, where the panel has been guilty of the proximate act, and done all that it was in his power to do:—adding, most unfairly and untruly, that Mitchell belonged to a sect that hated and execrated the hierarchy, who deemed it lawful to kill persons of a prelatical character; and he could prove that Mr. James himself held such opinions, which he endeavoured to defend by wrested places of Scripture, and acknowledged that the reason why he shot at the archbishop was, because he thought him a

persecutor of the nefarious and execrable rebels who appeared on the Pentland Hills. As to assassination not being known in Scots law, the term might not be there, but the nation would be worse than the Tartars, if lying in wait with a design to kill clandestinely, where a person, after mature deliberation, ripens his villany and watches his opportunity, if this should not be held in greater detestation, and punished more severely than ordinary murder. As to being hired, if taking money constituted the criminality of assassination, how much greater is it when committed to earn a higher reward. He that takes money to kill, will stab only in the dark, and where he may escape; but the sun, and the cross, and the confluence of all the world, cannot secure against the stroke of the murderer who expects heaven as his reward, and thinks that the deed deserves it. Respecting the promise of pardon, the promise of life from a judge, who has not the power to grant it, is of no avail unless the panel can prove that he expressly pactoned that his confession should not operate against him; and a confession emitted without any such regular bargain, is of no avail, even though the judge should promise life; for this would be to make a judge a king.* As to the confession being extrajudicial, so far from this being the case, it was taken by the authority of the privy council, the highest judicatory of the nation, uniting in itself the powers both of the Court of Session and the Court of Justiciary; and if confessions emitted before the lords of session are a sole, final, and plenary probation before the Court of Justiciary, it were absurd to suppose that a confession emitted before the Privy Council should not be deemed valid.

* The advocate, as a proof that civilians were on his side, quoted Ægidius Bossius, who, *Titulo de Examine Reorum* 15 and 16, says—“*Judex qui induxit reum ad confitendum sub p̄missione veniæ non tenetur servare promissum in foro contensioso.*” The judge who induces a panel to confess, by a promise of pardon, is not bound to keep his promise in a contested trial, which seems, says Lord Fountainhall in his notes, “to be ane disingenuous opinion.”

The court decided that the crime, as libelled, was relevant, *i. e.* sufficient, to infer the pains of law; but, at the same time, found that the defence, if proven, was relevant to secure the panel of his life and limb. There were no witnesses to establish the fact: his confession was the only evidence adduced; to substantiate which, Rothes was first examined, who deponed that he saw the panel sign the confession. Being asked, whether or not his lordship did offer to the panel, upon his confession, to secure his life, in these words, upon his lordship's life, honour, and reputation, he swore that he did not at all give any assurance to the panel for his life, and that the panel never sought any such assurance from him, nor did he remember receiving any warrant from the council for that purpose. Upon this, Mitchell entreated the Chancellor to remember the honour of the family of Rothes, and mind that he took him by the hand, and said—"Jacobe, man, confess; and, as I am Chancellor of Scotland, ye shall be safe in liffe and limb;" to which all the answer returned by the Chancellor was, "that he hoped his reputation was not yet so low as that what the panel said, either there or elsewhere, would be credited, since he had sworn." The panel, however, still averred the contrary.

Lord Hatton, Lauderdale, and Sharpe swore to the same effect. When Sharpe had done, Nicol Somerville, agent, brother-in-law to the panel, boldly contradicted him, and bid him remember certain times and expressions. The archbishop, who did not much relish getting his memory so refreshed, "fell in a mighty chaff and passion, exceedingly unbecoming his station and the circumstances he was then stated in, and fell a scolding before thousands of onlookers. Nicol yielded in nothing; and after the bishop had sworne, he cried out that upon his salvation what he had affirmed was true." "And the misfortune was, that few there but they believed Nicol better than the archbishop."* Sir John Nisbet, who was Lord Advocate at the time, and one of the committee

* Fountainhall's notes.

who examined Mitchell, summoned as a witness for the crown—probably to prevent him from being adduced for Mitchell—was not called, Sir George Mackenzie, it is likely, being afraid to trust him.

After the public prosecutor had declared his proof closed, the panel's advocates produced the copy of the act of council, and craved that the books of council, which were lying in the next room, might be produced, or the clerks ordered to give extracts, which they had formerly refused. At this Lauderdale, who had no right to speak, "stormed mightily," and told the court "the books of council contained the king's secrets, and he would not permit them to be examined; he came there to depone as a witness, not to be staged for perjury"—an unguarded remark, which must have been understood by the judges as a plain confession that he knew he had sworn falsely; yet, with a mean servility, they would not assert their own dignity, nor do justice to the panel. They refused to grant warrant for producing the registers, because not applied for before, which Fountainhall observes "choaked both criminal law and equity, for it is never too late to urge any thing in favour of a panel until the assize be closed." Sir George Lockhart defended him with admirable strength of reasoning; and the trial, which is characterized as the most solemn which had taken place in Scotland for a hundred years, lasted four days. The jury returned a verdict, finding him guilty upon his own confession; but the promise of pardon they found not proven. He was condemned to be hanged on Friday, the 18th of January.

On leaving court, the four "noble" witnesses proceeded to the Council-chamber and inspected the books, where they saw the indelible record of their own guilt and infamy, which still remains, and, like convicted rogues, began each to vindicate himself. After a vain attempt to fix it upon the late Lord Advocate, Nisbet, had failed, Lauderdale, who seems to have had some compunctious visitations, proposed to grant a reprieve, and refer the matter to the king.

But the primate insisted that if favour were shown to this assassin it would be exposing his person to the next murderer who should attempt it. "Then," said Lauderdale, "let Mitchell glorify God in the Grassmarket."* He was accordingly executed pursuant to his sentence. Sharpe, whose vanity and ambition were unbounded, aping an equality with royalty, had obtained an order from court, that Mitchell's head should be affixed on some public place of the city, as if his crime had been high treason! But it was told him what was pronounced for doom could not be altered; so he missed this gratification. Nor did the fate of Mitchell tend to avert his own. Mitchell's misguided act was forgotten in the deeper and more deliberate revenge of the archbishop, and in the atrocious breach of public faith by the council. His dying declaration, widely circulated through the country, exhibited such a view of the treachery and almost unexampled perjury of the first ministers in the church and in the state, as excited universal horror and execration.†

* The usual place of execution at the time.

† The question then much agitated—"The extraordinary execution of judgment by private men"—was supported by an apophthegm borrowed from Tertullian—"Every man is a soldier enrolled to bear arms against all traitors and public enemies;" and by the authority of Dr. Ames, who, in his treatise on Conscience, published 1674, says—"Sometimes it is lawful to kill, no public precognition proceeding, when the cause evidently requires it should be done, and public authority cannot be got: For in that case a private man is publicly constitute the minister of justice, as well by the permission of God as the consent of all men." Mitchell, when questioned by the Chancellor, thus defended his attack upon Sharpe—and it is easy to conceive that such reasoning would appear irrefragable to a mind excited as his was—"I looked upon him to be the main instigator of all the oppression and bloodshed thereupon, and the continual pursuing after my own; and, my lord, it was creditably reported to us (the truth of which your lordship knows better than we) that he kept up his majesty's letter inhibiting any more blood upon that account, until the last six were executed; and I being a soldier, not having laid down my arms, but being upon my own defence, and in prosecution of the ends of the same covenant [which he also had sworn] which was the overthrow of prelates and prelacy; and I being a declared enemy to him on that account, and he to me in like manner; as he was always to take his advantage of me, as it appeareth, so I of him, to take any opportunity offered. Moreover

Upon the 24th of January, the threatened army, better known by the name of "the Highland Host,"* assembled at Stirling. The Earls were their colonels, who received a handsome pay; but the active officers were a set of thievish lairds; and their retainers, wild savages, unacquainted with any other law than the will of their chiefs, whose mandates they obeyed without inquiry upon every occasion—only in the division of the spoil, they sometimes helped themselves without waiting the directions of their superiors. They amounted in all, including about two thousand regulars and two thousand militia, to about ten thousand men, with four field-pieces, and with a great quantity of spades, shovels and mattocks, as if they were marching to besiege fortified cities; their daggers were formed to fasten on the muzzles of the muskets, as a kind of rude bayonet, to attack cavalry; yet were they accompanied with other instruments that betokened any thing but going to meet a regular force—iron shackles and thumb-screws!

The approach of such an array amazed the peaceable inhabitants of the west, nor were the military gentlemen themselves less astonished when they passed through a country represented as in a state of rebellion, but where they saw every thing perfectly loyal and tranquil. Nevertheless, the mountaineers in their march, and during the time they remained in the west, gratified the expectation of their employers to the full. Behaving with the unbridled insolence of victorious mercenaries in a conquered country, they made free with whatever they wanted without ceremony, seizing every serviceable horse

we being in no terms of capitulation, but on the contrary, I, by his instigation being excluded from all grace and favour, thought it my duty to pursue him at all events."

* Because Highlanders formed the majority; the regulars or king's guards were the worst; the militia, although not good, seem to have been the best, if any could be called best among them, unless it were that in the act of plundering, they were not quite so fierce as the others. "The debauched clergie thought it no shame to call thes dragoons the ruling elders of the church." Wodrow, MS. Advocates' Lib. xi. art. 47, quoted by Dr. McCrie. Mem. of Geo. Bryson, p. 275.

for the transport of their baggage, even those at the ploughs in the midst of the tillage, extorting money and beating and wounding whoever resisted, without distinction. Nor were the few heritors who took the bond exempted. They found, when too late, that they had violated their consciences, or at least their consistency, in vain; and some of them afterwards deeply lamented their compliance, regretting that they had not rather, like the majority of their neighbours, taken quietly the spoiling of their goods.

Their head-quarters were first at Glasgow, but the tumultuous bands soon spread through Clydesdale, Renfrew, Cunninghame, Kyle, and Carrick. Previously to their arrival, the ministers had held a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer. This the prelates represented as preparatory to a communion, after which there was to be a general insurrection. The report was soon discovered to be false, but it had quickened the advance of the host, and was either believed, or pretended to be believed, by Lauderdale; for, when a deputation from the nobility and gentry of Ayrshire came to Edinburgh to represent to the council the tranquillity and unimpeachable loyalty of the whole district, he would not so much as give them audience; and when some of them offered to engage for the peace of the shire, the proposal was peremptorily refused, and they were informed that no compromise could be entered into, nothing less would be accepted than that the whole of them present should instantly put their signatures to the bond, and pledge themselves for all the other heritors doing the same. The deputation could not promise for others, and they returned to witness the authorized enormous disorders they had employed every legal method in their power to prevent.

On the 28th of the month, the committee of council, armed with Justiciary power, met at Glasgow to consider their instructions and proceed to action.*

* The committee consisted of the Marquis of Atholl, the Earls of Marr, Murray, Glencairn, Wigton, Strathmore, Linlithgow, Airlly, Caithness, Perth, and Lord Ross, all of whom were commanders in the army, except Glencairn and Wigton.

They were directed to order the sheriffs of the different counties to convene all the heritors, and require them to subscribe a bond, obliging themselves, wives, bairns, and servants, as also their hail tenants, and cottars, with their wives, bairns, and servants, to abstain from conventicles, and not to receive, assist, or speak to any forfeited persons, intercommuned ministers, or vagrant preachers, but to use their utmost endeavours to apprehend all such, promising, if any of their families or dependents should contravene, to present them to the judge-ordinary that they might be fined or imprisoned for their delinquencies. All who took the bond were to receive a protection that their lands would not be quartered upon. They were also to cause the leaders of the horsemen of the militia troops to deliver to them the hail militia arms, and to disarm heritors and all other persons, except privy counsellors and military men; but noblemen and gentlemen of quality were to be allowed to wear their swords. The arms were to be lodged in the Castle of Dumbarton.

Framed as this bond was, it required no ghost to tell that it would not generally be taken; and its refusal was looked forward to by the government with joyful anticipation, as what would justify their pressing it with a rigour that would produce the grand, much longed-for consummation—a desperate resistance. But this was for the present postponed—the disarming of the people, although not complete, prevented any immediate outbreaking, while the example of the Duke of Hamilton, Lords Loudon, Cochran, and especially the constancy of Lord Cassilis, encouraged the great body of the gentry to continue steadfast in opposition to a bond which the council had exceeded their powers in enacting, and could not legally oblige the lieges to subscribe without the authority of parliament. Besides its illegality, these patriots considered it cruel and degrading—cruel, in forbidding them to give relief to Christian ministers, and others in distress, even though their own relatives, and to shut up their bowels of compassion

from them, merely on account of difference of opinion about church government—degrading, in desiring them to act as beadles or common messengers at arms, without their own consent.

From Glasgow the committee proceeded to Ayr; and among their first proceedings, they ordered the Earl of Cassilis to demolish all the meeting-houses in Carrick. The Earl represented the probability of opposition, and having been disarmed, requested that a party of soldiers, or at least some of the neighbouring gentlemen, might be ordered to protect him; even this reasonable request could not be granted; and while he hesitated, a friendly counsellor hinted that there was but an hair's-breadth between him and imprisonment. Such, however, was the esteem in which this young nobleman was held, that the people themselves demolished the offensive places of worship, rather than that he should be troubled about them.* But the council, not willing that he should get so quietly rid of the job, ordered him to bring back the doors and all the timber of these meeting-houses, and burn it on the spot where they had stood. His Lordship complied with this useless but tyrannically-teasing order.

Notwithstanding the stubborn opposition it met with, the council appeared determined to urge the bond, and issued a fresh proclamation, February 11, forbidding any person to be received as a tenant or

* The meeting-houses were not in common very costly fabrics. Like the temple at Jerusalem, no mason's iron was heard in their building, being generally framed of rough unhewn stones, covered with turf; and the people were thankful when the government did not interfere with their cheap church-extension scheme. Stately cathedrals they asked not, they cheerfully left them to the Romanists and the renegade prelatical conformists, their brethren. Consecrated walls were words unknown in their vocabulary, all they asked was shelter from the weather and very humble accommodation for their wearied limbs. Nor did they always ask even these; for their ministers, following the example of Him whose servants they professed to be, oftener had the mountain for their pulpit and the heavens for their sounding-board, than the crimson-covered desk with velvet cushion and gilded canopy; while they themselves were satisfied, if they could hear the gospel faithfully preached, although on the mountain side, or in "divot theikit beids," [turf-roofed shelters.]

servant without a certificate from the landlord or master they last left, or from the minister of the parish, that they had lived orderly and attended the parish church, and had not heard any of the vagrant preachers, who without license impiously assumed the holy orders of the church. To this was annexed a new bond of similar import with the former, and as an encouragement, all the members of council signed it, and appointed the lords of session to do the same when they met. Every inducement proved ineffectual; and the reports of the commissioners appointed to see their orders carried into execution, were by no means satisfactory to the council. The arms were only partially delivered up, and the bond would not at all go down; and what was the most vexatious part of the business, it was decidedly rejected by some eminent lawyers in the capital, and several of the chief nobility in Fife, Stirlingshire, and Teviotdale. The report from Lanark, too, was provoking beyond measure; of two thousand nine hundred heritors, only nineteen of the smallest complied.

Perceiving at length that the opposition was too extensive, and based upon principles which could not be sneered at as fanatical, Lauderdale is said at one of their meetings to have bared his arm in fury, and sworn by Jehovah that he would force them to take the bond. But it was to be tendered in another shape, under the guise of a legal quibble. Probably the new Lord Advocate might have had the merit of suggesting it; for certainly the scheme was more like the device of a pettifogging attorney than the counsel of a sound statesman. When a deadly feud had arisen between two neighbours, as the ancient Scots were an ardent irascible race, it generally terminated fatally, and not infrequently involved the whole relations in a species of domestic warfare, which lasted for generations till one party was worn out or gave in. To prevent these consequences, it had been enacted in the reign of James II. and confirmed in the 7th parliament of James VI., that an individual who feared bodily harm from another, by an application upon oath to a ma-

gistrate, might obtain a "writ of law-burrows" to oblige the person of whose violence he was apprehensive, to give security that he should keep the peace, nor "skaith or damage" the applicant. This legal pledge, a wise and necessary precaution to insure personal safety in turbulent times, such as the frequent minorities of the Jameses had produced, the council contrived to convert into a more oppressive obligation than even the bond itself. Assuming an absurd legal fiction, that his majesty and his government were put in bodily fear by the persons who refused to take the bond, they issued writs of law burrows, not only against individuals, but against a county.

By additional instructions, the committee were directed to pursue all heritors who had not taken the bond for all conventicles kept on their lands since the 24th of March 1674—the fine to be exacted for each conventicle being fifty pounds. They were also to summon them and their tenants, &c., to answer for building, or being present at the building, of any preaching-house—the fine imposed to be arbitrary. No nobleman or gentleman who refused the bond was to be allowed to wear his sword, and whoever delayed beyond six days to appear at the council-bar, after they were summoned, were to be amerced in two years' valued rent, and were likewise liable for the delinquencies of their tenants and servants.

Immediately after this, a number of gentlemen in Ayrshire were summoned before the committee, upon a charge of law-burrows; but while they made the strongest professions of loyalty, they steadily resisted putting their hands to a deed which they deemed illegal, irreconcilable with their profession as Presbyterians, and impracticable with respect to all their retainers and dependents. One of them, unfortunately his name is not preserved, who had indignantly refused, on being told by the president that, if he continued obstinate, the Highlanders, who had been quartered upon a neighbouring gentleman's

property till he had complied, would be transferred to his till he became convinced of the propriety of obedience, replied, "he had no answer to that argument; but before he would comply with the law-burrows, he would rather go to prison."

Lord Cochrane was next before them. He had been served with an indictment, charging him with encouraging field and house conventicles, and conversing with intercommuned ministers; in a word, he or his wife, or some of his family or tenants, had rebelled against the king by attending upon the preaching of the gospel, impiously proclaimed by men who owned no bishop, and who wore no surplice; and was called to answer to the charge within twenty-four hours. His lordship objected to the shortness of the time allowed to answer, and contended that, as his indictment contained a capital charge, it was necessary the "diet" or meeting should be prolonged, that he might have time to consult with his advocates; and, when called to answer upon oath, declined to do so, "no man being bound by any law to give his oath, where the punishment may be in any way—*corporis afflictiva, quia nemo est dominus membrorum suorum*"—destructive to the body, because nobody is lord of his own body. The committee told him their diets were peremptory, *i. e.* their meetings were fixed for certain times, and therefore the accused were bound to answer upon the instant; but, at the same time, passed an interlocutor, restricting the libel to an arbitrary punishment, *i. e.* declaring that whatever his lordship might depone should never infer a capital infliction.

His lordship next pleaded that, by an act of council so late as the 5th of October last year, all libels against conventicles were restricted to a month backwards, consequently he was free. He was asked if he had brought an extract of the act? He replied he had not, but it was well enough known, and referred to their lordships themselves and the public prosecutor. They all declared they knew nothing about it. He then begged that the clerk might be

questioned; but they would not allow their clerk to give evidence in that matter; and he was again called upon to swear, otherwise he would be held as confessed. Seeing at last that nothing else, no not even their own acts, would avail, he made oath "that he was free of all conventicles, as were all his servants, to the best of his knowledge." Some new queries were now put to him by the Lord Advocate. He refused to answer to any matters not alleged against him in his indictment, and appealed to their lordships. They gave it in his favour! finding "that he was not obliged to depone to any thing not contained in his indictment;" and the court adjourned.

When they met in the afternoon of the same day—21st February, 1678—Lord Cathcart, Sir John Cochran, with some others, among whom was the Laird of Kilbirnie, refused the bond upon the same grounds—the act of council, October the 5th. The lords again denied their knowledge of such an act; but when Kilbirnie, prepared for this, offered to produce a copy, they would not receive it, saying, if there was such an act, it was superseded by posterior acts. He then offered to protest against their proceeding without allowing him to produce it. This the Earl of Caithness opposed, by representing the danger he incurred in so doing; but when he persisted, his lordship suddenly adjourned the sederunt, and thus prevented him from getting it formally entered on the record.

While the committee were denying the provisions of their own acts which had the least semblance of moderation, "the Highland Host" were ravaging the devoted west without mercy.* Free quarters were

* Garrisons were ordered to be "planted, one hundred foot and twenty horse, in the house of Blairquhan, Carrick; fifty foot and ten horse in Barskimming, and the same in Cessnock. The commissioners of the shire to provide one hundred and twenty-six beds, twenty-four pots, as many pans, two hundred and forty spoons, sixty timber dishes, as many timber cups, and forty timber stoups; to be distribute to the said garrisons conform to the number of men; also to provide coal and candle for the garrisons respective." Act of the committee of council, Ayr, March 4th, 1678. By an act of the 9th,

every where exacted by the militia and king's forces, although they received regular pay. But the Highlanders, not content with free quarters, would march in large bands to gentlemens' and heritors' houses, as well as their tenants, and take up their lodgings, and force the proprietors to furnish them with whatever they chose to demand, or they would take whatever struck their fancy; and, when some of their own officers interposed, would present their daggers to their breasts, and dare them to touch their plunder. They infested the high-roads in the most ferocious manner, not only robbing the passengers of their money or baggage, but even stripping them of their clothes, and sending them to travel naked for miles ere they could reach home. From the country-folks' and cottars' houses, they carried off pots, pans, wearing-apparel, bedclothes, or whatever was portable; and, notwithstanding the government had taken care to order provisions, both officers and men carried off or wantonly killed the cattle, under pretence that they wanted food, unless they were bribed by money; yet that did not always avail, the plunderers often both pocketing the coin and driving the cattle. In some places they proceeded the horrible length of scorching the people before large fires, in order to extort a confession, if they suspected they had any hidden valuables; and to these rapacious, needy hordes, the lowest necessary utensils of civilized life were precious.

In other villages, the meanest soldiers exacted six-

the commissioners were ordered to furnish the garrisons with necessary provisions, such as meat and drink, and to say at what prices they would agree to do so; but having failed, the committee took the business into their own hands, and ordered the prices to be as follow:—Hay, per stone, 2s. Scots; straw, per threave, 4s.; oats, per boll, 50s. in Carrick—55s. in Kyle; meal, per boll, five merks; malt, per boll, £5; cheese, per stone, £1, 10s.; pork, per stone, £1, 16s.; French gray salt, per peck, 10s.—Scots ditto, 5s.; butter, per stone, £2, 8s.; each dozen of eggs, 1s. 4d.; milk, per pint, 1s.; each hen, 4s.; each mutton bulk, £2. These prices, reduced to our currency, at 1s. Scots—1d. sterling; £1 Scots—1s. 8d. sterling,—will show the scarcity of cash in these days, and its relative value to the present prices.

pence sterling a-day, and the guards a shilling or merk Scots; their captains and superior officers, half-crowns and crowns at their discretion, or as they thought the poor people could procure it, threatening to burn their houses about their ears if they did not produce sufficient to answer their demands; besides money, the industrious, sober, religious peasantry were constrained to furnish brandy and tobacco; and, what was scarcely less painful, were obliged to witness their filthy brutal excesses. Then, again, some of the ruffians would levy contributions in order, as they pretended, to secure the payers from plunder; yet, after they had filched them of their money, at their departure rifled them of all they could find the means of transporting. Their insolences to the females, our historians have drawn a veil over, as too abominable to admit of description.

An instance or two of their wanton waste are narrated, from which the extent of the damage occasioned by their visitations, may, in some measure, be guessed at, especially as the perpetrators were not the most savage of the crew, but men from whom better things might have been expected. The Angus-shire troop of gentlemen heritors, or yeomanry cavalry, as they would now be called, commanded by the Laird of Dun, was quartered upon the lands of Cunningham of Cunninghamhead, then a boy at school, who, even by the strictest interpretation of the strictest acts of this detestable period, could not be held liable to such an infliction. Pretending that the country houses, upon which they were billeted, were not sufficiently comfortable for persons of their situation, these genteel troopers obliged the tenants to pay to each five pounds sterling for "dry quarters;" but, after they had received the money, they either remained themselves, or sent three or more footmen of the wildest Highlanders to supply their place. A cornet in this troop, Dunbar of Grange, nephew to the commander, perceiving that the entrance to the old tower of Cunninghamhead was strongly secured by an iron grating before a massy

wainscot door—most likely expecting to find some treasure secreted within—called for the keys that he might open and examine the interior. The keeper being absent, he was told that there was nothing of any consequence in the place, for the second story was used as a granary, and the rest of the building was unoccupied. At this, in great wrath, after abusing the people, he set fire to the door, and blew up the grating with gunpowder. Having forced his way in to the foot of a staircase, after ascending, he found himself opposed by a second stout door upon the gironel, also grated; but full of the hope of plunder, he was not thus to be disappointed, and removed this obstruction in the same summary manner. Sure of the prize, he rushed in with his attendants, all equally eager with himself for a share of the spoil, but they saw nothing except oatmeal, as they had been told, which, in their rage at finding themselves “begunkit,” they either “fyled” with their boots and shoes, all clay from the open field, or scattered about and destroyed, under pretence of searching for arms. The loss to the minor, as the greater part of the rents then were paid in produce, has not been mentioned in money; but as the deed happened in the month of February, the pecuniary value, although then high, might not be equal to the detriment its destruction must have occasioned.

William Dickie, a merchant in Kilmarnock, had nine Highlanders quartered upon him six weeks, during which he was obliged to furnish them with meat and drink, and, not having sufficient accommodation for them in his own house, was forced to pay for “dry quarters,” *i. e.* good beds, in some other, as were numbers besides. When they went off, they carried away with them several sacks full of household stuff, and goods, and a hose full of silver money; and, before leaving, broke two of the honest man’s ribs—stabbed his wife in the side, who was big with child at the time, and otherwise so terrified her, that she died in consequence.

These were the apostles of Episcopacy! and their

employers have even found apologists in our own day; but if they who, by preaching, and prayer, and suffering, attempted to diffuse the knowledge of the gospel in their country, were or are called fanatics, by what epithet shall honest indignation designate the miscreants who could endeavour by such means to obtrude an illiterate, ignorant, dissolute, and shameless priesthood, upon an unoffending, and comparatively uncorrupted, part of the population? It is, however, pleasant to notice that, among the Highland leaders, there were several exceptions. The Marquis of Atholl, and the Earl of Perth, are particularly mentioned as having pled the cause of justice and humanity at the council-board of the committee, though, unhappily, their pleadings were overborne by numbers—and their men comported themselves no better than their comrades.

The whole may be summed up in the words of a contemporary writer, an eyewitness, quoted by Wodrow:—"It is evidently apparent that the proceedings of these few months by-past, are a formed contrivance (if God in mercy prevent not) to subvert all religion, and to ruine and depopulate the country—they are open and evident oppression, public violence, and robbery, and invasion of the person and goods of a free and loyal people—a violation of the ancient rights and privileges of the lieges—and a treacherous raising of hatred and discord 'twixt the king and his subjects—and consequently, manifest treason against the commonwealth and the king's majesty. In a word, when considered in its full extent, and in all its heinous circumstances, it is a complication of the most atrocious crimes that almost ever could have been conceived or perpetrated." The losses sustained by the county of Ayr alone, were estimated, in an account intended to be laid before the king if he would have received it, at one hundred and thirty-seven thousand, four hundred and ninety-nine pounds, six shillings, Scots—or eleven thousand, four hundred and fifty pounds sterling; and this being only what could be ascertained and proved,

was not supposed to be one-half of the real amount of damage inflicted.

While the Highlanders were plundering openly, the committee were equally busy in their vocation—fining or imprisoning all who came before them, whether upon charges of attending conventicles, or not signing the bond. On the 22d February, the Earl of Cassilis appeared, and resolutely refusing to subscribe what he considered as illegal in itself, and impossible for him to perform, was ordered to answer next day to an indictment accusing him of high crimes and misdemeanours, in frequenting conventicles, or allowing them upon his grounds. His lordship did accordingly appear, and denied upon oath, the truth of the averments in the libel, only, if there had been any conventicles upon his ground, or if his tenants had been at them, he knew nothing but by hearsay, he himself having never seen any such meetings, nor any of his tenants present at them. Immediately upon his refusal to subscribe, although he had cleared himself by oath of all the crimes laid to his charge, the lords appointed a messenger to charge him with letters of law-burrows, to pledge himself in the books of the privy council, that his wife, children, men, tenants, cottars, and servants, should not be present at conventicles, or any other disorderly meetings, under a penalty of double his valued yearly rent; and, in case of failure, he was to be denounced a rebel within six days. Hereupon he wrote to their lordships entreating a week's delay, but they refused to grant him even this small favour, on which he immediately repaired to Edinburgh to offer the council every satisfaction that could be legally required. But upon his coming thither, a proclamation was issued, commanding all noblemen, heritors, and others of the west country, to depart from the capital, and repair to their own houses within three days, before which time, however, his lordship was actually denounced at the market-cross of Ayr, and a caption issued for apprehending him. In these circumstances to have remained in Scotland

without some security, would have been the height of folly, he therefore repaired to London, and having obtained the interest of Monmouth, laid a statement of his case before the king.

Universal as the suffering was in the west, yet so impressed were the people with the belief that the council wished some excuse for their conduct, or some pretext for further severities, that, with a patience unparalleled in history, they quietly endured their accumulated grievances, without giving their oppressors the handle so eagerly desired, and left them only the wretched plea of rhetorical flourish, by which they designated their quiet assemblies,* to palliate or justify their atrocious aggressions on the constitution of the country, and the common rights of mankind. Whether the privy council felt this, or whether actuated by the dread of some more serious movement among the nobility, as the Earl of London, the Lords Montgomery, Cathcart, and Bargeny, had also become refractory, it is unnecessary to inquire; but, in the latter end of February, the Highland host were ordered home, and the whole, except a few, returned to their native hills laden with the spoils of their more excellent neighbours.

Their march is pictured as the route of successful ravagers returning from the sack of some devoted city. They were loaded with spoil. A great many horses which they had stolen, were burdened with the merchandize swept from the dealers' shops, webs of linen and woollen cloth; silver-plate, bearing the names and arms of gentlemen; bundles of bedclothes, carpets, men's and womens' wearing-apparel, pots, pans, gridirons, and a great variety of promiscuous articles. Their wary leaders had transmitted home large sums of money previously by safe hands, but some of the retreating parties were not so fortunate with their bulky packages; the river Clyde being swollen when they came to Glasgow, the students at College, assisted by a number of other youths, took

* Calling them rendezvouses of rebellion, or seminaries of rebellion.

possession of the bridge, and allowing only forty to pass at a time, obliged the marauders to deliver up their plunder, and then conveyed them out at the West Port, without suffering them to enter the town. In this manner, about two thousand were eased of their burdens, and the custom-house nearly filled with furniture and clothing, which were restored to their proper owners, as far as could be effected.

Great was the chagrin of the regular clergy at the breaking up of the Highland host. The gospel itself, they said, would depart from the district along with it; for they themselves might leave their parishes whenever they were removed, unless garrisons were settled among them. Garrisons were accordingly appointed; one hundred and twenty foot and forty horse in Blairquhan; fifty foot and ten horse in Baskimming; and as many in Cessnock. But these were deemed insufficient by the presbytery of Ayr, who, seemingly taking fresh alarm at the Earl of Cassilis' visit to the capital, wrote to the Archbishop of Glasgow, February 28, transmitting to his Grace "their humble opinion of several occurrences. 1st, The great and leading men of this country," say they, "are all gone into Edinburgh, and expect to be sheltered there; therefore it is fit they be severely dealt with, sought after, and forced to obedience, otherwise the commonalty, who absolutely depend upon them, will never be brought to conformity. 2dly, The indulged ministers must be stinted of their liberty, and some new tie laid upon them, or they absolutely removed; for let people say what they will, most of these disorders flow from them. 3dly, That the leading men of this country now at Edinburgh be not protected by the council, but taken and sent hither; for the committee think their credit highly concerned in it, if after they have been at the pains of prosecuting them this length the council do protect them, it will be a great discouragement to them in their procedure for the future. 4thly, The garrisons appointed here are but three, and too weakly manned, and they are too far from the heart

of the shire, and it will be fit two hundred men be left in garrison at Ayr. This is the opinion of your Grace's most humble and obedient sons in the Lord."

Roused by this appeal, the archbishop immediately set out to court, carrying with him an address from his subalterns to the same effect—breathing out the same spirit of intolerant and unfounded accusation of the brethren; and, by a species of unblushing falsification, reproaching as persecutors the very men they themselves were persecuting. It is a perfect specimen of jesuitism:—"May it please your most Sacred Majesty: The danger this church is exposed unto in the present circumstances, which are such as threaten the dissolution thereof, hath necessitated us in the discharge of our duty, to desire the Lord Archbishop of Glasgow humbly to address your royal presence, and to offer unto your princely consideration, how inconsistent the violent and irregular courses of those who rent the church, (and prosecute us for no other reason but that of our absolute and entire dependence on your majesty's authority,) are, with the rights and interests of your majesty's crown and government, as well as with the safety of your people, and the reverence due to religion, for no other end but that your majesty's authority may be vindicated and rescued from the persecution of the open disturbers of the church and their abettors, who, for their own ends, endeavour to constrain the people, and to debauch them equally from their loyalty as their religion." The council had the full countenance of the king; yet still they do not seem to have felt entirely at ease. They therefore sent him a summary account of all their proceedings, with a request that he would grant them his explicit approbation, which they enforced, as they generally did their applications for his support in their extravagant measures, by recalling to his remembrance the steps which had led to the late execrable rebellion, and working upon his fears by marking a resemblance between the present and those unhappy times, hinting, in conclusion, their suspicions that their po.

litical rivals were chiefly to be dreaded. "We are fully convinced that the meaner sort would not dare to appear in such open insolences, if they were not encouraged by persons of greater eminency, and who, by how much they are the more considerable, are so much the more to be jaloused: tumultuary rabbles being then only dangerous when they get a head, and when delusions in opinion mix themselves with faction and humorous opposition to authority." His majesty immediately thanked them very heartily for their careful prosecution of what he had recommended, in calling in his forces and accepting the offers of the Highland noblemen, and expressed himself well pleased that the bond should be offered to all persons and magistrates within the ancient kingdom without exception, approved of the law-burrows and the settled garrisons, and declared that his approbation should have the force of an absolute indemnity and letter of thanks to all in any way concerned in the late expedition to the west, in council, committee, or execution, having very good reason to consider the same as special and necessary service.

Notwithstanding his knowledge of this ample approval given by the king to his council, and fully aware of the dangerous ground upon which he stood, the Earl of Cassilis, with a noble boldness, delivered in writing, under his hand, a true state of his case, March 28, an attested copy of which was sent down by express to the council. A few days after its receipt, they dispatched a long reply, in which they denied the facts, and endeavoured to confute the arguments of his lordship; but craved from his majesty's justice that the Earl, who had contemned his royal proclamation, and charged his privy council with crimes of so high a nature, might be sent down prisoner to be tried and judged according to law.

Affairs in England at this time did not admit of such prompt measures. The Scottish patriot had engaged some of the English in his cause, who sympathized with his sufferings and those of his country, and the king also, influenced by his favourite Mon

mouth, either felt or pretended to feel some commiseration. Cassilis was not sent down. The council were still further mortified by the defection of two of the leading nobles, the Marquis of Atholl and the Earl of Perth, when they returned from the west. They not only did not concur in the severe methods going forward, but from what they had observed of the peaceable conduct of the Presbyterians, and the information they had received from some of the noblemen, they could not continue to lend their countenance to the severities so unreasonably exercised against them; nor could they avoid showing their displeasure at the violence of the prelates, so that they were openly accused of favouring conventicles, which now began to multiply in the north and among the Highlands of Perthshire, where they had not formerly been wont to be heard of; and the Bishop of Galloway, who had been sorely annoyed with them, in a visit he had lately paid to that quarter, thus complained to the Lord Register:—"I am surprised to hear of the great and insolent field-conventicles in Perthshire, it being as much influenced by the Marquis of Atholl's example, as directed by his authority. There is, besides many others, a constant field-conventicle now settled in the confines of some parishes, Methven, Gask, Tippermuir, and another, where it is marvelled that many observe several shoals of Highlanders in their trews, and many bare-legged, flocking thither to propagate the mischief of 'the good old cause.' It is to good men no small discouragement that a shire, under the influence and conduct of the Marquis of Atholl and the Earl of Perth, who say they are true sons of the church, should (being formerly orderly and obedient to the laws) become so turbulent and schismatical, especially since the Marquis is sheriff-principal, and one altogether devoted to his lordship is sheriff-depute, of that shire, in whose hands is placed the power to punish and suppress these disorders."

So far had the expedient of letting loose a band of mountaineers upon the west failed in answering the

end proposed by the prelates, that the devastations they had committed, had raised the indignation of many of the nobility and country gentlemen, who were indifferent to religious modes of worship, and averse to all disputes about them; but having heard of the success of the Earl of Cassilis, determined, as they were denied any redress in Scotland, to lay their grievances before the king in person. Accordingly, about the end of March, the Duke of Hamilton, accompanied by the Earls of Roxburgh, Haddington, Loudon, and others—in all about sixteen lords, together with Lieutenant-General Drummond, and upwards of forty of the principal proprietors, breaking through the prohibition, repaired to London; and what was most distressing to the prelates, the Marquis of Atholl and the Earl of Perth, who had been members of the committee of the privy council in the west, likewise went thither.*

At first the king would only permit Atholl and Perth to approach his person—the others he refused to see, because they had left Scotland in contempt of a proclamation; but their representation of the mad projects going forward there, made him conclude that certainly Lauderdale's head was turned; yet neither would he allow him to be blamed, or admit that he had done any thing detrimental to his service. But as he professed his intention of setting the Duke of Monmouth at the head of the Scottish go-

* When these two noblemen, with their servants and some gentlemen, were upon their road in Annandale, they lost their way; and it being late, the two noblemen were obliged to shelter in a cottage in that country. The people having heard somewhat of their errand in going up, were extremely kind to them, wishing them heartily success. When they could not get their horses under lock and key, or perhaps to any house, the noblemen appeared concerned for them, lest they should be stolen, having heard Annandale spoken of for stealing of horses; but the country people told them they were in no hazard, there was no thieving among them since the field-preaching came into that country, and talked of many other branches of reformation wrought among them by Mr. Welsh and other preachers. Wodrow, vol. i. p. 507.—Kirkton, from whom Wodrow has borrowed this pleasant little anecdote, adds, "the poor country people talked to the noblemen's great admiration for the time, but it brought forth but small fruit."—*Hist.* p. 239.

vernment, he allowed him to act as mediator upon this occasion, and they were at last admitted into the royal presence; the more readily perhaps, as their visit had begun to make a great noise and awakened the jealousy of the English parliament now sitting;—who imagined they saw, in the management of the sister kingdom, a specimen of what they themselves might expect whenever circumstances would permit, and anticipated their own subjection, should Charles establish a despotism there, especially as the Duke of York, whose papistical principles were now openly professed, strongly abetted the cause of the Scottish Episcopal church—a church that gloried in being the daughter of the church of Rome by true lineal descent in the uninterrupted apostolical succession of her bishops,* and who equalled her in the antichristian persecuting spirit of her priests.

Alarmed at the departure of so many influential personages for London, and at receiving no reply to their former letter, the privy council despatched the Earl of Murray and Lord Collington to counteract the efforts of their opponents, and carry another epistle to his majesty, complaining of the conduct of those persons, “who, instead of concurring with them, which as sheriffs, and enjoying other responsible offices, they should have done, had, with much noise and observation, gone to England without seeking their license; but they, with humble confidence, expected that his majesty, by his princely care and prudence, would discourage all such endeavours as tended to enervate his royal authority and affront his privy council; and they referred his majesty to their messengers, two of their own number, men of known integrity and ability, who could give him an exact account of what had passed, and resolve such doubts as might occur to the royal mind, which could not be settled so well by letters, and confute such unworthy mis-reports as were raised by others who have

* This was always strenuously contended for by the old non-jurants, who only lately died out here; but is apparently reviving in the Puseyites.

choosed a time when his majesty was likely to be engaged in a foreign war, and had assembled his parliament of England.”

After these deputies had reached London, and the various statements of the different parties had been laid before the king, a message was received by the council from him, announcing “that he had considered some representations made by some of his subjects anent the late methods with the west country, with the answers made thereunto and replies, which so fortified the representations, that he resolved to hear and consider things fully, and, in the meantime, commanded that the bond and law-burrows be suspended till his further pleasure be sent, and that all the forces, except his own guards, be immediately disbanded.” Astonished at receiving such a command, when they expected to have got Cassilis sent down prisoner as they had requested, they could not conceal their disappointment and chagrin. In a reply which they transmitted by Sir George Mackenzie, who was instantly sent off to aid in advocating their cause, they say—“You know how much all were inclined to give the council ready obedience till these noblemen interested themselves in the phanatical quarrel; how ready all were to concur in assisting his majesty both with their own tenants and militia; and, which is very remarkable, how ready the gentry and heritors in every shire were to rise, between sixty and sixteen, which, in showing how all ways were taken and owned for assisting the royal authority, did strike a just terror in all those who were refractory; whereas now, the numbers and humourousness of those who are gone up has done all they could to loose all the foundations of authority here to such a height, as will soon grow above correction, if it be not speedily, vigorously, and openly adverted to by his majesty.”

Charles himself seems to have been not a little perplexed at the unexpected step of the Scottish nobles. What had been done in Scotland was unauthorized by any law, and unjustifiable upon any

principle of good government, but it was agreeable to the despotic propensities of the heartless sovereign; and he was constantly wavering between the harsh measures most congenial to his disposition, and the milder plans he was occasionally obliged to adopt—sending orders one day to disband the troops and dismantle the garrisons—the next, ordering new troops to be raised and other garrisons to be planted, till Sir George Mackenzie arrived. Shortly after his arrival, the king was prevailed upon to give a hearing to the Duke of Hamilton and his friends, whose ranks were now much thinned, both their patience and purses being nearly worn out by their long detention. An account of the interview has been preserved, written by one who was present, which, as it is the only authentic document we have, and not being long, I the rather insert:—

“Upon the 25th of May, the king commanded the Duke of Hamilton, Lord Cochrane, Sir John Cochrane, and Lieutenant-General Drummond, to attend upon him at four of the clock, when they appeared. The king being accompanied by the Duke of York, Duke of Monmouth, and the treasurer, desired to know what they had to say—why they had come to him contrary to his proclamation? The Duke of Hamilton spoke first and said, he humbly begged to know the reason why he had got some marks of his majesty’s displeasure, and that since he came here (to London) he had not the common privilege of subjects, not being admitted to kiss his majesty’s hand. The king replied, he would first know what were the things they had to complain of? and he would take his own time to answer his first request. The Duke said, the chief encouragement he had to come and make known his oppression was that which his majesty said to him when last here, which was, that when he was in any way wronged he should come to himself and make it known; and that now he could not but come since he and others were so much wronged.

“And then there was an account given of the

whole affair of the bringing down of the Highlanders, of quartering, plundering our lands, of having a bond offered which was both illegal and impracticable, of being charged with law-burrows, of being denounced thereupon, and of the proclamation forbidding us to acquaint the king with our condition. All these were particularly insisted upon at great length. To which the king returned, that these were horrid things, and desired we might set them down in paper. The treasurer said, that whatever was in these free-quarterings and in the rest, they might have been prevented by taking of the bond, which he conceived there was law for the imposing of, and might be very well kept, for there were two alternatives in the bond, viz. either to deliver them prisoners, or to put them from their land. To which it was replied, there was no law obliging masters to apprehend their tenants; and the furthest the act of parliament went was, in the year 1670, to oblige masters for their families and servants. 2dly, That masters could not be obliged to turn their tenants out of their lands in regard that the punishment for going to a conventicle was statute already to be a fine, much less in proportion than the turning them out of their possessions; besides, most part of the tenants have tacks by which, during their time, they had good right to their possessions, and could not by their masters be turned out for a crime that, by the law, was only finable, and had no such certification as losing their possessions.

“The conference having been held two hours, there was a good deal said to and fro, and the king fully and freely informed. The conclusion of the debate was, the king told us he could not judge of what we had said, unless we would give it under our hands, that he might consult thereanent with his council, and know what they had to say for themselves, and could advise him to. It was answered, that we came to his majesty to give an information of what wrongs and oppressions were done to the country, hoping his majesty would examine and

redress them, but not to give in any accusation against the council, which we knew by law, was very dangerous, unless his majesty would indemnify for it, which the king refusing to do, they told him they could insist no further, but leave it to him to do as he thought fit. The king offered to go out of the room, and the Duke of Hamilton kneeling, begged the favour of his hand; but his majesty declined it, and said he would consider upon and give an answer to what had been said, and went away.*

“There were many particulars spoken to, where-with the king seemed to be moved, acknowledging there were overdoings and several things done upon prejudice at particular persons; but still, when he came this length, the Lord-Treasurer interrupted, and gave some other turn to matters, otherwise 'tis thought there would a more favourable answer have been given. The king signified that he was certainly informed that there was a rebellion designed in Scotland, but he would take care the actors in it should be the losers by it. He endeavoured much to assure us that, albeit we had not come to London, there would not have been any caption executed against us upon the law-burrows.”

Dismissed with flattering promises, the nobles were not deceived; and although they brought away with them the “word of a prince,” they knew its value too well to place much confidence in it. Nor did the conduct of the king belie their forebodings. Three days after this conference, he addressed to the managers in Scotland, a letter, the third of the kind, containing his full approval of their proceedings; and “that the rather, because, after trial taken by Us, we find that such as complained refused to sign any complaint against these proceedings as illegal,” and

* When the Duke of Hamilton got into his presence, the king kept his hands behind his back, lest perchance the Duke should snatch a kiss of them! And when the Duke came to make his complaint upon the bad government of Scotland, the king answered him with taunts, and bid him help what was amiss when he were king of Scotland; and this was all.—*Kirkton*, p. 393.

added, in order to prevent any future application, that he was highly dissatisfied with such as had caused these clamours, and “would on all occasions proceed according to our laws against such as endeavour to lese our prerogative and oppose our laws and our privy council.”

No sooner was there the least appearance of any relaxation in the execution of the severe acts, than the ministers and people returned with renewed alacrity to their meetings; and at this juncture, as there was a very general impression that the men in power were sympathizing with them, the consequence was, that conventicles again multiplied, especially in Fife and East Lothian. At the same time, the regular clergy were more upon the alert. The military, too, were always in readiness, and sometimes skirmishes ensued, in which the soldiers occasionally were beat off.

Early in May, a large conventicle having convened on the flat at Whitekirk, opposite the Bass, the deputy-governor who had received notice of it, came upon the meeting with about forty soldiers and some twenty country people, whom they forced along with them. When they came near, the people resolved to sit close and stay upon the place, and offer no violence to the soldiers, unless they disturbed them; but in that case they resolved to defend themselves. The soldiers came up and commanded the people to dismiss in the king's name. Some who were next to them answered, they honoured the king, but were resolved to hear the word of God when preached to them; at which one of the soldiers struck a man that was nearest him, whereupon a strong countryman with a staff knocked the soldier to the ground. When they were thus engaged, a kind of general scuffle ensued. One of the soldiers was shot, and others disarmed and dismissed unhurt, though they had seized and sent off to Haddington two of the persons assembled at the conventicle. A few days after, several other persons were apprehended for having been present, from among whom five were selected

to stand trial before the Justiciary Court at Edinburgh for the murder. Of these, three were dismissed, but two, James Learmont and William Temple, were brought to the bar; when it was urged against the relevancy of the indictment, that "simple presence" in a crowd, where upwards of a thousand persons were assembled, could constitute no crime; and it was offered to be proved that the prisoners came to the place unarmed, or did not use arms; and not only this, but it was also offered to be proved that others who had escaped, and were declared fugitives, were seen to strike the deceased with swords and halberts. Yet the lords decided that presence at unlawful meetings or field-conventicles with arms, at which slaughter was committed, or giving counsel or command, were sufficient, and the case was remitted to the jury to pronounce upon the proof. It was distinctly sworn by two witnesses that they saw James Learmont at the meeting unarmed, but heard him say—"Let no cowards be here to-day; but let such as have arms go out to the foreside;" and, after having viewed the advancing party, cry out—"They be but few, let there be no cowards." Another swore that he saw William Temple, with a sword under his arm, but not drawn. The jury found the panels guilty as libelled; but the lords of Justiciary not being quite clear about the business, requested the opinion of the privy council, who, after considering the process, deputed four of their number—Murray, Linlithgow, Ross, and Collington, to express their satisfaction with the whole procedure, and recommend that justice should be speedily executed upon the said panels. Such, however, was the even-handed justice of these days, that a remission of the punishment came to the one who had been proven to be at the conventicle with a sword, while the unarmed hearer of the gospel was sent to the gallows. But the good man died in great peace, declaring his adherence to the truth as stated in the Confession of Faith, and to the despised way of preaching the gospel and receiving the sacraments of baptism and the

Lord's Supper from lawfully ordained and called ministers of the gospel, who were forced to the fields because of persecution from those who were never friends to the church of Christ—these lords prelates who lord it over the Lord's inheritance. He solemnly declared himself free of the blood of all men, especially the blood of the man for which he was unjustly condemned, and looked forward to that day wherein the righteous Judge will judge again, when he makes inquisition for blood, and will call to account all the blood shed of the saints that is dear in his sight; "before whom," added he, "I am to appear immediately, and hope to receive the sentence, Well done, faithful servant, enter into your master's joy, though not by my merit, but through the merit and purchase of Christ."

Learmont was a chapman or pedlar, at that time a respectable employment in Scotland, and appears, like many of his calling, to have been pretty extensively known, which had provoked the peculiar enmity of Sharpe so much, that, when the jury at first brought in a verdict of not guilty, he was not satisfied, and the jury were sent back. A second time they returned the same verdict, when he instigated the Lord Advocate to threaten them with an assize of error, though Mackenzie seldom needed any prompter on such occasions, which prevailed upon them at last to bring in a verdict more agreeable to the blood-thirsty pair.*

* Fountainhall's Decis. vol. i. p. 13. Wodrow says, "some papers before me say he was once assolizied by the jury; but Bishop Sharpe being peremptory he must die, moved the Advocate to threaten them with the utmost severity; and at length they were prevailed with to bring him in guilty." Hist. vol. i. p. 521.—Learmont himself, in a large paper left behind him, declares—"My blood lyeth at the Bishop of St. Andrew's door, to stand against him; for since I received this sentence of death, it hath been frequently brought to my ears, that he pressed the king's advocate to take my life." "And now in my last words, after the example of my Lord and Master, I here most freely, before I go hence, say, 'Father, forgive them.'" Naphtali, p. 450.—Nine years after, a person upon his death-bed owned to a minister who visited him, a few hours before his death, that he was the person who killed the soldier, which he did in self-defence, and

Increasing severities on the part of their rulers produced increasing precautions on the part of the persecuted, who were firmly persuaded that it was the will of God and their duty to hear his word and endeavour to induce others to hear also—that no human power could release them from the sacred obligations of their oath to God, ratified by acts of the legislature, unanimously passed, and sworn to by king, parliament, and people. They therefore, in obedience to these obligations, and these acts, came now in greater numbers armed to their meetings, to defend themselves and their preachers; and even those who had at first opposed resistance to their oppressors began to relax.

Among a people trained to judge and reason for themselves, it was not easy to settle the disputed questions, Who were the violators of the law?—those who had overthrown and trampled under foot the constitution of the country, or those who obeyed and were determinately upholding it? Could the circumstance of minority or majority change the nature or loosen the bonds of religious, moral, and legal obligation? Did these depend upon numbers, riches, or power? Politicians may answer yes; people may temporise where to resist would involve a community, or part of a community, in an unequal or apparently hopeless contest—they may pay for the support of an established hierarchy, which they do not approve, because it may be dangerous to attack it—they may accept office under a government, coupled with restrictions discordant to man's natural right to worship God according to conscience, because obedience is gainful or expedient;—but these worthies judged differently, they considered what they thought duty, national and personal, irrevocable and imperative; and they left the consequences to the providence of God.

Mr. Blackader, invited again to Fife, lodged at

to save the life of a neighbour. Learmont was in no ways concerned or present at it.—*Wodrow*, vol. i. p. 523.

Inchdarnie's—then the head-quarters of the higher ranks among the Covenanters in that district—together with his son Robert, Bailie Haddoway, and Mr., afterwards Colonel, Cleland. On Sabbath morning he was escorted to Divan, eight miles off. When he came, he observed a number of arms piled in order on the ground, guns and fowling-pieces, about the number of fifty, which, when he saw, he asked, “what meant all this preparation? Trust rather in Jehovah, and the shield of omnipotence.” They told him the reason, that Prelate Sharpe had ordered to draw a hundred and five men out of the militia, to be a standing company, on purpose to search for and apprehend ministers who should venture within his bounds. This and the like violence was the thing that soon brought him to his end, and constrained peaceable folk to come in arms, after long suffering and provocation. About the middle of the communion, an alarm arose that the militia were advancing their whole company. Burleigh stepped out presently and drew up a party of the left horse, such as he could find, and went forth to view the militia, who were within two miles of the place. Suspecting that the meeting might be in a posture of defence, they had halted on a brae-side until both sermons should be ended, that they might make a prey of the people dismissing. When all the congregation were removed, except the minister's body-guard, a new alarm came that the soldiers were at hand. Upon this Kinkel and Burleigh, with a few horse, rode up the face of the hill, where the militia had advanced with the hope of getting plunder, and making prisoners of the hindermost. Also the foot young men, who had their guns, and were on their way homeward, did resolutely return and join the horse, which altogether made a party between thirty and forty. The lads on foot were drawn up beside the cavalry, such as they were. The military with their officers were marching fast up, expecting their prey, but halted when they perceived the party. Haddoway and

Cleland rode down to have spoken and asked their intentions; but ere they came near, the militia wheeled about for marching off, if they might. The footmen came up sweating with their muskets, and were drawn up on the flanks, making a tolerable troop.

But the militia, terrified at all this apparatus, scarcely looking over their shoulder, fled to Cupar in a dismal fear. The Presbyterian horsemen would gladly have had orders to break after them, which if they had done, it is said the prelatists had resolved to throw down their arms and surrender at mercy. But the minister did calmly dissuade them from it. "My friends, your part is to defend yourselves from hazard, and not to pursue: your enemies have fled—let their flight sheath your weapons and disarm your passions. I may add without offence, that men in your case are more formidable to see at a distance than to engage hand to hand. But since you are in a warlike and defensive posture, remain so, at least till your brethren be all dismissed. Conduct them through their enemies, and be their safeguard until they get beyond their reach; but except in case of violence, offer injury to none." When the militia had entered Cupar, the party rode off quietly. About nine guarded Mr. Blackader to his quarters, which was at an inn in the parish of Portmoak. On Monday he returned with his friends to Edinburgh.

Next week, another remarkable communion was held at Irongray, Dumfries-shire, when Mr. Welsh presided at the earnest desire of his old parishioners, who had resolved to make this public avowal of their attachment to the cause of Christ, at the peril of all they held dear on earth; thither also Mr. Blackader resorted. On Thursday, he took horse from Edinburgh, accompanied by his wife and son Robert, who wished to see their relations and join on the occasion, such a thing being so rare to them. As they rode on their way by Leadhills towards Enterkin and Nithsdale, they found the roads covered with people, some on horse, others on foot. A company of eighty horse, whereof many were respect-

able gentlemen from Clydesdale, and well appointed with regular officers, had marched down Enterkin-path in good order a little before him. They were all reasonably well accoutred. He entered into conversation with many groups of people, and advised them all to behave with sobriety and decorum. The party of Clydesdale horse, when they were down the brae of Enterkin, which was a large mile, drew up and fell into rank at the foot of the path, and marched in good order all along Nithsdale, till they came to Cluden-water, which was much swollen by the rain. They rode through directly to Irongray parish, where they took up their quarters, and kept outwatches and sentinels all night. The men on foot came after, and took up their lodgings where they could most conveniently, and as near the horse as possible. They told that the Earl of Queensberry was on his road to Edinburgh, and had met several companies of them.

Mr. Blackader and his company took the route to Caitloch, where he stayed that night. Here their numbers were increased to a great concourse. On Saturday morning, they marched from Caitloch to the cross of Meiklewood, a high place in Nithsdale, about seven miles above Dumfries. This he understood was to be the rendezvous of the congregation. Here they had a commanding view of the whole country, and could not be taken by surprise. On the one hand, the hills of Dalswinton and all the higher ground of Kirkmahoe, lay within reach of the eye, as far as the braes of Tinwald and Torthorwald. The range of the Galloway hills lay on the west, all the passes of which could be distinctly seen. No sudden change could surprise them from the south, as the flat holms of the Nith were visible for many miles. When Mr. Blackader reached the place, he found a large assembly had collected. He opened the service from these words, 1 Cor. xi. 24: "Do this in remembrance of me." His two chief points were—That the ceremony was not left arbitrary to the church, but was under a peremptory command from

Christ himself. This remembrance was to be renewed from time to time as seasons would permit; and their divine Master's command was still in force, though men had inhibited and discharged them. Secondly, The end of the institution, why it ought to be frequently celebrated or administered; and what was especially to be commemorated.

Mr. Welsh preached in the afternoon, and intimated the communion to take place next day on a hill-side in Irongray, about four miles distant, as it was judged convenient and more safe to shift their ground. He durst not mention the name of the place particularly, lest enemies might get notice and be before them; but none failed to discover it. Early on Sabbath morning, the congregation sat down on the Whitehill in Irongray, about three miles above Dumfries. The meeting was very numerous, greater than at East Nisbet, being more gentlemen and strangers from far and near. Mr. Arnot, late minister of Tongland, lectured in the morning, and Mr. Welsh preached the action-sermon, which was his ordinary. The rest of the ministers exhorted and took their turn at the table-service. The whole was closed in the evening without disturbance. It was a cloudy and gloomy day, the sky lowering and often threatening showers, but the heavy clouds did not break, but retained their moisture, as it were to accommodate the work; for ere the people got to their houses and quarters, there fell a great rain which that night waxed the waters, and most of them had to pass through both the Cairn and the Cluden.

The Earl of Nithsdale, a papist, and Sir Robert Dalzell of Glenae, a great enemy to these meetings, had some of their ill-set domestics there, who waited on and heard till the time of the afternoon sermon, and then slipt away. At the time of dismissing there arose a cry and alarm that the dragoons were approaching, whereupon the Clydesdale men instantly took to horse and formed. The gentlemen of Galloway and Nithsdale took no posture of defence at first, as they did not intend it until they saw immi-

ment hazard. But seeing the motions of the Clydesdale men, they thought it necessary to do the like. Gordon, the Laird of Earlstone, who had been a captain in the former wars, now drew up a large troop of Galloway horse. Another gentleman of Nithsdale, who had also been a captain of horse, mustered up a troop of cavalry from the holms of Kirkmahoe and about the Nith. Four or five companies of foot, with their officers, were ready equipped for action; and all this was done in the twinkling of an eye, for the people were willing and resolute. Videttes and single horsemen were dispatched to various quarters, to keep a good look out. The report brought in was, that they had only heard a rumour of them being in the country, but could not inform themselves if any were near at hand, or any stir in that immediate neighbourhood. After remaining in that defensive position for three hours, the body of the people dispersed to their quarters, each division accompanied with a guard of foot and horse. In houses, barns, and empty places, most of them got accommodated in a sort of way, within a mile or two's distance. They had mostly provided themselves both for board and lodging, and the ministers were hospitably received at the houses.

The night was rainy, but watches were kept notwithstanding. As a point of prudence, no intimation was given where the Monday's meeting was to be kept; this was not generally known, except to the ministers. The tent was next day erected on another hill-side near the head of the parish, three or four miles from the place of the Sabbath meeting. The people seemed nothing diminished in numbers on account of the alarm, or the unpropitious state of the weather. The horse and foot, as usual, drew round about the congregation, the horse being outermost. Mr. Blackader closed this day from Heb. xiii. 1: "Let brotherly love continue;" and, notwithstanding the alarm, he continued three weeks preaching up and down in that country.

About the end of harvest, the last and largest out-

door communion that ever had been in Scotland, was celebrated at Colmond, in Ayrshire. Many came in their best furniture and posture of defence, expecting violence, as the council had got notice of it—there was a great number of ministers officiating—but all the people dismissed in peace. Other conventicles did not escape so easily. One kept at the house of the Williamwood, in the parish of Cathcart, Renfrewshire, where Mr. John Campbell and Mr. Matthew Crawford had preached, was dispersed by a party of dragoons, who took sixty men prisoners, and plundered a great number of women of their plaids, bibles, and whatever else they had worth carrying away.*

Affairs were now drawing to a crisis. Outward troubles were accumulating, while, unfortunately, the intestine divisions were also on the increase. "Such," reports one of the "outed" ministers themselves, "as were in the fields found it difficult, amid the jarring tempest of opinions, to give an advice. The majority were of opinion that the times called more for meekness and patience, than any warlike enterprise; and that it was better to continue under suffering until they had clearer revelation, than use carnal weapons of their own; for at this time there were several sticklers in the west stirring up the people underhand, amusing them with designs to rise in arms, though there was no such joint resolution, for any thing I know, either among gentry or ministers, nor the most pious, solid, and grave

* The minutes of privy council inform us how the booty so honourably acquired on these occasions was disposed of. "The lords of his majesty's privy council ordain Captain Buckham" to advertise on Sabbath next at the parish of Calder, "certain horses and plaids found by him and his party on dissipating the late conventicle; with certification, if the persons to whom they doe belong will not owne and come and receive them back againe that day eight days, they will be disposed upon; and in case they be not owned, the said lords ordains the said Captain Buckham to sell and dispose thereupon at the best avail for the use of the party." *Memoirs of Bryson*, published by Dr. M'Cric, p. 282, note. The Doctor quaintly adds, "Few owners, it is to be presumed, would make their appearance to claim these *lost goods*."

among the yeomen." Nevertheless, the country was generally ripening for some explosion; and it says little for the gentlemen that they did not watch the movements of the community, as they might have directed them into more peaceable channels; but their posterity have reason to thank their coolness or timidity, as any arrangement with the then government could only have been based upon allowing a preponderance to the crown, which even a revolution might not have been able to impair. Mr. Robert Hamilton, brother to Sir William Hamilton of Preston, esteemed a pious man and of good intentions, but of narrow views and severe in his temper—obstinate and opinionative withal—stepped forward while they stood back—held meetings in the country, and also at Edinburgh, during this summer, for establishing a general correspondence; but all this without acquainting the ministers or gentlemen, who were in better capacity to manage the business.*

In the midst of these commotions, a convention was summoned, and Lauderdale appointed to preside as Commissioner; for he did not choose to face a parliament.† Exaggerated reports of the "armed conventicles" had been carefully transmitted to the king; and his early prejudices and fears, arising naturally enough from the fate of his father, and his own papistical education, rendered him an easy tool in the hands of the apostates and prostitutes by whom he was surrounded, who, flattering his baser propensities and humouring his tyrannical inclinations, held him in the veriest bondage, while he imagined himself despotic and free! Lauderdale and his associates, the Scottish prelatists, rendered this

* Notices of James Ure, p. 452. Memoirs of Rev. John Blackader, p. 224. Wodrow, vol. i. p. 520, &c.

† A convention differed from a parliament in this—it was summoned for one specific purpose, and could not interfere with any thing else—in general, only to grant money. Nor does it appear that although they could authorize the levying a subsidy from the subject, that they had any right to look after its management by the crown; the delegates to a convention, also, were generally nominated by persons in power.

criminal carelessness of Charles subservient to their own purposes. Their usual mode was to get letters drawn out in his name by some of their accomplices at court, and presented to the king for his signature, which being speciously written, they obtained in common without difficulty. These they could produce as his own authority, warranting the most outrageous of their own measures, and as arguments for every fresh encroachment upon the constitutional freedom of the people, which their suspicions supposed necessary to protect them from the consequences of their crimes. They had long wished for a standing army. Charles had seen its efficacy in France. The present was reckoned a proper time for procuring this royal defence of order in Scotland. His majesty therefore wrote to his right trusty and well beloved counsellors, informing them that, after the full and satisfactory information he had received from the lords they had sent to court, he "again" approved of their proceedings and care, and assured them of his favour, assistance, and protection upon all occasions. "And for the more effectual demonstration thereof," the royal epistle went on to say, "We find it necessary to signify to you, and by you to our people, that we are firmly resolved to own and assert our authority, so as it may equally encourage you and discourage all such as by seditious practices endeavour to asperse you and lessen our authority and prerogative. And finding by good information that the phanatics there expecting encouragement from such as oppose you, and taking advantage of the present juncture of affairs here,* have of late with great insolence, flocked together in open and field-conventicles, these rendezvouses of rebellion, and have dared to oppose our forces. Though we neither need nor do fear such insolent attempts, yet from a just care of our authority and kindness to our subjects there, We have thought fit to order some more forces to be levied; and for that effect we

* Referring to the popish plot which about this time agitated the English nation and parliament.

have commanded the lords of our treasury for raising and maintaining these troops at our charges.”

Agreeably to this communication, a proclamation was issued convoking a convention, the bare-faced irony of which would be ludicrous, did not its wickedness of purpose excite other and rather more unpleasant sensations. In it he repeated his fulsome, because false, protestations of the great kindness he bore to his ancient kingdom; “and considering that all kings and states did carefully secure themselves and their people by providing against all such foreign invasions and intestine commotions as might make them a prey to their enemies; and that it was not a fit time that Scotland alone should remain without defence, especially when these execrable field-conventicles, so justly termed rendezvouses of rebellion, still did grow in numbers and insolence, against which all our present forces would not in reason be thought a suitable security; therefore he called a convention of the estates of that kingdom, to meet at Edinburgh upon the 26th of June, to provide for the safety of the kingdom, by enabling him to raise more forces.”

During the absence of almost all the nobles and influential men who had gone with them to London, and from whom any formidable opposition could have arisen, Lauderdale’s friends hurried on the elections, so that when the convention met, he was possessed of an obedient and overwhelming majority. Eager to evince their loyalty, the chosen band declaring themselves the echoes of the public voice, “and considering the many frequent and renewed professions to serve his majesty with their lives and fortunes, in the maintenance of his honour and greatness; and that now there was an opportunity offered to them, to make good their professions of their zeal, duty, and affection;” “and to let the world see the unanimous affection of his ancient kingdom for the maintenance of his majesty’s royal greatness, authority, and government in church and state, as established by the laws of the kingdom, they did humbly

beseech that his majesty would be graciously pleased to accept the unanimous, ready, and cheerful offer, and humble tender, of a new supply of eighteen hundred thousand pounds, Scots, to be raised and paid in five years, according to the present valuations.”* The act was very unpalatable to the country generally, as they viewed not only the army as the ready instrument of tyranny, but as a reward to the servile party who supported Lauderdale, and to the prelatists who alone would obtain for their poor relations and friends commissions in the army, and share among themselves the donations of the convention.

With the Presbyterians, its tendency was disastrous. Payment of cess became a new and bitter source of contention among the already too much divided sufferers. As the object for which the money was to be raised, was expressly stated to be for the suppression of conventicles; or, as the most strenuous opponents of the measure justly interpreted it, for preventing the preaching of the gospel, they at once, and without circumlocution, declared it unlawful to submit in any manner to the exaction. The impositions of tyrants, enacted for promoting their wicked designs against religion and liberty, said they, are iniquitous; therefore it is improper to pay them, especially when these designs are particularly specified and openly avouched in the acts which require them. No act can be binding if imposed upon a people by persons calling themselves their representatives, when they are not truly so, but placed in their situations by those who have broken all their engagements, betrayed their country, its religion, liberty, property, and all private interests, have enslaved

* The monthly assessments of six thousand pounds introduced by Cromwell, were retained, and are still observed as the rate at which the land-tax is imposed. Laing, vol. iv. p. 93. The sum, therefore, here voted, was in our money £30,000 per ann. for five years, and might be in real about five times the nominal value. The number of militia to be drawn at this time, was one-fourth part of the whole, five thousand foot and five hundred horse—the pay, six shillings, Scots, ilk day for the foot; eighteen shillings, Scots, for each horseman.

the nation, and, by means of these taxations, will be enabled to perpetuate that slavery. Should it be replied, "that Christ paid custom, lest he should offend, and taught us to render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's;" it is sufficient to observe, that he never taught to give any thing to Cæsar in prejudice to that which is God's; nor would it be much less than blasphemy to say, that Christ would have paid, or permitted his followers to pay, a tax professedly imposed for levying a war against himself, banishing his gospel out of the land, and supporting the scribes and pharisees and their underlings in their wicked attempts against his disciples.

Others were of opinion that, as the money would be forcibly taken from them, it was more advisable to submit at once, rather than by resistance to give their oppressors a legal pretence for not only seizing to the amount of the tax, but perhaps double, in the name of expenses; and as the deed was neither spontaneous, nor willingly performed, the constrained action would come under the head of suffering rather than of crime.

A third party chose a middle course, and paid it with a declaratory explanation or protest. Among these was Quintin Dick, portioner in Dalmellington, described by Wodrow as an eminent Christian, and prudent, wise, and knowing, far above most of his education and station, who thus expresses himself:—"In this hour of darkness, being much perplexed how to carry without scandal and offence, I betook myself to God for protection and direction, that I might be kept from any measure of denying Christ or staving off my trouble upon any grounds but such as might be clearly warranted by the word of God. After much liberty in pouring out my heart to God, I was brought to weigh, that, as my paying of it might be by some interpreted a scandal and a sinful acquiescence in the magistrate's sinful command; so, on the other hand, my refusing to pay it would be the greater scandal, being found to clash against a

known command of God, of giving to all their due, tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom is due; and knowing that Jesus Christ for that very same end, to evite offence, did both pay tribute himself and commanded his followers to do it, I could see no way to refuse payment of that cess, unless I had clashed with that command of paying tribute unto Cæsar. So, to evite the scandal of compliance on the one hand, and disobedience to the magistrate in matters of custom on the other, I came to the determination to give in my cess to the collector of the shire of Ayr where I lived, with a protestation against the magistrate's sinful qualification of his commands, and a full adherence unto these meetings of God's people, called conventicles, which in the act he declared his design to bear down. I had no sooner done this, but I was trysted with many sharp censures from many hands, among which this was one, that my protestation was only to evite sufferings, and could be of no weight, being 'protestatio contraria facto.' But being truly persuaded that it is the magistrate's right to impose and exact cess and custom, I could have no clearness to state my sufferings in opposition unto so express a command of God. And as to the magistrate's sinful qualification—having so openly declared and protested against it—I conceive the censure of this to evite suffering is altogether groundless; seeing the enemy has, (subscribed with my hand before witnesses) a resolute adherence to that which they say this tends to overthrow; and if he mind to persecute upon the ground of owning conventicles, he has a fair and full occasion against me under my hand."

A few defended the refusal of payment upon the ground that the convention having been a packed assemblage, consisting of persons entirely under the influence of the crown—the chief and most powerful Peers being necessarily absent, and the commissioners of the shires and burghs returned through the sinful means of corruption and bribery, by promises held out and favours bestowed, by the managers and

persons in power, for the purpose of compassing their own base ends—they could not be considered as the real representatives of the people, nor legally entitled to impose burdens upon the lieges; and therefore the people were not righteously obligated to pay.

Combined with the disputes relative to paying cess, were revived with redoubled vigour the discussions anent hearing the indulged; and “it was truly grievous to us,” laments one who was himself a silent observer of what passed, “to see a young generation, endued with great zeal towards God and his interests, so far led aside in the improvement of it, as very little to know, or seldom to be taught, meekness and patience under affliction for Christ’s sake, or charity and mutual forbearance in love! And to such a length did these heats come, that some did not stick to term the famous Mr. John Welsh, because he would not run so high upon public, yea personal, acknowledgments of those steps of defection, an Achan in the camp.”

Publications and preaching against each other succeeded, and the minds of the wanderers began to be embittered against the indulged, who they thought were sitting at ease in Zion, while they were combating upon the high places of the field. Another meeting of ministers was therefore held at Glasgow in the end of harvest, when fresh efforts were made by the aged veterans of the kirk to heal the wounds under which their common mother lay bleeding; the more distressing as inflicted by some of the most devoted of her sons. A new and practical cause of dissension arose from the circumstances of the times and the situation in which the preachers and people were placed, which struck at the root of Presbytery itself, and that was the conduct of the younger brethren. As the duties of presbyteries and synods had been interrupted, the most popular preachers and their followers acted entirely upon their own responsibility, invaded the parishes of the indulged, preached as they listed, without being subject to any inspection or control, and had thus widened the un-

happy rent, and given great advantage to the common enemy. The meeting disapproved of the practice of promiscuous preaching, any where or every where, as opportunities presented, because, when they intruded on the parishes of the indulged, they destroyed both the usefulness of their brethren, whose charges they disturbed, and their own, by depriving both of the restricted liberty they enjoyed, and which it was their duty to improve.

Instead, they recommended that the whole of the "outed" ministers, and those who had been regularly licensed by them, should associate themselves together in classes, and that every fixed preacher should belong to some class to which he should be subject and responsible; and those who were unsettled, and so could not ordinarily attend their own class or pseudo-presbytery, should attend such other as providence did direct. They at the same time disapproved of the last meeting at Edinburgh, being considered as an authoritative meeting, and pronounced it to have been only "a committee for consideration, and to report overtures to the general meeting of correspondents, whom they were to call upon occasion." Nevertheless, they were still of opinion, that the first foundation of unity must be order, and that there is no other way of producing a humble contrite temper, warming the already too much estranged affections and preventing the like or worse for the future, than that the brethren who were moderate and like-minded, and who, they blessed God, were yet the very far greater and better number, should meet together and consult upon fit means for so desirable an end. The west country ministers mentioned, likewise, that they were in consultation with their brethren in the east, who had been treating with them, and who were also breathing after unity and peace.

What broke up these friendly communings, does not distinctly appear; but a very untoward circumstance took place in the parish of Monkland, near Glasgow, which certainly did not tend to promote their object. On Sabbath, September 1st, the Rev.

Mr. Selkirk, afterwards minister of the gospel at Crichton, had been requested by the ministers of Glasgow to supply that parish, then vacant; but when he attempted it, he was violently opposed and kept out of the church by force, merely because he was favourable to the indulged, on purpose that one of the young preachers under the patronage of Mr. Robert Hamilton, might have access to the pulpit to inveigh against them.

Were it not upon record, and recorded too by authority of the oppressors themselves, it would hardly be credited that many of the best and most inoffensive men in the country were banished and sold as slaves to the plantations, for no crime but simply because they would not regularly attend their parish churches to hear men preach, whom they believed incapable of instructing them in those duties which they saw themselves daily outraging; and choosing rather to assemble in the fields to wait upon the ministry of others whom they preferred, by whose discourses they were enlightened and edified, taught to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world, and directed in those paths which lead to glory and immortality in the next. Yet nearly one hundred persons, upon such accusations, writers, farmers, merchants, men and women, were delivered over, in the month of June this year, to Edward Johnstoun, master of the St. Michael of Scarborough, now lying at Leith, for behoof of Ralph Williamson of London, who had given security to the council to transport them to the Indies, where they were to continue in servitude for life, and there to dispose of them to the best advantage. Among these was the noted Alexander Peden, who had laboured with great success in the north of Ireland. Having lain a long time in Edinburgh jail, he petitioned the council to be permitted to return to his old station, especially as he had been served with no indictment, nor was he charged with holding either house or field-conventicles in Scotland for twelve years. The council evinced their character by their tender mercies.

They answered his petition by banishing him to the plantations for life, and ordained him "to lie in prison till he be transported." He was said to have been an instrument of much good to his fellow-passengers, and cheered their spirits with the hopes of deliverance when they reached London.*

They were detained at sea five days longer than had been calculated upon; and when they arrived, Mr. Williamson, who should have received them, was absent. Johnstoun, who had the charge of their maintenance when there, not knowing how he was to be reimbursed, and not being able to find any body to take them off his hands, nor seeing any prospect of the agent, set them ashore, and left them to shift for themselves. The English, who sympathized much with them when they learned the cause of their sufferings, afforded them every assistance; and the greater part of them returned safely home after an absence of nine months—several of them to suffer new hardships from their relentless persecutors.

Neither rank nor age were any protection against the cruelty of these men, who, careless about the mischief they inflicted, imposed upon the young oaths which they could not be supposed to understand, and ordered them to subscribe bonds they could never fulfil. The son of Lord Semple, at this time a student in Glasgow College, had a young man for his private tutor, of uncommon abilities and excellent character, to whom he was much attached. Him the council summoned to appear before them;

* "Mr. Peden was a man of prayer, of natural sagacity, of spiritual discernment, and a great observer of the ways of Providence. He could foresee what would be the result of certain measures, and what calamities foolish and wicked men would bring upon themselves and others; and when such things came to pass as he had foretold, his too credulous friends ascribed it to the gift of prophecy. At the same time, I am not so wedded to my opinion on this subject, as not to admit that men who lived in such intimate daily communion with God as Mr. Peden did, may have had presentiments of things with regard to themselves and the church, of which Christians of a lesser growth can form no conception."—McGavin's note to the Scots Worthies, p. 516.

but he, aware of the consequences, did not comply, and his pupil withdrew with him. They were both served with a charge of law-burrows. The young lord's mother, however, who was a papist, interfered on his behalf, and represented that her son, through the neglect of those to whom he was recommended, or the corruption of the place, had been seduced and poisoned with bad principles; she therefore craved that they would recommend such persons as would watch over his loyalty and estate during his minority, and they appointed the Bishop of Argyle to provide a governor to that lord. Mr. Wylie went abroad, and remained at some of the foreign universities with several other pupils.

Alexander Anderson, a youth not sixteen years of age, was treated more harshly, because he would make no compliances. He was sent to the plantations. Yet he left a testimony behind him, which deserves to be remembered, dated Canongate tolbooth, December 10th, this year. In it he remarked—"That he is the youngest prisoner in Scotland; and that the Lord had opened his eyes and revealed his Son in his heart since he came under the cross; that though he had much difficulty to part with his friends and relatives, yet he had now found, that fellowship with Christ did much more than balance the want of the company of dearest relations; that though he was so very young as that he could not be admitted a witness among men, yet he hopes Christ hath taken him to be a witness to his cause. He adheres to the work of reformation from popery and prelacy to the National and Solemn League and Covenants; and witnesses against the pulling down of the government of Christ's house, and setting up lordly prelacy, and joining with them; and adduces a good many places of Scripture which he conceives strike against this practice. He makes an apology that he who is but a child should leave any thing of this nature behind him; but says he was constrained to it, to testify that God perfects strength out of the mouth of babes. He regrets the indulgence as what

upon both sides had been matter of stumbling and offence among good people; and declares his fears that a black, dreadful day is coming upon Scotland: that it is good to seek the Lord and draw near to him. He leaves his commendation to the cross of Christ, and blesses the Lord for carrying him through temptations, and enabling him, one of the lambs of his flock, to stand before great men and judges; and closes with good wishes to all the friends of Christ."

The Justiciary Court was this year engaged in equally cruel, though, could we divest them of their horrors, we should say more ludicrous transactions. "Eight or ten witches," Lord Fountainhall tells us, "were panelled, all of them, except one or two, poor miserable-like women. Some of them were brought out of Sir Robert Hepburn of Keith's lands; others out of Ormiston, Crichton, and Pencaitland parishes. The first of them were delated by those two who were burnt in Salt-Preston in May, 1678, and they divulged and named the rest, as also put forth seven in the Lonehead of Leswade; and, if they had been permitted, were ready to fyle by their delation sundry gentlewomen and others of fashion; but the justices discharged them, thinking it either the product of malice or melancholy, or the devil's deception, in representing such persons as present at their field-meetings, who were not there. Yet this was cried out on as a prelimiting them from discovering those enemies of mankind. However, they were permitted to name Mr. Gideon Penman, who had been minister at Crichton, but deprived for sundry acts of immorality. Two or three of the witches constantly affirmed that he was present at their meetings with the devil; and that when the devil called for him, he asked, where is Mr. Gideon, my chaplain? and that, ordinarily, Mr. Gideon was in the rear of all their dances, and beat up those that were slow. He denied all, and was liberated upon caution"—certainly the only way of disposing of this case in consistency with common sense.

Yet were these poor unfortunates allowed to pro-

ceed with their confessions, which were regularly registered against them. "They declared the first thing the devil caused them to do, was to renounce their baptism; and by laying their hand on the top of their head, and the other on the sole of their foot, to renounce all betwixt the two to his service. But one being with child at the time, in her resignation, excepted the child, at which the devil was very angry. That he frequently kissed them, but his body was cold, and his breath was like a damp air. That he cruelly beat them when they had done the evil he had enjoined them—for he was a most wicked and barbarous master. That sometimes he had adventured to give them the communion, or holy sacrament; the bread like wafers—the drink, sometimes blood, and at other times black moss-water; and preached most blasphemously. That sometimes he transformed them into bees, ravens, and crows; and they flew to such and such remote places. Their confessions," his lordship gravely adds, "made many intelligent, sober persons stumble much, what faith was to be adhibite to them." How any intelligent person could hesitate a moment upon the subject, is strange; and it is humiliating and lamentable to add, that by grave, intelligent judges "nine of these women, upon their own confession (and so seemed very rational and penitent) were sentenced to be strangled and then burnt," instead of being sent to some safe place of confinement to be dealt gently with; and five of them were accordingly immolated between Leith and Edinburgh, and other four burnt at Painston-moor, within their own parish where they had lived.

A case came before the privy council, not long after, which it is difficult to reconcile with the above, the proceedings were so diametrically opposite. Catharine Liddel brought a complaint against Rutherford, baron-bailie, to Morrison of Prestongrange and David Cowan in Tranent, for having seized her, an innocent woman, defamed her as a witch, and detained her under restraint as a prisoner, also that

Cowan had pricked her with long pins, in sundry places of her body, and bled and tortured her most cruelly. The bailie pled that she had been denounced by other witches, laboured under a mala fama, and therefore had been apprehended; and that she and her son-in-law had consented to her being "searched" for the vindication of her innocency. With regard to the pricker, he had learned his trade from Kincaid, a famed pricker; he never exercised his calling without the authority of a magistrate; his trade was not condemned by any law, and all divines and lawyers, who have written on witchcraft, acknowledge that there are such marks, and therefore there may be an art for discerning them. But the Chancellor remembered that he had formerly imprisoned the famous Kincaid in Kinross, as a notorious cheat. The lords of the privy council therefore first declared the woman innocent, and restored her to her good name and fame, and ordered it to be publicly intimated the next Sunday in her parish church; then reprov'd Rutherford for his rashness, and forbade him in future to proceed in such a manner, declaring that the use of torture by pricking or otherwise was illegal; and, as a mark of their displeasure, ordered the pricker to prison.

Considerable changes had taken place among the higher authorities in Scotland this year. Since the appointment of Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh to be king's advocate, Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbet was appointed justice-general; Sir Thomas Wallace of Craigie, lord justice-clerk; the Bishop of Galloway was added to the committee for public affairs; Richard Maitland of Gogar, Sir George Gordon of Haddo, and Drummond of Lundin, admitted counsellors; and the Marquis of Montrose made captain of the horse guards.

BOOK III.

JANUARY TO JUNE, A. D. 1679.

Public teachers and students required to take the oath of supremacy—A boy imprisoned for refusing—Husbands punished for their wives' contumacy—Landlords for their tenants—Overtures of the council—Country put under military law—Reprisals—Outrages of the commissioners of shires—Death of Sharpe—Escape of Veitch—Murder of Inchdarnie.

EARLY in the beginning of the next year, (January 2, 1679,) the council instructed the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the Bishops of Edinburgh and Aberdeen, to call before them the principals, professors, and other office-bearers of their respective Universities, and also all the masters of the public schools within their boundaries, and require them to subscribe the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and the declaration owning the government of the church by archbishops and bishops, and its establishment; which Mr. Alexander Dickson, professor of the Hebrew language in the College of Edinburgh, Mr. Heriot, teacher in the High School, Mr. George Sinclair, Leith, Mr. Allan, his assistant, Mr. Alexander Strang, schoolmaster, Canongate, and Mr. John Govan, his assistant, with Mr. James Scot, junior,—refusing to do, were all removed from their respective charges, as examples to others; and it appears to have had a salutary effect, as we do not read of any "pedagogues" after this being prosecuted for contumacy. But it was again repeated and urged by proclamation, that the due execution of their acts, forbidding pedagogues, chaplains, and schoolmasters,

to officiate without license from their respective ordinaries, should be observed, and that no youth should be suffered to enter into the second classes in colleges, or received as apprentices, until they obliged themselves to keep the church. The reiterated repetition of these injunctions strongly implies the repugnance which must have existed among the people to the form of religion then endeavoured to be forced upon them, while it exhibits in the most glaring light that combination of clerical and magisterial despotism, which is a necessary consequence of a state establishment of any peculiar denomination, against the light and wishes of a numerous and instructed part of the community. So anxious, too, were these Scottish political puritans to preserve the youth from any infection, that they even carried their zeal the length of imprisoning a boy about fourteen years of age for being at a conventicle, and subjected him to several weeks' confinement, till some of their own number, ashamed of such proceedings, set the child at liberty.

Children may be restrained, but women being more difficult to manage, it was thought proper to punish their husbands, instances of which occurred in the cases of Sir William Fleming of Ferm, commissary of Glasgow, and of William Anderson, the late lord provost, who were both before the council the same day, and fined for the delinquencies of their wives, although they themselves seem to have been regular church-goers. Dame Margaret Stewart, the spouse of Sir William, and Mrs. Macdougall, the spouse of the provost, were charged with having been present at a conventicle kept by Mr. John Welsh, at Langside, in the parish of Cathcart, seated upon high chairs on either side of the said Mr. John, and with having kept company with him at other times; in addition to which the Lady Fleming had allowed other ministers to preach, pray, or expound Scripture in the house of Ferm, aggravated by her entertaining the preachers before or after these exercises. The lady did not deny that she had heard

Mr. Welsh preach, and also confessed that she had been guilty of showing hospitality to the same faithful minister of Christ; for which the council fined Sir William, her husband, in the sum of four thousand merks, ordaining him to pay the money or find security before he left Edinburgh. In order, however, that a husband should not suffer for his wife's fault, whose conduct they yet allowed it was not in his power sometimes to control, they declared that if she survived him, then his heirs should retain as much as he payed of fine, together with interest from the time of payment, out of the first end of her jointure; and if she should die first, her executors were to be liable, which they alleged would be a check on the zeal of the ladies, if they paid no regard to the interest of their husbands. Lord Fountainhall, who records this decision, asks, with all due legal gravity, "But what if they have no executors? or if it be the husband or her own children?"

Not only were husbands thus prosecuted for their ladies' misdemeanours, but landlords were made accountable for the conduct of their tenants. A most oppressive instance occurred in the case of one George Turnbull, a baxter or baker in Edinburgh, himself a regular conformist. The council being informed that conventicles were held in the chamber of Isabel Crawford, which she rented in the flat of a house belonging to him, he was summoned before them and interrogated upon oath, as to the rent of the whole flat? He stated it at one hundred pounds per annum; and three conventicles being either proved or not denied to have met there, he was fined three hundred pounds, Scots, or twenty-five pounds sterling, for what he was neither accessory to, nor had any knowledge of.

Tyranny is never stationary when introduced into a country, until it either level all resistance, and degrade a nation into one quiescent mass of torpid subjection, or rouse the people to a pitch of determined, enthusiastic, resistless exertion, which drives their oppressors from the land. At this period, the evident

design of the Scottish rulers was to accomplish the former limb of the alternative, though it eventually led to the last. "The overtures" sent by the "committee for public affairs," to be proposed to his sacred majesty by the Duke of Lauderdale, to heal the schism and disorders of the church, plainly evidence this. Their grand object was to root out all conventicles; and now that the forces were raised, whereby these seditious disorders might, as they imagined, be easily and effectually suppressed, they represented to the king the necessity of his empowering the council to nominate sheriff-deputes, bailie-deputes of regalities, and stewart-deputes, to enforce their acts against withdrawers from public ordinances, keepers of conventicles, and those guilty of conversing with inter-communed persons or vagrant preachers, whenever the resident deputies had been remiss in their duty; and that his majesty's forces might be ordered upon all occasions, when required, to concur with these officers, or whoever might be appointed by them for the more speedy and effectual execution of their sentences and decrees. His majesty gave his hearty approval to the proposal, and the whole south and west of Scotland was placed under military law, as far at least as assembling to attend upon the ordinances of religion was concerned. All officers and soldiers of the standing army or militia were commanded forcibly to dissipate the persons found by them at conventicles, and previously indemnified for any slaughter or mutilation they might commit in so doing. They were to seize the preachers and as many of the hearers as they could; the former to be carried to prison, the latter to be detained till they found sufficient caution to answer for their crimes according to law; and they were empowered to carry off the upper garments of such as they could not secure, in order to be used in evidence against them when afterwards apprehended. All arms, and the horses of all who were armed, were ordered to be seized, and the meanest sentinel was warranted to break open doors and other lockfast

places in searching after suspected or intercommuned persons.*

To stimulate their satellites in the work of proscription and blood, who were already allowed to share in the plunder of those they seized, murdered, or robbed, and to urge their activity against the more eminent, and therefore more hated of those men, of whom the earth was not worthy—they were now offered additional rewards for their destruction. The price set upon the head of that “notour traitor, Mr. John Welsh,” dead or alive, was nine thousand merks; for his accomplices, Mr. Semple and Mr. Arnot, three thousand; for any field-preacher declared fugitive, two thousand; and for any other “vagrant” or itinerant preacher, five hundred merks. The reasons assigned for such high rewards, were worthy the hypocrites by whom they were expressed—although we cannot help being astonished at the unblushing impudence which could publish falsehoods, so widely known to be such, without even the shadow of verisimilitude, to shield them from contempt—these were, to prevent the people from being seduced from public ordinances, or debauched to atheism and popery, by being exposed to hear Jesuits or any other irregular persons who dared take upon them the sacred office of the ministry!

About the beginning of March, the military apostles entered upon their labours; and among their first exploits was the seizure of twenty-three coun-

* The soldiers were thus distributed:—Three companies of foot in Canongate and Leith; one at Calder, and one at Stirling; one at Culross and Clackmannan; one at Cupar and Falkland; four at Glasgow; two in the shire of Ayr; and one in each of the shires of Renfrew, Lanark, and Galloway; and one in the town of Kelso. The eighteenth company to be at the major-general’s disposal. One squadron of his majesty’s horse-guards to be at Edinburgh, another in Stirling, the third in Fife, and the fourth in Borrowstounness. One troop at Glasgow, one in Merse and Teviotdale, and one in Galloway. The dragoons were to be distributed in companies of twenty-five each, Galloway, Ayr, Calder, Culross, and Lanark, or otherwise arranged as the general shall see necessary; but they were to be kept in constant exercise patrolling the various districts, that they might be ready and prepared at the shortest notice to execute the orders given for dispersing any rendezvouses of rebellion.

trymen in Evandale, chiefly shepherds, whom they straitly examined upon oath, whether they had seen any men in arms going through the country during the last month. In the latter end of the same month, having been informed of a large meeting assembled to hear sermon at Cambeshead, in the parish of Lesmahago, near Lanark, a party went on purpose to disperse them; but on learning their numbers, and that many of them were well armed, they did not think it advisable to attack them; but retiring to a little distance, they rifled some women who were going to the meeting of their plaids and Bibles, and took several men prisoners. When intelligence of this was brought to the meeting, a number of the men in arms were sent to demand the release of the prisoners and the restoration of the plunder. The officer in command refused to do either, and a scuffle ensued, in which the captain was wounded and a few of the soldiers taken prisoners, who were shortly after set at liberty without harm. As soon as an account of this trifling affair reached Glasgow, Lord Ross marched with a considerably party towards Lanark, and harassed the surrounding country for some weeks; and the council upon being apprised of it, ordered the commissioners for assessment in the shire to meet and provide hay, straw, and corn for the forces, who were immediately to be despatched thither to crush the rebels.

In Galloway, Gordon of Earlston and thirteen other gentlemen, who had been summoned for worshipping God or hearing his word preached in private houses or in the fields, or for speaking or lodging some others who had been guilty of the like enormities, were denounced and outlawed as if they had been malefactors of the deepest dye. In Fife, three were fined; one in a thousand pounds Scots; another in one hundred; and the third in five hundred merks.

Pursuing their favourite measures, the prelatie myrmidons had successfully fanned, by their domineering insolence, the discontent they had widely kindled in the west, from which there appeared no

means of escape, but by some desperate effort to which every day's report of fresh aggression was rapidly driving the people. A few of the many irritating incidents which occurred have been preserved, but the amount of the suffering can only be guessed. The slightest attempts at what has been improperly denominated retaliation have been carefully registered. Of these I shall give two specimens, which were then paraded as instances of their "hellish principles," and which, though they were not the actions of religious men, have been treated as the effects of fanaticism. The first was a trick played upon Major Johnston, one of the captains of the train-band of Edinburgh, a violent persecutor, but by whom was never discovered. "One night," says Kirkton, "a boy came and told Johnston there was a conventicle in a certain close; for he was famously known for an active agent of satan to suppress preachings in the city and apprehend ministers, though sometimes he took money to overlook them. He (ever ready for such mischief) presently took a party of the town-guard, came and entered the house, where he found some men met about business, who seeing them enter so rudely with their weapons, did challenge him why he came so briskly. Finding no conventicle there, he and they began to jostle, (who were the aggressors I cannot tell,) but he with his men were the first provokers. Some of the gentlemen shot, as is said, a tobacco-stapple, or piece of broken money, at one of his followers, a soldier from the Castle, who fell, and died within ten days after. Another gripped the major himself, and cast him down on the floor; and they were so incensed that they offered to kill him. But he crying out wofully to spare his life, said—'For Christ's sake, send me not to hell,' and swore he would never trouble any of these meetings again. Whether he was required to say this, or said it in his fear, I cannot tell; whereupon they spared his life, and let him and his party go not without some blae strokes they had got. The gentlemen then withdrew to their own quarters.

“The landlady of the house expecting trouble, left it also, which was shortly broken up, rifled, and made a prey of by order. The wretched man, the major, being enraged, forgetting the terror he was in, and all the vows he had sworn to grow better, did first stir up the council to seize the house, break open the door, and plunder all. On the morrow or third day, a narrow and formidable search was made throughout the town for strangers, and to find out the persons who had offered such an affront to their major, so useful a servant, not only to the town of Edinburgh, but to the prelates and their interest. Linlithgow’s men, with the town constables, were appointed to search. However, none of the persons present were found.”

I add as one instance of the manner in which these affairs were represented by the leaders of the persecution, the edition they gave of the affair to Lauderdale, in the despatches they sent to court. “Eighteen or twenty men, prompted by the bloody principles of their traitorous books, did send for the major to the house of one Mrs. Crawford, a known and irregular fanatic, and, at his entrance discharged several shots at him; after which, with drawn swords, they beat, bruised, and threatened to kill him, if he would not swear never to dissipate conventicles, which he having refused, according to his duty, they mortally wounded him and some that were with him.”

Immediately the hue and cry was raised, offering a reward of one thousand merks to any person who should discover and apprehend any of the assassins. Several persons were mentioned, chiefly men already intercommuned themselves, or the sons or relatives of such as were, but none were ever taken or tried for the affray. The same day, the council ordered the magistrates to cause their constables take up a list of the names of all the inhabitants between sixteen and sixty, and deliver it to the council; and likewise a list of all the strangers who lodged in town, to be delivered each night at ten o’clock to the major-general or commanding officer in his absence,

under a penalty of one hundred merks for each name omitted. And, besides, the magistrates were required to turn out of the burgh and suburbs the wives and families of all "outed" ministers and vagrant preachers, under a penalty of one hundred pounds, sterling, for each family who should be found residing there after the 20th day of the month. This capriciously cruel order, at once useless and tormenting, does not appear to have been very rigorously enforced by the magistrates, for "few ministers," one of themselves informs us, "went off the town, but retired to more private houses, and hid themselves for a season, only it caused them to disperse among different friends' houses, and keep themselves under hiding for a season."

The other incident was the murder of two soldiers at Loudonhill, under very suspicious circumstances, also by persons who were never discovered. Three privates of Captain Maitland's company had been quartered upon a farmer who had not paid the cess, and continued there nearly ten days, behaving rather more civilly than many of their fellows. The man himself being sick, his wife, or the maid-servant, desired them to leave, otherwise they might repent it. They replied, they could not do so without orders. On a Saturday, one of them went to New mills, where he remained over night. But about two o'clock on the Sabbath morning, five horsemen and as many foot came and knocked loudly at the door of the barn, where the remaining two soldiers were lying. Supposing it to be their comrade, one of them rose in his shirt and opened the door, when he was saluted with—"Come out you damned rogues," and instantly shot through the body. He fell dead upon the spot; the other alarmed got up, and was attempting to shut the door, when he also received a shot which wounded him on the thigh. The assassin who was on horseback dismounting, seized the soldier by the throat, and they struggled together till another of the rogues came up and knocked him down. While he lay stupefied by the

blow, the murderers went off, taking with them all the arms and clothes they could find. The wounded man lingered a few days, and expired. The people of the house declared their ignorance of the whole matter, only the deceased had told them that the ruffian who shot him appeared to him to be one John Scarlet, a tinker; the rest he could not distinctly see, owing to the darkness and his own confusion. Scarlet was a notorious rogue who roved through the country with several women he called his wives, and who some years before this had been apprehended as a vagabond, and gifted to a French recruiting officer, but had contrived to raise a mutiny in the vessel which was carrying him across the channel, and made his escape; since when he had returned to his old avocation, and was one of the gang attending Captain Carstairs when Garret was wounded.*

Perhaps nothing places the conduct of the Scottish government in a more disgraceful light than the current belief which pervaded the country, that they were implicated in this foul murder, at least that they were capable of abetting it, although it be extremely difficult to perceive what advantage they could reap from it. All their proclamations and abuse of the fanatics availed nothing, but only to confirm the general report that they had authorized the assassination merely to throw additional odium on the already grievously calumniated wanderers. The heritors of Ayrshire, who had seen their country devastated when there was much less cause, took the alarm, and despatched the Earl of Loudon, Lord Cochran, and Sir John, to explain the state of the country, and to express their detestation of the deed.

* Mr. Laing (Hist. vol. iii. p. 97,) considers this as an act of retaliation on the part of the Covenanters. Of this I cannot see any credible evidence. The language used by the assassins was not such as the Covenanters would have employed, nor were the persons attacked of that station the persecuted would have deliberately formed any design of destroying. It is not unlikely that the soldiers were the objects of private revenge, and were wounded by some rough companions of their own, whom their insults had irritated.

The armed field-meetings, attended by numbers of the commonalty, had increased on the confines of their own and the neighbouring shires, occasioned they alleged by a few unsound, turbulent, hotheaded preachers, most part whereof were never ministers of the Church of Scotland, making it their work to draw people to separation and schism from pure ordinances, and instil into them the seeds of rebellion by their exhortations and doctrine.

Unhappily, the contentions among the persecuted continued, and a root of bitterness sprung up among them, which produced the most lamentable fruit. Instead of dropping minor differences, they seemed to set a higher value on them as the dangers attendant on holding them increased. Paying cess and hearing the indulged became bars to fellowship; and Robert Hamilton, who now took the lead, publicly forbade any of the compliers to join with them or bring arms; nor was it without difficulty that Richard Cameron got them to forbear proceeding with such an high hand at such a time; but although he smothered these heats for a season, there was a secret heart-burning left which he could not extinguish. Yet it is impossible not to sympathize with the side who felt most keenly, even when a knowledge of the consequences may have led us to disapprove of their too rigid particularity, for which they themselves suffered so severely. At all events, when men have evinced the purity of their motives by their disinterestedness and the sincerity of their principles, by suffering for them unto the death, it becomes those who are sitting at ease, and not exposed to their trials, to speak and write very tenderly about them.

Oppressions under form of law kept pace with those without it;—if the mere acts of men in place can be called in any sense legal while they are trampling under foot the constitutional rights of their countrymen, simply because these men happen to hold offices, the names of which are in the statute-book, or pervert possession of power, a proper exercise of

which would be legal. The council, the willing slaves of the clergy, eagerly laid hold of the story of the popish plot in England to increase their severities against field-preaching, the antipathy at which raged with every symptom of monomania among the prelatic hypocrites. They issued a fierce proclamation against the papists, and did nothing to disturb their increasing numbers; but they nominated an especial committee of thirteen of their own number, to meet during the spring vacation, to whom they delegated the judicial authority of the bench and the active duties of the executive. It comprised the two Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and the Bishop of Galloway, with the law officers of the crown, any three to be a quorum; and as the Bishop of Galloway had obtained a dispensation allowing him to reside constantly in Edinburgh, they were always certain of an ecclesiastical president or director. They were instructed to issue orders for executing the laws as to the public peace, particularly those against conventicles; to call before them noted delinquents, secure their persons and examine them upon oath, pronounce sentences and decreets against the guilty, and issue such orders as they should find necessary to magistrates and officers of the forces; and with power to nominate a committee of themselves by turns, to perform what was committed to them, or call the council upon any emergency; and the whole concluded with the ominous charge to use diligence in discovering any powder or lead lately brought into the kingdom. On the report of this committee, (May 1st) the council ordered the Earl of Linlithgow, commander-in-chief, to despatch a body of horse, foot, and dragoons, to scour the country, especially where Welsh, Cameron, Kid, or Douglas kept their conventicles; to apprehend them where they might be found; and, in case of resistance, to pursue them to the death, and declared that neither officers nor soldiers should be called in question, civilly or criminally, for the same.

Armed with such powers and secured by such in-

demnity, it may be readily supposed what ravages would be committed by a banditti, composed, as the standing army of that day in Scotland was, of all the idle, dissolute reprobates that could be collected. These roamed through the country, objects of hatred and dread to the humbler ranks.

The commissioners of shires and sheriff-deputes were more obnoxious to the middling and higher classes, whom they summoned to their courts, and plundered and imprisoned if they appeared, or inter-communed if they did not. The cruelties they exercised upon the domestics of the petty heritors who were forced under hiding, to make them discover the haunts of their relatives or masters, are almost incredible, and rivalled the tortures of the Inquisition; beating and wounding with their muskets or bayonets were common, and burning matches were often applied between the fingers to extort a confession from these faithful confidants of the suspected. When the honest, industrious tenantry and small farmers were ruined by fines, their houses were pointed, and themselves turned out to bear the pelting of the pitiless storm, nor dared their neighbours either shelter or sooth them, under pain of being also sent to wander houseless on the heath—reduced to desperation for “disobeying the discipline of the church,” or “wilfully withdrawing from the ordinary meetings for divine worship,”—it would not have been at all wonderful if the wanderers had perpetrated the horrible deeds of which they were falsely accused; nor can it appear strange, when every avenue to relief was shut up, that they should take whatever methods of redressing their wrongs they could command; neither was it conduct unprecedented in history, their seeking to rid themselves of their most violent, lawless persecutors, of whom they could not by any legal or moderate measures get free, by methods which were not strictly legal. It would require powerful logic to convince persons suffering under the lash of distorted laws, that they were in duty

bound to allow their persecutors the safety and privilege of men who had never violated law.

But the death of Sharpe, however it might be justified or extenuated, was altogether accidental at the time, and cannot be traced to any other source than his own atrocious tyranny. His agents were extremely active in Fife; for the numerous conventicles held in his own diocese particularly annoyed him. One of his especial "familiar" was William Carmichael, a bankrupt merchant, formerly a bailie in Edinburgh, now one of the commissioners for suppressing conventicles, of licentious and profligate habits, consequently greedy of money, and fit for any vile job to procure it. His enormities had rendered him an object of general detestation, but his excessive exactions had ruined many respectable heritors and tenants, to whom he was become particularly obnoxious. Several of these individuals, some of whom were gentlemen of good families, interdicted the common intercourse of society, and hunted like wild beasts on the mountains, determined to take personal vengeance on this vile instrument of their unjust suffering;* and for this purpose, nine of them, pretty early on Saturday morning, the 3d of May, had traversed the fields about Cupar for a considerable time, in search of the commissioner, who they understood was hunting on the moor; but a shepherd had informed him that some gentlemen on horseback

* At a meeting held April 11, "at John Nickolson's house, colier, beside Lathons, the persons who had been poynded and otherways maltreated, judged it their duty to take some course with Carmichael to scarr him from his cruel courses; and advising how to get him, resolved to wait on him either in his coming or going from St. Andrews, or other place in the shire, [he] being to sit in all the judicatures in the shire, for taking course with the honest party; and they resolved to fall upon him at St. Andrews. Some objected, what if he should be in the prelate's house, what should be done in such a case? Whereupon all present judged duty to hang both over the post, especially the bishop, it being by many of the Lord's people and ministers judged a duty long since, not to suffer such a person to live, who had shed and was shedding so much of the blood of the saints, and knowing that other worthy Christians had used means to get him upon the road before."—*Russell's Account*, p. 110.

were inquiring after him; and he not being very anxious to encounter them, left his sport abruptly, and returned home.

They also, tired of their fruitless search, were talking about their further proceedings, when a boy came from Baldinny—Robert Black's farm—and said the goodwife had sent him to see how they had sped. They told him they had missed him, and asked in return if he knew any thing of three of their number who had not joined them. He told them they were gone. They desired him to go back and see where they were gone to, which he did, but quickly returning, said—"Gentlemen, there is the bishop's coach, our gudewife desired me to tell you," which they seeing betwixt Ceres and Blebo-hole, said—"Truly this is of God, and it seemeth that God hath delivered him into our hands; let us not draw back, but pursue."

Whereupon all agreed to follow; but the question was started, what should be done with him? "I will not move one foot further," said George Fleming, "for if we spare his life our hazard shall be no less, and likewise his cruelty shall be greater; surely we have a clear call to execute God's justice upon him, now when in such a capacity." So said several others. Hackston of Rathillet opposed the shedding of blood; and besides, he thought it was an act of the last consequence to the nation and the church, and what required much greater deliberation. James Russell, who writes the account, said "it had been born in upon his spirit some days before in prayer, that the Lord would employ him in some piece of service or it was long, and that there would be some great man who was an enemy to the kirk of God cut off." "He was forced to devote himself to God, and enter into a covenant with the Lord, and renewed all his former vows and engagements against papists, prelates, indulgences, and all that was enemies to the work of God and opposed the flourishing of Christ's kingdom; and that he should not refuse nor draw back whenever the Lord should call him to act for

him, as far as the Lord should enable him and give him strength, though there should be never so much seeming hazard.”

After alluding to the case of Mitchell, he was asked what they should do with the bishop. He replied, he durst not but execute the justice of God upon him “for the innocent blood he had shed.” William Danziel spoke to the same purpose. Then they all with one consent urged Rathillet to command them that they might not delay.* Rathillet declined. “The Lord,” he said, “was his witness, he was willing to venture all he had for the interest of Christ, yet he durst not lead them on to that action, there being a known prejudice betwixt the bishop and him, which would mar the glory of the action; for it would be imputed to his particular revenge, and that God was his witness he did nothing on that account; but he would not hinder them from what God had called them to, and that he would not leave them.” On hearing this, John Balfour cried out—“Gentlemen! follow me!” Immediately they all set off at the gallop across the hills for Magus moor. James Russell outrode the others; and seeing the bishop, who had taken the alarm, and was looking out at the door, he cast away his cloak, and cried “Judas be taken.” The bishop screamed violently to the coachman—“Drive! drive! drive!” The coachman drove furiously, endeavouring to keep off the pursuer by striking his horse with his whip, on which Russell fired, and called to his companions to come up. They throwing away their cloaks, put their horses to the speed, and kept firing at the coach, several shots passing through it. One of the servants having cocked his carabine, was about to fire when Alexan-

* The names of the persons present were—David Hackston of Rathillet, John Balfour of Kinloch, James Russell in Kettle, George Fleming in Balbathie, Andrew Henderson, Alexander Henderson in Kilbrachmont, William Danziel in Caddam, James, Alexander, and George Balfour in Gilston, Thomas Ness in P——, and Andrew Guillan, weaver in Balmerinock, who had been put out of Dundee for not hearing of the curate.—*Russell's Account of Archbishop Sharpe's Death*, p. 111, 112.

der Henderson gripped him by the neck, threw him down, and pulled it out of his hand. Andrew Henderson outran the coach and struck the horse in the face with his sword. Russell at the same time ordered the postilion to stand, which he refusing, he struck him on the face, dismounted him, and cut the traces of the coach, which stopped it till the rest came up.

They found the bishop in the coach with his daughter, both unhurt, though several shots had passed through the carriage. Opening the door, Russell, who took the lead, again desired him to come out, that no prejudice might befall his daughter, whom they would not willingly hurt. He still hesitated, protesting that he never wronged any of them. Russell declared before the Lord that it was no particular interest, nor yet for any wrong that he had done to him, but because he had betrayed the church, like Judas, and for eighteen years had wrung his hands in the blood of the saints. John Balfour, on horseback, said—"God is our witness, it is not for any wrong thou hast done to me, nor yet for any fear of what thou couldest do to me, but because thou hast been a murderer of many a poor soul in the kirk of Scotland, and a betrayer of the church, and an open enemy and persecutor of Jesus Christ and his members, whose blood thou hast shed like water on the earth, and therefore thou shalt die;" and fired a pistol. James Russell desired him the third time to come forth, and prepare for death, judgment, and eternity. The bishop said, "Save my life, and I will save yours." The other replied, "I know it is neither in your power to save us or to kill us; and I again declare, it is not for any particular feud of quarrel I have at you which moves me to this attempt, but for the blood shed, not only after Pentland, but several times since, and for your perjury and shedding the blood of Mr. James Mitchell, and having a hand in the death of James Learmont, which crimes cry with a loud voice to Heaven for vengeance; and we are this day to execute it," and

thrust his shabel at him. He then offered money "Thy money perish with thee," was the reply; and one of the company remarked, "seeing there have been so many lives taken for him, for which there is no sign of repentance, we will not be innocent if any more be taken that way." Another wounded him with a sword, and he cried, "Fy, fy, I am gone."

Being called to come out of the coach, "I am gone already," he said, "what need more." He was desired to pray; but, turning towards the captain, he said, "Save my life; for God's sake, save my life! save my life!" offering him money, and promising to lay down his Episcopal function. He told him he had shown no mercy, and needed expect none. Seeing Rathillet at a distance, he crept on his hands and his knees towards him, saying, "I know you are a gentleman, you will protect me." Mr. Hackston said, "I shall never lay a hand on you," and retired a little. He then turned to the others, and piteously entreated that they would save the life of an old man, and he would obtain them a remission. Balfour told him they could not spare him; and if he would not call on God, they knew what to do.

His daughter attempted to interpose, as she had done before, between her father and his antagonists, when Andrew Guillan kept her back, to secure her from hurt or danger. She fell on her knees, and, weeping bitterly, joined her entreaties with those of her father. Guillan also pleaded for his life; but it was now impossible for them to listen to any supplication. The bishop was a man whose most sacred oaths could not be trusted; and, to save their own lives, they were under the cruel necessity of taking his. Another volley of shot was their answer to his supplications, and he fell back and lay as dead. They then went off a little; and his daughter attempting to raise him, exclaimed—"Oh! there is life in him yet;" which they hearing returned, and James Russell "haked his head in pieces." His daughter, the miserable spectatress of this sad event, cursed him, and called him a bloody murderer. He answered,

they were not murderers, for they were sent to execute God's vengeance on him.

As soon as they had finished the unfortunate primate, they went to the coach, and took a pair of pistols and a trunk, which upon opening, they found contained only his daughter's clothes, and left untouched, but took from another a little box and all the papers they could find.* They likewise disarmed his attendants, five in number, and carried away their arms. It was not a little remarkable, that though this tragedy was acted at noon, in broad day, and parties of soldiers were constantly patrolling the country, along with numbers of sheriff-officers' underlings and the archbishop's own numerous myrmidons; yet the actors were not interrupted in their performance, nor did any of them ever suffer for the part they played. Two only, who were present as spectators, were executed, and one of them, the poor weaver Guillan, had been called, most unexpectedly on his part, to hold the horses.

Among the papers were found—a gift of non-entries of several gentlemen's estates in Fife and elsewhere, with instructions and informations how to prosecute in order to turn the present possessors out of the lands; the patent of the bishopric of Dunkeld in favour of Mr. Andrew Bruce, archdeacon of St. Andrews; several presentations to churches of which the king was patron; instructions to conjunct deputies; and new gifts of the heritors' fines.

Sharpe, when he met his fate, was returning home from Edinburgh, where he had been arranging matters for heating the fiery furnace yet seven times hotter, previously to his going to court, and had there drawn out a proclamation afterwards issued, which,

* "They took nothing from him but his tobacco-box and Bible and a few papers. With these they went to a barn near by. Upon the opening of his tobacco-box, a living humming-bee flew out. This either Rathillet or Balfour called his familiar; and some of the company not understanding the term, they explained it to be a devil. In the box were a pair of pistol ball, parings of nails, some worsted or silk, and some say a paper with some characters, but that is uncertain."—*Russell's Account, &c.* p. 421, note.

had it been known, would have justified the extremest measures on the part of the proscribed, persecuted wanderers, even had he not previously placed himself out of the protection of the law. By it, whoever should go with any arms to field-meetings were to be proceeded against as traitors; and lest any should suppose, from the rigour used against such as went to conventicles in arms, that there was any intention to slacken the prosecutions against other field conventicles, all judges and officers were required to put all former laws and commands in rigorous execution, even against those who frequented field-meetings without arms, repeating as the reason of such severity, the foul and absurd calumny "that those meetings do certainly tend to the ruin and reproach of the Christian religion, and to the introduction of popery and heresy, the subversion of monarchy, and the contempt of all laws and government."

Thus fell James Sharpe, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Primate of Scotland, a man universally detested by those whom he had deserted and betrayed, and not much regarded by those to whose ranks he had gone over. He has left a memory and a fate as woful beacons, to religious turncoats, who assume and relinquish the garb of a profession for secular purposes, without feeling the influence or experiencing the consolations of real religion, who find the road disappointment, and the end death.

Not less remarkable was the escape of Mr. William Veitch, who had been marked out to die by the primate. Having been denounced for being present at Pentland, although he had not been there, he retired to Northumberland, where he had resided with his family for several years, exercising his ministry with great success among a numerous congregation at Harnam-hall, whence he removed to Stauntin-hall, in 1677, where he remained till January this year, when he was taken from his bed about eight o'clock in the morning, and carried prisoner to Edinburgh. On the 22d of February, he was brought before a com-

mittee of the council, whereof Sharpe was præses. As he was coming along the pavement, the Earl of Mar's gentleman came to him from his master, desiring him to give the archbishop his titles, as that would likely prevail much with the bishop for his liberty. Veitch sending his service to the Earl, answered that he was resolved to act according to his light. The orders from the king to the council were, that they should proceed against him with all diligence, according to the utmost severity of law, his majesty being fully resolved to put it strictly in execution. in order "to dash the groundless hopes of knaves and fools, who expected a toleration!" The archbishop put many questions to him to see if he could ensnare him, which were urged by Paterson, the Bishop of Edinburgh, one of which was—"Have you taken the covenant?" He answered, "All that see me at this honourable board may easily perceive that I was not capable to take the covenant when you and the other ministers of Scotland tendered it." At this the whole company fell a laughing, which nettled the bishop. "But," says he, "did you never take the covenant since?" To which he replied, "I judge myself obliged to covenant away myself to God, and frequently to renew it." At which Paterson stood up and said—"My lord, you will get no good of this man; he is all for evasions. But," said he, "was you not at Pentland fight?" To which he replied, "If you will give me power and liberty to seek witnesses to prove it, I was alibi, having been all that night and morning at Edinburgh."

Being put out a considerable time, he was called in again; and the bishop said—"Hear your confession read." They had interlined many sentences to make him a criminal, which when he heard read, he denied that he had spoken, and refused to subscribe. "What!" said the bishop, "will you not subscribe your own confession?" "Not I," said the prisoner, "unless you write it *in mundo*, without your additions." At which they appeared rather irritated, till the Earl of Linlithgow, after some conversation

with the others across the table, said, "My lord St. Andrews, cause write it *in mundo* to the young man." It was then fairly written out, and he subscribed it; but it was found not to contain any thing on which they could found a criminal charge, and he was remanded to prison.

This was not, however, the only villanous attempt against his life. A letter was brought from the king to turn him over to the Justiciary, which was equivalent to a warrant for his execution. He himself had written to Lauderdale, who was his own relation and a professed friend, to give force to which some ladies obtained a letter from Archbishop Paterson to the Duke in his favour; and his brother Sir William brought it open and read it to Mr. Veitch. It was directed to Dr. Hicks, the Duke's chaplain, to present, which was done accordingly; but when an answer was called for, Hicks showed a letter he had received per post, forbidding him to present it! Fortunately for the prisoner a representation of his case was laid before the Earl of Shaftesbury by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Gilbert Elliot, which he had brought from Scotland, containing the sentiments both of English and Scottish lawyers, all of them declaring the illegality of the procedure against him in both kingdoms. The Earl having shown it to Prince Rupert, the Duke of Monmouth, and several other persons of rank, they concurred with him in petitioning the king to send him back to England that he might be tried there, because he was a naturalized English subject from his long residence, and the law had been violated by his seizure; it would destroy men's confidence in their protection. But all the answer made by the tyrant was a profane scoff, uttered in the language of his proper prototype—"I have written with my own hand to execute him; and what I have written, I have written." Upon this the Earl of Shaftesbury told his majesty, that, seeing the petition of so many of the greatest peers in England now standing before him, for a thing so just and equitable, could not be granted, the new parliament for

inquiring into the popish plot was now sitting down, and no person that they found guilty, Presbyterian or other, should escape death, if the parliament would take his advice and the lords now before the king; and then his majesty should have pears for plums.

On leaving his majesty, the Earl sent his servant to Mr. Elliot, who was in waiting for the result, and who immediately on learning it went to the door of the parliament-house and distributed copies of the petition to each of the lords as they went in. Shaftesbury himself followed; and finding their lordships busy reading it, asked what they read; and being told, replied—"O, my lords, is that the text? Come, I'll give you the sermon upon it;" and explained the minister's case, which induced many of them to say, If that be truly so, we'll pass an order immediately when we sit down for his remanding. A Tory lord seeing the impression thus made, taking the petition in his hand, went instantly to the king, and begged his majesty to consider that this was not his sixteen years' old parliament, and he knew not what they would do; and it was dangerous for him on so mean an account to set two kingdoms by the ears; therefore he begged that he would presently send for Lauderdale to despatch an express to Scotland, and he would report it to the lords to take them off their proposed measure; which was done. And this order to stop proceedings was received by the Justice-General Tarbet, as he was entering the Parliament Close to open the court, where Veitch would have inevitably been condemned; instead of which, the court was dissolved and the prisoners remanded to prison.

His deliverance from jail shows the low arts to which court-intrigue sometimes subjects great men. The Duke of Monmouth took an interest in Veitch. The Duke of York was instigated by his priests against him, on account of his weight as an eminent opponent of popery in the borders, where the emissaries of Rome were numerous and active. Lauder

dale disliked Monmouth as a rival, and attached himself to York;* and so wonderfully are events in providence arranged, that causes sometimes produce effects the very opposite to those we would most naturally expect. Lauderdale's dislike to Monmouth effected the release of Veitch—a measure which Monmouth had desired and solicited in vain, and which York had so willingly and so successfully resisted. Lord Stair, as he afterwards told Mr. Veitch, having the draught of his sentence of banishment† in his pocket, happened to visit Lauderdale that week Monmouth took post from Scotland, and that his spy had sent him an account of what Monmouth had said when he rose from the council-table respecting the relief of Mr. Veitch as soon as he saw the king. Lauderdale giving this letter to Stair to read, he says, "Now, my lord, Monmouth is upon his way, and is like to relieve this prisoner, I think it were best for your lordship to send for the king's advocate and the rest of the lords who are here, and we will get the sentence of banishment out of the kingdom passed upon him before Monmouth come up; and if the king have any scruple about it, his advocate and the other lords will clear him there-
anent. This will be for our credit, and stop the mouths of all in Scotland who reflect on our severity; and if he come and do it, the dirt will lie upon us." To which Lauderdale replied—"On my conscience, we will do it, and Monmouth shall not have the honour and credit of it. We'll send for the lords instantly, and tell the king a new story that will make him do it;" which they did; the king super-
scribing and Lauderdale subscribing the new sen-
tence, and also an order from the king to his council

* The unfortunate Monmouth, who possessed a kind and feeling disposition, was constantly watched by the Duke of York, who feared and hated him in proportion as he was loved by the English nation. Certainly at one time that nation looked forward with fond expectation to his succession. Lauderdale also had spies around the luckless prince during the time he was in Scotland.

† From Scotland to England!—a strange banishment a southron would think!

to put the same in execution upon sight. Stair then sent for Mr. Elliot the prisoner's agent, and delivered it to him.*

On the same day on which Sharpe paid the penalty of his accumulated guilt, Andrew Aytoun, younger of Inchdairney—characterized by the venerable Wodrow as an excellent young gentleman, who had the blessing of early piety, and who when at the University of St. Andrews had spent much of his time in prayer—was wantonly murdered by a soldier belonging to one of those parties ordered to scour Fife in consequence of the primate's death. He had been very active in procuring Presbyterian ministers to preach the gospel, instead of the worthless incumbents who prostituted the sacred office in Fife; and for this, when little more than seventeen years of age, he was intercommuned, forced to quit his father's house, and seek refuge with some of his relations in Morayshire. While there, Mr. Walter Denvon was sent south a prisoner. Inchdairney followed; and gathering some of his young acquaintances in Fife, resolutely rescued the good man.

After this exploit, he continued lurking in his father's house till the 3d of May, where he dined with the minister who gave Wodrow the information. They parted about two o'clock, neither of them having heard any thing of the bishop's catastrophe. Thence young Inchdairney went to Lady Murdocairnie, his aunt's house. When not far from Auchtermuchty, he saw a party of horse riding furiously on the Cupar road, and quickened his pace to escape them. The officer of the troop ordered one of his men to pursue, which he did; and firing struck Inchdairnie's horse; then firing again, mortally wounded himself, two musket balls—for it was double shotted—passing through his body. The bleeding youth could with difficulty keep his seat till he reached a house not far off, where he was put to bed, and notice sent to Sir John Aytoun of Aytoun, a relation of his own, whose seat was quite near,

* Memoirs of Veitch, pp. 112, 114.

who immediately came, having first despatched a servant to Cupar to fetch a surgeon. The commander of the party, however, probably anticipating such a message, had, with a refinement of cruelty, given orders that no surgeon should leave the place without his permission; and when applied to, he sent some of his soldiers to bring the wounded gentleman prisoner to Cupar. When they came, Sir John Aytoun represented the inhumanity of carrying any person in his situation three miles, and offered bail or to entertain them till surgical aid was procured; but nothing could prevail. He was placed upon one of their horses, and hurried immediately away. Through loss of blood, he fainted four times upon the road. When he arrived, the magistrates of Cupar allowed him to be carried to an inn, where he languished till next day about twelve o'clock, when he died in much serenity and peace. His parents were with him, and saw him die. The person who murdered him is said to have been a relation of his own, who came to him when he was dying and entreated his forgiveness, which he frankly gave, accompanying it with serious exhortations; but the unhappy man, some years after, died in great agony of mind, reproaching himself with the deed.

BOOK IV

MAY to DECEMBER, A. D. 1679.

Outrages of the soldiery—Dissensions among the persecuted—Commutations in the west—Rutherglen declaration—Rising of the Presbyterians—Skirmish at Drumclog—Royal troops retire to Edinburgh—Divisions among the Presbyterians—Arrival of Monmouth—Battle of Bothwell Bridge.

MATTERS were now fast hastening to a crisis, especially in the west country. The licentiousness of the soldiery increased by indulgence; and after they had, through the accurate intelligence of the incumbents, pillaged every intercommuned or recusant inhabitant worth plundering, especially in the rural districts, their insatiable greed did not spare the conformist part of the community. Money was their great object; and when they could not obtain that, they vented their rage upon the property they could not carry off. In some places, they thrashed out the corn and threw it into the stream, and took the meal and trode it in the dunghill; in others, they set fire to the stacks, and if there were any grain in the garner, cast it into the flames, while they rioted on all the stock or whatever edibles they could lay their hands on. In this indiscriminate pillage, many suffered who made no great pretensions to religion, and who, without that grand counteracting principle, were by no means disposed to take patiently the spoiling of their goods by military ruffians. These, from motives of self-interest, were led to make common cause with the Presbyterians, in defence of their national rights and to avenge their civil oppressions.

The small armed conventicles finding it hazardous to meet in the neighbourhood of the garrisons, withdrew to more retired situations, and assembled in greater numbers, while their discussions involved the general principles of civil liberty, as well as the more isolated question of their right to hear the preaching of the gospel. The constant harassings they met with from the soldiers in going to or coming from the meetings, who being pre-pardoned for whatever outrage they might commit, were restrained by no motive but fear, obliged them to keep as much and as long together as they could. Their little parties gradually approximated each other; and all converging towards one focus, they at length mustered a formidable body; but not all of one mind.

Ministers who wished to pursue moderate measures, laboured under peculiar disadvantages. Some idea may be formed of the mental struggles and outward difficulties of these worthies from the account which Mr. Blackader gives of himself at this time. He ventured to preach at Fala-moor, in Livingston, on the last Sabbath of May this year, which happened to be the day before Drumclog, though neither he nor the people knew of it. His subject led him to speak of defensive arms; but in handling it, it appeared he had by no means given satisfaction. Contrasting their spiritual with their military preparations for their meetings, he proceeded:—"When you come forth with swords in your hands to defend the worship of God, it is well; but whatever you endeavour with your hostile weapons, I would have you trust little to them." And he exhorted them to put their confidence in God rather than in their own instruments of war.

After sermon, some honest men came to him as they used to do. They were on their way westward, having heard the rumour of their friends combining in arms. He perceived them looking angry and discontented-like. "We fear, sir, you have discouraged the people by not putting them more forward to appear in arms. They needed a word of

exhortation and upstirring, and not to cool their zeal as you have done." "I do not," said he, "condemn honest endeavours to redress your wrongs; I should be the first in cases where there is clearness, to stand up and defend the gospel; but I fear forwardness without deliberation." His conscientious hearers and he, upon some further conference, came to a better understanding; but he adds—"About this time there were several people more froward than godly, prudent, or charitable, who upbraided ministers that they did not press the people more, or preach so and so, according to their mind; but little did they consider, how much ministers were difficulted to give advice therein, perceiving the case so intricate for want of clearness; yet the few who stickled underhand still continued to meddle, so that poor people were put to great uncertainty, and knew not how to behave; their consciences were tortured; their hearts grieved; and their spirits fretted. But the council still furious to suppress their meetings by sending forces from time to time to dissipate them and take prisoners, was the main cause why they went forth in arms; otherwise they would not, if their rulers had not by their violent persecution provoked them to that necessity.

"Though unable from indisposition himself, he hindered none from appearing in arms who were clear and in capacity to assist, although he was much jumbled in his own mind anent that particular; and used to say, both before and after, he did not see a call for rising so clear as he could like. Though he always revered the providence of the rising, and approved honest designs, yet his opinion was, that the Lord called for a testimony by suffering rather than outward deliverance."*

Other equally excellent men considered the question to be, Whether shall we consent to the preaching of the gospel being suppressed altogether, or shall we assert it at the point of the sword? With regard to civil liberty, there could be no dispute. Where it

* Mem. of Rev. John Blackader, p. 229 et seq.

is concerned, the question comes shortly to this, when tyranny reigns triumphant, "Is there, or is there not, a rational prospect of success in resistance?" But here the question was, Is it our duty with or without a prospect of success, to lift up our testimony against the iniquity of the times? nay, should there be only a prospect of sealing it with our blood? And they hesitated not to reply in the affirmative; and the first rencounter seemed to set the stamp of wisdom to this resolve, but whether more propitious to the cause of religious liberty has been thought problematical; and of this opinion were the most influential of the persons who directed the operations of the great western meeting.

This meeting, obliged for mutual protection to assume the appearance of an army, were guilty of no acts of hostility, but their formidable front alarmed the soldiers, who reported to the council, with many exaggerations, the frequency and the force of those rendezvouses of rebellion. These produced more severe instructions for the soldiers to act with greater promptness; and thus both sides stood as it were ready prepared for conflict in the mutual apprehensions entertained of each other. At this juncture, the ultra-covenanters were headed by Robert Hamilton, brother to the Laird of Preston, who, whatever might be his abilities for theological controversy, possessed none of the commanding powers necessary for directing the movements of men maddened by oppression, and driven by the denial of every legitimate mode of redress, to the ultimate resource of a brave people—the assertion of their natural rights on the field. Besides being wholly destitute of military talents, his mind was contracted by his associating solely with those who were of his own sentiments, and he seemed more anxious to secure the triumph of a party than the great cause for which all were contending.

Uncertain as to the issue of the present commotion, a number of those who composed the general meeting were anxious to publish to the world their "Tes-

timony to the truth and cause which they owned, and against the sins and defections of the times." This Hamilton urged as what would bind them together, and by explaining their principles, be an inducement for others to join. A majority agreeing, he, along with Mr. Thomas Douglas, one of their ministers, was appointed to go to some public place, escorted by a strong party of about eighty armed men, and publish their declaration. The 29th of May, the anniversary of the king's birth and restoration, was chosen as the most appropriate one for this their solemn act; and the royal burgh of Rutherglen was pitched upon as the place.

Accordingly, when the burghers of this little county-capital were displaying their loyalty, the small party entered in the afternoon, burned the various acts enumerated in their Testimony, then extinguished the bonfires, and affixed upon the cross a copy of "the Declaration and Testimony of some of the true Presbyterian party in Scotland." It ran thus—
"As the Lord hath been pleased to keep and preserve his interest in this land by the testimony of faithful witnesses from the beginning, so some in our days have not been wanting, who, upon the greatest of hazards, have added their testimony to the testimonies of those who have gone before them, and who have suffered imprisonments, finings, forfeitures, banishment, torture, and death, from an evil and perfidious adversary to the church and kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ in the land. Now, we being pursued by the same adversary for our lives, while owning the interest of Christ, according to his word and the National and Solemn League and Covenants, judge it our duty (though unworthy, yet hoping we are true members of the church of Scotland) to add our testimony to those of the worthies who have gone before us in witnessing against all things that have been done publicly on prejudice of his interest from the beginning of the work of reformation, especially from the year 1648 downward to the year 1660; but more particularly those since, as—the act

rescissory; the act establishing abjured prelacy; the declaration renouncing the covenants; the Glasgow act, whereby upwards of *three hundred* faithful ministers were ejected from their churches, because they could not comply with prelacy; the act for imposing an holy anniversary day, to be kept yearly upon the 29th of May, as a day of rejoicing and thanksgiving for the setting up of an usurping power to the destroying the interest of Christ in the land; the act establishing the sacrilegious supremacy; and all the acts of council, warrants, and instructions for indulgence; and all their other sinful and unlawful acts." In confirmation of this testimony, and to evidence their dislike of the acts testified against, they burned them publicly at the cross of Rutherglen, as their rulers unjustly, perfidiously, and presumptuously burned the sacred covenants. The paper was unsubscribed, but a notandum attached to it announced the readiness of its authors to do so if necessary, and to enlarge and avow it with all their suffering brethren in the land.

Immediately after affixing their declaration, Hamilton and his party retired towards Evandale and Newmills, in the neighbourhood of which Mr. Douglas proposed to preach next Lord's day. The news of this daring defiance spread like wildfire; and being proclaimed so near Glasgow, where the king's troops lay, was considered by their commanders as a personal insult. James Grahame, Laird of Claverhouse, already notorious as one of the vile tools of the prelates, and active oppressors of his country, having been intrusted with extensive powers by the privy council for suppressing these abhorred conventicles, received new instructions to search out and seize, kill and destroy, all who had any share in the appearance at Rutherglen. Nor did he allow them to remain long an idle letter. Mr. John King was to preach at Hamilton on Sabbath. Claverhouse set out with his band on the Saturday, and surprised and took him prisoner, with about fourteen countrymen, chiefly strangers, who had come to hear. Some

few escaped and carried tidings to their friends, who formed the design of rescuing their minister. Next day, the meeting was to be held, and they expected to receive a reinforcement from them. Claverhouse, who had also been apprised of the conventicle, resolved to disperse it before returning to Glasgow with his captives.

Accordingly, upon the Sabbath morning (June 1st,) he marched thither, driving the prisoners before him like sheep, bound two and two together. Public worship was begun when the accounts came of his approach. Mr. Douglas stopped, prayed a little, then laid the case before the people. All that had arms, willingly offered themselves to defend the assembled company, and prevent their dispersion or capture. They mustered about forty horse and one hundred and fifty or two hundred foot, not one-third of whom had muskets; the rest carried forks and halberts. They were led by Mr. (afterwards Colonel) Cleland, who fell nobly at the head of the Cameronian regiment in the battle of Dunkeld, Balfour, Rathillet, John Nisbet of Hardhill, and Mr. Hamilton; and although untrained, were resolute and eager for action. They came up with the enemy on a moor "half a mile bewest Drumclog." They received their first fire resolutely, returned it with effect, and instantly closed hand to hand. The encounter was short. The soldiers, who probably did not expect such a reception, gave way and fled, leaving about forty killed and wounded, besides a number of prisoners who were disarmed and dismissed. The accounts of this battle which we have, are not very distinct, but from what Russell says, who was present, the chief merit appears to have belonged to Cleland. He drew up a party of foot armed with pikes, who received and broke the attack upon the right of their small party, led on by Clavers himself, who had his horse shot and very narrowly escaped. Of the countrymen only five or six were killed; and it was the general belief, if they had pursued their advantage without giving the soldiers time to rally

they would have completely annihilated the whole party. But they only pursued them a short way, and returned to the meeting in triumph with their minister.

They could not now separate with safety; they therefore resolved to continue together, and having refreshed themselves, they marched to Hamilton, where they remained all night. Flushed by their success, they determined to proceed to Glasgow to attack the enemy's head-quarters. Accordingly, on Monday they marched thither—their numbers swelling as they went. Grahame, however, had carried the intelligence of his own disgrace there before them, to lessen which he naturally exaggerated their force; and the troops under Lord Ross were prepared to receive them. The main body was stationed at the cross, all approaches to which were barricaded by carts, wood, and such articles as came readiest. A few men were distributed in the houses adjoining, from the windows of which they could annoy the countrymen as they advanced. The latter entered the town in two divisions—the one under the direction of John Balfour, by the High Street; the other under Hamilton, along the Gallowgate. The men attacked the entrenchments bravely; but after a contest, in which they lost about six or eight killed, and a few wounded, they were obliged to desist; but they retired in good order, and halting at a little distance to the eastward, drew up their small force and offered the soldiers battle upon even ground and equal terms—a challenge the latter did not choose to accept; and they marched back to Hamilton, less disheartened by their failure, than encouraged by the numerous accessions their ranks had received by the way.*

The royal troops, after they were withdrawn,

* Wodrow says, Hamilton skulked upon this occasion. "Some question if he looked the soldiers in the face, and say that he stepped into a house at the Gallowgate bridge till the soldiers retired." Vol. ii. p. 47. I should rather think this inconsistent with the fact of his being chosen so soon after to the chief command—only there is no accounting for the variations of mere animal courage.

sallied forth and vented their dastardly spleen on the dead bodies left in the streets. They would not allow them decent burial; and when some of the townfolks, under covert of night, took the corpses into their houses and prepared them for interment, the ruffians broke in and sacrilegiously stripped off the dead-clothes, and carried away the linen for sale. Even when at length women were tacitly permitted to perform the last sad rites, they attacked them as they were proceeding to the burial-ground, robbed them of their plaids, cut the mortcloths, and obliged them to leave the coffins in the alms-house, near the High Church, where they remained for several days, till the military were called to other service.

Immediately on receiving intelligence of these transactions, the council met and issued a vehement proclamation, denouncing the insurgents as traitors, whose rebellion was aggravated by "their having formerly tasted of the royal bounty and clemency," whereunto they owed their lives and fortunes, which had been forfeited by their former rebellious practices, under the cloak of religion—the ordinary colour and pretext of rebellion. Their transactions at Rutherglen, &c. were declared to be open, manifest, and horrid rebellion and high treason, for which the actors and their adherents ought to be pursued as professed traitors; and they were called upon to lay down their weapons and surrender their persons within twenty-four hours, to the Earl of Linlithgow, commander-in-chief, or other officer or magistrates, on pain of being holden and proceeded against as incorrigible and desperate traitors, incapable of mercy or pardon; while they were not assured of pardon if they should surrender themselves upon these terms.

Two days after, another proclamation was sent forth, ordering the militia to hold themselves to act with the regulars, as they should be required by the council, which was quickly followed by a third ordering all the heritors and freeholders to attend the king's host—those of the western shires excepted. Meanwhile Lord Ross withdrew from Glasgow

and marching eastward was joined by the Earl of Linlithgow at Larbert-moor, whence they sent despatches to the council, entreating them to apply to his majesty for assistance from England. The council wrote to Lauderdale for the required help, and at the same time ordered the forces to cover Edinburgh. On the 7th of June they were cantoned in the vicinity.

During the encampment about Hamilton, the insurgents received considerable accessions. Captain John Paton of Meadowhead, arrived with a body of horse from Fenwick, Newmills, and Galston; Mr. John Welsh brought a considerable number from Carrick;* and a considerable number of others assembled from various quarters without any leaders, or at least without any whose names are recorded. The whole party when at their highest, never exceeded four thousand permanent, though they varied considerably at different times owing to the numbers who came and went away again, when they perceived the confusion that reigned, from a total want of training, and of officers to train the men, scarcely one among them having ever been in the army, which was wofully increased by the melancholy dissensions and bitter disputations by which they were agitated; for no person of influence, either gentlemen or men of property, came among them.

The first palpable difference was about a declaration emitted at Rutherglen, which several considered as not sufficiently explicit, yet were willing to adhere to it; considering that the shortness of the time and the hurry in which those who drew it up necessarily were, required that some allowance should be made; and it contained, in sufficiently plain terms, the grand objects for which they contended—redress of their grievances, and correction of the abuses in the affairs of church and state. The others insisted that an enumeration of the sins and defections of the times should be inserted at length, and the indulgence especially witnessed against.

* When they entered Glasgow, they removed the heads of their friends which were stuck up in and about that city.

These ranged in two parties; the former, *i. e.* the moderate, were guided by the Laird of Kaitloch, Mr. John Welsh, Mr. David Hume, and some other ministers; the latter, *i. e.* the ultras, by Mr. Robert Hamilton, with Mr. Thomas Douglas, Donald Cargill, and the great majority of the younger brethren in the ministry. At the first meeting, after some warm discussion, the following sketch was agreed to:—

“We who are here providentially convened in our own defence, for preventing and removing the mistakes and misapprehensions of all, especially of those whom we wish to be and hope are friends, do declare our present purposes and endeavours to be only in vindication and defence of the true reformed religion in its professions and doctrine, as we stand obliged thereunto by our ‘National and Solemn League and Covenants,’ and that solemn ‘Acknowledgment of sins,’ and ‘Engagement to duties,’ made and taken in the year 1648, declaring against popery, prelacy, erastianism, and all things depending thereupon.” This did not give general satisfaction; and the few days they were allowed to be together, while the enemy were gathering around them, which they ought to have employed in assiduously improving their discipline, and in military exercises, they wasted in theological tilting and polemical skirmishes among themselves, about matters which, even after a victory, it would have been as well to have made the subject of forbearance, but which in their then situation could answer no other purpose than that of paralysing an effort, whose only chance of success depended on the united, vigorous, and unremitting direction of all their energies and resources, mental and physical, to one grand end.

That those who had been nurtured in the wilds, and borne for eighteen years the brunt of the persecution, and whose intercourse had been chiefly confined to their fellow-sufferers, should have been keen, contracted, and irritable, was what was naturally to have been expected; and yet, from the ac-

counts we have of these disputes, those who assumed the name of moderates appear to have been mainly to blame by their unyielding contendings for milder principles and softer proceedings. As they then stood, to talk of moderation was to invite disaster. They had been declared rebels, and when they drew the sword, no hope remained but what its point could purchase. To attempt soothing their opponents by honeyed words was like hushing the hungry tiger with a song. The moderate party objected to the clause, "All things depending thereupon," and desired it to be erased as too closely pointing out the indulgence at a time when every bone of contention should be taken away from the Presbyterians that might tempt them to bite and devour one another. The ultras urged that the expressions were general; and, in their opinion, erastianism was as directly abjured by their church as prelacy, and that the indulgence was a fruit of erastianism.* Contentions grew hot and love waxed cold.

At another meeting—for their meetings and debates were endless—it was proposed that a day should be set aside for fasting and humiliation. Alas! it turned out to be a day of strife and confusion. In their confession of sins, the moderates were now for generals, the ultras for particulars, and enumerated—1st, The universal rioting throughout the land on the king's return in 1660, the many public abuses then committed, and the frequent profaning of the Lord's name. 2d, The establishing and complying with prelacy. 3d, Neglecting a public testimony against the tyrannical hierarchy, and against defacing the

The doctrine of Erastus, a German divine, who asserted that the pastoral office was only persuasive, like that of the professorship of any other science; that the communion was free to all, and that a minister could only dissuade, but not prohibit, a vicious character from participating in the ordinance of the Lord's Supper; and that the punishment of all ecclesiastical offences, as well as the support of all ecclesiastical institutions, belonged to the civil magistrate, upon the principle that they who paid servants had a right to demand their service in the manner they thought most proper, and to dismiss them if they disobeyed their orders.

Lord's glorious work and overturning the right government of his house. 4th, The sin of taking unlawful bonds. 5th, The paying cess; and, 6th, Complying with abjured erastianism:—ministers appearing at the court of usurping rulers, and there accepting from them warrants and instructions, founded upon that sacrilegious supremacy to admit them to, and regulate them in, the exercise of their ministry; their leading blindfold along with them many of the godly in that abjured course; their indulgence becoming a public sin and snare both to themselves and others.

The moderates would not consent to the enumeration, though it is not easy to imagine upon what grounds men who contended for the supreme headship of Christ in his church could consistently oppose it. No fast was kept; and, if we may be allowed to judge from a communication between the heads of the parties, perhaps it was as well that it was not. Mr. Hamilton sent a message to the ministers of the moderate side to preach against the indulgence, otherwise he and a number of the officers would not come to hear them. Mr. Rae, one of the ministers, returned for answer—"That he had been wrestling against erastianism in the magistracy for many years, and he would never truckle to the worst kind of erastianism in the common people; that he would receive no instruction from him nor any of them as to the subject and matter of his sermons; and wished he might mind what belonged to him, and not go beyond his sphere and station.

Differing so widely respecting the testimony they were to bear to the cause, as little could they agree with regard to their manifesto to the nation. In a meeting of their officers,* the ultras proposed that the Rutherglen declaration should be adopted as the basis; the moderates, that the king's authority should be expressly acknowledged, in terms of the third article of the Solemn League and Covenant, in which

* This is styled indiscriminately, a meeting of officers or a council of war.

they swore "to defend the king's majesty's person and authority in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdom, that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his majesty's just power and greatness." To this the others answered—that, as they had not urged any positive declaration against him, although he had in fact declared war against his people; and all the oppression, cruelty, and persecution in Scotland of which they complained, and for the redress of which they were now in arms, were carried on in his name—they could not consistently with their previous declarations, nor with the covenants which bound the whole land, first to God and then to one another, and then to the king only in defence of the true religion, which he had actually overturned by setting up prelacy, ruined the covenanted work of reformation and the liberties of the nation, persecuted to death the supporters of both, and broken the conditions of government sworn to at his coronation, on which his right and their allegiance were founded.

The ultras were right in the abstract; and had they known how to mould it to practical purposes, they might have anticipated, as they certainly prepared the way for, the Revolution of 1688; that sound, practical exposition of the principles which the others missed, by contending for what is utterly impossible under the present constitution of human nature—uniformity in a religious creed and civil liberty to be held together in a nation, composed of reasoning beings, susceptible of different views of the same truths, and allowed to exercise their reasoning powers. I am strongly inclined to believe, however, that much personal feeling mixed up in the controversy, and that the moderates allowed themselves to be led astray by an especial opposition to Robert Hamilton; and by showing this too openly, united to that politico-religious demagogue the honest and upright party, who were induced to suspect some lurking trimming policy in the measures of the

moderates, because they appeared to them to encourage an accommodation with the enemy upon a compromise of principle. The others carried their doctrine of submission to the civil government to a length unwarrantable in free countries; and Scotland ought to have been a free country. There are reciprocal duties between the people and their rulers; and it is against one of the first principles of our nature, to assert that either of the parties have a right to violate their obligations, merely because they happen to have the means of so doing.

While these disputes were distracting the Presbyterians in Scotland, intrigue and emulation were dividing the councils of their enemies in London. The wretched Charles found that licentiousness was not the road to happiness, and that concubinage did not tend to promote domestic felicity. With the struggles of panders for domination over the poor heartless thing, that revelled amid the gaudy trappings of royalty, I do not intend to pollute my pages; it is sufficient to say, that his favourite bastard, whom he had decorated with the title of Duke of Buccleuch and Monmouth, gained the perilous and to him fatal eminence of commander-in-chief of his forces in Scotland. The temper of this young man was amiable; and, unlike the Stuarts, he both wished and endeavoured to promote the welfare of the people and adhere to moderate and salutary counsels; but these dispositions rendered him obnoxious to those who ruled the counsels of his father. The Duke of York, by his imperious, severe, and obstinate temper, had long held Charles in bondage, and prevented the exercise of any humane feeling towards the Scottish insurgents, which, however transient, he on some occasions appeared to possess; and Lauderdale, instigated and supported by the clergy of Scotland, preferred pursuing a line of conduct which recommended him to them rather than what accorded either with the circumstances of the times or the real stability of the throne.

Monmouth's instructions were in accordance with

the wishes of the prelatie rulers—forbidding him to negotiate with the rebels, whom he was to extirpate, not to reconcile. On the 18th of June, he arrived at Edinburgh, and was admitted a privy counsellor. Next day, he proceeded to assume the command of the army, which lay within two miles of the Kirk of Shotts, and, having been reinforced by some troops from England, amounted to ten thousand men. A letter from the king immediately followed his Grace, thanking the council for their diligence in endeavouring to meet the emergency, and informing them that it was his royal will and pleasure “that they should prosecute the rebels with fire and sword, and all other extremities of war, and particularly requiring them to use their utmost endeavours in getting the best intelligence of all such as were engaged in this unnatural rebellion, being fully resolved to bring the ringleaders among them to condign punishment suitable to their notorious and insolent conduct; likewise putting them in mind that all care and diligence be used for discovering the murderers of the late Archbishop of St. Andrews, by all the severity that law would allow, and punishing with all rigour the actors or accessories to that horrid murder, their re-setters or abettors;” thus anticipating, or rather authorizing, the subsequent watchword, which became the warrant for unrelenting and indiscriminate massacre.

The council, in reply, expressed the universal joy which this gracious communication had created among them and extolled that royal wisdom which had given such just measures and directions for suppressing the insurrection and securing his own government, together with their religion, lives, and properties, which would all undoubtedly have been endangered by the frequency of similar attempts that would have ensued, if the present insolent rebels, who now disturbed the kingdom, had been ordered to be spared or gently dealt with; thus, in like manner, anticipating the cruelties in which they afterwards rioted. A copy of the king’s letter was

immediately forwarded to Monmouth for his guidance.

The moderate friends of the Whigs in Edinburgh also sent instructions to them, respecting the course they thought they should pursue, especially warning them against being led astray by the hotheaded party among them; advising them to send propositions to the Duke, narrating the oppressions they had endured, and cheerfully professing their fidelity to the king, for whom they were ready to sacrifice every thing they held most dear, excepting only their religion and liberty; and, above all, to avoid fighting, except with seen advantage by surprisal or ambuscade—to keep close together, sending scouts out in all directions, and particularly not to be too secure upon the Sabbath-day; while they kept up close intercourse with their friends throughout the country, and endeavoured to induce them to join the army in defence of the grand principles held not only by themselves, but by a great sympathizing body throughout England.

A wholesome advice, unfortunately tendered in vain! Multitudes who came to the camp, when they perceived the distractions that prevailed, left it despairing of any happy issue, and not only weakened the troops by their desertion, but prevented many who were coming, or preparing to come, from joining so discordant an assemblage. This again caused accusations and recriminations, each side upbraiding the other for being the occasion of such mischief and visible hinderance to the good cause, destroyed all cordial co-operation, and prevented the discipline of the troops; so that, when the king's forces approached, they presented the melancholy appearance of a disjointed rabble of countrymen, whose numbers did not exceed six thousand men. The necessity of naming officers who had had some experience in warlike affairs was pressing, and the leaders met for this purpose on the 21st; but after a stormy discussion, not on the military merits of the men, but on the question, whether any should be intrusted with

command who had owned the indulgence? Mr. Hamilton and a number of his supporters withdrew in anger from the meeting, without having come to any determination. A few of the temperate who remained, drew up a respectful supplication to Monmouth, stating their grievances, and requesting liberty, under safe conduct, for a few of their number to state their grievances, that they might obtain through his favour some speedy and effectual redress.

Next day, the armies were within sight of each other. The king's troops spread upon Bothwell-moor, with their advanced guard in the town; the Whigs stationed along Hamilton-moor, on the south side of the river Clyde, with their advanced guard at the bridge—an old narrow structure, the only pass by which they were assailable. Early that morning, Mr. David Hume, Mr. Fergusson of Caitloch, and Mr. John Welsh went in disguise to Monmouth's head-quarters. On passing, they were politely saluted by Claverhouse and had ready access to his Grace. When introduced, they stated their demands, which were—that they might be allowed the free exercise of their religion, and suffered to attend the ordinances dispensed by Presbyterian ministers without molestation; that a free Parliament and General Assembly might be called to settle the affairs of church and state; and an indemnity offered to all who were or had been in arms. The Duke, who heard them with great attention, replied that the king had given him no instructions respecting these matters; he therefore could not say any thing about them, only he assured the delegates he would lay their requests before his majesty, and as he thought them reasonable, had no doubt they would be granted; but in the meanwhile, he could enter into no terms till they laid down their arms and threw themselves entirely upon the royal mercy. He then dismissed them, and gave them half an hour to return him an answer from their friends whether they would consent to his proposals. At the same time he issued orders to put the troops in motion.

When the commissioners reported the Duke's demand, that they should lay down their arms previous to terms being offered, Mr. Hamilton, who had now assumed the command, laughed at it, and said, "Aye! and hang next." No answer was therefore returned. As soon as the half hour's truce expired, Lord Livingston advanced at the head of the foot-guards with the cannon to force the bridge. He was firmly received by a small determined band under Ure of Shargarton and Major Learmont, who drove them back twice, and would even have taken the cannon had they been properly supported, but their ammunition failed; and when they sent to the commander for a fresh supply, or a reinforcement of men better provided, they received orders to retire upon the main body, which, having no other alternative, they did, and with heavy hearts left their vantage ground, and with it every chance of success.* The royal army then passed the bridge, and drew up upon the bank with their artillery in front, to which the patriots had nothing to oppose but one field-piece and two large uncouth unmounted muskets; yet did they force Lord Livingston to halt, till the cannon having been opened upon the left, threw the undisciplined horse of the countrymen into disorder, and the route immediately became universal.†

* The honour of this defence is claimed by Russell for Hackston of Rathillet, who also had a command; but it is universally allowed that the nominal General, Hamilton, was among the first to flee.

† Although we may lament the dreadful and bloody years which followed this victory, and hold up to merited execration the persecuting prelates, yet, perhaps, the descendants of the persecuted have reason to bless God that the ultra-covenanters did not gain that day. It would have given the chief power into the hands of Robert Hamilton, who commanded upon that occasion; and what use he would have made of it may be fairly conjectured from the following vindication of his conduct in murdering in cold blood a prisoner after the battle of Drumclog. It is contained in a letter from him addressed to "the anti-popish, anti-prelatic, anti-sectarian, true Presbyterian remnant of the church of Scotland," dated December 7, 1685:—"As for that accusation they bring against me of killing the poor man (as they call him) at Drumclog, I may easily guess that my accusers can be no other but some of the house of Saul or Shemei, or some such risen again to espouse that poor gentleman's (*Saul*) his

Few fell in the fight, but the pursuit was cruel and bloody; upwards of four hundred were cut down, and twelve hundred who were on the moor, were forced to surrender at discretion. The slaughter would have been greater had not Monmouth, in spite of the advice of some of the other Generals, ordered the vanquished to be spared, when the yeomanry cavalry especially were executing cruel vengeance on the unresisting fugitives. Among the prisoners were Messrs. King and Kid, ministers, who were, however, only preserved by his humanity from military violence, that they might afterwards satiate the cruelty of their clerical enemies by a more disgraceful execution, if dying in any manner for the cause of truth can be called disgraceful. The treatment of the captives by the inferior officers, to whose charge they were committed, was unnecessarily vindictive and severe. They were stripped nearly naked, and made to lie flat on the ground, nor suffered to change their position; and when some of them ventured to raise themselves to implore a draught of water, they were instantly shot. They were afterwards tied two and two and driven to Edinburgh, to be placed at the council's disposal.

Nor was the cruelty confined to those taken in battle; numbers of unarmed men, who were merely

quarrel against honest Samuel, for his offering to kill that poor man, *Agug*, after the king's giving him quarters. But I being called to command that day, gave out the word that no quarter should be given; and returning from pursuing Claverhouse, one or two of these fellows were standing in the midst of our friends, and some were debating for quarters, some against it. None could blame me to decide the controversy; and I bless the Lord for it to this day!! There were five more that, without my knowledge, got quarters, who were brought to me after we were a mile from the place as having got quarters—which I reckoned among the first steppings aside; and seeing that spirit amongst us at that time, I then told it to some that were with me (to my best remembrance it was honest old John Nisbet) that I feared the Lord would not honour us to do much for him, I shall only say this—I desire to bless his holy name that, since ever he helped me to set my face to his work, I never had nor would take a favour from enemies, either on right or left hand, and desired to give as few."—*Faithful Contendings*, p 201 *et seq*



Battle of Bothwell Bridge.

coming to hear sermon at the camp, were murdered on the road by the soldiery; and one atrocious case stands painfully conspicuous. Arthur Inglis of Cambusnethan, while quietly reading his Bible in a furrow, was observed by a party who were patrolling the country in search of delinquents, and being actually discovered in this treasonable fact, one of the soldiers fired at the traitor; but missing, the good man startled a little, looked round for a moment, and then, without appearing to be alarmed, resumed his reading, when another of the miscreants, by order of his viler commander, clave his skull, and left him dead on the spot! The numbers who were thus wantonly massacred, are variously stated; but if we take the lowest, two hundred—considering the then state of the population—it shows, in sufficiently strong colours, a barbarous waste of life, and the danger of committing such extravagant powers into the hands of an unbridled soldiery.

Yet terrible as these military executions were, they were mild and merciful compared with the legal atrocities which followed. As after Pentland no faith was kept with the prisoners, who were treated—as men who fail in struggling for their rights always are—more like wild, noxious animals, than fellow-creatures of the human form; a lesson to patriots and to the oppressed when they rise against their tyrants:—better perish on the high places of the field, than submit to languish out a few mournful years beneath the tender mercies of the victors. While being driven to the capital, the captive patriots were exposed to every indignity the ingenious malignity of their persecutors could invent, especially being made, as they passed along, a gazing-stock to the crowd, who taunted them with such questions, as—where is your prophet Welsh, who told you ye should win the day? where are your covenants that were never to fail? or such sarcasms, as—aye! this is your testimony—this is standing up for the gude auld cause! see if it will stand up for you! When they arrived in the capital, the council ordered the magistrates to place

them in the Greyfriar's church-yard, with a sufficient number of sentinels over them, to guard them night and day; especially during the night, they were to be rigorously watched to prevent escape; and such was their determination to enforce vigilance, that the officers were ordered to keep exact rolls of the sentinels, and if any of the prisoners were amissing, they were to throw dice and answer body for body. For nearly five months were the greater part of the sufferers kept in this open space, without any covering from the rain or shelter from the tempest. During the day, they generally stood, but had not even the miserable privilege of a short walk. During night, the cold damp ground was their bed, without a covering; and if any attempted to rise, for whatever purpose, the sentinels had orders to fire upon them. With great difficulty did any of their friends obtain permission to visit them, or bring them provisions, and these were chiefly females, who were exposed to the grossest insults from the guards; and not infrequently were the provisions they carried destroyed, and the water spilt, before either could reach the starving prisoners; for the government allowance which the Duke of Monmouth procured for them, was, besides being of the worst quality, very scanty. Nor did the inhumanity of the ruffian soldiery allow them to retain money or any article they could pilfer from them, even their shoes, stockings, and upper garments were carried off; and when blankets or any bed-clothes were brought, they were immediately seized as lawful plunder.

Before Monmouth left Scotland, he procured the liberation of some hundreds, upon their subscribing a bond, enacting themselves in the books of the privy council not to take up arms without or against his majesty's authority; and had also obtained for a few of them the stinted favour of wretched huts, to be erected as the winter approached. The bond became another cause of unhappy difference and alienation among the sufferers themselves. Those who refused amounted to about four hundred, and much interest

was made to procure their deliverance, especially by some who thought they might sign the bond without sin, endeavouring to persuade them to submit, as it did not involve the sacrifice of any of those principles for which they had taken arms. The others, however, more consistently, viewed their subscribing the bond as an admission that their previous rising had been criminal, and therefore persisted in their refusal. The hardships they had so long endured, and their mutual exhortations, heightened and strengthened their scruples, till they became absolutely impenetrable to whatever could be urged upon the subject, nor would listen either to entreaty or argument. Yet upwards of an hundred contrived to effect an escape; some by the purchased connivance of the guards, some by climbing the walls at the hazard of their lives, others by changing their clothes, and some in women's apparel.

The remnant who remained firm, were doomed to slavery in the plantations; and their fate, had earth terminated their hopes, was melancholy; but viewed as that of those who through much tribulation must enter the kingdom, was enviable—inexpressibly enviable! when compared with that of their oppressors, who unwittingly sent them by the shortest road to heaven.* Their numbers, estimated at about two hundred and fifty-seven, were to be transported to Barbadoes and sold for slaves. Mr. Blackader thus narrates the tragical story:—"The prisoners were all shipped in Leith roads (15th November) in an English captain's vessel, to be carried to America. He was a profane, cruel wretch, and used them barbarously, stewing them up between decks, where they could not get up their heads, except to sit or lean, and robbing them of many things their friends had

* James Corsan, in a letter to his wife, dated from Leith roads, says—"All the trouble they met with since Bothwell was not to be compared to one day in their present circumstances; for their uneasiness was beyond words: yet he owns in very pathetic terms, that the consolations of God overbalanced all, and expresses his hopes that they are near their port, and heaven is opening for them."—*Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 83.

sent them for their relief. They never were in such strait and pinch, particularly through scorching drowth, as they were allowed little or no drink and pent up together, till many of them fainted and were almost suffocated. This was in Leith roads, besides what straits they would readily endure in the custody of such a cruel wretch. In this grievous plight, these captives were carried away in much anguish of spirit, pinched bodies, and disquieted consciences, (at least those who had taken the bond.*) They were tossed at sea with great tempest of weather for three weeks, till at last their ship cast anchor, to ride awhile among the Orkney Isles, till the storm might calm. But after casting anchor, the ship did drive with great violence upon a rugged shore about the isles, and struck about ten at night on a rock. The cruel captain saw the hazard all were in, and that they might have escaped as some did; yet, as I heard, he would not open the hatches to let the poor prisoners fend for themselves. He with his seamen made their escape by a mast laid over between the ship and the rock ashore. Some leapt on the rock.

“The ship being strong, endured several strokes ere she bilged. The captain and all the rest of the seamen, with about fifty prisoners, some of whom had been above deck before, others had broke out some other way down to the den, and so up again; so that they were to land with their life in: one or two died ashore. While these were thus escaping, the rest who had all been closed up between decks, crying most pitifully, and working as they could to break forth of their prison, but to little purpose; and all these, near two hundred, with lamentable shrieks of dying men—as was related to the writer by one who escaped—did perish. The most part were cast out on the shore dead, and after buried by the country people.”†

* It appears that some who had taken the bond, had, notwithstanding, been still detained.

† It is pleasant to notice instances of kindness and benevolence, in times such as these, among the influential men of the prelatial

Nothing in the whole annals of these persecuting times presents a stronger argument against committing civil power to the clergy, than the uniform strenuous opposition made by the bishops and their satellites to every moderate or clement proposal of the Duke of Monmouth. The council, where they possessed a strong majority before his Grace arrived from the army, had written to the king for instructions how to dispose of the prisoners, promising "at the same time, on their part, to execute the laws against rebellion, faction, and schism, as the king should direct them, without gratifying the humours of such as are apt to grow more insolent by his majesty's grace and goodness, who have been encouraged and hardened in an obstinate opposition to the church by his majesty's condescensions and indulgences, and proposing that, after the ringleaders were

party. I quote from the *Memoirs of Brysson*, edited by Dr. McCrie, who remarks—"One of these kind lairds is evidently Sir William Drummond of Hawthornden, son of the celebrated poet," p. 285, *Note*—"After our defeat, I wist not what to do. However, after some time lurking, I ventured home, where my sister and family were together, who had suffered many wrongs from the enemy, my mother being dead a year before this fell out; and that which is very remarkable, I dwelt betwixt two lairds who were both out in arms against us; and one of them never conformed to the Presbyterian government to his dying day, though he lived thirty-five years after this. And the other was of the same judgment, though he complied with the government afterwards. However, the Lord moved them to favour me in the day of my distress. For they sent for my sister before I came home, and advised her to put all the goods from off the ground, and every thing but what was of present use for the family. One of the gentlemen was so kind, that he desired my sister to send over the milk kine and let them feed with his, and to send over her servants morning and evening to milk them for the use of the family. And ordered her to pack up all things that she thought the enemy might make a prey of, and send them over to his house; which accordingly she did, where they were secure. The other gentleman was no less kind, for he desired her to send the milk ewes over to his ground that she might not lose their milk, and to send her servants to milk them. After that she sent away the horses, oxen, and other yeld beasts, to a friend who lived on the Earl of Wigton's ground, who received them willingly. Thus the Lord trysted me with favour both from my friends and foes, for which I desire to adore his wonderful providence."—*Memoirs of George Brysson*, pp. 284-5.

punished capitally, the rabble should be transported to the plantations never to return.”

This model of princes, for whose restoration the cannon of the Castle of Edinburgh still continue annually to be fired, and the public offices still keep holy-day, returned a gracious answer, approving of their proposal to send three or four hundred to the plantations, and bring the ringleaders before the justiciary, after which the rest might be dismissed upon signing the bond.

The treatment of the majority has been narrated. We shall now notice the proceedings against those considered ringleaders. The most conspicuous were their ministers, Messrs. King and Kid. Wodrow mentions an incident which occurred while the former was being carried to Edinburgh, too remarkable to be passed over, especially as that historian is neither a credulous nor an enthusiastic writer:—

“Upon the Lord’s day, orders were given to a party of soldiers immediately to march east and carry Mr. John King with them to Edinburgh; and we will find it was their ordinary [practice] to march, and especially to transport prisoners from place to place, on the Sabbath. My accounts of them are, that they were English dragoons. One of them, a profane and profligate wretch, after they were in the street and on horseback, ready to ride off with their prisoner, called for some ale, and drunk a health to the ‘Confusion of the Covenants,’ and another to the ‘Destruction of the People of God,’ and some more very horrid, and rode off. He met with one of his comrades at the Stable-green Port, who, knowing nothing of the matter, asked him where he was going? He answered, ‘to convoy King to hell,’ and galloped up to the rest, whistling and singing. The judgment of God did not linger as to this wretch; he was not many paces forward, in the hollow path a little from the Port, till his horse stumbled; and somewhat or other touching his piece—which was primed and cocked it seems—the carbine went off and shot him dead on the spot. The party went on

and carried Mr. King to Edinburgh." Mr. Kid was brought thither and imprisoned along with his friend in the tolbooth.

The tyranny of Charles, which was exercised in England as well as in Scotland, had excited much discontent there; and Charles' advisers were extremely anxious to trace out some grand conspiracy which might enable them to resort to extreme measures there as well as in Scotland, that a similar despotism might be established in both kingdoms. The king therefore directed that these two should be especially examined by torture, in order if possible to discover the conspirators, with which the Scottish managers were very ready to comply, many of them anticipating a rich harvest of new forfeitures. Being disappointed in this, the prisoners were ordered to stand trial before the justiciary. Previously to being brought to the bar, they presented a petition, praying they might be allowed to prove in exculpation—that they were only present with the army casually, and not intentionally, and were in a manner detained prisoners by them; and such naked presence, without assistance, was not criminal; and that they were so far from being incendiaries to incite the people, they, on the contrary, entreated them to lay down their arms. 2d, That the Duke of Monmouth, by his commission, had power to pardon; and they offered to prove by witnesses that he had proffered them a pardon if they would lay down their arms, and that they had accepted it. 3d, They were willing to engage to live peaceably, and never to keep field-meetings hereafter.

The lords refused this equitable request, or, as Fountainhall expressed it, "repelled their exculpation in respect of the libel," and, on the 28th of July, their trial proceeded. They were accused of having been in the rebellion and in company with rebels, who, in May last, burned the king's laws; that they had preached at several field-conventicles where persons were in arms; that they did preach, pray, and

exercise to rebels, and continued with them till their defeat, and had been taken prisoners.

Their own confessions, that of Kid emitted under torture, were the only evidence produced against them, and coincided with what they had offered to prove. It was deemed sufficient that they had been with the rebels, and, notwithstanding any extenuating circumstances, must therefore be deemed rebels themselves. The jury brought them in guilty, in terms of their own confession; and the lords sentenced them to be taken to the market cross of Edinburgh upon Thursday, August 14, betwixt two and four of the clock in the afternoon, and to be hanged on a gibbet; and when dead, that their heads and right arms be cut off and disposed of as the council think fit; and that all their land be forfeited, as being guilty of the treasonable crimes foresaid. The judges themselves were so convinced of the peculiar hardship of the case, that they allowed this unusual space between sentence and execution, on purpose that they might have time to apply for a remission, and Mr. Stevenson, a friend of theirs, rode post to London to apply for it; but all the avenues to mercy were shut. An evil influence pervaded the whole court; and it is worthy of remark, and ought never to be forgotten, that the most gay, most boisterously mirthful, most joyous, and most irreligious court, headed by the most facetious and witty monarch that ever sat upon the British throne, was the most unfeeling, cold-hearted, cruel, revengeful, and vile that has ever disgraced the annals of our country.

An act of indemnity had been passed; and it might naturally have been supposed that these good men would have received the advantage of it, but the very day on which it was to be proclaimed, was the day chosen on which they were ordered to be executed; so dead to every sense of common decency, as well as of common feeling, were the then rulers of Scotland. In the forenoon of the 14th of August, the magistrates of Edinburgh proceeded to

the cross in their robes, and proclaimed the indemnity from a scaffold erected for the purpose. In the afternoon, these two worthies, on another scaffold, were put to death, as if to declare the entire worthlessness of all government clemency, whenever persons of unflinching principle were concerned. They both died with much calmness and serenity; and their dying speeches, which were afterwards published, may well rank with any of the compositions of the times, for elegant simplicity, honest integrity, and a plain energetic avowal of their principles, untainted either by party prejudice, or political enthusiasm. Mr. Kid, who was labouring under sore bodily indisposition, said—"It may be that there are a great many here that judge my lot very sad and deplorable; I must confess, death in itself is very terrible to flesh and blood; but as it is an outlet to sin, and an inlet to righteousness, it is the Christian's great and inexpressible privilege.

"And give me leave to say this, 1st, That there is something in a Christian's condition that can never put him without the reach of unsufferableness, even shame, death, and the cross being included in the promise. And if there be reconciliation between God and the soul, nothing can damp peace through our Lord Jesus Christ; it is a supporting ingredient in the bitterest cup and under the sharpest and fiercest trial he can be exposed unto. This is my mercy, I have somewhat of this to lay claim unto, viz. the intimations of pardon betwixt God and my soul; and as concerning that for which I am condemned, I magnify his grace that I never had the least challenge for it, but, on the contrary, I judge it my honour that ever I was counted worthy to be staged upon such a consideration. I declare before you all, in the sight of God, angels, and men, and in the sight of the sun and all that he has created, that I am a most miserable sinner, in regard of my original and actual transgressions. I must confess they are more than the hairs upon my head, and altogether past reckoning; I cannot but say, as Jacob said, I am

less than the least of all God's mercies; yet, I must declare, to the commendation of the freedom of his grace, that I dare not but say, He has loved me and washed me in his own blood; and well 's me this day that ever I read or heard that faithful saying, ' Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am the chief.' "

He then warned the servants of God against fomenting divisions to the detriment of the gospel, especially as there appeared at that time a great likelihood of its spreading, and dissension would prove a poison in the pot! " As for rebellion against his majesty's person or lawful authority, the Lord knows my soul abhorreth it, name and thing. Loyal I have been and wills every Christian to be so; and I was ever of this judgment to give to Cesar the things that are Cesar's, and to God the things that are God's." This excellent man and his most worthy coadjutor, not only had to suffer from the oppression of the oppressors, but from what to them was probably more trying, the cruel scourge of tongues from those they wished to esteem brethren. He therefore felt himself called upon to vindicate his character from these aspersions, and to leave a record of the doctrine he had preached. " According to the measure God has given me," he continues, " it was my endeavour to commend Christ to the hearts and souls of the people, even repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ; and if this be divisive preaching, I cannot deny it."

Mr. King expressed himself to the same effect. " I bless the Lord," said the dying martyr, " since infinite wisdom and holy providence hath so carved out my lot to die after this manner, that I die not unwillingly, neither by force; and though possibly I might have shunned such an hard sentence, if I had done things that, though I could, I durst not do; no, not for my soul, I durst not, God knoweth, redeem my life by the loss of my integrity. I bless the Lord that, since I have been a prisoner, he hath wonderfully upholden me, and made out that comfortable

word, 'fear not, be not afraid; I am with thee, I will uphold thee by the right hand of my righteousness.' I bless his name that I die not as a fool dieth, though I acknowledge I have nothing to boast of myself. I acknowledge I am a sinner, and one of the chiefest that have gone under the name of a professor of religion; yea, amongst the unworthiest of those that have preached the gospel. My sins and corruptions have been many. I have no righteousness of my own; all is vile, like filthy rags. But blessed be God there is a Saviour of sinners, Jesus Christ the righteous, and that through faith in his righteousness I have obtained mercy; through him only I desire to hope for, and to have a happy and glorious victory over sin and satan, hell and death; that I shall attain to the righteousness of the just, and be made partaker of eternal life. I know in whom I have believed, and that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day. I have in my poor capacity preached salvation in his name; and as I have preached, so do I believe. With all my soul I have commended, and yet I do commend, to all of you the riches of his grace and faith in his name, as the alone and only way whereby ye can be saved. As for those things for which sentence of death, is passed against me, I bless the Lord, rebellious I have not been. He who is the searcher of hearts, knoweth that neither my design nor practice was against his majesty's person and just government. I have been loyal, and do recommend it to all to be obedient to higher powers in the Lord.

"That I preached at field-meetings, I am so far from acknowledging that the gospel preached that way was a rendezvousing in rebellion, as it is termed, that I blessed the Lord ever he counted me worthy to be a witness to such meetings, which have been so wonderfully countenanced and owned, not only to the conviction, but even to the conversion of many thousands; if I could have preached Christ and salvation in his name, that was my work, and herein have I walked according to the light and rule of the

word of God, and as it did become—though one of the meanest—a minister of the gospel.”

Both bore witness to the doctrine and worship, discipline and government, of the Church of Scotland by kirk-sessions and Presbyteries, Synods and General Assemblies, to the solemn covenants, also to the public confessions of sins and engagements to duties, and that either as to what concerned personal reformation, or the reformation of the whole land. They also bore witness and testimony against popery, which had so greatly increased, was so much countenanced, and so openly professed. The causes of God's wrath with the land were particularly noticed and specified by Mr. King:—1st, The dreadful slights our Lord Jesus has received in the offers of his gospel. 2d, The horrid profanity that had overspread the whole land. 3d, The horrid perjury in the matter of vows and engagements. 4th, The dreadful formality and supineness in the duties of religion. 5th, Awful ingratitude; what do we render to HIM for his goodness? 6th, Want of humility under afflictions. 7th, Dreadful covetousness and minding of our own things more than the things of God; and this among all ranks.

But they both departed, praying for Scotland, and rejoicing in the faith that there would be a resurrection of the name, word, and cause of Christ in their beloved country; and their last aspirations were, “O! that he would return to this land again! repair our breaches, and heal our backslidings! O! that he were pacified towards us! O! that he would pass by Scotland again, and make our time a time of love!” Their heads and right hands were, agreeably to their sentence, cut off, and had the honour of being placed beside those of the venerated Guthrie on the Netherbow Port, to bear witness to heaven, along with them, against the iniquity of the times.

Five others were next selected for immolation as a propitiatory offering to the shade of the grand apostate. Thomas Brown, shoemaker, Edinburgh; Andrew Sword, weaver, Kirkcudbright; John Clide,

Kilbride; John Waddel, New Monkland; and James Wood, Newmills—charged with being accomplices in the murder of Archbishop Sharpe, although none of them were in that part of the country at the time when it happened—were accordingly brought before the justiciary on November 10th. Their indictment, as now became the custom, enumerated as charges against them all the occurrences which had taken place during the rising, aggravated by fictitious circumstances of the most revolting nature, *i. e.* throwing out of their graves the dead bodies of such children as belonged to the orthodox clergy in Glasgow; commanding, by a most insolent act of their supremacy and mock judicatory, all the said orthodox clergy to remove themselves, their wives and families, from the western shires, under pain of death; and threatening with fire and sword all such of his majesty's good subjects as would not join them; plundering and ravaging their houses, and carrying off their horses and arms; declining the bond; and finally, and above all, refusing to call the late rebellion a rebellion.

Previously to proceeding with the trial, the bond was offered to them judicially, both the crown lawyers and judges upon this as upon several other occasions appearing to have entertained some sympathy for the sufferers; but they peremptorily refused to take it, as they considered that they would thereby have been condemning the rising at Bothwell, and their own conduct in what they considered a justifiable assertion of the principles to which they had solemnly sworn obedience in the covenants. Four of them resolutely avowed their having appeared in arms at Bothwell, and were of course found guilty by the jury upon their own confession of that fact alone; yet, by a strange vindictive perversity, the court sentenced them "to be carried to the moor of Magus in the sheriffdom of Fife, the place where his Grace the Archbishop of St. Andrews was murdered, upon the 18th of November instant, and there to be hanged till they be dead

and their bodies to be hung in chains until they rot, and all their lands, goods, and gear to fall to his majesty's use."

James Wood was only proven by the evidence of some soldiers to have been taken at or after Bothwell without arms; and as numbers in that part of the country were known to have gone to the spot as mere spectators, a humane tribunal would have given them the advantage of the supposition that they had been present from a similar motive. But he was included in the same verdict, and doomed to the same punishment, which was accordingly inflicted at the place appointed, though some difference appears in the date of the execution and the date of their dying testimonies, the latter being dated 25th November, a week beyond the term allowed by the former, which might have been given to allow of an application to the king for mercy. If it was, they found none from their earthly sovereign; but they all died in the humble confidence of being reconciled to God by Jesus Christ.

Brown, who went up the ladder first, declared, before being turned off, "if every hair of his head were a man, and every drop of his blood were a life, he would cordially and heartily lay them down for Christ and this cause for which he was now sentenced."

Sword sang the 34th Psalm, and said to the spectators, "I cannot but commend Christ and his cross to you. I would not exchange my lot for a thousand worlds!" He had lived four or five score of miles distant from that place, and never in his life saw a bishop that he knew to be a bishop.

James Wood also affirmed that he had never been in that part of the country before, nor seen a bishop in his life; and as to appearing at Bothwell Bridge, he added, "for my own part, I am so far from thinking it rebellion, that I bless God I was a man to be there, though a man most unable for war, and unskilful, because of my infirm arm: and I bless God that gave me a life to lay down for his cause; and

though in remarkable providence he took not my life in that day, yet for holy and good ends he spared it to lay it down this day; and I am so far from rueing any thing that I had done that day in my appearing for Christ and his cause, that I would heartily wish if I were to live to see as many men every year gathered together for the defence of the gospel. I would count it my honour to be with them." "And now, my friends, I am not a whit afraid to go up this ladder, and to lay down my life this day, for it is the best day ever yet mine eyes saw." And being up almost to the top of the ladder, plucking up the napkin, he said, "Now I am going to lay down this life and to step out of time into eternity, and if I had as many lives as there are hairs on my head, or drops of blood in my body, I would willingly lay them down for Christ, and for you all that are here on Christ's account."

John Waddel, respecting the bishop's death, said, "I declare I was never over the water of Forth in this country before this time." "I am sentenced to die here because I would not call it rebellion being with my friends at Bothwell Bridge, and because I would not take that bond, binding me hereafter never to lift arms against the king nor his authority, which thing in conscience I could not do; for, whatever others think of it, to me it says, that it is a denying of all appearances for Christ and his cause that hath formerly been; and likewise it says to me, that we shall never any more lift arms for the defence of Christ's gospel against any party whatsoever that seems to oppose it, which is far from the word of God:—'If any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him,' and the covenants, National and Solemn League, which were publicly burnt in our nation—for which God in his own time will yet arise—which we are bound to maintain." "And now, sirs, I am not a whit discouraged to see my three brethren hanging before mine eyes, nor before all this multitude to pray." He then prayed; and being thrown over,

John Clide was brought to the ladder. When he had reached it, he turned round and said, "I think our being fetched here is like that which we have in Scripture about what Herodias said to Herod anent John the Baptist his head, to gratify the unsatiableness of that lewd woman; nothing would satisfy the lust of our persecutors, but our blood, and in this manner and place, to gratify the bishop's friends. But the ground of my being sentenced is because I was found in arms with that poor handful at Bothwell Bridge and would not call it rebellion; and because I would not take that bond, which thing I had in my offer, and my life upon the taking of it; and was threatened by some to take it, and allured and persuaded by others, which I could not in conscience do, because it binds me hereafter that I should not appear for Christ and his cause. I durst not do it, for I was not sure of my life, no not one moment; and I durst not procure the wrath of God at such a rate; for I judge the loss of my soul to be more dreadful than the loss of the life of my body, and likewise that it is more hazardful the offending of God than gaining the greatest advantage in the world.

"I could not stay at home, but judged it my duty to come forth; for I could not see how I could evite that curse—'Curse ye, Meroz; curse ye bitterly those that would not come out to the help of the Lord against the mighty.' And I bless the Lord for keeping me straight. I desire to speak it to the commendation of free grace; and this I am speaking from my own experience, that there are none who will lippen to God and depend upon him for direction, but they shall be kepted straight and right; but to be kept from tribulation, that is not the bargain; for he hath said that through much tribulation we must enter the kingdom, for he deals not with us as satan does—for satan lets us see the bonniest side of the tentation, but our Lord Jesus lets us see the roughest side and the blackest. After that, the sweetest thing comes! And he tells us the worst that will happen

to us; for he hath not promised to keep us from trouble, but he hath promised to be with us in it, and what needs more?

“I bless the Lord for keeping me to this very hour little would I have thought a twelvemonth since that the Lord would have taken me, a poor ploughman lad, and have honoured me so highly, as to have made me first appear for him and then keep me straight; and now hath kept me to this very hour to lay down my life for him.” At the ladder foot, he addressed his brother and other relatives who were standing and weeping around him—“Weep not for me, brother; but weep for the poor land, and seek God, and make him sure for yourself, and he shall be better to you than ten brethren. Now, farewell, all friends and relations; farewell, brother, sister, mother. Welcome, Lord Jesus; into thy hands I commit my spirit!” And then lifting the napkin off his face, he said, “Dear friends, be not discouraged because of the cross, nor at this ye have seen this day, for I hope you have seen no discouragement in me, and you shall see no more!”

While these sanguinary proceedings were going forward, the Scottish rulers were not less assiduous in the more lucrative departments of persecution, rendering even their acts of indemnity or indulgence the means of pecuniary oppression; for the conditions upon which these were granted were so hard, and the penalties for their infraction so severe, that few would accept of them, and those who did, found them both burthensome to their conscience and heavy on their purse, as a common requisition was, that the parties should bind themselves, their families, and dependents, under a specified sum, to regular attendance on the ordinances and implicit compliance with all the injunctions of the established clergy, nor harbour or hold any communication with those who acted otherwise. Absence from the parish church, if accompanied with any suspicious symptoms, constituted rebellion; and associating with rebels, was construed into the same offence, punishable by death,

but commutable by fining or confiscation of rents, money, and movables; so that pretexts were never wanting for plundering the Presbyterians, wherever "the honest party" were possessed of property.

More effectually to scour the country, the justiciary was required to divide into two sections or circuit courts; the one to traverse the west and south, the other the north and east. By a proclamation sent before them, the proprietors or occupiers of the lands on which any of the rebels lived, were required to apprehend and imprison them till the courts arrived, when they were to present them for prosecution; and if they should be either under hiding or fugitive themselves, their wives, children, and servants were to be ordered off the ground. Clerks were sent before to take up lists of all who were named in the proclamation, or should be informed against as having been at field-conventicles, or having threatened, robbed, or abused the orthodox clergy, who were all to be summoned and examined upon oath respecting their possessions in lands, money, and bonds, in order that the proceeds might be forthcoming in case they should be found guilty. Witnesses were to be prepared and held in readiness—sixteen in every rural parish, and twenty-four in every royal burgh or burgh of barony, who were to give information, under a penalty of forty pounds Scots, of all who had been at Bothwell, or who had harboured any that were there. They were also to name all whom they heard or suspected of being there. The sheriffs and justices of peace were exceedingly active in searching out the proper victims for spoliation, and so rigid in their duty, that they included several in their rolls who had been dead or left the place some time before. The curates were very zealous; and their diligence in this business, contrasted with their carelessness in their spiritual functions, did not tend much to exalt their characters or endear their office. Extensive as the range of sedition had been made, yet were the insatiable managers unsatisfied. They therefore had recourse to an old statute, long in de-

suetude, by which all who did not attend the king's host were liable to be punished with death; and changing the award into a pecuniary mulct, they with rigorous impartiality fleeced the lieges in all the devoted counties where there had been the smallest symptoms of discontent.

In October, the circuit-courts commenced their operations; but, as they either kept no record of their proceedings, or these records have been destroyed, the particulars of their extortions are but imperfectly known, only the general devastation they spread was long remembered; the absent heritors were denounced, and numbers of them forfeited, whose estates were bestowed upon noblemen, gentlemen, and soldiers, as rewards for their ready and unflinching obedience to the most cruel and barbarous decreets of the council, which the greater part of them kept hold of till the Revolution restored them to their rightful owners.

Besides this, the council gifted the movables of such as were reported to have been at Bothwell, which laid the whole of those who were known to favour Presbyterian principles open to the most vexatious visitations; for the *donators*, to whom was committed "the uplifting of the spulzie," literally "rode upon the top of their commissions," exacting to the utmost, and, by returning oftener than once, frequently subjected the same persons to repeated pillage for the same accusation. Another source of wealth to the banditti who now ravaged Scotland, was the compositions of the fines paid to the clerks, or largesses to the officers, to escape the rifling searches of the soldiers, who, whenever they chose, could enter the houses of the most peaceable and destroy their furniture by casting it about, and rip up and render useless their beds and bedclothes, by thrusting them through with their swords, to find if any "cursed Whigs" were concealed among them. The shires of Lanark and Ayr were peculiarly harassed—shires which, by every principle of sound policy, ought to have been peculiarly favoured, as they were the

most industrious and wealthy, but unfortunately they were also reputed the most pious. Wretched as the country was, yet years more grievous followed. Monmouth while there had acted with as much moderation as circumstances would permit, and discouraged as far as possible the virulent spirit of clerical domination which the bishops and curates were so eager to display. When he went to London, he had carried with him very favourable impressions of the Scottish character, and was desirous to infuse somewhat of his own kindness into the councils of his father. Before he left Edinburgh, upon receiving a petition to present to the king, he said, "I think if any place get favour, it should be Scotland; for a gallanter gentry and more loving people, I never saw;" and previous to setting out, he procured what was termed the third indulgence, which was published at Edinburgh by proclamation, June 29. By it, ministers were prohibited under pain of death from holding field-conventicles, and all who attended were to be deemed traitors; but all laws against house-conventicles south of the Tay, were suspended, "excepting the town of Edinburgh and two miles round about the same, with the lordships of Musselburgh and Dalkeith; the cities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Stirling, and a mile about each of them; being fully resolved not to suffer the seat of OUR government nor OUR universities to be pestered with any irregularities whatsoever." One preacher was to be allowed to each parish upon giving in their names to the privy council and finding security for their peaceable behaviour, provided they had not engaged in the late rebellion, nor been admitted, *i. e.* licensed, by the unconform ministers; assuring, at the same time, all who should offend, that we will maintain our authority and laws by such effectual courses, as, in ruining the authors, could not be thought rigid, especially after such unmerited favour. "This our forbearance being to continue only during our royal favour."

These tokens of kindness, stinted as they were,

proved very unpalatable to the harpies who were fattening upon the spoils of their patriotic countrymen; and they immediately unbosomed their difficulties to their friend Lauderdale, in the form of an inquiring epistle from the council, dated July 12:—"There being doubts," say they, "as to the sense of that clause in the proclamation, June 29, suspending all letters of intercommuning, and all other executions, if these words 'all other executions' do import that all persons, whether preachers at field-conventicles, or other persons, who being ringleaders of these rebellious rendezvouses, and have been seized according to former proclamations, promising sums of money to the apprehenders, the imprisoned should be set at liberty or not; and if such as have been imprisoned till they pay the fines imposed upon them by sentence of council or other judges, shall also be enlarged and set at liberty; and if these field-preachers and other persons, qualified as aforesaid, are to be liberate—they crave his majesty may declare his pleasure upon what terms and conditions they are to be liberate." The answer appears to have been favourable to the persecuted.

Several ministers who were in prison for holding conventicles, but had not been at Bothwell, were now set at liberty upon enacting themselves in the books of privy council for their peaceable behaviour, and that they would not preach at field-conventicles. Others, who could not conscientiously enter into such engagements, were dismissed for the time, upon giving security to appear when called for. Among these were fourteen prisoners on the Bass, among whom was Fraser of Brae, who tells us in his memoirs that in twenty-four hours' space, they found security for eight hundred pounds; "for we would not," he adds, "give obligation not to rise in arms, nor to forbear field-meetings, because we saw no law for it, and because it was considered by us dishonourable, and to reflect upon our ministry."

Anxious to improve this breathing time, a numerous meeting of ministers assembled at Edinburgh,

August 8, to consider what steps should be taken, and proceeded to reorganize, as far as in them lay, the presbyterial form of their broken down and afflicted church; but before they could realize their intentions, indeed almost ere they enunciated them, the wind passed over them and they were gone! Towards the latter end of the same month, Charles was attacked with fever, and his life supposed in danger. The Duke of York, who had been obliged by the ascendancy of the patriotic party to retire from court and reside abroad, was immediately sent for and quickly arrived at Windsor. His sudden appearance took his opponents by surprise, and, by the influence which he had over his brother, he effected the fall of Monmouth, who was sent into that exile from which he himself had so unexpectedly returned. With his elevation, all hopes of favour towards the Presbyterians vanished, and the persecution recommenced with renewed fury. A letter from the king, September 18, announced that he had recalled his commission to the Duke of Buccleuch and Monmouth as General. On the very next day, a warrant was granted by the council to Lieutenant-General Dalziel to apprehend whoever had not taken the bond or who harboured recusants, and secure them in prison till they be brought to justice—to dissipate field-conventicles and seize whoever were present at them; and they indemnify all slaughter or mutilation in case of resistance. They also granted him power, along with several others, to sequestrate the rents of lands, sums of money, and movables belonging to heritors or others, who came under their denomination of rebels, in order to prevent their being embezzled!!

The Duke of York paid a short visit about this time to Scotland. With the characteristic cunning of a papist, who first cajoles before he ensnares a community, he carried himself towards all with as great suavity as his severe unyielding temper and ungracious manner would permit; but he especially cultivated the goodwill of the Highland chieftains,

who had a leaning towards popery, and whose assistance he counted on to aid him in the contemplated destruction of a heretical religion, and forcible establishment of his own. Though admitted to act as a privy counsellor, without taking any of the oaths at the king's particular desire, he did not publicly interfere with political matters, but he paved the way for his subsequent rule, and received from the authorities, particularly the magistrates of Edinburgh, the homage and honour so readily paid to an heir-apparent, being feasted sumptuously, and lauded excessively for excellences which, if he did not, he ought to have possessed, and which they were willing to suppose his innate modesty alone prevented him from exhibiting.

BOOK V.

A. D. 1680.

Perplexity of the moderate ministers—Murder of Mr. Hall—Queens-ferry paper—Cargill joins Cameron—Sanquhar declaration—Council's proclamation in reply—Reflections—Bond—Fresh plunderings by Dalziel—Skirmish at Airs-moss—Death of Cameron—of Rathillet—Cargill—Torwood excommunication—York arrives in Edinburgh—Spreul tortured—Skene, Stewart, and Potter executed—Effigy of the Pope burnt.

NEVER, perhaps, were men placed in more perplexing and trying circumstances than the conscientious ministers who durst not abstain from preaching the gospel as they had opportunity, but who could neither accept of the fettered indulgences offered them by their rulers, nor yet "had clearness" to disown a government which they thought it their duty to disobey. They got no credit from their persecutors for their professions of loyalty, and were shunned by their brethren who more consistently followed out the constitutional principles they had covenanted to preserve. The breach now became wider by a transaction which also added fresh fuel to the fire of persecution.

Mr. Henry Hall of Haughead, in the parish of Eckford, in Teviotdale—one of the proscribed who had fled to Holland—having returned in order to strengthen the hands of Donald Cargill, at that time assiduously preaching the gospel on the banks of the Forth, in Fife, and Mid-Lothian, attracted the notice of the curates of Borrowstounness and Carriden, who informed Middleton, a papist, governor of Blackness

Castle, of the movements of these two distinguished "rebels." He immediately went in pursuit, followed by his men in twos and threes to avoid suspicion. Tracking them to a house in Queensferry, he introduced himself as a friend, and requested they might take a glass of wine together, to which they agreed, when he, throwing off his mask, told them they were his prisoners, and commanded the people of the house, in the king's name, to assist. None, however, paid any attention, except one Thomas George, a waiter, who came in while Mr. Hall was struggling with the governor—Cargill having made his escape, although wounded—and striking him on the head with the butt end of his carabine, mortally wounded him; yet, though in this state, did Dalziel, whose house of Binns lies in the neighbourhood, on coming to the spot, order him to be carried to Edinburgh. As might have been expected, he died upon the road. For three days his body lay exposed in the Canongate jail, till at last its putrescence forced the wretches to allow his friends to carry it away and bury it under cloud of night.

In this gentleman's pocket was found an unsubscribed paper, which, from the place where he was murdered, has usually been called "The Queensferry Paper." It was merely notes, or rather a rude draught of a declaration, in which, after stating their adherence to the doctrine of the reformed churches, as contained in the covenants, and their determination to persevere in it to the end, they bound themselves to endeavour to their utmost the overthrow of the kingdom of darkness, and whatsoever is contrary to the kingdom of Christ, especially idolatry and popery, will-worship, prelacy, and erastianism; and, in order to attain this end, they renounced their allegiance; rejecting those who had rejected God, altered and destroyed the established religion, overturned the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and changed the civil government into a tyranny. Then they proposed to set up governors and a government according to the word of God, "able men, such as

fear God; men of truth, hating covetousness;" and no more to commit the government to one single person, or a lineal succession, that kind being liable to most inconveniences and aptest to degenerate into tyranny; at the same time, obliging themselves to defend each other in their worshipping of God, and in their natural, civil, and divine rights and liberties.

Cargill, upon his escape, fled south, and joined Mr. Richard Cameron and the wanderers who followed him, and were outlawed, and declared rebels. After much deliberation, they finally agreed upon a declaration and testimony, suitable to the melancholy appearance of the times and the distressed state of the church, which Michael Cameron, accompanied by about twenty persons armed, carried to the small burgh of Sanquhar, read, and afterwards affixed to the cross, on the 22d of June 1680. This declaration, which was in substance the same as "The Queensferry Paper," after stating that they considered "it as not among the smallest of the Lord's mercies to this poor land, that there had always been some who had given their testimony against every course of defection, which they reckoned a token for good that he did not intend to cast them off altogether, but to leave a remnant in whom he would be glorious, if they through his grace kept themselves clean and walked in his ways, carrying on the noble work of reformation in the several steps thereof, both from popery and prelacy, and also from erastian supremacy, so much usurped by him, who," they add, "it is true, so far as we know, is descended from the race of our kings; yet he hath so far deborded from what he ought to have been by his perjury and usurping in church matters, and tyranny in matters civil, that although we be for government and governors such as the word of God and our covenants allow, yet we for ourselves, and all that will adhere to us, the representatives of the true Presbyterian church and covenanted nation of Scotland, considering the great hazard of lying under sin any longer, do by these presents disown Charles Stuart, who hath been reign-

ing, or rather we may say tyrannizing, on the throne of Britain, forfeited several years since by his perjury and his breach of covenant with God and his church. As also, under the banner of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Captain of our salvation, we do declare war with such a tyrant and usurper." "As also, we disown and resent the reception of the Duke of York, a professed papist, as repugnant to our principles and vows to the most High God, and as that which is the great, though, alas! the just reproach of our church. We also protest against his succeeding to the crown, as against whatever hath been done, or any are assaying to do, in this land given to the Lord, in prejudice to our work of reformation."

A proclamation was issued on the last day of June, in reply, stating in exaggerated terms what the council chose to call the sentiments of Mr. Richard Cameron and his brother, and Mr. Cargill and others, their accomplices,—sacrilegiously engaging themselves by a solemn oath "to murder such as are in any trust or employment under us, declaring us an usurper, and that none should obey them who are in authority under us, but such as would obey the devil and his vicegerents."

Although Cameron and Cargill did think, and I believe justly, that Charles and the vile turn-coat crew who composed his government were—if perjury, cruelty, tyranny, profligacy, and every species of open undisguised licentiousness embodied, constitute such beings—the representatives of the devil in human shape, yet it does not appear that they used the expressions which they in justice did apply to their persecutors, till they themselves were unconstitutionally and unjustly placed without the pale of the law, denied the rights which had been parliamentarily insured to them, and denounced as the vilest of malefactors for—preaching the gospel. Several of the excellent followers of these noble men have been at no little labour to extenuate or excuse their conduct. It ought never to have been mentioned, but in accents of praise—it needed no justification. The govern-

ment had broken all faith:—and society is based in its public as well as its private associations on the bonds of mutual reciprocal obligation and the righteous performance of these relative duties. When either party violate them, they deserve punishment for their crime. That popular insurrection should be put down, is allowed; that aristocratical domination was to be equally checked, these denounced Cameronians asserted; and this was in fact the grand crime for which they were hunted like wild beasts upon the mountains.

But they were not the people to be scared from their principles by any prospect of danger. While the fields were traversed by the blood-hounds of the persecutors, the same indomitable bands united more closely together, and entered into a new bond, obliging themselves to be faithful to God and true to one another in the prosecution of their grand design, as assertors of their civil and religious rights, which they believed could only be secured by driving from the throne that “perfidious covenant-breaking race, untrue both to the most High God and the people over whom for their sins they were set.”

These mutual defiances were followed by petty exasperating individual encounters between the soldiers and the exasperated people, for the former did not confine their pillaging to the Covenanters, though they were the chief objects of their vengeance; but now, when it was a finable offence to resett or harbour any of the fugitives, the soldiers roamed up and down the country in quest of the wanderers, or in quest of whatever might afford them a pretext for plunder.

Dalziel, the favourite of the council, whose education in the Muscovite service peculiarly fitted him for such employment, was anew invested with enlarged powers to disperse all conventicles, and punish, without the ceremony of sending them to Edinburgh for trial, all who were caught in the “horrible act” of preaching the word of God or hearing it preached; and the council, in a letter to Lauderdale,

expressed "the hope we justly have that such just severity against some of these rebels will preserve peace to his majesty's good subjects," and disappoint "the vanity of bearing a testimony at Edinburgh, which cherished the foolish humours of numbers, and made the processes and punishments inflicted there less effectual than elsewhere." All such persons who were understood to be the king's enemies were to be attacked by the king's forces wherever they could be found, and imprisoned till brought to justice, or killed in case of resistance.

The General followed out his commission to the letter. He quartered his soldiers upon suspected families, where they lodged during pleasure, and, when leaving, carried off what sheep and cattle they pleased without paying any thing; the pasture and growing corn they eat up or trode down, without allowing the smallest compensation; and, as the whole district was liable to these ravages, the mischief they did was incalculable. While thus ravaging the country, a party, consisting of upwards of one hundred and twenty dragoons, well mounted, under the command of Bruce of Earlshall, were sent to disperse the company of wanderers who usually attended the ministrations of Richard Cameron. They surprised an assemblage at a place called Airmoss, in the district of Kyle, amounting to about twenty-six horse and forty foot, headed by Hackston of Rathillet, indifferently armed; who knowing that they had no mercy to expect, determined to face the enemy, and drew up at the entry to the moss. The horse charged with intrepidity, but could not stand against the superior number of their enemies, and were quickly broken; and the foot unable to support them, they were surrounded, and the whole killed or taken. The foot retiring into the morass, could not be pursued. Cameron, who previously to the skirmish had engaged in prayer with the wanderers, used these remarkable expressions—"Lord, take the ripe, but spare the green!" He fell with his brother, back to back, gallantly defending themselves against their

assailants. Hackston was severely wounded and taken prisoner.*

Cameron's head and hands were cut off and carried to Edinburgh to be exposed, but with wanton barbarity they were first taken to his father, who was in prison; and he was unfeelingly asked by some heartless wretch if he knew them? The old man took them, and kissing them, replied—"I know them! I know them! they are my son's—my own dear son's! It is the Lord; good is the will of the Lord, who cannot wrong me nor mine, but has made goodness and mercy to follow us all our days."

Rathillet next morning was brought to Lanark, where the head-quarters were, and examined before Dalziel, Lord Ross, and some others; but his answers not being deemed satisfactory, Dalziel with his accustomed brutality threatened to roast him, then sent him to the tolbooth and caused bind him most barbarously and cast him down on the floor, where he lay till the morning after, without any person being admitted to see him, or administer in any manner to his comfort. On the following morning (Sabbath) he was marched, with three others, two miles on foot, without shoes, and wounded as he was, to be delivered up to the escort under Earlshall, who was to take them to Edinburgh. He used them civilly by the way, and carried them round about the north side of the town to the foot of the Canongate, where they were received by the magistrates of the city,† who set Mr. Hackston on a horse with his head bare and his face to the tail, the hangman, covered,

* It is mentioned in the Scots Worthies, p. 372, that Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree gave the information to Earlshall, and got ten thousand merks as a reward, but that some time after, about two o'clock afternoon, his castle took fire, and was with the charters, plate, and all, burned down to the ground. The son said to his father while it was burning—"This is the vengeance of Cameron's blood." The house was never rebuilt by any of that family.

† Mr. Laing says Captain Creighton, whose memoirs were compiled and published by Swift, commanded the military at Aird-moss, Hist. vol. iv. p. 113, note. Rathillet says in his account, "The party that had broken us at first, were commanded by Earlshall."—*Woodrow* vol. ii. app. p. 60.

carrying Mr. Cameron's head on the halbert before him; also another head in a sack, was carried on a lad's back. His companions came after on foot, with their hands tied to an iron goad; and thus they were marched to the Parliament Close.

All this studied ignominy, which was to recoil with tenfold bitterness upon their own base characters, was minutely prescribed by the council before the prisoner arrived in the capital. As the manner of his execution was determined before he was tried, it still stands in the record thus:—"That his body be drawn backward on a hurdle to the cross of Edinburgh; that there be an high scaffold erected a little above the cross, where, in the first place, his right hand is to be struck off, and after some time his left hand: then he is to be hanged up, and cut down alive; his bowels to be taken out and his heart shown to the people by the hangman: then his heart and his bowels to be burnt in a fire prepared for that purpose on the scaffold; that afterwards his head be cut off, and his body divided into four quarters—his head to be fixed on the Netherbow, one of his quarters with both his hands to be affixed at St. Andrews, another quarter at Glasgow, a third at Leith, a fourth at Burntisland; that none presume to be in mourning for him, or any coffin brought; that no persons be suffered to be on the scaffold with him, save the two bailies, the executioner, and his servants; that he be allowed to pray to God Almighty, but not to speak to the people; that Hackston and Cameron's heads be fixed on higher poles than the rest."

On July 30, he was brought before the justiciary, but declined their authority, because they had usurped supremacy over the church belonging alone to Jesus Christ, and had established idolatry, perjury, and other iniquity in the land; and in prosecuting their design, and in confirming themselves in their usurped right, had shed much innocent blood. The proof of his being at Airs-moss was clear; and one of the late archbishop's servants swore "that he saw

the panel on a light-coloured horse at some distance from the coach, and that he took the same horse in Mortounhouse—where Rathillet had been—and hoped to have taken himself, but he escaped.” The jury brought him in guilty, and the court sentenced him to be executed that same day with all the revolting particularity of barbaric savagism they had previously appointed. It was even increased by the unskilfulness of the hangman, who was a long while mangling the wrist of the right arm before he succeeded in separating the hand; which being done, the patient sufferer calmly requested him to strike in the joint of the left; then he was drawn up a considerable way with a pulley and suffered to fall a considerable way with a jerk. This was repeated thrice, yet was not life extinguished; for, when the heart was torn from his bosom, it fell from the hands of the executioner, and moved after it fell!

Hackston was a gentleman allied to the first families in the land, of good talents, well educated, and who in early life had associated with the commissioner in the wild gaities of the day; and perhaps the severest test his integrity was subjected to was, the commissioner personally came to him in prison, and, with many protestations of kindness, alluding to their former intimacy, urged him to compliance.* The mean tool of power, the advocate, who with his usual insolence endeavoured to insult him at his first examination, received a spirited retort. He asked where he was on the third day of May was a year? To whom he answered, “I am not bound to keep a memorial where I am or what I do every day.” The advocate said, “Sir, you must be a

* Having in vain tried flattery, the Chancellor, in the council, said—“I was a vicious man.” I answered, “that while I was so, I had been acceptable to him; but now, when otherwise it was not so.” In reply to another question, he said, “Ye know that youth is a folly, and in my younger days I was too much carried down with the speat of it: but that inexhaustible fountain of the goodness and grace of God, which is free and great, hath reclaimed me, and, as a firebrand, plucked me out of the claws of satan.”—*Rathillet's confession, Cloud of Witnesses.*

great liar to say you remember not where you was that day, it being so remarkable a day;" to which he answered, "Sir, you must be a far greater liar to say I answered such a thing;" and the Chancellor supported him.

A few days after, August 4th, several others were tried and condemned for having been with Cameron; and a general search was ordered to discover the outlawed attenders on field-preaching. It was conducted under the direction of Robert Cannon of Mardrogat, one of those miscreants who, having made a flaming profession, had become acquainted with their places of meeting, but afterwards apostatizing, now discovered the secret recesses of his former friends, and was usually consulted respecting the character of such persons as the soldiers seized, who were dismissed or retained as he directed.

Intensity of persecution had now almost extinguished field-preaching. Donald Cargill alone fearlessly preserved his station, and, in defiance of the sanguinary storm which swept over the moors and glens of his country, continued to proclaim with unfettered freedom the principles of the church of his fathers, and to assert the spiritual independence of her ministers, while almost all others had yielded to the tempest or deserted the land of their nativity. While hunted himself as a hart or a roe upon the mountains, he resolved upon the extraordinary measure of excommunicating those rulers of a covenanted land who had themselves sworn that sacred obligation, and professed themselves members of the church of Christ in Scotland.

Accordingly, in the month of September, at the Torwood, Stirlingshire, he lectured upon Ezekiel xxi 25—27. "And thou, profane wicked prince of Israel, whose day is come," &c., and preached from 1 Cor. v. 13. "Therefore, put away from among yourselves that wicked person." He first explained the nature and ends of excommunication, affirming that he was not influenced by any private motive in this action, but constrained by conscience of duty and zeal to

God, to stigmatize these his enemies that had so apostatized, rebelled against, mocked, despised, and defied the Lord, and to declare them, as they are none of his, to be none of ours. He then with great solemnity proceeded—"I being a minister of Jesus Christ, and having authority and power from him, do, in his name, and by his spirit, excommunicate, cast out of the true church, and deliver up to satan, Charles the Second, king, &c. upon these grounds:— 1st, For his high mocking of God, in that after he had acknowledged his own sins, his father's sins, his mother's idolatry, yet had gone on more avowedly in the same than all before him. 2d, For his great perjury in breaking and burning the covenant. 3d, For his rescinding of laws for establishing the Reformation, and enacting laws contrary thereunto. 4th, For commanding of armies to destroy the Lord's people. 5th, For his being an enemy to true protestants and helper of the papists, and hindering the execution of just laws against them. 6th, For his granting remission and pardon for murderers, which is in the power of no king to do, being expressly contrary to the law of God. 7th, For his adulteries, and dissembling with God and man."

Next, by the same authority, and in the same name, he excommunicated James Duke of York, for his idolatry, and setting it up in Scotland, to defile the land, and encouraging others to do so, not mentioning any other sins but what he scandalously persisted in, in Scotland. He pronounced a similar sentence against Lauderdale for his dreadful blasphemy, in saying to the late prelate of St. Andrews, "Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool;" his apostasy from the covenant and reformation, and his persecuting thereof after he had been a professor, pleader for, and presser thereof; for his adulteries, his gaming on the Lord's day, his ordinary cursing; and for his counselling and assisting the king in all his tyrannies, overturning and plotting against the true religion: and also included in the same censure, Rothes, Dalziel, and the Lord Advocate.

These proceedings have been condemned as plainly disagreeable to the rules of the church of Scotland. In ordinary times they might be so, but extraordinary times require extraordinary measures; and Mr. Cargill was placed in a situation altogether unparalleled in the history of the church of Scotland. That he was persuaded in his own mind that he had acted with propriety, we know; for next Lord's day, when preaching at Fallow-hill, in the parish of Livingstone, in the preface to his sermon, he thus defended his conduct:—"I know I am and will be condemned by many for excommunicating these wicked men; but condemn me who will, I know I am approved by God, and am persuaded that what I have done on earth is ratified in heaven; for if ever I knew the mind of God, and was clear in my call to any piece of my work, it was that. And I shall give you two signs that you may know I am in no delusion:—1st, If some of these men do not find that sentence binding upon them ere they go off the stage, and be obliged to confess it; and, 2dly, If they die the ordinary death of men;—then the Lord hath not spoken by me,"*

However much the persecutors affected to despise this procedure, they showed by their conduct that they did not deem it so ridiculous an affair. That it had touched their souls, seared as they were by unrestrained indulgence in the lowest hardening and profligate licentiousness, was evident from the rage

* Whatever opinion may be entertained with regard to the prophetic spirit of the denunciation, yet it deserves to be remarked, that Rothes when dying, under great terror of mind, sent for two Presbyterian clergymen, Mr. John Carstairs and Mr. George Johnstone, to administer consolation to him in his last hours. Charles II. died under very suspicious circumstances in the arms of an harlot. Lauderdale, after being despoiled of his property, and abused in his dotage by his Duchess, departed almost in a state of idiocy, in consequence, it was alleged, of her ill treatment during his imbecility. York died a discrowned exile in a strange country. Dalziel dropped down with a glass of wine at his lips, and entered the eternal state without a moment's warning. "Sir George Mackenzie died at London—all the passages of his body running blood."—*Walker's Remarks*, p. 10.

they exhibited and the increased fierceness of their persecution.

Ancient episcopacy, as established by Constantine, has always been considered the genuine parent of the papacy. Modern episcopacy, as established by law, was always considered by the reformers of Scotland, and their descendants in the Presbyterian church, as the legitimate daughter of the man of sin. Nor did the deeds of this period disgrace the relationship. The Duke of York, who had professed himself a papist, and for this reason was obliged to leave England, was hailed by the Episcopalians of Scotland, where he arrived to resume the government this year. On the 29th, he came to the Abbey of Holyrood-house, and was welcomed by the Bishop of Edinburgh, with the orthodox clergy, as their great protector.

On the 2d of November, a council was held, at which the Earl of Moray produced his commission as sole secretary of state, Lauderdale, on account of his increased corpulence and mental decay, being forced unwillingly to resign a trust he had so awfully abused. The same day they returned a letter of thanks to his majesty—an admirable specimen of courtly congratulation, which might teach despots what reliance is to be placed on the profession of interested sycophants, especially when we recollect that many of those who signed it, in less than eight years conspired to hurl the object of their adulation from the throne. “The only thing,” say they, “which is forced upon the worst of your subjects—viz. the covenanters—is, that they must unavoidably confess that nothing can lessen their happiness, except their being insensible of it and unthankful for it.” Next comes their gratitude for a standing army and their own salaries:—“Your majesty by dispensing for our protection all the revenue which is raised in this your majesty’s ancient kingdom, lets us see that all you crave of us is, that we would be true to our own interest; and all that you get by us is, the care of governing us to our own satisfaction.” Then

the loyal professions so easily lavished and so easily forgotten—"That profound respect and sincere kindness, sir, which we observe in your majesty's subjects here to your royal brother, the Duke of Albany and York, assure us that we want nothing but occasion to hazard for the royal family those lives and fortunes which you have made so sweet and secure to us!"

One of the first tastes they had of the sweetness of the new administration, was in the care the Duke showed to prevent the public mind from being contaminated by seditious publications. The committee for public affairs were desired to consider what books imported from Holland should be condemned by authority; and the clerks of council were ordered to search the shop of John Calderwood, stationer, and secure such prohibited books as should be found therein. Accordingly, having confessed that he had "Naphtali; Jus Regni apud Scotos," in English; "Jus Populi Vindicatum;" "The Reformed Bishop;" and "Calderwood's Church History," he was committed to prison and his shop shut; and all stationers were ordered in future to show their invoices to one of the officers of state or the Bishop of Edinburgh, for their approbation, under pain of forfeiting the books, and being fined if they should fail. A ship belonging to Borrowstounness, which had been seized on suspicion of having some of the dangerous works on board, though none were got, was not released till the owners found surety to the council for their good behaviour in time to come.

Whenever any unprincipled set of men, who have obtained and abused power, become conscious that they are hated, and deserve to be hurled from their eminence, they commonly pretend to discover some plot for overturning their government. Accordingly, a plot against the Duke's life was fabricated; and John Spreul, apothecary in Glasgow, and Robert Hamilton, were accused of being accessory to it. The council ordered them to be examined by torture, and appointed a committee to conduct the examina-

tion, among whom it is painful to observe the name of the Earl of Argyle. Of Hamilton's examination I have seen no account, but Spreul was put to the question; and the Duke of York chose to be a spectator, viewing it "with the calmness of a person looking upon a curious experiment," or perhaps more truly, as has been observed, "with all the infernal gratification of a popish inquisitor."

This excellent man, early initiated in suffering, was the son of a merchant in Paisley, who had been ruined and forced to abscond (1667) merely for hearing the gospel preached in the open air. When he was seized, he was examined by Dalziel, who, according to custom, threatened to roast him alive if he would not discover his father's retreat; but finding he could make nothing of the boy, he was let go upon a short confinement. Ten years after, just when he had settled in life, he was intercommuned merely for non-conformity, and forced to travel as a merchant through Holland, France, and Ireland, occasionally and by stealth visiting his wife, who had retained the shop; but after Bothwell, although he was not there, he was again denounced, his shop seized, and wife and children turned to the door. He then came back to Scotland to carry them with him to Holland, but was apprehended in bed by the notorious Major Johnstoun at Edinburgh, his goods seized, and himself sent to prison.

His examination shows the spirit of the times; and a short quotation will exhibit better than any remarks, the nature of popish unconstitutional interference in the management of a protestant country. "Were you at the killing of the archbishop? I was in Ireland at that time. Was it a murder? I know not but by hearsay that he is dead, and cannot judge other men's actions upon hearsay. I am no judge; but in my discretive judgment I would not have done it, and cannot approve it." He was again urged:—"But do you not think it was a murder?" His answer exhibits the principles of the majority of the sufferers. "Excuse me from going any fur-

ther, I scruple to condemn what I cannot approve; there may be a righteous judgment of God when there is a sinful hand of man; and I may admire and adore the one, when I tremble at the other." As he was personally engaged in none of the risings, he was asked whether resisting Claverhouse at Drumclog was rebellion. He answered, "I think not; for I own the freedom of preaching the gospel, and I hear what they did was only in self-defence." "Was the rising at Bothwell rebellion?" "I will not call it rebellion; I think it was a providential necessity put on them for their own safety after Drumclog." Twice was he put to the torture; and at the second time, the old ruffian Dalziel said the hangman did not strike strongly enough. The fellow replied, that he had struck with all his strength, and offered the General the maul to try it himself.

Our common nature recoils from such scenes. The votaries of a false religion delight in the torment of those they deem heretics; and had we no other proof of relationship, this would be sufficient to establish the identity of the then Scottish Episcopalian church and the church of Rome, the same cruelty being used by both towards those who differed from the state religion. The intrepid victim was carried back to prison, but denied either the assistance of a surgeon, or the attendance of his wife!

The Duke of York showed the reality of his religion by being voluntarily present during the double infliction. No information was obtained by the tyrant. The sufferer knew nothing about any plot to blow up his Grace, nor did he know where Mr. Cargill was to be found.

Mr. James Skene, brother to the Laird of Skene was the next. This gentleman's case deserves peculiar notice. He was guilty of no treason. His only accusation was his having heard Mr. Cargill preach. He had been a youth of irregular habits, and had associated, as from his birth and rank he had a right to do, with the first people of the country; but while wandering among the mountains, he unwittingly

came where this minister of the gospel was tending his small flock in the wilderness, and was himself caught in the gospel net. Henceforth, instead of indulging in every youthful folly, he became sober and exemplary in his conduct—sins of no common magnitude in the estimation of the rulers of the day; and immediately he came under the cognizance of the government; and being apprehended, was brought to trial for treason.

Being a young convert, and animated with all the warmth of a new zeal, he unfortunately, by his unguarded answers, gave currency to the reports so assiduously circulated against the wanderers, of their pleading for or extenuating the practice of private assassination, and a contempt for all constituted authority, or indeed any authority but their own. He thus detailed it in a letter to his brother:—"Rothes asked, did I own the king's authority? I said, in so far as it was against the covenant and interest of Christ, I disowned it. He asked me if I thought it was not a sinful murder the killing of the arch-bishop? I said I thought it was their duty to kill him when God gave them opportunity, for he had been the author of much bloodshed. They asked me why I carried arms? I told them it was for self-defence, and the defence of the gospel. They asked me why I poisoned my ball? I told them I wished none of them to recover whom I shot. They asked, would I kill the soldiers, being the king's? I said it was my duty if I could, when they persecuted God's people. They asked if I would kill any of *them*? I said they were all stated enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the declaration of Sanquhar, I counted them *my* enemies. They asked if I would think it my duty to kill the king? I said he had stated himself an enemy to God's interest, and there was war declared against him. I said the covenant made with God was the glory of Scotland, though they had unthankfully counted it their shame; and in direct terms, I said to the Chancellor, I have a parchment at home wherein your father's name is, and

you are bound by that as well as I. A little after, the Chancellor said, why did I not call him lord? I told him, were he for Christ's interest I would honour him. Then he said he cared not for my honour; but he would have me to know he was Chancellor. I said I knew that. He said I was not a Scots man, but a Scots beast." The above is a specimen of the treatment that even prisoners of rank experienced at the hands of the privy council. The process before the justiciary was more brief. His declaration was the only evidence brought against him; and he having acknowledged it, was sent to the scaffold to atone for his sentiments.

Along with Skene were executed Archibald Stewart, who belonged to Borrowstounness, and John Potter, a farmer in the parish of Uphall. The former had been a follower of Cameron, and present at the skirmish at Airs-moss, though not apprehended till some time after; when, being examined by torture, he acknowledged the fact, as a necessary piece of self-defence when following the gospel preached in the fields—the only crime of which he could be accused; but he denied that either he or any of those with whom he associated had ever declared that they would have killed the king or any of the council, which he affirmed was "an untruth and forged calumny, to reproach the way of God, more like themselves and their own principles, who have killed so many of the people of God both on the fields and upon scaffolds." The latter also had been equally guilty of attending the reproached preachings of Cameron and Cargill; and he exhorted his fellow-christians not to be troubled because of their death, but to "keep the word of his patience, and he would keep them in the hour of temptation which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the face of the earth." "O dear friends and followers of Christ, hold on your way; weary not; faint not; and you shall receive the crown of life. It is they that overcome by the blood of the Lamb, and the word of their testimony, that shall stand,

being clothed in white robes before the throne; for these are they that have come out of great tribulation. Remember there is a book of remembrance written; and the names are written in it that speak often one to another. O! my friends, let it be your study to keep up private fellowship meetings, wherein so much of the power and life of religion is to be found." They do not appear to have been attended by any minister. They sung the second Psalm and read the third chapter of Malachi; but when Stewart began to pray, and alluded to the bloody Charles Stuart, immediately the drums were beat.

These acts of severity, however, by no means produced the effects intended; and, as the youth of the country often announce prematurely the feelings of the maturer part of a community, the students at Edinburgh College, on Christmas-day celebrated the highest festival of the Romish Church by burning the Pope in effigy, arrayed in his pontifical paraphernalia, his triple crown, keys, and scarlet robes—after having paraded him through the streets in procession, and formally excommunicated him. Those at the College of Glasgow in a less tumultuous, but more lasting and impressive manner, testified their sentiments by reviving the blue riband—the badge of the covenant. When called up before the archbishop for their offence, the young Marquis of Annandale showed his contempt for his authority by only styling him Sir, and, when reprov'd by his tutor for not respecting his superior, replied, "I know the king has been pleased to make him a spiritual lord; but I know likewise the piper's son of Arbroath and my father's son are not to be compared."



The Students of Edinburgh burning the Pope in Effigy.

BOOK VI.

A. D. 1681.

Edinburgh College shut—Isabel Alison and Marion Harvey executed—Other executions—Search for Covenanters—Thomas Kenno-way's exploits—Mock-courts held by Cornet Graham and Grierson of Lagg—Mr. Spreul tried—acquitted—sent to the Bass—John Blackader, Gabriel Semple, and Donald Cargill seized—Walter Smith, William Cuthil, and others apprehended, tried and executed.

THIS year was ushered in by the council ordering the College of Edinburgh to be shut up, January 4, and the students, several of whom were sent to prison, dispersed in consequence of the insult they had offered to the religion of his Grace the Duke of York, who had now openly avowed his being a papist. The youth expressed loudly their indignation at such treatment, and had threatened, it was said, to burn the provost's house about his ears for his servility, when the house by some means or other actually took fire, and was burnt to the ground. How it happened was never discovered, and a report that it was done by some of the Duke of York's emissaries, gained general credit, although various efforts had been made to affix the blame to the students; but they voluntarily came forward and offered to stand trial that their characters might be vindicated. The offer was refused.

A more grateful tribute, however, was paid to his Royal Highness' faith, by the immolation of two virgin martyrs in the end of the same month—Isabel Alison, who was apprehended at Perth, where she

quietly resided, and Marion Harvey, a maid-servant, a native of Borrowstounness, who was seized upon the road as she was walking from Edinburgh to hear sermon in the country. Atrocious as these times were, their annals do not afford many instances of more heartless, cold-blooded, entrapping levity, than the examination of these simple girls, both before the privy council and the court of justiciary, does, in the conduct of their examiners, on the one hand, nor more interesting exhibitions than their artless yet pointed replies, on the other.

When Isabel was before the privy council, "they asked me," says she, in an account of it which she left, "if I could read the Bible? I answered, Yes. They asked me if I knew the duty we owe to the civil magistrate? I answered, when the magistrate carrieth the sword for God, according to what the Scripture calls for, we owe him all due reverence; but when they overturn the work of God, and set themselves in opposition to him, it is the duty of his servants to execute his laws and ordinances on them. They asked, if I ever conversed with rebels? I answered, I never conversed with rebels. They asked if I conversed with David Hackston? I answered, I did converse with him, and I bless the Lord that ever I saw him; for I never saw ought in him but a godly pious youth. They asked, when saw ye John Balfour, that godly pious youth? I answered, I have seen him. They asked, when? I answered, these are frivolous questions; I am not bound to answer them. They said I thought not that a testimony."

"They asked, what think ye of that in the Confession of Faith, that magistrates should be owned though they were heathens? I answered, it was another matter than when those who seemed to own the truth have now overturned it, and made themselves avowed enemies to it. They asked, who should be judge of these things? I answered, the Scriptures of truth and the Spirit of God, and not men who have overturned the work themselves."

She refused to call Sharpe's death murder; and being asked if she would own all that she had said, as she would be put to own it in the Grassmarket, they expressed their regret that she should hazard her life in such a quarrel. "I think my life little enough in the quarrel of owning my Lord and Master's sweet truths;—for he has freed me from everlasting wrath; and as for my body, it is at his disposal. They said I did not follow the Lord's practice in that anent Pilate. I answered, Christ owned his kingly office when he was questioned on it, and told them he was a king, and for that end he was born; and it is for that we are called in question this day—the owning of his kingly government. The bishop said, we own it. I answered, we have found the sad consequences of the contrary. The bishop said he pitied me for the loss of my life. I told him that he had done me much more hurt than the loss of my life, or all the lives they had taken, for it had much more affected me than many souls were killed by their doctrine. The bishop said, wherein is our doctrine erroneous? I said, that was better debated already than a poor lass could debate it."

Marion Harvey was not twenty years of age. When brought before the council, there was no criminal act which they could lay against her; nor does it appear that there was any witness they could have brought to substantiate any charge. But she was easily ensnared; she acknowledged having been at field-conventicles, and respecting the king's authority, she said, "so long as the king held the truths of God which he swore, we are obliged to own him; but when he brake his oath and robbed Christ of his kingly rights, which do not belong to him, we are bound to disown him. They asked, were ye ever mad? She answered, I have all the wit that ever God gave me. Do ye see any mad act about me? When told that she had been guilty of the sin of rebellion, she smiled and said, if she were as free of all sin as of the sin of rebellion, she should be an innocent creature."

Both were sent to the justiciary and indicted for treason, because it was alleged the one had spoken freely against the severities then practised against the Presbyterians, and the other had attended field-conventicles. Their own declarations were the only evidence adduced against them. When the jury were sworn in, Marion, looking towards them, solemnly said, "Now, beware what ye are doing, for they have nothing against me, but only for owning Jesus Christ and his persecuted truths; for ye will get my blood upon your heads!" One of them who had been seized with a fit of trembling, desired the confessions to be read, which being done, the advocate addressed them, and concluded with "ye know these women are guilty of treason!" One of the jury remarked, "they are not guilty of matters of fact." "Treason is fact," replied the accuser, and added, "'Tis true it is but treason in their judgment; but go on according to our law, and if you will not do it, I know how to proceed." He then addressed the prisoners, "'Tis not for religion we are pursuing you, but for treason." "It is for religion," replied Harvey; "for I am of the same religion that ye all are sworn to be of! I am a true Presbyterian; and," turning to the jury, "I charge you before the tribunal of God, as ye shall answer there! ye have nothing to say to me but for my owning the persecuted gospel." They were both brought in guilty upon their own confession, and condemned to be hanged at the Grassmarket on the 26th. They were executed according to their sentence, and died, not with composure only, but with rapture.

When being brought from the tolbooth to the council chamber to be carried to the place of execution, the youngest, who had several friends attending her, exclaimed, with an air of unearthly ecstasy—"Behold, I hear my beloved saying unto me, 'Arise, my dove, my fair one, and come away!'" When in the room waiting the last preparations, Bishop Paterson, with a kind of fiendish exultation, said—

“Marion, you said you would never hear a curate pray, now you shall be forced to hear one, and ordered a suffragan of his who was in attendance to proceed; on which she turned to her companion, and saying, “Come, Isabel, let us sing the twenty-third Psalm;” they commenced immediately, and drowned the voice of the poor curate, who, with his employers, stood amazed at the clear unbroken tones of the youthful confessors.

On the scaffold, the most of her discourse was of God’s love to her and the commendation of free grace. Ascending the ladder a few steps, she sat down and said, “I am not come here for murder; for they have no matter of fact to charge me with, but only my judgment. I am about twenty years of age. At fourteen or fifteen, I was a hearer of the curates and indulged; and while I was a hearer of these, I was a blasphemer and Sabbath breaker, and a chapter of the Bible was a burden to me; but since I heard this persecuted gospel, I durst not blaspheme nor break the Sabbath, and the Bible became my delight;” on which the town major called to the hangman—“Cast her over,” which he immediately did.

Isabel, looking to the crowd from the scaffold, cried out—“Rejoice in the Lord, ye righteous; and again I say rejoice.” When she went up the ladder, “O! be zealous, sirs; be zealous! Love the Lord, all ye his servants; for in his favour there is life. O! ye his enemies, what will ye do—whither will ye fly? for now there is a dreadful day coming on all the enemies of Jesus Christ. Come out from among them, all ye that are the Lord’s own people;” then added, “Farewell, all created comforts! farewell, sweet Bible! in which I delighted most, and which has been sweet to me since I came into prison. Now, into thy hands I commit my spirit, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost!” And while these words yet trembled on her lips, she was launched into eternity. In order to imbitter their punishment, they were hanged along with five other women for child mur

der. The latter were attended by a curate, who gave them every consolation, but upbraided their virtuous companions in suffering in the most opprobrious terms as traitors.

Within a few days, John Murray, in Borrowstounness, Christopher Miller, weaver, Gargunnock, and, on March 8th, William Gowgar, Borrowstounness, with Robert Sangster, a Stirlingshire man, were found guilty by a like speedy process, and hanged together in the Grassmarket on the 11th, except Murray, who was reprieved.* Their testimonies embraced the same topics, and were in every respect similar to those of their worthy predecessors, who had vindicated the religious and civil liberties of their afflicted country at the expense of their lives. Gowgar was rather more harshly used than the rest; some heads of an intended speech, written on a small slip of paper, having fallen out of his Bible in the council chamber, whither he had been taken just before being led to the gallows. After some of the counsellors had read it, they ordered the executioner to tie his arms harder than usual, so that he could scarcely climb the ladder; and when he began to speak, the drums were immediately commanded to roll; nor would they even allow him to pray.

Adam Urquhart, laird of Meldrum, having been accused, and offered to be proved guilty of the most

* Murray had presented a petition to the Duke of York disowning king-killing principles, which concluded rather strangely, considering the person to whom it was addressed:—"For I declare I am no *papist*, and hate and abhor all these jesuitical, bloody, and murdering principles." When this was read in council, Murray was asked who drew it, and with much difficulty was induced to name Mr. Spreul. Spreul was thereupon immediately called, and being interrogated, asked to see the paper. This reasonable request was not complied with; but York rose and imperiously demanded—"Sir, would you kill the king?" Spreul, turning to the Chancellor, said—"My lord, I bless God I am no *papist*. I lothe and abhor all these jesuitical, bloody, and murdering principles; neither my parents nor the ministers I heard ever taught me such principles." York frowned; and Spreul afterwards suffered for his freedom of speech, but Murray appears to have benefited by the business, for he was afterwards pardoned as being "misled rather than malicious."

exorbitant oppression, the council, to mark their sense of such conduct, renewed his former commission with additional powers, for searching out and apprehending all who had not taken the bond, or who had been at Bothwell or harboured any who had been there. As a specimen of the manner in which such searches were carried on, I give the following:—Thomas Kennoway, one of the king's guards, came to the parish of Livingstone with a party late on Saturday, 19th March, pretending that he had orders—for he produced none—to apprehend such as had been concerned in the Bothwell rising. Having tampered with the neighbours to procure a list of such as had been engaged, he at last obtained the name of one young man who lived with his father and brother in a small house near a moss, which the party entered; and after smashing and destroying the furniture, under pretence of searching for arms, Kennoway cursed the father for an old devil, and swore “he would hang him at the tae end of a tow an’ his son at the t’ither;” and carried them all off along with him. When they had marched some little way, Kennoway suffered the old man and one of his sons to return, and proceeded with the other to a hamlet at a considerable distance to search another suspected house. When he alighted here, he obliged his prisoner to take off his coat and cover his horse with it, in a cold stormy night, till the poor fellow could scarcely stand with shivering. The person they were in search of escaped out at a window in his shirt, and in this state ran nearly a mile before he obtained shelter. Meanwhile the party took away his father in his stead. They made a third attempt the same night upon a fresh steading, still dragging their captives along with them, but missed their prey.

Having spent the night in rioting, early on the Sabbath morning they came to Swine-abbey, a public-house properly so called, and having procured lights, “Kennoway,” says honest Wodrow, “swore bloodily he feared they had brought the wrong man;”

and the prisoner peremptorily denying that he had been at Bothwell, two of the soldiers were despatched to bring "the old dog" and the other son. But by this time the young dog had got out of the way, and the old one, through terror and maltreatment, was so ill that he could neither ride nor walk. The troopers brought some women to bear witness to the fact, and also that the prisoner was not the person mentioned in their list. Chagrined at their disappointment, the valiant Kennoway and his party endeavoured to drown their mortification in "eight pints of wine and brandy, for which he swore the prisoners should pay." Thus passed the Sabbath. On Monday he held a court, fined the old man in eight dollars, forced an heritor in West Calder to give him a bond for five hundred merks, and committed many other extravagances, of which the sufferers durst not complain, and for which there was no redress. The young man was allowed to depart; but in consequence of his harsh treatment, fevered, and died within a few days.

Such burlesque courts now became common with the military, who carried them to the most extravagant length. Cornet Graham, who appears to have infested several parishes, held one at Dalry in the beginning of the year, to which all men and women above the age of sixteen, were summoned. Those who appeared were ordered to declare upon oath whether they had ever been at any field-meetings or countenanced any who frequented them, and whether they were married or got any infants baptized by field-preachers. The infamous Grierson of Lagg was also particularly active in holding others in Dumfries and Galloway, where great numbers of the inhabitants were put to much expense, besides loss of time and damage to their various occupations.

Some estimate may be formed of the extent of the wanton extortion experienced by the most industrious part of the community at this period, when it is recollected that not only all whom the curates and clergy chose to denounce as guilty of "horrid contempt of the law," but all against whom they had

the smallest grudge and chose to name as witnesses of the contempt of others, were brought from their homes, week after week, and kept dangling after their court diets. The case of Mr. James Aird of Miltoun will furnish an apt illustration. While residing at Kilmarnock upon a very stormy Sabbath, the church being very thin, one Carnegie, the curate, at the close of his afternoon's sermon caused the kirk doors to be locked, and the names of the heads of families, parishioners, called over, and all the absentees marked on purpose to be fined—an excellent method of procuring attendance on rainy Sundays in country parishes. Mr. Aird was not only fined on this occasion, but was brought before the justiciary shortly after, when *fifty-five witnesses were examined* in order to prove his accession to Bothwell, not one of whom could say a word about the matter; and much as they were inclined to strain every point to get him forfeited, all failed, and he was liberated. Yet was he forced to compound with the Laird of Broich, who, on pretext of alleged converse, had got a gift of his movables, besides paying upwards of three hundred merks in expenses before the justiciary. Nor did this terminate his sufferings; ere three short months elapsed, parties were anew sent in pursuit of him; and he was, after sleeping in the open fields upwards of forty nights forced to abscond for several years, leaving his house and effects to the mercy of the plunderer.

There is something truly diabolical in first torturing a suspected person to force a confession of crime, and then producing this confession in a criminal court, and upon it, without any other evidence, condemning a man to die; yet such a practice was now attempted to be introduced by Sir George Mackenzie, in order to reach the lives of the persecuted. Before Mr. Spreul was recovered from the effects of his torture, the Lord Advocate served him with an indictment; and an extrajudicial examination of several witnesses took place before some of the counselors, against which the prisoner protested; yet al-

though both threatened and cajoled, their evidence appeared so defective, that proceedings were delayed, though the Duke of York pressed his immediate trial, "alleging they were at much pains about poor country people, but Mr. Spreul was more dangerous than five hundred of them." At length, June 10, he was brought before the court upon a new indictment, "charged with treason and rebellion, corresponding and being present with the rebels at Bothwell, also keeping company and corresponding with Mr. John Welsh and Mr. Samuel Arnot, the bloody and sacrilegious murderers of the late Archbishop of St. Andrews"—it being now the custom to accumulate in the indictment a number of charges which the public prosecutor himself knew to be false, and did not even intend attempting to prove.

The panel was assisted by some of the first advocates at the bar—Sir George Lockhart, Mr. Walter Pringle, Mr. James Deas, Mr. Alexander Swinton, and Mr. David Theirs. It was contended by his counsel, that he could not now be put upon his trial, or, in legal language, "pass to the knowledge of an inquest," because, being examined before the council for the same crime, and having denied the same, and thereafter being tortured two several times, persisted in his denial, he cannot by the law of this and all other nations be impanelled nor condemned for that crime upon any new probation.

The reply of the Lord Advocate was indeed worthy of himself:—"A denial upon torture cannot infer absolute liberation, since no man's obstinacy should be of advantage to him—that were to make disingenuity a remission and tempt criminals to conceal truth; nor does torture, in law, import any more than a presumption of innocence—and, in law, presumptions may be taken off by clear probation. Were torture to preclude future probation, it will follow, that either crimes must be left undiscovered by not putting suspected persons to torture, or criminals be absolved and suffered to go unpunished, by wanting after opportunities of leading just probation

against them. The most that can be pleaded in law, is, that no man can be tried upon the principal and chief points for which he was tortured; but the panel was never tortured upon the grounds he is now to be tried upon; besides, he neither cleared himself nor satisfied the judges, but continued in one insuperable obstinacy. Nor was it necessary to examine him respecting his accession to the rebellion since it can be proven that previously to his torture he confessed the crime."

Sir George Lockhart offered to prove that the panel was tortured twice most violently upon the very crime; that it is the opinion of all lawyers, when once torture is used, it excludes all other probation, even although there should afterwards appear the fullest evidence against the accused; for, were it not so, double punishment would be undergone—and the practice of this nation has been exactly agreeable thereto. In the year 1632–33, John Toshach being pursued as guilty of statutory treason for wilful fire and burning the house of Fren draught, the panel being interrogated, not upon the whole fact, but whether he entered into the vault with a candle that night the house was burnt, and upon this subjected to torture, denied it. The process was prolonged from August to November, and then to February. His majesty's advocate urging a new probation, and the panel's lawyers advancing his torture as a defence, the lords of judiciary sustained it.

Sir George Mackenzie then consented that it would be sufficient for the panel to prove that he was tortured upon this very point by command of the council, and produced the commission. Sir George Lockhart said he did not mean to accuse the committee appointed by the council of illegal procedure by acting in opposition to their commission; but it is certain the panel was interrogated upon the crimes libelled, and his answers drawn up as his confession. The lords repelled the defence, founded upon the torture, inasmuch as the commission of council did

not warrant the prisoner's being questioned upon any of the crimes mentioned in the indictment, and adjourned the trial till the 13th.

At this sederunt several witnesses were examined, but none of them brought the facts home to the prisoner, and the Lord Advocate adduced his alleged confession in presence of the council as a corroborative evidence. Sir George Lockhart argued that the pretended confession before council could not be received, for it was not acknowledged nor signed by the panel, besides being extrajudicial and not taken before a competent judicature. The king's advocate offered to prove by witnesses that the confession was read to the panel, and he could not disown it; his contumacy, therefore, ought not to be of any use to him, unless one crime was brought forward to defend another. Yet, following the merciful example of the king, his master, and being unwilling to stretch any debatable point, he only adduced this confession against the panel as an adminicle and a presumption, joined with other pregnant grounds,—and what can be stronger? Writs may be forged, witnesses may be false, but a man will never confess untruly to his own hurt, and therefore a confession, even before an incompetent tribunal, is valid, unless the confessor can show what made him err. Then assuming, what does not appear plain upon the record, his presence and converse with rebels, he proceeds—“all that is wanting is, whether it was with a criminal intention, of which his own confession must be owned the most solid evidence.”

Sir George Lockhart insisted that there could not be one instance produced of a confession importing forfeiture of life and estate not signed by the person, or judge, if he cannot write; that in pecuniary matters the bare verbal confession would not be admitted to be proven by deposition of witnesses for one hundred pounds Scots—and would it be admitted in a matter of life and fortune? The lords “refused to sustain the confession to be proven by witnesses as a mean of probation, either plenary or adminiculate.”

The advocate, as a last forlorn hope, moved "that the panel be interrogated if he thinks the being at Bothwell Bridge rebellion?" The panel answered, that he conceives that he is not obliged to answer, because it is not the crime libelled, and he may as well be interrogated upon any other point of treason. The lords having, however, put the question, the panel answered, "that was no part of the libel, and his future life should witness him to be both a good subject and a good Christian." The prosecutor now declared his proof closed, and protested for an assize of error in case the inquest assoilzie the panel. The jury were then enclosed and ordered to return their verdict next day, which they did in the following terms:—"The assize having considered the depositions of the haill witnesses led against John Spreul, *una voce*, find nothing proven of the crimes contained in the libel which may make him guilty."

What follows marks as much almost as any deed of the times, the tyranny of the government and the servile prostitution of justice at the fountainhead. When Spreul and his procurators, upon his acquittal, took instruments and craved that he might be liberated, his majesty's advocate produced an act of council previously prepared:—"Edinburgh, June 14, 1681. The council give order and warrant to the justices, notwithstanding of any verdict or sentence upon the criminal dittay lately pursued against John Spreul, to detain him in prison until he be examined upon several other points they have to lay to his charge." Mr. Spreul was accordingly remanded to jail; and such was the persevering greed of his rapacious persecutors, that, on the 14th of July, he, together with a William Lin, writer in Edinburgh, was brought before the privy council for being at field-conventicles. They were both accused of having at least heard Presbyterian ministers preach when some of the congregation were without doors, and likewise of resett and converse with intercommuned persons; and the truth of the accusation being referred to their oaths, because they would not swear,

they were both found guilty, and each of them fined five hundred pounds sterling and sent to the Bass. Mr. Spreul lay there six years, whence, "from his long continuance in that place," Wodrow adds, "he has yet the compellation of Bass John Spreul, whereof he needs not be ashamed."*

Mr. Blackader was seized in Edinburgh on Tuesday, April 5, and has left the following account of his apprehension, so characteristic of the manners of these satellites of prelatie domination, that I give it at length:—"The party came to his house before he arose. His daughter and servant were up expecting the Borrowstounness carrier, who had promised to come that day. About five or six o'clock, one knocked softly at the hanging gate. She looked through a hole in the door and spied a man with a gray hat, and thought it had been the carrier, who was there the night before with a gray hat of somebody's on his head. She opened the door, but it proved to be Johnstoun, the town-major, with a party at his back, who came into the hall, and asked, 'If there were any strangers in the house.' She said, 'No.' Yet he came to the chamber where her father was lying, putting the end of his staff to the side of the curtain, and then went up stairs to the gallery where the minister used to stay, and found only his son lying in the bed, and came down again to his chamber, saying to the minister's wife, 'Mistress, desire your husband to rise.' He looking forth out of the bed, said, 'How now, major, is that you? I am not surprised, but where is your order?' The other said, 'You are only to rise and come down to a friend in the Canongate.' 'Well,' said the minister, 'if I were dressed, I am ready.'

"Meanwhile he spoke gently to his men to wait on the prisoner, but he himself went quickly to Dal-

* This unusual severity was said to have been occasioned by Mr. Spreul's rather imprudent answer; but as York repeatedly and voluntarily was present, and appeared much interested in such spectacles, it would appear the natural unfeeling disposition of the tyrant was stimulated by the horrible maxims of his religion.

ziel in the Canongate; upon which and other presumptions, the minister conjectured he had no order at the time, except privately from Prelate Paterson, till after he was taken; for he did not take him out of his house till he returned. After he returned, the minister calling for a drink, sought a blessing, and caused give them all a drink, and went forth; his wife being very sickly, yet behaved more quietly than he could have believed. It was observable that such a wicked person as the major was, who used to swear and domineer in all such cases, did at that time carry most calmly, as all the party did, not one menacing word being heard. The major took him down the Cowgate, himself on the one hand, and the minister's son Thomas on the other, the party following, and brought him to Dalziel's lodgings, near the foot of the Canongate. The major went first, the minister following. Dalziel himself opening the door, the major told him he had brought the prisoner. Dalziel bade him take him to the guard. The minister stepping up stairs, said—'May I speak a little?' at which he rudely raged, 'You, sir, have spoken too much; I would hang you with my own hands over that outshot.' He knew not yet who he was, nor what was laid to his charge till afterward, as the minister perceived by a strange alteration in his calmness to him when he came to the court at twelve o'clock, at which time he was called.

"His examiners were, the Duke of Rothes, chancellor; the king's advocate, Sir George Mackenzie; General Dalziel; and Bishop Paterson, of Edinburgh. In answer to questions from the Chancellor, he acknowledged he was a minister at Troqueer, in Galloway, since 1653. 'Did you excommunicate the king? or were you at Torwood at the time?' 'I have not been at Torwood these four years.' 'But what do you think of it? do you approve of it?'

"Perceiving that many such extraneous questions concerning his thoughts and judgments of things might be asked, and being resolved to make a stand

at first, he shunned declaring his inward sentiments, and answered—‘Though I be as free to answer to that as to all the former, yet I must tell you I came here to give account of my judgment to no man; therefore, seeing this is an interrogating of me about my thoughts, I humbly beg to be excused. Produce a libel, and I’ll endeavour to answer it as I can.’ On this point he was repeatedly interrogated by the Chancellor and the Advocate, but to no purpose.

“‘But do you approve of taking the king’s life?’ ‘No, I do not, and no good man will.’ The Chancellor said, ‘Sir, you have done yourself a favour in saying so. But we hear you keep conventicles since the last indemnity?’ ‘I need not ask what is meant by conventicles, seeing that term has been frequently applied to our preaching who are ministers of the gospel, and under the strictest obligation to exercise our ministry, as we shall be answerable at the great day. My lord, I have the honour to be lawfully and duly called to the sacred function, and am bound to exercise that office, which I ever did and still do account my duty, abstracting from all indemnities whatever.’ ‘But you have preached in the fields, that is, on moors and hill sides? I shall not ask you if you have preached in houses or not, though there is not liberty even for that.’ ‘I place no case of conscience, nor make any difference betwixt preaching in houses or in the fields, but as may best serve the convenience of the hearers; nor know I of any restriction lying on me from the word of God, where I have my commission, which reaches to houses and fields, within and without doors.’ ‘You know, and no doubt have seen, the laws discharging such preaching?’ ‘My Lord, no doubt I have; and I am sorry that there ever should have been laws and acts made against preaching the gospel.’ ‘Not against preaching the gospel, but against sedition and rebellion.’ ‘I preach no sedition or rebellion.’

“Then the Lord Advocate rose out of his place and came to the prisoner, and courteously asked him, why he answered not more clearly to the Chancel-

lor about the excommunication, and alleged he was straitened. To this insidious query, Mr. Blackader replied, 'I am noways straitened or confused about that; but I do of purpose shun to answer such interrogatories as require me to give account of my thoughts and judgment about persons or practices, not knowing how many such questions may be put, or what use may be made of them; and I am here only to answer for matters of fact that concern myself.' Then intending to speak somewhat more, he craved liberty to be heard; to which the Chancellor replied, 'You have leave to speak, if you speak not treason;' but immediately rose and went out with the other two, it being near one o'clock, their dinner hour.

"Before the next examination, he sent his son to tell Colonel Blackader, a cousin of his, who went and informed General Dalziel, whose comrade he had been in the wars, of the prisoner's relation to the house of Tulliallan, with which Dalziel also was connected. The examination consisted only of a few trifling questions, and passed smoothly. At two o'clock on Wednesday, Captain Maitland, who was on the guard, told the prisoner he was to carry him up to the council at three, and desired him to be ready. When the Duke went to the council, he, Mr. Blackader, was ranked among three rank of musketeers in Captain Maitland's company, who marched him up the rear of the life-guards who attended the Duke up streets. When he came to the Parliament Close, the captain sent four soldiers to wait on the prisoner in an outer room till he should be called. There he sat from three till five o'clock, when the council rose. He was not called, which he marvelled at; but sent his son Thomas to inquire what word was concerning him, who answered he believed he was sentenced to the Bass. On the morrow he was sent off. When they reached the Fishery, they observed a gathering of people upon some occasion or other at the end of the town, upon the green, which, when the captain perceived, he took

the alarm, apprehending it might be a design to rescue the prisoner. Upon this he came to the minister, and said, 'If these people attempt to rescue you, you are a dead man; for upon the first attack, I will shoot you through the head.' The minister said he knew nothing about it, and did not believe there was any such design. They came to Castleton over against the Bass about three afternoon. The prisoner dined the whole party there! and after dinner two of them went over with him in a boat to the rock; and he was delivered to the governor of the Scottish Bastile about five afternoon, on Thursday, April 7, 1681, after he had laboured in the work from 1662, when he was cast out in many and divers places in the land under continual persecution, manifold hardships and hazards, till he accomplished the service appointed by his Master."

Mr. Gabriel Semple, son of Sir Bryce Semple of Cathcart, minister of Kirkpatrick-Durham in Galloway, an able associate of Blackader and Welsh, particularly obnoxious as being one of the first who took to the fields, was in July this year seized in the house of Sir Patrick Hepburn of Blackcastle, at Oldhamstocks, and liberated upon giving bond to appear when called for, under a penalty of ten thousand merks. When seized, he was labouring under an ague and unable to ride, yet would not the council dispense with his presence; but procuring the accommodation of Lady Stevenstoun's calash, he was able to perform the journey, accompanied by his nephew. On his arrival, he was lodged in the Cannongate jail, where he lay for a short time. When called before a committee of council, his petition was read to him, and he was called to acknowledge it; but the clerk, in reading, had added some strong expressions, disavowing the principles for which Mr. Semple was suffering, in hopes that he would disclaim it. This he afterwards found had been done on purpose to extort money from him, (but Lord Maitland, who was one of the number, was very friendly.) When asked if he owned the supplication

after it was read, he requested a sight of the paper; and observing that the paper itself had not been altered, he returned it, saying that that paper was the very same he had written and given in; upon which he was dismissed without being required to renew the bond, and shortly after he withdrew to England.

His host, however, did not escape so easily. He was brought before the council and fined in the sum of two hundred pounds sterling, and imprisoned till he found caution to pay it.

Cargill had nobly kept the field, after all his brethren had retired to safer stations, and his ministry had been greatly blessed. In consequence, he had become an object of more eager pursuit; but the Torwood excommunication had raised the malignant passions of the persecutors to a degree of virulent animosity beyond what can be imagined or accounted for by those who consider the transaction an object of contempt; and a reward of five thousand merks was offered for his apprehension. He delivered his last sermon upon Dunsyre Common, from Isaiah xxvi. 20. "Come, my people, enter thou into thy chambers, and shut thy doors about thee: hide thyself as it were for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast." That night, through the persuasion of Messrs. Smith and Boig, he went to Covington-mill, where he was seized, together with his two companions, by James Irvine of Bonshaw, who exclaimed with satanic glee—"O blessed Bonshaw! and blessed day that ever I was born! that has found such a prize this morning." At Lanark, they procured horses, and placing the prisoners on their bare backs, Bonshaw with his own hands tied Mr. Cargill's feet below the animal's belly, painfully hard. "Why do you tie me so hard?" said the venerable saint; "your wickedness is great; you will not long escape the just judgment of God."*

* Crookshanks adds, "And if I be not mistaken, it will seize you in this place." And this was verified, for soon after he got the price of his blood; he was killed in a duel near Lanark. His last words

Fearing a rescue, they pushed on for Glasgow as fast as they could. When near the city, they turned him on his horse, and led him in backward. They halted at the tolbooth till the magistrates came to receive them. Multitudes flocked to gaze; and while many stood weeping to see their late revered minister in such a situation, John Nisbet, a dissolute character, the bishop's factor, addressed him tauntingly—"Mr. Donald, will you give us one word more?" alluding to an expression Mr. Cargill sometimes used in preaching. The prisoner, looking sorrowfully on him, replied—"Mock not, lest your bands be made strong; the day is coming, when you shall not have one word to say though you would." This natural and serious reproof was received as a prophecy; and Wodrow adds—"This came very shortly to pass. Not many days after, the Lord was pleased to lay his hand on that ill man. At Glasgow, where he lived, he fell suddenly ill, and for three days his tongue swelled; and though he seemed very earnest to speak, yet he could not command one word, and died in great torment and seeming terror. Some yet alive know the truth of this passage."*

Mr. Cargill and his fellow prisoners were brought to the capital, and on the 15th July examined before the council. Being asked if he owned the king's authority and the king as his lawful prince, he answered, as the magistrates' authority is now established by the act of parliament anent supremacy and the explanatory act, he denied the same. When pressed to say explicitly if he owned the king as his lawful prince, yes or no; he refused to give any other answer than he had already given, and declin-

were—"God damn my soul eternally, for I am gone." Vol. ii. p. 85.

* Crookshanks says, "Robert Godwin and John Hodge, two Glasgow men who were witnesses to this, went to visit him. Godwin desired him to write what kept him from speaking. He wrote that it was a just judgment from the Lord, and the sayings of the minister verified upon him for his mocking at him; and if he had the whole world, he would give it for the use of his tongue again. But he died in great torment and seeming terror." Vol. ii. p. 86.

ed their interference respecting the excommunication, that being entirely an ecclesiastical matter. He acknowledged having seen Balfour, Henderson, and Russell, within the last two years, but knew nothing of their intentions before the deed—*i. e.* the archbishop's death—was done. A copy of the sermon alleged to have been preached by him at the Torwood, was produced—so vigilant were their spies in procuring information—and he was asked if it was a true copy. He desired time to consider before he answered. He owned the lawfulness of defensive arms in case of necessity, and did not consider those who were at Bothwell rebels, but oppressed men; and refused to say whether he was there or at Airmoss. He did not see the Sanquhar declaration till after it was proclaimed, but refused to say whether he had any hand in advising it or not; and with regard to the principles it contained, would give no opinion rashly. He further declared he could not give his sense respecting the archbishop's death, but that the Scripture says that the Lord giving a call to a private man to kill, he might do it lawfully, and instanced Jael and Phineas—thinks he is not obliged to obey the king's government as it is now established by the act of supremacy. He was repeatedly before the council, but varied nothing in his declarations.

Mr. Walter Smith, though young in years, was an eminent Christian and an excellent scholar. He had studied abroad under Leusden, who highly esteemed him; and when he heard of his martyrdom, burst into weeping, and said in broken English—"O! Smit, great, brave, Smit; b'yond all as ever I taut."* He declared he did not think it lawful to rise in arms against lawful authority, but could not acknowledge the present authority the king is invested with, as being clothed with a supremacy over the church. The Sanquhar declaration being read, he owned it, with

* He wrote several tracts; one on Fellowship Meetings, and another on the Defections of the Times, which were highly esteemed; neither of which have I seen.

this explication, that he did not look on those who composed it as the regular representatives of the Presbyterian Church; he thought what the king had done, justified the people in revolting against him, but as to declaring war, he did not know if they were called or in a capacity to declare war; and thinks that they thereby intended only to justify the killing of any of the king's forces in their own defence, when assaulted, otherwise it might have been esteemed murder. As to these words where the king is called an usurper and a tyrant, he knows certainly the king is an usurper, and wishes he were not a tyrant.

James Boig, also a student of divinity, a young man of talent and piety, was examined upon the same points, and bore testimony to the same truths.

William Thomson, a farm servant in Fife, apprehended when coming from hearing sermon at Alloa, in a testimony, most admirably written, considering his situation in life, coincided with his minister—"I was before the year 1679," said he, in that paper, "running away with the rest of this generation to God-provoking courses." "Now I do with all my heart bless the Lord for his wonderful workings with me, since he began with me. I think when I look on his dealings since that time till now, I must say that I am a brand pluckt out of the fire. O! that my heart and soul could praise him for all that he has done for me; and now I am content to die a debtor to free grace!" He then declared his adherence to the Scriptures, to the Covenants, National and Solemn League, and to the Directory for Worship; and, "in the last place, bore his testimony to the cross of Christ, as the only desirable upmaking and rich lot of the people of God this day in Scotland." "There is no better way," he added, "to carry the cross right, than to cast all our care upon Christ, and trust him for all things, and use our single endeavours in this matter; speak what he bids us, and obey his voice in all things."

William Cuthill—a seaman belonging to Borrowstounness, who suffered at the same time—struck fairly at the root of the mischief—the recalling of the Stuarts, which indeed was the first grand step of backsliding by the honest people in Scotland, and not more inconsistent in a religious, than totally unaccountable in a rational or political point of view—“The admitting Charles Stuart to the exercise of kingly power, and crowning him while they knew he carried heart enmity against the work and people of God, and while in the meantime there was so much of his treachery made known to the parliament by his commissionating James Graham, Earl of Montrose, to burn and slay the subjects of this kingdom, that would not side with, or would withstand him in the prosecution of his wickedness.” Another point in his testimony was equally just; it was “against that unparalleled practice of ministers in quitting their charges; and that which doth more aggravate their guilt, at his command who had no power to act, nor right to be obeyed, either in that or civil things, seeing he hath unkinged himself.”

Had the whole ministers in Scotland and England individually refused to move till the people themselves had desired them, it is more than probable that they never would have been ejected. It was the great anxiety evinced, during their primary negotiations with Charles, by each party and separate section to engross the whole of the royal favour for themselves, that laid the foundation of his tyranny, and cast into his hands a power which enabled him to overthrow the constitution of this country;* and their at once yielding to their own illegal ejection con-

* I believe, however, he owed much to the perverted education of the nobility, and the contracted tutelage of the influential middle ranks. It appears to me that the excellent men who superintended their studies, were more anxious to instil into their young minds party principles than practical truths; and likewise that the Presbyterian teachers, in their anxiety to keep aloof from the lax morals of the cavaliers, acted with a severity which alienated the affections of their pupils from themselves and their opinions.

firmed it. If there be primary principles of government, founded upon the constitution of our nature, and, like the doctrines of revelation, suited to the necessities and the existence of society, no power on earth has a right to uproot or destroy them, more especially if planted with the general consent of a nation; and such were the principles acknowledged, avowed, legalized, and acted upon by the estates of Scotland at Glasgow, which were said to be set aside by the act rescissory, but which were afterwards at the Revolution acknowledged as inalienable; for these the humblest of the martyrs shed their blood, and their sufferings have only been decried by those who allege that Christian privileges and civil privileges can be separated, or who suppose that a man can enjoy rational freedom, while he is not allowed to worship God, except in the manner prescribed by the state.

In one instance, the Duke of York showed something like a respect for these principles. A wild sect had originated with John Gib, a sailor in Borrowstounness, named "the sweet singers," or "the Gibbites," from their leader. These retired to solitary places, burned the covenants, denied the king's authority, refused to pay taxes, disowned the division into chapters and verses of the Old and New Testaments, the Psalms in metre, also the names of the months and days of the week, fasted long in the immediate expectation of the end of the world, and with curious inconsistency were constantly singing the penitential Psalms. Such at least were some of the charges against them; but when a number were apprehended and lodged in the Canongate tolbooth, they were after a short confinement dismissed, merely upon enacting themselves to keep the peace.

Far different was the treatment of the five worthies above mentioned. On the 26th of July, after a form of trial, they were all found guilty of treason, and ordered to be hanged next day, the day before parliament met. Mr. Cargill came first. "As to the

cause of my suffering," he said, "the main is my not acknowledging the present authority, as it is established in the supremacy and explanatory act. This is the magistracy that I have rejected that was invested with Christ's power." "It is long," said he, in the declaration which he left, "since I could have ventured on eternity through God's mercy and Christ's merits, yet death remained somewhat terrible; now that is taken away; now death is no more to me than to cast myself down in my husband's arms. I have been most in the main things, not that I thought the things concerning our times little, but that I thought none could do any thing to purpose in God's great and public matters till they were right in their conditions." When he attempted from the scaffold to address the numerous assemblage, he was thrice interrupted by the drums, yet was he not discomposed. "Ye see," said he, with a smiling countenance, "we have not liberty to speak, or to speak what we would; but God knoweth our hearts; be not discouraged at the way of Christ and the cause for which I am to lay down my life, and step into eternity, where my soul shall be as full of him as it can desire to be. And, now, this is the sweetest and most glorious day that ever my eyes did see." "The Lord knows I go up this ladder with less fear and perturbation of mind than ever I entered the pulpit to preach. I forgive all men the wrongs they have done against me. I pray that the sufferers may be kept from sin and helped to know their duty." He afterwards prayed a little, and the executioner turned him over praying. The others met death with equal solemn confidence and joy.

On that same day the Duke of Rothes died; and Wodrow tells us, "that, as through life, except when pushed on by others, he was never for severities against Presbyterian ministers; so at his death he had the advantage of some of them with him. He appeared concerned upon views of eternity, and the Reverend Mr. John Carstairs waited upon him, and

prayed with him—the Duke of Hamilton and many others of his noble relations being present; and few were present without being affected very sensibly.” By his death the office of Chancellor becoming vacant, many of the chief nobility, in expectation of succeeding him, became more subservient to the royal Duke, which enabled him to carry his despotic measures with greater facility than perhaps he could otherwise have done.

BOOK VII.

A. D. 1681.

Parliament—Act for securing the Protestant religion—asserting the divine right and lineal succession of their kings—for securing the peace of the country—Lord Bargeny's case—THE TEST—debate upon it—Belhaven—Argyle—objections to its imposition—Argyle takes it with an explanation—his trial—escapes from the Castle—forfeited—Fraser of Brae—fined—banished.

AT nine o'clock of the forenoon of July 28, the peers in their robes, and the commissioners of shires in their foot-mantles, assembled at Holyrood-house on horse-back, whence they accompanied his Royal Highness James Duke of Albany and York to the Parliament House. There being neither Chancellor nor Treasurer, the Marquis of Atholl was appointed president of the parliament. Paterson, bishop of Edinburgh, opened it by a prayer.* The Duchess of York and several other ladies were present, which was uncommon in those days, and considered indecorous. The Duke of York, who, as a papist would, but for a party in the English House of Lords, have been excluded from the succession, was sent to Scotland

* The first thing which came before the parliament was of course the settling of controverted elections, on which occasion Bishop Paterson gave proof of his fitness for the office he filled. "The Bishop of Edinburgh was heard to say, in the debateable election of East Lothian, that, for serving the king, the committee might very lawfully prefer one who was inferior in votes, and they might pass over four or five votes to hold out a Shaftesbury, which." adds Lord Fountainhall, "was spoke very like one who minded his oath, his parliament oath, de fideli, to judge according to law!"—*Decis.* vol. i. p. 140.

as commissioner to secure that country, and lay the foundation of another civil war, if things went adverse to his interest in England. Nor was any opposition made by this mean-spirited assemblage to receiving a papist as their king's representative: previously to their meeting, it had been privately agitated, but the Duke of Hamilton refused to have any thing to do with the business, unless a majority could be previously secured.

Both the king's letter and his speech are pregnant examples of that villanous hypocrisy which distinguished the royal brothers. The king told them—"We have ever considered our own and the interests of our subjects to be inseparable;" and then he explained how "experience having sufficiently evinced, that all invasions upon, or diminutions of, the rights and prerogatives of our crown, prove fatal and destructive to the security and property of our people—which can only thereby be protected!" and "it is one of our greatest satisfactions that we have been always careful of that our ancient kingdom, with a tenderness suitable to our great interest in it," "for promoting which and securing the Protestant religion, we have called this parliament, and impressed upon them the necessity of adopting effectual and adequate remedies for curing these violent distempers, schisms, and separation in the church, and rebellion in the state." The Duke of York confirmed the declarations of the gracious letter. He had it in command from his majesty to assure them that he would inviolably maintain and protect the Protestant religion as now established by law, and seriously recommended them to fall upon effectual courses for suppressing these seditious and rebellious conventicles, from whence proceeded all disorder and confusion, and those horrid and extravagant doctrines which are a scandal to Christianity, and tend to the subversion of all public and private interests; and he concluded by telling them, "as the inclination I had to serve and promote the interest of this kingdom hath been the chief inducement to his majesty to

give me this opportunity to convince you of it; so you may be sure I shall do what becomes me to satisfy you of the truth of it: and I hope you will have that consideration and kindness as to enable me to perform his service."

The parliament made a reply, the baseness of which I do not wonder at, but I do admire the impudence, when I recollect that it was first to be presented to a papist commissioner, and by him transmitted to a half-popish king—if he was any thing. "It is a great satisfaction to us to find your majesty so concerned for the Protestant religion, not only in your gracious letter to us, but in the whole conduct of your royal government; and we shall with all Christian care and duty endeavour to confirm it, so as it may become a solid and pious support to your royal family and monarchy, and a sure fence in this disturbed and divided church against all usurpations and disorders of popery and fanaticism;" and they added, what would not be less gratifying, "we shall not fail, by positive laws, to declare our humble and hearty acknowledgments of the just rights and prerogatives of your imperial crown, in its just, native, and lineal course of descent; and to secure the just rights and liberties of your subjects, so as may justly demonstrate our unalterable resolutions never to depart from our duty to your royal family and your lawful heirs and successors, to whom we are tied by so many sacred obligations."

Their first act was one ratifying and approving all former laws, acts, and statutes, made by our sovereign lord's royal grandfather and father, of blessed memory, for settling and securing the liberty and freedom of the kirk of God, and the protestant religion presently professed, and all acts against popery! The very next was one asserting that the kings of the realm deriving their royal power from God Almighty alone, their lineal succession, according to the known proximity in blood, could neither be suspended nor diverted by any act or statute whatsoever; and that no difference in religious profession,

nor law, nor act of parliament, made or to be made, can alter or divert the right of succession and lineal descent of the crown to the nearest and lawful heirs!*

Then followed an act for securing the peace of the country, by doubling the fines and increasing the penalties against all who frequented field-conventicles, or had any intercourse with those who did. This presents us with a feature recognizable in the whole conduct of the ruling party, from the Restoration to the Revolution, which has not been sufficiently held up to contempt, and that is the low avarice, the base money-getting tricks which formed the soul, and directed the agency, of the gallant and chivalrous supporters of the merry monarch, and of his successor, the gloomy monk of La Trappe. There stands not out among them one redeeming character—all were the vilest of money-scrapers, who would have raked the lowest kennels to gather a supply for their prostitutes, and who, when that failed, only did not take to the highway, because they found legal villainy an easier and less hazardous way of plundering. An incident which occurred at this time, shows the tenure by which the wicked hold their power.

Lord Bargeny, a relation of the Duke of Hamilton's, who had been imprisoned on a charge of being at Bothwell, was liberated by especial order of the king, as no proof was produced against him. He offered, in open parliament, to produce evidence that Hatton, (Lauderdale's brother,) the Earl of Moray, and Sir John Dalrymple, had suborned witnesses to swear away his life, in order to obtain his estates among them; but the Duke of York, who wished to have the parties in his own hands, interposed and prevented all inquiry into the foul transaction:—such was his love of justice—and such was the baseness

* On this Laing well remarks—"When we peruse the act, and consider how soon the crown was afterwards forfeited; when we contemplate how frequently and happily the lineal succession has been since inverted—we must smile with contempt at the extreme fragility of political laws, and at the anxious precaution with which the most violent of them are framed, only to be disregarded and ultimately broken."—*Hist.* vol. iv. p. 119.

of the parliament, that they quietly acquiesced in the Commissioner's arbitrary and unjustifiable interference.

But the act which above all others holds up the memory of this servile set to everlasting shame, is **THE TEST**—the plain history of which is worth a thousand arguments to prove the folly as well as the iniquity of all attempts to secure religion by civil penalties, or to enact religious tests for political purposes. In order to induce members to pass the act of succession, they had been promised that every requisite measure should be adopted for securing the protestant religion. Accordingly, an act anent religion and the test was brought in, August 31, by which the following oath was ordered to be taken by all persons in offices and places of public trust, members of parliament, and all electors of members of parliament, and all ministers or preachers of the gospel, teachers in the universities, chaplains in families, pedagogues to children, and all officers and soldiers, betwixt and the 1st of January next:—"I, ——, solemnly swear, in presence of the eternal God, whom I invoke as judge of my sincere intention in this my oath, That I own and sincerely profess the true protestant religion contained in the Confession of Faith, recorded in the first parliament of King James VI., and that I believe the same to be founded on and agreeable to the written word of God; and I promise and swear that I shall adhere thereunto during all the days of my life-time, and shall endeavour to educate my children therein, and shall never consent to any change or alteration contrary thereunto, and that I disown and renounce all such principles, doctrines, or practices, whether popish or fanatical, which are contrary unto, and inconsistent with, the said protestant religion and Confession of Faith: and for testification of my obedience to my most gracious sovereign Charles II., I do affirm and swear by this my solemn oath, that the king's majesty is the only supreme governor of this realm, over all persons, and in all causes, as well ecclesias-

tial as civil; and that no foreign prince, person, pope, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminency, or authority, ecclesiastical or civil, within this realm; and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities, and authorities; and do promise that from henceforth I shall bear faith, and true faith, and true allegiance to the king's majesty, his heirs and lawful successors; and to my power shall assist and defend all rights, jurisdictions, prerogatives, privileges, pre-eminences, and authorities belonging to the king's majesty, his heirs and lawful successors: and I further affirm and swear by this my solemn oath, that I judge it unlawful for subjects upon pretence of reformation, or any pretence whatsoever to enter into covenants or leagues, or to convocate, convene, or assemble, in any councils, conventicles, or assemblies, to treat, consult, or determine in any matter of state, civil or ecclesiastic, without his majesty's special command, or express license, had thereunto, or to take up arms against the king or those commissionate by him; and that I shall never so rise in arms or enter into such covenants or assemblies; and that there lies no obligation upon me from the National Covenant or the Solemn League and Covenants, (so commonly called) or any other manner of way whatsoever, to endeavour any change or alteration in the government, either in church or state, as it is now established by the laws of this kingdom: and I promise and swear that I shall with my utmost power, defend, assist, and maintain his majesty's jurisdiction foresaid against all deadly; and I shall never decline his majesty's power and jurisdiction, as I shall answer to God. And, finally, I affirm and swear that this my solemn oath is given in the plain, genuine sense and meaning of the words, without any equivocation, mental reservation, or any manner of evasion whatsoever, and that I shall not accept or use any dispensation from any creature whatsoever. So help me God."

This sacred TEST, which I have given at length, because of its characteristic singularity, even in that age of oaths—carries on its front such palpable self-contradiction, that it appears to have been intentionally framed, as the justiciary categories of that day confessedly were, to create crime. The Confession of Faith here sworn to, was that drawn up by John Knox, and asserts Christ to be the *sole* “Head of the Church, in which [whose] honours and offices, if men or angels presume to intrude themselves, we utterly detest and abhor them.” In the test, the king is acknowledged as “the only supreme in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil.” In the Confession, there is enumerated in the list of good works, “the duty of repressing tyranny and defending the oppressed.” In the test, it is declared “unlawful, upon any pretence, to take up arms against the king or any commissionate by him.”

In opening the debate, Lord Belhaven remarked, that “he saw a very good act for securing our religion from one another among ourselves, but he did not see an act brought to secure our religion against a popish or fanatical successor to the crown.” He was instantly sent to the Castle, and the Lord Advocate declared there was matter for an accusation of treason against him; nor was he released until some days after, upon making an ample apology. Argyle thought it unnecessary, as there were too many oaths already; and he strenuously opposed the concluding clause, excepting the king’s lawful sons and brothers. “It is our happiness,” he said, “that the king and people are of one religion by law; and he hoped the parliament would do nothing to loosen what was fast, or open a door for the royal family being of a different religion from the nation, and therefore he wished, if any exception were made, it might be made particularly for his Royal Highness.” The Commissioner hastily rising, said, he would allow of no exemption for himself. “Then,” replied Argyle, “if this exception pass, it will do more prejudice to the Protesant religion than all the rest of the acts

will do good." It did pass, after a day's debate, by a majority of seven.* Having sat seven weeks, the parliament adjourned without doing much credit to the Commissioner's character, "on which some wise men observed, 'the Duke of York might have courage and obstinacy enough, like his father; but had neither great conduct nor a deep reach in affairs, and was but a silly man.'"[†]

When the test came to be imposed, Scotland presented the appalling scene of an almost universal compliance among her men in office; yet even among them there were a few names who defiled not their garments. John Hope of Hopeton, who had the honour of being deprived of the Sheriffdom of Linlithgowshire—the excellent Duchess of Rothes, who though strongly urged, decidedly refused—besides several others. Queensberry took it with an explanation, "that he did not understand himself to be against any alterations in case it should seem good to his majesty to make them in church or state." The Duke of Hamilton also had his scruples, but was willing the council should name deputies in any jurisdictions belonging to him, which they did. The Marquis of Huntly positively refused to take it; but being a papist, he was passed over. The opposition, however, made by the Synod and Bishop of Aberdeen, the Synod of Perth and Bishop of Dunkeld, and a number of the Episcopalian clergymen, who for the first time appeared in opposition to the court, induced Paterson, Bishop of

* The majorities seems to have consisted chiefly of "the royal burrows, who," says Fountainhall, "were by the court gulled with the hopes of getting their privileges restored against burghs of regalities and baronies (which were taken away by the act of parliament 1672); and in hopes of it, with Issachar, they couched under the burden, and yielded to every demand of the Duke of York; but when they brought in their bill to the Articles, they were so far from getting redress, or the regalities and baronies declared liable to bear a part of the burden with them, that the Articles were like to take away more from them; so that the burrows were glad to put up their pipes, and hold them as they were, beside the skaith they had got, by limiting them to elect none but one of their own town." *Decis.* vol. i. p. 155.

† Fountainhall's *Decis.* vol. i. p. 156.

Edinburgh, to prepare an explanation, which was approved of by the council, purporting "that by the test we do not swear to any proposition or clause in the said Confession of Faith, but only to the true protestant religion, founded on the word of God, contained in that Confession, as it is opposed to popery and fanaticism; that no encroachment is intended upon the intrinsic spiritual power of the church, as it was exercised by the apostles in the three first centuries; nor any prejudice to the episcopal government of this national church." The precise and unalterable obligation at the close, however, was so decisive, that many who would have scrupled little at common obligations, were startled at this; and, to the honour of the conformist clergy, not less than *eighty* rather surrendered their livings than their conscience; and "these were noted to be the best preachers, and the most zealous enemies to popery, that belonged to that church."

The Presbyterians decidedly refused it. Nor could they act otherwise, without deserting and betraying their religion. Argyle, who saw all this, unfortunately did not act with that decision which is often, if not always, the safest, though frequently not the most pleasant or easy mode of procedure, and at once resign his employments. He endeavoured to evade taking it, by offering an explanation, as had been done by the Synods and conforming clergy; and his proposal was accepted graciously by the Duke of York, who at the same time told him the oath was such as no honest man could swear. His explanation was:—"I have considered the test, and am desirous to give obedience as far as I can. I am confident the parliament never intended to impose contradictory oaths, therefore I think no man can explain it but for himself. Accordingly, I take it in as far as it is consistent with itself and the protestant religion; and I do declare I mean not to bind up myself in my station, and in a lawful way to wish and endeavour any alteration I think to the advantage of the church or state." No remark was made at the time, and the Earl took

his place as a privy counsellor; but next day, when he waited upon the Duke, he was told his explanation was not satisfactory. "I thought," said his Royal Highness, "it was to have been a short one like Queensberry's. Well! it passed with you, but it shall pass so with no other."

The unsuspecting Earl understood this as an harmonious finale to the matter; but he knew not with whom he had to deal. On the same day he was called before the council as a commissioner of the treasury, and again required to take the test. He offered to do so in the same manner as he had done before, but was sternly refused. "You and some others," said the Duke of York, "have designed to bring trouble upon a handful of poor Catholics, who would live peaceably, however they are used! but it shall light upon others," and walked off, after desiring the Earl not to leave town till he saw him again. Next day he was ordered by the council to enter himself prisoner in Edinburgh castle before twelve o'clock, and the Lord Advocate was instructed to pursue him for treason. They also sent an account of their proceedings to the king for his approbation, which they received in course, only desiring that no sentence should be pronounced until submitted to him. His trial, which lasted two days (12th and 13th December), immediately commenced; and a more nefarious one does not disgrace the justiciary records.

In common, there is some appearance of crime in the charges brought by a public prosecutor, however distorted by legal subtlety; but not the shadow of a fault could be made to appear against this nobleman, in so far as his loyalty was concerned. Here, if in any thing, his failings leaned to the royal side; and when it is considered what his family had suffered for the royal cause, and by the royal personages, both "the blessed martyr" and his profligate son, it is wonderful that any of the house of Campbell could ever have been found in the ranks that supported the Stuart race.

His indictment was founded, among other acts, upon that of James VI. 205 act, parliament 14, by which all leasing-makers and tellers of them* are punishable with tinsel of life and goods; and 107, James I. parliament 7, which ordains that no man interpret the king's statutes otherwise than the statute bears, and to the intent and effect that they were made for, and as the makers of them understood; and whoso does in the contrary, to be punished at the king's will; and the tenth act, parliament 10, James VI., by which it is statuted, that none of his majesty's subjects presume to take upon him publicly to declare, or privately to speak or write, any purpose of slander against his majesty's person, laws, or acts of parliament, under pain of death. And his explanation of what all allowed to be a contradictory act of parliament, was, from the most unnatural distortion and forced construction of the words by that base unprincipled slave of the court, Sir George Mackenzie, tortured into treason:—

“You the said Archibald Earl of Argyle declared that you had considered the said TEST, and was desirous to give obedience as far as you could, whereby you clearly insinuated that you was not able to give full obedience. In the second article, you declare that you were confident the parliament never intended to impose contradictory oaths, thereby to abuse the people with a belief that the parliament had been so impious as really and actually to have imposed contradictory oaths; and so ridiculous as to have made an act of parliament (which should be the most deliberate of all human actions) quite contrary to their own intentions; and that every man must explain it for himself, and take it in his own sense, which is a settling of the legislative power in private subjects: that you take the test in so far only as it is consistent with itself and the protestant religion, by which you maliciously intimate to the people that the said oath is inconsistent with itself and the protestant re-

* *i. e.* Liars or tellers of lies. What would have become of the royal brothers had they been tried upon this statute?

ligion, which is not only a downright depraving of the said act of parliament, but likewise a misconstruing of his majesty's and the parliament's proceedings, misrepresenting them to the people in the highest degree, and in the tenderest points implying that the king and parliament have done things inconsistent with the protestant religion, for securing of which that test was particularly intended. In the fourth article, you expressly declare that you mean not by taking the said test to bind up yourself from wishing and endeavouring any alteration in a lawful way, that you shall think fit 'for the advancing of church and state,' by which you declare yourself, and by your example invite others to think themselves, loosed from that obligation, and think it is free for them to make any alteration in either as they shall think fit; concluding your whole paper with these words, 'and this I understand as a part of my oath,' which is a treasonable invasion upon the royal legislative power, as if it were lawful for you to make to yourself an act of parliament, since he who can make any part of an act may make the whole."

The Earl's speech after the indictment was read, was manly and noble. It contained simply a general sketch of what he had done for the royal ingrates, and the consequent improbability that he who had evinced such unshaken loyalty in the worst of times, should now be guilty of gratuitous treason.

Sir George Lockhart and Sir John Dalrymple followed in plain luminous speeches, such as it is impossible to conceive how minds of common construction could withstand the force of the reasoning, and the effect of the downright statement of facts, which give to them, in perusal, a power beyond what any artificial eloquence could bestow; yet such was the deadening effect of a wretchedly supposed self-interest, that the bench divided equally—two, Newton and Forret, voting for, and two, Collington and Harcarse, against, the "relevancy of the libel;" and they remained until midnight discussing the subject, nor were able to come to a decision. Queensberry, who

presided as Justice-General, having himself received the test with an explanation, declined to vote, as, in condemning Argyle, he must have condemned himself; yet to acquit him would have been to forfeit the favour of the court, and he preferred having his name registered with infamy, to acting the part of an honest man. In this dilemma, Nairn, an old superannuated judge, who had fallen asleep during the trial, and had been under the necessity of retiring from the bench, because, through infirmity, he could not follow the proceedings, was dragged from his bed and called upon to give his casting vote. Next day, the interlocutor was pronounced—"sustaining the charges as relevant, repelling the legal defences against treason and leasing-making, and remitting the indictment, with the defence against perjury, to the knowledge of an assize."

This assize consisted of the Marquis of Montrose, a personal enemy of Argyle, who presided; the Earls of Linlithgow, Roxburgh, Dumfries, Early, Perth, Dalhousie, Middleton; Lords Sinclair, Lindores, Burntisland; the Lairds of Gosford, Ballymain, Park, Gordon, and Claverhouse. A majority of them were political adversaries, predisposed to condemn. Argyle refused to reply. He saw that his case was prejudged; and he did not give his enemies the triumph of overwhelming a fruitless defence. With a vile affectation, the Lord Advocate charged the jury to bring in a verdict of guilty, or stand the consequences of a process of error. "And it being proven," Fountainhall's expressions, "that he (the Earl) gave in that explanation which the lords found treasonable, the assize, (being so determined by the interlocutor) could not but find him guilty of treason and leasing-making, but assoilzied him from the article of perjury."

"There was a great outcry," his lordship adds, "against the criminal judges for their timorous dishonesty," and well there might; nor can I help joining issue with Sir George Lockhart, who "admired how a man could be condemned as a traitor for

saying he would make all the amendments he could to the advantage of church and state!" Were not every circumstance in this atrocious business as much opposed to common sense as to law, we might wonder how any set of men above the scale of idiocy could consent to a process of treason being raised upon such palpable expressions of loyalty and patriotism; but that men, and these in the highest rank of society in Scotland, could have been found to bring in a verdict of guilty, shows what a dreadful want of moral principle then existed in the country, especially among the elevated classes.

As soon as the verdict was made known, the council met and sent a letter to the king, requesting leave to order the justiciary to pronounce sentence of death, but to delay execution during the royal pleasure. Argyle, who justly dreaded the event, had despatched a messenger to court to ascertain what he might expect from that quarter. By him he learned that the king would be prevailed upon to comply with the council's desire; and being at the same time informed that he was to be transferred from the Castle to the common jail, to which peers were wont to be removed a few days before execution, he considered that no time was to be lost in providing for his safety; and on Tuesday the 20th of December, about eight in the evening, he succeeded in effecting his escape, disguised as the page of Lady Sophia Lindsay, his step-daughter. Irritated at his flight, which was doubly galling as they knew he could proclaim, not to his oppressed country only, but to Europe, the vileness of the religious tyranny that desolated his country, the council immediately issued a proclamation, denouncing the fugitive as having added "the breach of prison to his other crimes, and without waiting for that clemency which he might have relied upon (!!) if he had not been conscious to himself of guiltiness that required such an escape; and commanding all loyal subjects to apprehend the said Earl, indemnifying those who should kill, mutilate, or slay the said Earl or his accomplices, if resisting;"

besides placing him under the ban of intercommuning. But the Earl, who could fully estimate the value of that clemency which he was accused of mistrusting, had fortunately got beyond their reach. Mr. John Scott, minister of Hawick, directed him to an obscure ale-house, where he met Pringle of Torwoodlee, by whom he was sent to William Veitch, an exiled minister, lurking on the borders, under whose direction he was safely conducted to London, whence he got to Holland—then the place of refuge for the persecuted Presbyterians.*

The privy council, to strike terror into any who complained of the injustice of the interlocutor pronounced by the court, named a committee to call his (Argyle's) advocates before them for subscribing an opinion that his explanation contained nothing treasonable, although they themselves had given these gentlemen authority to plead freely in defence of their client. When they appeared, some proposed to imprison and deprive them; nor was it without difficulty that they were allowed to continue their practice, York observing, if any bad use were made of their written opinion by spreading it abroad in England to incense the people, or reproach him or the judges, he should consider them as much to blame. It was, however, afterwards printed in England along with Argyle's trial, where it produced a powerful effect.

It had not been usual, nor was it deemed legal, to pronounce sentence of forfeiture in absence; but when all the essentials of justice had been violated, the council did not deem it worth while to stickle at forms. The Countess gave in a petition to the court

* In London, the Earl lodged at the house of a Mr. Smith, a sugar baker, whose lady, a pious woman, with the generosity and fearlessness of her sex, concealed him at the risk of her own life and fortune, for it was known that he was in London; and if Burnet be correct, Charles II. showed on this occasion one of the few praiseworthy traits of his character. He was informed of Argyle's retreat, but would not allow him to be sought after.—A long and interesting account of Argyle's escape and journey to London, is given in the *Life of Veitch*, published by Dr. McCrie.

of justiciary. It was as might have been anticipated of no avail. "Archibald Earl of Argyle was found guilty and culpable of the crimes of treason, leasing-making, and leasing-telling, and adjudged to be executed to the death; demeaned as a traitor; his name, memory, and honours to be extinct; and his arms to be riven forth and deleted out of the book of arms: so that his posterity may never have place, nor be able hereafter to bruik or enjoy any honours, offices, titles, or dignities within this realm in time coming;" and his tacks, stedings, goods, and gear whatsoever remaining to him "be escheated" to our sovereign lord, to remain perpetually with his Highness in property; which was pronounced for doom. Within seven years, the representative of Argyle was the first man in Britain—the representative of Stuart was a wanderer and a vagabond on the face of the earth!

Next day after Argyle's escape, Fraser of Brae appeared before the council. Returning home from the south, he had preached in a barn on the Lord's day, for which the council ordered him to be summoned as holding field-conventicles; but on learning the true state of the case, the summons was stopped, only some of them spoke to Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder, his surety. Sir Hugh shortly after visiting his friend, found him lying sick of an ague, and proposed writing to the Bishop of Edinburgh and the Lord Advocate to inform them of his situation, and get him excused. Mr. Fraser, who knew the men, earnestly entreated him not to interfere, "for if the prelates hear that I am sick, they will instantly cite me, in hopes that either I cannot appear being sick, and so fall in the forfeiture of my bond of five hundred and sixty pounds, which they would gladly be in hands with; or, if I should appear, might thereby endanger my life." His surety thought his fears groundless, and acquainted Bishop Paterson that Mr. Fraser was seriously ill, and never preached in the fields. Immediately the citation was revived, and the day of his appearance fixed for the 22d of

December, when they thought he certainly could not at that season come from the north, and the bond must be forfeited; but he most unexpectedly and suddenly recovered, and arrived in Edinburgh in good health, and his surety with him.

The council, astonished at his appearance, finally referred the case to the bishops, by whom he was sentenced to pay a fine of five thousand merks, be imprisoned in Blackness Castle till he paid it, and gave security not to preach any more, or go off the kingdom. He was accordingly sent to Blackness Castle, where he remained six weeks, till, upon the Duke of York's going to England, accompanied by Bishop Paterson and his brother—his two great enemies—Mr. Fraser's friends applied to the council, and procured a liberation and a remission of the fine, upon the condition of his leaving the kingdom, which he did, and went to reside at London.

BOOK VIII.

A D. 1681—1682.

Society-men—their first general meeting—State of the country—Ure of Shargarton—Wavering of the Episcopalians—Lanark declaration—burned at Edinburgh—Harvey hanged—Mr. P. Warner—York recalled to court—New government—Robert Gray executed—Dalziel sent to the west—Meeting at Priest-hill—at Tala-linn—Major White and the Laird of Meldrum—their proceedings—Hume of Hume executed—Lauderdale's death.

DEPRIVED of their regular teachers by banishment or legal murder, the consistent covenanters, now proscribed wanderers, formed themselves into societies for mutual edification, by reading the Scriptures, prayer, and exhortation. As might have been expected in such circumstances, some were apt to carry their principles to an extreme which, in more peaceable times, they would never have thought of; but in general their conduct evinced a soundness of judgment and sobriety of understanding which could only result from the powerful influence of religious truth upon their minds. When “the blasphemous and self-contradictory test” had been enacted, several of the most pious among them in the west, considered it their indispensable duty to give some public testimony, as far as they were capable of doing it, corresponding to the notoriety of the sin, lest they might interpretatively be looked upon as consenters, or at least connivers at such a wickedness, but wished it should be done by the whole collectively as far as was possible, and therefore that delegates from each of the societies should hold “general meetings” at such times and places as might be agreed upon.

The first was kept upon the 15th of December 1681, at Loganhouse, in the parish of Lesmahago, Lanarkshire, "at which time," as Michael Shields deploras, "the condition of the country was lamentable; the cruelty and malice of the enemy was come to a great height; they were pressing conformity to their iniquitous courses; and alas! they were much complied with. Defection was growing, sin was abounding, and the love of many was waxing cold; snares and temptations were increasing, and, which was sad, people wanted faithful warning of the sin and danger of the time; for ministers were lying by from the public preaching of the gospel, and did not, as becomes watchmen, set the trumpet to their mouth to give a certain sound! But especially the case of the scattered, reproached, persecuted, and yet contending party, was sad; reduced to very great straits of hiding, chasing, wandering, imprisonment, and killing, and to have foul reproaches and odious calumnies cast upon them, especially by some ministers and professors, they resolved that a declaration should be published at Lanark on the 12th January following." Then, after settling the plan of a general correspondence, and arranging the regular quarterly meetings, they dispersed.

A.D. 1682 commenced with vexatious proceedings. On the 7th of January, the council wrote to the king, telling him that the day for taking the test had passed over, and that they had sent him a list of the jurisdictions become vacant by the refusal of their holders to subscribe that oath, together with the names of those they recommended to fill them, adding, with great glee—"After serious reflection upon the whole matter of the test, we may sincerely say, that it has been a most happy expedient for filling all offices with persons who are well-affected to the protestant religion and your majesty's government."

In November last year, the privy council granted warrant to Sir George Mackenzie, king's advocate, to prosecute criminally forty-six persons in the shires

of Linlithgow, Stirling, and Ayr for being concerned in the rebellion at Bothwell. On the 9th of January this year, twenty-two were proceeded against, but only nine forfeited, the rest having either contrived to make their escape or bargained for their freedom by making a renunciation of their estates to the lords of the treasury; but James Ure of Shargarton was singled out for particular severity, because, having left the Episcopal communion, he had joined the persecuted ministers, and had his children baptized by them. His goods were seized, his rents arrested, and himself intercommuned; so that he never slept in bed three nights for nine years, during which parties of soldiers were sent to his house above thirty times, and dragoons quartered upon him for whole weeks together—his mother, an aged gentlewoman of seventy years, was carried to Glasgow and thrust into the common jail. Her petition “for leave at least to win to the prison doors for air” could not be granted; so she died there in the crowd.

Meanwhile, one hundred pounds sterling was offered to any who would bring in the said James Ure, dead or alive; but he escaped to Ireland, whence he occasionally ventured home, though he durst not remain in his own house, but was forced, both himself and his lady, to lie several weeks in the wood of Boquhan all night, when the cold was so great that the clothes would have been frozen together about them when they awoke. At daybreak he retired to a tenant’s house, and she returned home, where, about this time, she was apprehended and carried to Stirling, with a child on her breast, and detained there and in the Canongate tolbooth, Edinburgh, till she found bail for two thousand merks to appear when called; and, through the interposition of the Earl of Perth’s chamberlain, was finally dismissed.

Encouraged perhaps by the scruples of the first nobles in the land, twenty-one of the prelatical clergy refused the test, and the council, on the 12th of this month, wrote to the patrons of the parishes to

present fit and qualified persons in their room ; but, upon reconsidering the matter, the great part of them appear to have got over their scruples, and upon application were reponed to their benefices and stipends.

While the Episcopalians were wavering, the societies were acting. About forty armed men on the set day marched to Lanark, and, after burning the test, read and affixed to the cross their declaration, which it is impossible to peruse without deep interest, when we consider that, unlike a common declaration written by those who are themselves in safety or at ease, it was penned by men in jeopardy every hour, and proclaimed by them at the peril of their lives :*—

“ They acknowledged government as an ordinance of God, and governors as ordained by him, in so far as they rule and govern according to his word and the constitutive laws of the nation ; but when these laws are annulled by other pretended laws—when an inexplicable prerogative in matters ecclesiastic is usurped and arbitrary power in matters civil is arrogated—when a banner of impiety is displayed—when parliaments are so prelimited as that no true son of the state or church hath liberty to sit or vote there—what shall the people do in such extremity ? Shall they give up their reason as men, their consciences as Christians, and resign their liberties, fortunes, religion, and their all to the inexorable obstinacy, and incurable wilfulness and malice of those who, in spite of God or man, are resolved to make their own will the absolute and sovereign rule of their actions ? Shall the end of government be lost

* Indeed this ought never to be lost sight of in reading any of the productions of the persecuted, and should lead us to make every allowance for any warm expressions which they suffered to escape them, when contending not only for their own rights, but the rights of their posterity—for those privileges which we now enjoy but too lightly prize, because we seldom think of the price at which they were purchased. For some expressions in this, such as calling themselves “ a meeting of the estates,” &c. they afterwards apologized in the informatory vindication.

through the weakness, wickedness, and tyranny of governors? Have not the people, in such an extremity, good ground to make use of that natural and radical power which they possess, to shake off that yoke? which, accordingly, the Lord honoured us (in a general and unprelimited meeting of the estates and shires in Scotland) to do; at which convention he was most legally and by general consent cut off by the declaration at Sanquhar. But that we may not seem to have done that, or yet to do the like, upon no grounds, we shall hint at some of the many thousands of the misdemeanors of the now cast off tyrant." They then recapitulate the destruction of the noble constitution of the church and state by the first acts of his first parliament—the adjourning and dissolving parliaments at his pleasure—his usurpation of supreme head over all persons civil and ecclesiastic—his exorbitant taxations, and then expending the revenues of the crown for keeping up a brothel rather than a court—and his securing the succession to one as bad if not worse than himself. In conclusion, they offered to prove that they had done nothing contrary to the ancient laws of the kingdom, and only endeavoured to restore the church and state to the constitutional base on which they were established in 1648–9.

Exasperated at such an intrepid display of principle, the council paid homage to the deed by a miserable retaliatory act for burning, by the hands of the common hangman, the Solemn League and Covenant, the libel called Cargill's covenant, and the Rutherford and Sanquhar declarations, together with the last most obnoxious one at Lanark, which was done accordingly upon a high scaffold erected at the cross of Edinburgh, the magistrates attending in their robes.* The town of Lanark was fined six thousand merks for not preventing what they could not

* It was remarked at the time, that the bailie who superintended the execution of this public affront to the Covenants, had his large house burned down not long after. "But," as Wodrow well observes, "it becomes all to be very sparing in putting commentaries upon particular providences."—Vol. ii. p. 228.

possibly have anticipated; and William Harvey, a weaver, was hanged for publishing what he was not even present at, but he had been present at the declaration before Bothwell; and as the one was as bad as the other, he suffered accordingly.

Mr. Patrick Warner, although not persecuted to the death, suffered a vexatious harassment, sufficiently severe. In 1669 he had been ordained at London as a missionary to India—and perhaps it may not be unworthy of remark in passing, that the persecuted churches in Britain, like the persecuted churches in Judea, were eminently honoured in being the most successful labourers in the missionary field. After a number of hindrances were removed, he was proceeding on his voyage, when he was captured by the Dutch fleet, being in an English vessel, but at length succeeded in arriving at his destination. He laboured about three years at Madras, till forced by ill health to return to his native land about 1677, where he preached as opportunities offered, in houses and fields, till Bothwell, when he fled to Holland, whence he returned, 1681, to be married to a daughter of the Rev. William Guthrie. The very day after his marriage he was apprehended—such was the malignant cruelty of the ruling renegadoes; and although no tangible charge could be brought against him, he was kept in confinement till June this year, and only released upon banishing himself the country, under a penalty of five thousand merks in case of his return—losing his books and paying jail fees to the extent of one hundred pounds sterling. He went to Newcastle, and was allowed to remain there quietly for some time, being only required to take the oath of allegiance, which he did with his own explanations, and afterwards went to Holland, where he remained till the Revolution, when he returned to Scotland.*

* One day, when the council had finished their work, and were just rising, the clerk asked the chancellor, My lord, what will you do with Mr. Warner? . You have ordered him to oblige himself not to preach during the ten days allowed him for ordering his affairs; but if you knew him as well as I do you would as well order him

About this time the patriotic struggle in England had terminated unfavourably, and Charles found himself at liberty to recall his brother to court, on which occasion the Scottish bishops wrote a letter to his Grace of Canterbury, to be by him communicated to the king and their English brethren, expressing their sense of how much “their poor church and order did owe to the princely care and goodness of his royal highness, which, next to the watchful providence of God, had been their chief protection against the most unreasonable schism which, by rending, threatened the subversion of their church and religion”—“so that all men,” say they, “take notice that he looks on the enemies of the church as adversaries to the monarchy itself.” “The peace and tranquillity of the kingdom is the effect of his prudent and steady conduct of affairs, and the humours of our fanatics are much restrained from dangerous eruptions, upon the apprehensions of his vigilance and justice.”

Early in May, he returned to these his warm admirers, finally to arrange the government in the hands of their and his friends.* Queensberry, created a Marquis, he appointed treasurer; Gordon of Haddow, afterwards raised to the peerage as Earl of Aberdeen, chancellor; and Perth, who shortly after went over to popery, justice-general—an office of fearful importance during that bloody period. In about a week after, he took leave of the council, recommending to them at parting to pay particular

to go to the Grassmarket and be hanged, for he will do the one as soon as the other. What shall we do with him then, Hugh? My lord, if you would take my advice, instead of taking him obliged not to preach, I would take his engagement to preach thrice a-day while he stays in the kingdom, and so you will burst him and be quit of his din. The matter was laughed over, and the clerk allowed to draw his liberation without that clog.—*Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 254.

* On his passage the vessel was wrecked, and about one hundred and fifty perished, among whom were the Earl of Roxburgh, the Laird of Hopeton, Sir Joseph Douglas, and Mr. Hyde, his own brother-in-law. He escaped himself with a few favourites; but it was said at the time that more might have been rescued, had he been less careful about his priests and his dogs.

attention to the support of the orthodox clergy and the suppression of the rebellious, by sending more military missionaries to be quartered among them. In reply, they gave him as cordial assurances of thankfulness and obedience as he could have desired, and proceeded to carry his instructions into effect.

As a preliminary, one Robert Gray, an Englishman from Northumberland, who had been apprehended about ten months before, and kept close prisoner, was brought to trial, accused of having written a letter to John Anderson, prisoner in Dumfries, "wherein he did declare our present sovereign, the best and most merciful of kings, to be a tyrant;" "and calling the test the *black* test, and destructive of all the work of reformation." He acknowledged the letter, which seems to have been intercepted, but had been guilty of no overt act whatever, nor indeed was he accused; and for these expressions he was found guilty of treason, and hanged on the next day following his trial. "As for me," said he, addressing the crowd from the ladder, "I am brought out of another nation to own that covenant which ye have broken. Glory, glory, glory, be to his name, that ever he gave me a life to lay down for him!" "As for you who are the remnant of the Lord's people, keep your ground, and beware of turning aside to one hand or another, and I will assure you the Lord will prepare a Zoar for you. Cleave to truth and to one another, and as sure as God lives, ye shall yet see glorious days in Scotland! for I die in the faith of it, that he is on his way returning to the land! But wo! wo! will be to those who are enemies and strangers to him!"

Following up the recommendation of the Duke of York, the council directed Dalziel to march to the shire of Lanark to confer with the Duke of Hamilton and other commissioners of the shire about securing the peace in time coming—to inquire for a list of such rebels, either heritors or tenants, as had not submitted, that the obstinate might be brought to justice; and to consult upon some plan for seizing

any of the wanderers or their vagrant preachers who might be skulking upon the confines of the shires next to Galloway and Ayr; also to take care that ways be fallen upon for making persons, both innocent and guilty, keep their parish churches; likewise to consider of a great abuse lately committed by some who illegally obtained restitution of the goods of such as have been fined for rebellion, or threaten those who buy them, and to make strict inquiry by every means to know if any of the rebels' estates, or rents, or movables be possessed by their wives, children, or friends, on their behoof. Afterwards he was to proceed to the town of Ayr to meet the Earl of Dumfries and the commissioners of that shire, and proceed in a similar manner assisted by the Laird of Claverhouse. Urquhart of Meldrum was to visit Roxburgh, Berwick, Selkirk, and East Lothian. Upon receiving the report of their delegates that some of the rebels were willing to submit, the council out of "pity and compassion" authorized them to grant "these miscreants" a safe conduct for one month to come in with their petitions for pardon, but without any promise that their prayer would be granted. It does not appear that more than six accepted the proffered boon.

Meanwhile the society-men—who carefully marked the signs of the times, in a general meeting at Priest-hill, in the parish of Muirkirk, held on the 15th March—after being properly constituted, chose a committee of sixteen, with a preses, to watch over the conduct of the members, in order to regulate their intercourse together to prevent improper persons obtaining admission among them, and also to see that none made any sinful compliances with the rulers in church or state. They then nominated Alexander Gordon of Earlston and John Nisbet of Hardhill to proceed to the Continent, to represent their sufferings and explain their principles to the reformed churches there,* "in order to their sympa-

* The societies every quarter of a year gathered a collection of money, sometimes more, sometimes less, and sent with their com-

thizing with them and holding up their case unto the Lord, as members of the same body, under Jesus their head, and to seek the rolling away of reproaches industriously heaped upon them;" but some dissension arising about this appointment, Earlston proceeded to the Netherlands alone. It was also ordered that the delegates there present should desire every man of his respective society to provide himself fit weapons, in case they should be required for self-defence. At their next quarterly meeting, 15th June, held at Tala-linn, Tweedsmuir, their dissensions increased. James Russell, designated "a man of a hot and fiery spirit," introducing a number of captious questions, such as, whether any of the society were free of paying customs at ports or bridges? which the greater part never had any scruples about, as being necessary for keeping the roads and bridges in repair, but which he endeavoured to confound with the cess levied for the express purpose of putting down the gospel; nor would he or the party who joined with him listen to any terms of forbearance, but insisted that both taxes were equally sinful, and that the payers should be separated from their meetings; nor although the enemy was at the gates, would they cease bitterly to strive with their friends in the camp.

Ever on the alert, the curates were more united in their exertions to hinder or to punish all meetings of the wanderers; nor did they hesitate about the means they employed. The curate of Tweedsmuir immediately transmitted to the council an exaggerated account of this convention, and they, July 8th, issued a proclamation, stating that "some traitors, runagates, and fugitives, having convocate towards the number of eighty, (although the real number was not above twenty,) and with forbidden weapons, and in an unlawful manner, near Tala-linn; and

missioner to the general meeting, when it was conscientiously distributed—a part of it for public uses, wherein the whole was concerned, if any such thing called for the same; or to prisoners, of whom always there were not a few; or to indigent persons as their need required.—*Faithful Contendings*, p. 24.

that the people in that county had been so defective in the duties of loyal subjects or good countrymen, as to neglect giving timely notice either to the council or the sheriff of the shire;—they therefore commanded whoever heard of such meetings to give information to the chancellor, the secret council, or the nearest commander of the forces, repairing thither at the rate of at least three Scottish, about six English, miles an hour, under pain of being themselves held equally guilty with the offenders and liable to the same punishment. All magistrates, upon receiving such information, were required to raise the country, and pursue the miscreants from shire to shire until they be apprehended or expelled forth of this realm; and in case any hurt or skaith fall out in the pursuit or apprehending those so unlawfully convocate, the actors thereof are to be free and unpunished in any manner of way; but whosoever should fail, magistrates or others, in the forementioned duties, were to be held as disaffected to the government, and to undergo the punishment of the law due to the crimes of the foresaid traitors and fugitives!”

As the meetings of the persecuted were necessarily secret assemblies, whose times and places were known only to themselves and their friends, the magistrates, who had other duties to attend to, could not possibly detect and disperse every little band when met for devotional purposes, and could not therefore vie with or satisfy the prelatical sleughounds, who were more keen in the scent and less frequently at fault. They were accused of being remiss, and the council, August 9th, gave roving commissions to their stanch military beagles, Major White and the Laird of Meldrum, along with instructions to confer with the magistrates, and to call before them and fine all suspected persons, only, while in cases of blood they had a previous remission, in cases of money they were to render a strict account to their masters. Both were men of the most brutal manners, of which White gave a disgusting specimen with regard to James Robertson, a respectable mer-

chant, who, according to the times, travelled the country with a pack. Having rather imprudently gone to visit a friend confined in Kilmarnock jail, he was himself stripped of his goods and detained a prisoner in the guard-house about ten days; during that time, being brought before the major, and refusing to give his oath *super inquirendis*, his judge pulled him by the nose, and wrung it till the blood gushed out, and sent him to prison. While there, he and a fellow prisoner sang praises to God, and their keeper, the captain of the guard, heard them; but, unlike the jailer at Philippi, he rushed in, tore the Bible out of his hands, and swore he would burn it if they again offered thus to be engaged. A few weeks after, he was being carried to Edinburgh; and at Linlithgow, because he refused to drink the king's health, the soldiers tied him literally neck and heel, and left him all night in that posture. On the morrow he was taken to the capital, with his feet bound under the horse's belly, where, after the usual mock trial, he was sent to suffer on the 15th December, and, as if to complete the baseness of their cruelty, when he complained of not being suffered to speak to the people on the scaffold, the town-major, Johnstoun, who superintended the execution, beat him with his cane at the foot of the ladder.*

John Findlay, the prisoner visited by his dear comrade James Robertson when he was taken, came from the same neighbourhood. On his examination before the committee, he also refused to say—God save the king, although he said he loved the king as well as any person, confessed he was at Drumclog, but without arms; and being asked if he conversed with Mr. Cargill within these two years, refused to answer otherwise than that a man is, neither by the

* Wodrow remarks—"This abominable rudeness to a dying man, and the patience and cheerfulness of this good man in suffering all this, I know was the occasion of a deep conviction to some who were present of the evil of persecution and prelacy; and there are severals yet alive who can date their first serious impressions of religion from their seeing some of the persecuted party suffer, as they themselves have informed me."—Vol. ii. p. 266.

law of God nor man, bound to have a hand in shedding his own blood.

William Cochrane, belonging also to the parish of Evandale, who was apprehended about the same time, when examined before the council as to whether he thought it lawful for subjects to rise in arms against the king, and whether he considered the king to be a lawful king, answered—"These are kittle questions, and I will say nothing about them, being a prisoner;" and when desired to say—God save the king—remained silent. He was sent to the justiciary, and thence with the other two to the Grassmarket. The soldiers, however, were produced against him and Findlay, who swore that they took their arms from them, and left them bound in the fields. In a testimony that he left, he assigns the following reasons for his refusal:—"Now the main article of my indictment upon which I have received my sentence of death from man, was, that I would not say—God save the king, which, as they now stated him an idol in the mediator's room, I could not do without being guilty of saying—Amen, to all that he hath done against the church and the people of God; and against the true subjects of this kingdom, and the ancient and fundamental laws thereof, and doing contrary to that in the second Epistle of John, ver. 10. 'If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, nor bid him God speed; for he that biddeth him God speed, is partaker of his evil deeds.' And also ye know that taking the name of God in our mouth is a part of worship, and so a worshipping of their idol; for before our faces they said that he was supreme over all persons and over all causes, which is putting him in God's room."

The year closed with scenes of plunder and blood. Fourteen gentlemen and ministers were (December 11th) declared rebels, outlawed, and their estates forfeited; and Lady Douglas of Cavers was fined five hundred pounds sterling, because she would not swear that she had not been at a conventicle for

three years preceding. Alexander Hume of Hume, a small heritor in the Merse, was sacrificed under circumstances of peculiar atrocity. He was indicted and tried for rebellion in November, when the proof entirely failed; but instead of being set free, he was kept in prison till December, when he was on the 20th brought a second time to the bar, charged with holding converse with those who besieged the house of Sir Henry McDowall at Mackerston. The only evidence in support of the charge was, that he, attended by his servant, had called at Sir Henry's on his return from hearing a sermon, and offered to buy a bay horse! Yet did the jury bring him in guilty of "commanding a party of the rebels' horse in besieging the castle of Hawick," and "he was hanged at Edinburgh," adds Fountainhall, "in the Christmas week, because the Viscount Stafford was executed in London in the same week 1680."—"He died more composedly than others of his kidney did."* Among his last words were—"It doth minister no small peace and joy to me this day that the Lord hath set his love upon me, one of Adam's unworthy posterity, and has given me the best experience of his grace working in my heart, whereby he hath inclined me to look towards himself, and make choice of him for my soul's everlasting portion. It is the Lord Jesus, and he alone, who is my rock and the strength and stay of my soul." When the rope was about his neck, and immediately before his being turned over, he concluded his life by singing the last verse of the seventeenth Psalm.

In the midst of these troubles, the apostate Duke of Lauderdale went to his placet—a man who sacri-

* The most atrocious part of this villanous transaction was—a pardon had actually been procured by Mr. Hume's friends at London, and arrived at Edinburgh some days before the execution, but was kept up by the Earl of Perth. "And on the day of his execution, his spouse, Isabel Hume, came in the most moving manner to the Lady Perth, begging she would interpose for her husband's life, urging she had five small children. The Lady's answer was so inhumane, that I shall not put it in writing."—*Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 268.

† "August 25, 1682. Died the great minister of state, the Duke of Lauderdale, at the wells in England, near London. Before this

ficed his conscience and character to serve a sovereign who left him in his old age.

time he was paraletic, and was disenabled from council and advice giving. The king's council in Scotland advised the king to call in all his pensions he had given to any person, hereby to reach him, and to dispose of them of new, which was done; thus Lauderdale's pension of four thousand pounds sterling was taken from him. which he complains of to the king, and entreats his majesty to consider him, that his old and faithful servant might not die in poverty, yet was not granted. He disheartens at this, and being advised by some of the chief physicians in England to go to the wells (some of them going with him), after some days' drinking, he swells; then being advised to take water with salt, it purges him, and so purged him as that he died of it."—*Law's Memorials*, p. 234.

B O O K I X.

A. D. 1682-1683.

Persecution instigated by the curates in the South and West—Noble conduct of a boy—Rapacity of the military—Instructions of the council—Exploits of Claverhouse, Meldrum, &c.—Retributive justice—Justiciary court—Lawrie of Blackwood—Circuit courts—Rye-house plot—Scottishmen implicated—Various instances of oppression.

WHILE the justiciary and the commissioners were carrying on their dreadful work, the lower menials of tyranny were not idle. Cornet Graham followed closely the footsteps of his friend Claverhouse. In the parish of Twynholm, Kirkcudbrightshire, several cottars' wives, with children at the breast, were sent to jail, because they would not oblige themselves to keep their kirk and hear the curate. In the neighbouring parish, the incumbent being informed of some persons who dared meet together for prayer, procured soldiers to quarter upon them for this dreadful irregularity; and one poor old woman, nearly blind, and lame in both her arms, eminently pious, and therefore peculiarly obnoxious, being cast out of her cottage, which was razed to the ground, sought hiding in a neighbour's house; but the implacable curate brought a party of soldiers, whom he ordered to seize her and carry her out of the parish, saying, "Jean, you shall crook no more in Moss-side," and added, "she was a scabbed hog, and would infect all the flock." Her brother, however, prevailed upon them by a little money to allow her to go with him to his house, where she lingered a few days, till she

reached a better home. At Perth, Mrs. Minniman, a minister's widow, was torn from her only son, a child, lying dangerously ill:—the child died crying for his mother, and the mother soon after died of grief for her child. Parents were punished for their children, and children for their parents, even when the parties themselves were regular. But this was the case over the whole country, of which I shall give a few instances.

In the parish of St. Mungo, Annandale, a father had a party quartered on him, because his son, a youth about sixteen, was in fault; for the curate said it was but fit the father should be punished for the child, whom he ought to have made regular by a bridle. In Rutherglen, the provost sent his officers to a widow's house to apprehend her son for non-attendance at church. The lad fled, but his sister was taken, fined, and sent to prison, for aiding his escape. The poor girl could not pay the fine, and her mother fell sick; yet, though bail was offered, she could not be permitted to attend her. Shortly after, supposing perhaps that the son might have supplied the sister's place, the provost came in the night-time, searched the house for him, and, failing to find him, obliged the afflicted woman to pay twenty merks, probably her all. Mr. Blair, the incumbent, for not waiting on whose ministrations all this suffering was inflicted, was at the very time living in impurity with his own servant wench.

At East Monkland, in Lanarkshire, an incident occurred, respecting which it is difficult to say whether it exhibits the barbarity of the mercenary soldiers, or the noble hardihood of a thoroughly trained youth, in the most conspicuous point of view. Archibald Inglis, an officer under John Skene of Hallyards, while hunting out a pious farmer in Arnbucks who had been denounced by the profligate curate of the parish, missing him, laid hold on a boy, hardly fifteen years of age, and ordered him to swear when he saw his master, and to tell them if he knew where he was. The youth refusing, the soldiers

beat him with their swords till he was wholly covered with blood; then dragging him by the hair of the head to the fire, they wrung his nose till it gushed—they held his face to the flame “till his eyes were like to leap out of his head.” The woman in the house, unable to help him, entreated him with tears to tell all he knew before he was burned to death; but the intrepid little fellow refused to say a word. The soldiers, holding their drawn swords to his breast, swore they would send him to eternity, if he did not tell. Still he kept mute. Then they struck him furiously upon the head, but not a word would he utter. At last he fell senseless among their hands, and they left him for dead! He afterwards recovered. I regret I cannot record his name. This same Inglis, in the parish of Kilbride, because three conscientious peasants refused to take the inquisitorial oath, to answer every question that should be put to them, ordered fiery matches to be placed between their fingers to extort compliance; but in this case, as in the other, he appears only to have had the diabolical satisfaction of inflicting exquisite torture without attaining his object.

The thirst after money was insatiable among these wretches. Covetousness, in its meanest, cruelest, and most revolting shape, appears to have been their master passion. Their gross, expensive sensuality cried—“Give! give!” and what they squandered upon their harlots, they unmercifully wrung from their more excellent neighbours. Such was the high-spirited gallantry of these extolled cavaliers! Claverhouse distinguished himself in this way. Nor was that still more despicable character, Mackenzie, the king’s advocate, less assiduous in the same low vocation; indeed, he appears upon every occasion to have stimulated the spoilers.

The council’s instructions to the military brigands early this year, which were undoubtedly his production, were framed upon the principle by which the greatest sums of money could be extorted from the people. When petty heritors, who were also tenants,

were guilty of any disorder, they were to be fined in that capacity, which would bear the greatest fines. Upon information that noblemen or gentlemen entertained in their families unlicensed chaplains or pedagogues, their names were to be sent to the chancellor, the archbishop of St. Andrews, or the bishop of Edinburgh, that the pecuniary penalties, which were exorbitant, might be exacted. They were to call for the public records of their districts, and if any fines had been abated, they were to be exacted in full; and the magistrates were to be reported, that they might be brought to account for their negligence or collusion.

In the parish of New Glenluce, Graham seized four countrymen for not hearing the incumbent, put them in jail, and sent soldiers to quarter on their families, and, in the language of the day, "eat them up." After they had been kept in durance for twelve weeks, he ordered them to be tied two and two and set on bare-backed horses, and to be carried to Edinburgh; but after they had undergone the torture of a day's ride, he sent after them, and allowed them to purchase their liberty, by giving him each a bond for a thousand merks.

Among his other extortions in Galloway, he had imprisoned and fined exorbitantly some of Sir John Dalrymple's and his father's tenants, of which Sir John complained to the privy council, alleging that he as heritable bailie of the regality had anticipated Captain Graham, and of course had a preferable right both to the casualties and emoluments of the fines. Claverhouse replied, by alleging that Sir John's decreets were collusive, and the fines did not amount to one sixtieth part of what ought to have been legally exacted, and that he had weakened the government by interfering with and opposing the commission which the king's council had given him, containing a power both civil, criminal, and military, of sheriffship and justiciary, for executing the church laws; and under pretence of his preferable jurisdiction, studied to stir up the people to a dislike of the

king's forces. Also, that he had defamed Claverhouse as one who had cheated the king's treasury, in exacting the fines of heritors and not accounting for them, at least falsely giving in an account to the exchequer far below his intromissions, which he ought either to prove or else be punished as the author of an infamous libel. Sir John then asked that he might be allowed to produce what witnesses he had in town for proving his allegations. But this most reasonable, and one would have thought irrefusable, request was denied him upon a quibble, that it would compel him to raise a counter-action, instead of establishing his defence. Claverhouse's witnesses were then allowed to be examined. The first called was Sir George Lockhart, the defendant's own advocate, and the chancellor thought he might be ordained to depone. Sir George, however, himself insisted that it would be a most pernicious precedent to force advocates to disclose their client's secrets; and after "much transport, flame and humour," he was passed over, not on account of any allowed impropriety, but because it was considered unnecessary. Sir John alleged the people in Galloway were turned orderly and regular. Claverhouse answered, there were as many elephants and crocodiles as there were either regular or royal persons in the shire.

After the final hearing, February 12th, the council determined that Claverhouse had done nothing but what was legal and consonant to his commission and instructions, and the chancellor complimented him so far in their name:—that they wondered that he, not being a lawyer, had walked so warily in so irregular a country, and therefore they gave him their thanks for his encouragement; but they found that Sir John Dalrymple, though a lawyer and a bailie of regality, had exceeded his bounds, and had weakened the hands of his majesty's authority by his interference; they therefore condemned him to lose his heritable bailery, to pay five hundred pounds sterling of fine, and to enter Edinburgh Castle and lie there during the council's pleasure, "as an example to all

others who should oppose their military commissions." He was released on the 20th, upon paying his fine, acknowledging his rashness, and craving the council's pardon.

Douglas of Bonjedburgh was fined by the Laird of Meldrum, as the council's sheriff of Teviotdale, twenty-seven thousand five hundred merks for his own and his lady's irregularities; in being absent from the church and private baptisms; and Sir William Scott of Harden, forty-six thousand pounds Scots for similar enormities. "The sum fined in," Fountainhall remarks, "jumped with a gift the king's advocate had new gotten, of one thousand five hundred pounds sterling, from the king, out of the first and readiest of the fines, for his pains, expense, and journeys to London." Nor though Scott had the matter fully argued before the king in council, and was strongly supported by the Marquis of Halifax, could he obtain any relief.

When men high in office and in rank were thus setting decency at defiance for gain, it could not be expected that men in lower life would remain inactive spectators. Nor did they. Fountainhall gives many examples. I select one. Menzies was brought before the criminal court, for collecting money for the rebels in the west and receiving letters from Balfour of Burleigh, one of Sharpe's murderers. He was condemned to be hanged. But it appearing afterwards that the witnesses were infamous, and that they had sworn largely, *i. e.* falsely, and that he was delated by one who was owing him money, the privy council reprieved him. Early in the year, Mr. John Philip, minister of Queensferry, having, "when in his cups," called the Duke of York a bloody tyrant, was informed against by his compotators, and being brought before the privy council, March 15th, was fined two thousand pounds sterling, and sent to the Bass, besides being declared infamous and incapable of ever preaching hereafter. At the same time, he was informed if the money was not paid within fourteen days, the council would order

him to be criminally prosecuted; but to make assurance doubly sure, their cash-keeper was commanded to take possession of all his books and papers.

In pursuing the march of these despicable mercenaries, high and low, it is deserving of remark, that while they all joined in pursuit of the proscribed Presbyterians, they were equally ready to turn upon each other, whenever they thought they could gain any accession to their own estates from the spoil of those they had crouched before in the hour of their prosperity. Thus, even in this world, does God sometimes display his retributive justice, by permitting the wicked, in their nefarious dealings with one another, to avenge the cause of his own people. Lauderdale furnishes a striking exemplar. After having done every thing in his power to advance the interest of the Duke of York, by procuring his recall from the Continent and his appointment to the government of Scotland, the ungrateful York rewarded him by joining his enemies and aiding the fall of the power of the Maitlands.

In their proceedings this year, the justiciary court commenced by setting every principle of common justice at defiance, refusing to prisoners a list of the witnesses intended to be brought against them, thus depriving them of one grand means of defence, while they had them examined privately upon oath before themselves; and the reason assigned in the king's letter, procured for this purpose, was worthy of the practice, "so that our advocate may be secure how to manage such processes." The first person brought before them, a William Martin, younger of Dallarg, was dismissed simpliciter, upon surrendering all his lands and heritages to the Lord Treasurer in favour of the king's most excellent majesty. The next was William Lawrie, tutor of Blackwood.* He was charged with conversing with rebels who had been at Bothwell; but although the persons he conversed with had never been pursued at law, much less con-

* He held the lands of Blackwood, as tutor to the sons of his wife Marion Weir, heiress of the estate.

victed, and resided at the same time openly in the country; yet did the Lord Advocate contend that if they were in fact rebels, or were reputed or suspected such, that was enough to render it treason to have any intercourse with them; to which the lords agreeing, and several acts of converse being proved, he was condemned to lose his head, and his estate to be forfeited to the king; but being an old man, and professing great sorrow and submission, he was, after several respites, through the interest of the Marquis of Douglas, whose chamberlain he was, pardoned as to life, but his forfeiture was confirmed as a precedent for establishing a most indefinite but lucrative species of treason. This was announced by proclamation, April 13th, requiring judges and magistrates to execute the laws with rigour against all who should receive, harbour, or converse with notour forfeited traitors, or such as they suspected to have done so; to require them to clear themselves by oath, which, if they refused, to hold them as confessed, and to punish them by banishment, fining, or other arbitrary punishment. To carry this object the better into execution, circuit-courts were appointed to be holden in the western and southern shires, at Glasgow, Ayr, and Dumfries. Adopting another practice of the inquisition, the emissaries of these courts were to procure all the information they could respecting noblemen, gentlemen, sheriff-principals, or provosts of burghs, of which they were to keep a *private* roll, and transmit it *secretly* to the council. The ministers were also ordered to give in lists of all heritors, withdrawers from the church, and all women who were delinquents—of all persons who had left their parishes and the reasons for it—of fugitives, their wives, and widows, and their resettlers—and of chapmen and travellers.

About this time John Nisbet, younger, was tried at Kilmarnock by Major White, who had a justiciary power sent him for that purpose. As the persecutors were exceedingly anxious to catch John Nisbet of Hardhill, who was peculiarly obnoxious for his

holy intrepidity, White pressed his prisoner to inform him respecting the retreat of his namesake; and when he positively refused to say any thing about him, the major told him, after threatening him violently, he would make him sit three hours in hell if he did not. The sufferer mildly replied—"That was not in his power." He was then asked if he owned the king to be head of the church. He answered, I acknowledge none to be head of the church but Christ. No witnesses were examined, his own confession being deemed sufficient for his conviction. He was executed at Kilmarnock cross, April 14th. Contrary to custom, he was allowed to speak, and addressed the spectators at considerable length, exhorting them to personal godliness, and recommending religion to them from his own feeling and experience. "This," said he, "is the first execution of this kind at this place, but I am of opinion it will not be the last; but, sirs, death is before you all, and if it were staring you in the face as nearly as it is me at present, I doubt not there would be many awakened consciences among you. As for myself, though death be naturally terrible, and a violent death still more terrible, yet the sting of it being taken away, I reckon every step of this ladder a step nearer heaven." Here some confusion arising among the soldiers, he stopped, and drawing the napkin over his face, while in the act of commending his soul into his Father's hands, was launched into eternity.

In May following, John Wilson, writer in Lanark, a pious, learned, and talented man, who had been condemned to die on the 7th, petitioned for a reprieve, as his wife was near her time, and was respited till she was delivered of the babe their cruelty was so soon to make fatherless. On the 17th he was executed along with David Macmillan. He departed rejoicing in God his Saviour, and in the firm belief that He would yet return to his church and people in Scotland, though he feared there would be sad judgments upon those who had forsaken his ways, and declared it as his firm conviction that God would

remove that race of kings, root and branch, and make them like Zeba and Zalmunna for taking God's house in possession. In the testimony which he left, he vindicated resistance to the government then existing, upon the grounds of the violation by them of the duty they owed to the people, although he thought that a rising could only be justified by its probability of success. "As to the denial of the king's authority, he scunnered to own it, and such things had been done as in a well ordered commonwealth would annul his right; yet he thought authority should not be cast off without a probable power to support in this." And he proved his positions by the Confession of Faith embodied in the test itself, as well as by the authority of their own leading bishop, Honyman, who in his answer to Naphtali granted "that a king might be lawfully resisted in case he should alienate the kingdom to strangers." With regard to the bishop's death, he would pronounce no opinion; he durst not call it murder, if the motives of the actors were pure; but if the actors were touched with any thing of particular prejudice or by-ends, that Scripture of avenging the blood of Jezebel upon the house of Jehu would not suffer him to justify it. Along with him suffered David Macmillan, a plain countryman, who had gone with a party of horse to Bothwell. On their being dispersed, he dismounted and joined a body of foot which still maintained their ground, till they also were overpowered. When he asked for quarter, a soldier replied—"I'll give you quarters," and knocked him down. While lying bleeding, a Highlander fired at him and struck him, but the ball being perhaps spent, did him no hurt. He got home and remained undisturbed, although suspected, till now, when having retired to the kirk for the purpose of reading the Scriptures, he was discovered by Claverhouse in the very act; and being carried before the justiciary, he was very summarily sent to the gibbet. In his last testimony he "earnestly wished that love might continue among the godly, notwithstanding of differences

in judgment, and desired every one to look on their own sins as the cause of the present undoing of religion, and still remember the church was purchased by Christ's blood." He blessed God who had honoured him with his cross, and that ever he had heard the gospel preached in the fields; and adds—"I could not argument for the truth as others, but I never had a look to go back, nor one hard thought of God."

Early in June, the justiciary courts set out on their bloody circuit. At Stirling, one Boog, when brought before them, produced a testificate under Sir William Paterson, the clerk of the council's hand, that he had taken the bond within the specified time; yet refusing to promise not to rise in arms hereafter, "was coney-catched," as Fountainhall terms it, by that blood-thirsty crew; and the day they sat down at Glasgow was marked by the execution of two persons, John Macwharry and James Smith—a deed singular for its injustice and cruelty, even in these times. A party of soldiers, in conveying one Alexander Smith to Edinburgh, were attacked by some of his friends near Inchbelly Bridge, who released the prisoner and killed one of the party. After they had retired, the soldiers rallied, and in revenge—as cowards are always cruel—seized these two unarmed countrymen, who were sitting quietly together in a wood not far distant, and carried them to Glasgow, where, without any other evidence of guilt, than their being taken near the place, they were condemned to have their right hands cut off, then to be hanged, and their bodies afterwards hung in chains. They are represented as having been most pious and exemplary persons; and the letters they addressed to their fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters, upon this occasion, breathe a tender spirit of filial affection and ardent piety. "It is worthy recording to the praise of his grace, for whose royal dignity they witnessed, that they endured all these hardships with a great deal of Christian magnanimity, even to the conviction of enemies." They rejoiced in their bonds and

joyed in their tribulations. When Macwharry's hand was cut off, he held up the stump, and said—"This and other blood shed through Scotland will yet raise the burnt covenants."

Pre-eminent in infamy were the clerical informers; and among them, one Fenwick, the curate of Cathcart; Abercrombie, in Carrick; and Joseph Clelland, in Dalsersf—to enumerate even a tithing of the non-conformist heritors and commonalty who were persecuted by these incapables—for they were grossly illiterate as well as immoral—would require a folio; but some idea may be formed of the nature of the inflictions from one or two cases, resulting from their informations. William Boswell of Auchinleck, a very young gentleman, having accidentally, when taking a ride, met a company when going to join the west country folks, merely stopt his horse to see them draw up, was for this crime obliged to take the test and pay one thousand merks fine, to preserve his estate from forfeiture. William Muir, laird of Glanderston, when in a fever, having been blooded by Mr. Spreul, the apothecary, was imprisoned for holding converse with rebels, and was only released by an act of the justiciary.

The only person who suffered for being directly concerned in Sharpe's death, was one Andrew Guilan, a weaver, near Magusmuir, who was executed at the cross of Edinburgh in July this year. His conviction occurred in rather a curious manner. After the transactions, he had fled south and settled in the neighbourhood of Cockpen, where he worked as a day-labourer. While at work, the curate of the parish coming past, went to him, and asked where he was on the Lord's day? and if he kept the church? Andrew replied, that he did not own him, and would give no account of himself; on which the curate called for some people thereabout and seized him, and took him to the village, where he was pressed to drink the king's health, which he refusing, as he said he drank no healths, he was carried to Dalkeith, and there put in prison, and from thence to

Edinburgh, where, after examination, he was put into the iron-house. While there, some rumour arose of his having been present at the act, but there was no proof till the advocate charging him, at one of his examinations, with the crime, and aggravating its cruelty by every exaggeration, turned to Andrew, and exclaimed—"What a horrid deed to murder the holy bishop when he was on his knees praying." This so touched the simple countryman, that, lifting up his hands, he cried out—"O dreadful! he would not pray one word for all that could be said to him!" This was sufficient; he was immediately found guilty on his own confession, and sentenced to be taken to the cross of Edinburgh, to have both his hands cut off at the foot of the gallows, and then hanged; his head to be fixed at Cupar, and his body to be carried to Magusmuir, and to be hung in chains. He endured the infliction with great courage, and denied that he was a murderer, although he joined with those who executed justice upon Judas, who sold the kirk of Scotland for fifty thousand merks a-year. He received nine strokes before his hands were amputated; and after the right hand was cut off, he held out the bleeding stump, and exclaimed—"My blessed Lord sealed my salvation with his blood, and I am honoured this day to seal his truths with my blood." Along with Guillan was executed Edward Aitken, who was condemned on the narrowed points of converse with, and harbouring, Gordon of Earlston.

About this time, what has been called the Rye-house plot was discovered, which enabled Charles to crush the friends of liberty in England, who had projected an insurrection in case of his death, in order to exclude the Duke of York from succeeding to the throne, and had entered into a correspondence with the Scottish exiles abroad, and a number of the leaders among the sufferers at home. These were, the Earl of Loudon, Lord Melville, Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree and his son, Sir Hugh Campbell of Cessnock and his son, Baillie of Jerviswood, Stuart of

Coltness, and Crauford of Craufordland. Several meetings had taken place in London, but nothing had been definitely arranged, when one of the inferior agents, or government spies, revealed the whole; or rather invented a plot of his own, which he communicated to the government—ever on the alert after conspiracies—for the sake of a reward. On this vile denunciator's testimony chiefly, Russell and Sidney suffered; and a number of the Scottish partisans were secured, and sent to Edinburgh to be tortured and executed.

Besides these, Gordon of Earlston, who had been seized at Newcastle, was also sent to Scotland. Having been attainted in his absence, he was brought to the bar of the justiciary; and his former sentence being read, he was ordered for execution; but there was produced a letter from the king, ordering him first to be put in the boots. The council wrote back to his majesty, that it was not either regular or usual to torture malefactors after they were condemned; but the royal commands were peremptory, and he was accordingly brought into the Council-chamber to be tortured, when "he, through fear or distraction, roared out like a bull, and cried and struck about him, so that the hangman and his man durst scarce lay hands on him. At last he fell into a swoon, from which when he recovered he spoke in the most incoherent manner. The council differing in opinion, some calling it real, and some affected madness, physicians were ordained upon soul and conscience to report upon his condition, which they did, affirming that he was affected by that distemper, called *alienatio mentis*, and advised he should be sent to the Castle, which was accordingly done; and afterwards he was conveyed to the Bass, where he remained till the Revolution set him free.

Shortly after, undeterred by the gathering storm, Mr. James Renwick again raised the gospel standard on the mountains and muirs of his country. Having been ordained at Groningen, he immediately embarked at the Brill in a vessel bound for Ireland.

During his voyage the ship was forced by a storm to put into Rye, just at the time when the noise about the plot was at its height, but he escaped without trouble, and arrived in his native land safely, in time to attend the general meeting appointed to be held at Darmede on the 3d of October, by whom he was called and received as their minister. James Nisbet, son of Nisbet of Hardhill, in his memoirs, gives the following account of his manner of preaching:—"After this I went sixteen miles to hear a sermon preached by the great Mr. James Renwick, a faithful servant of Christ Jesus, who was a young man, endued with great piety, prudence, and moderation. The meeting was held in a very large desolate muir. The minister appeared to be accompanied with much of his master's presence. He prefaced on the 7th Psalm, and lectured on 2 Chron. chap. xix., from which he raised a sad applicatory regret that the rulers of our day were as great enemies to religion as those of that day were friends to it. He preached from Mark xii. 34, in the forenoon. After explaining the words, he gave thirteen marks of a hypocrite, backed with pertinent and suitable applications. In the afternoon, he gave the marks of a sound believer, backed with a large, full, and free offer of Christ to all sorts of perishing sinners that would come and accept of him for their Lord and Saviour, and for their Lord and Lawgiver. His method was both plain and well-digested, suiting the substance and simplicity of the gospel. This was a great day of the Son of Man to many serious souls, who got a Pisgah view of the Prince of Life, and that pleasant land that lies beyond the banks of death—Jordan."

That such preaching, attended by such numbers as came to hear, and accompanied by such power on those who heard, should attract the attention and hatred of men like those, the then rulers in church and state, was exactly what was to be expected. The council no sooner got intelligence of the revival of field-preaching, which they thought they had crushed forever, than they sent Mr. Cargill to his

reward, and recommenced their efforts to suppress them; and because Renwick had preached and baptized some children on the lands of Dundas, in the parish of New Monkland—the superiority of which belonged to the Laird of Dundas and the Trades of Glasgow—they fined both parties in £50 sterling each. Nor did the opposition rest here. Mr. Hog and Mr. Wilkie, two ministers, were fined, the one in five thousand, and the other in ten thousand merks, for having been at this or similar conventicles. In the same month, and for the same crime, several women as well as men were sent to New Jersey and to Jamaica, to be sold as slaves. Searchers were also appointed in the west, particularly in Glasgow, by whom every house, from the cellar to the garret, was examined for suspicious strangers, who were also empowered to interrogate whoever they chose, and apprehend such as did not give what they deemed satisfactory answers.

While the work of blood went forward at Edinburgh, three plain countrymen were, in the latter end of November, brought before the justiciary:—John Whitelaw in New Monkland, Arthur Bruce in Dalserf, and John Cochrane, a shoemaker in Lesmahago. They were persons from whom government had nothing to fear; “and their blood was shed,” says Wodrow, “for what I can see, merely out of love to blood.” Their confessions were the only proof of their guilt; and the depth of their criminality may be judged of from that of the first, with which all the rest essentially agreed. “John Whitelaw declares he thinks Bothwell Bridge lawful, that rising being in defence of the gospel. He thinks himself and these three nations bound by the Covenants. That it is above his reach to tell whether the king be lawful king or not. Confesseth that he was some time with the rebels at Bothwell, but not at the battle, and that he had a sword. Refuses to say—“God save the king,” this not being a proper place for prayer; and if it mean his owning his authority, he has spoken to that already. Being interrogate if his judges were lawful judges, and the bishop’s death

murder, he declared these were questions above his reach." Bruce, when required to say—"God save the king," replied by saying—"God save all the election of grace." They were all three executed within three days, and died rejoicing in hope. Cochran, in his last speech, remarks, that suffering was no discouragement to him, for "when the storm blew hardest, the smiles of my Lord were at the sweetest. It is matter of rejoicing unto me to think how my Lord hath passed by many a tall cedar, and hath laid his love upon a poor bramble-bush like me; and now I am made to say, the Lord hath done all things well, and holy is his name." "Moreover, I leave my wife and six small children to the care and protection of Almighty God, who hath promised to be a father to the fatherless and an husband to the widow; and my soul to God who gave it, and for whose cause I now willingly lay down my life."

Another general search was made at Glasgow at the close of the year, but, with jesuitical policy, it was allowed to transpire some days before that such a thing was to take place, in order that "suspected persons" might take the alarm. In the mean time, however, soldiers were stationed at some little distance around the town in all direction, to seize such as should attempt to escape; but it does not appear that any person was apprehended, except John Buchanan, a student, who, after being imprisoned awhile, was transported to Carolina. At the same time, a singularly affecting case occurred in the parish of Dal-mellington. James Dun, a very peaceable and pious man, had four sons, one of whom, with a brother-in-law, was murdered by the soldiers; another was banished; a third was hunted on the mountains; the fourth, a lad not fourteen years of age, was seized and imprisoned at Ayr. Nothing could be laid to his charge, except non-conformity; yet was not his father able to procure his liberation till he paid two hundred and forty pounds, and even after this, he was taken, sent to the plantations, and sold for a slave!

B O O K X.

A. D. 1684-1685.

Persecutions increase—"Killing time"—Proscription and plundering—Husbands fined for their wives' non-attendance at church—Torture—Executions—Campbell of Cessnock—Paton of Meadowhead, &c.—Females sold for slaves—Spence—Carstairs—Baillie of Jerviswood—Circuit courts—Porterfield of Douchal—Finings—Proceedings of the society-men—Review of the state of the country during this period—Death of Charles.

[1684.] THE preceding year went down in darkness—the present rose even more gloomily. Religious persecution, like the plague spot, if once it touches the system, grows deeper and deeper, till the whole be infected. It had continued increasing in virulence during the entire reign of "the merry monarch," which had commenced in hypocritical perjury, and was now about to set in unvarnished blood and massacre. There is one peculiarly disgusting feature in the persecution waged by priests against those who hold opposite opinions, and that is, it descends to the very lowest grade of society—it enters the humblest cottage and tortures the poorest of the poor; and while inflicting mental wretchedness, remorselessly strips its unfortunate victims of every ingredient of earthly happiness.

We now enter upon that period of our history, emphatically designated "Killing Time," by the persecuted people in the west, from the inhuman practice introduced this year of murdering the wanderers in the fields without trial, if found guilty of having a Bible in their possession, or caught in the act of

praying to their God, or refusing to answer ensnaring questions; and we may form some idea of the general severity of the government, when the council, in one of their acts, granting commissions for trying and judging the "rebels," consider permitting their officers to sentence such as appeared penitent to be banished to the plantations in America, as allowing them to give the poor sufferers "a taste and share of his majesty's great clemency and mercy." John Gate, a wright in Glasgow, who also kept a small alehouse, being employed in repairing the roof, some soldiers came in, and calling for ale and brandy, the officers desired the landlord to come and take a glass with them. He came unwillingly, but durst not refuse. When he entered, he was ordered to drink the king's health. This he modestly declining, was instantly seized and sent to prison—his wife at the same time being apprehended and confined to another room in the same jail. Their family, consisting of eight young children, was scattered; and although several of them were sick of a fever, yet were they barbarously turned out of doors, and every article of furniture sold. The woman being with child, pined in prison, and only got out upon a surgeon's certificate; but when liberated, the magistrates would not even permit her to return to her own desolate home; and the inhabitants being terrified—as prosecutions for "reset or intercourse with fanatics" were now common, and subjected any who were disposed to show humanity to the sufferers, to be treated themselves as disaffected—this sickly destitute female and her helpless family had no lodging-place but the street, till "the excellent" Lady Ardrey allowed her the use of a brew-house, where three of her children died. Her husband was banished to Carolina, and never returned.

Insatiable in their craving for money, while the avaricious wretches were plundering the fanatics, they were not less assiduous in pilfering the produce of their spoils from each other, and from government, whenever they could find opportunity. Queensher

ry, therefore, and others of the members of council, who found that the wages of their iniquity were but ill paid, being chiefly stopped on the road by their own minions, equally unprincipled with themselves, procured a letter from his majesty, read in council, January 3d, authorizing them to call all judges and magistrates to account for the fines they had received, and for which they had not reckoned, as well as for the remainder, "left as an awband over the heads of the heritors." The only result of this call which appears upon the record, is a sum of between eight and nine thousand pounds, Scots, (£685. 16s. sterling,) levied by the magistrates of Edinburgh upon the good town; off which they were allowed £200 sterling for their trouble in collecting—no bad remuneration. Grasping at every farthing they could snatch, the council, perceiving that women, who were the great transgressors and chief fomenters of conventicles, called by parliament "rendezvouses of rebellion," could be restrained by nothing except making their husbands liable for their fines, referred the subject to his majesty. He—as it has been often remarked, that all profligates who profess great affection for the persons of women, set no value on their worth and pay as little regard to their feelings—determined against the ladies. But it having been found that this fell heavily upon some of the fiercest loyalists, who were unequally yoked, the privy council sent a letter to the king, requesting to be allowed in particular cases to dispense with the fines imposed upon the husbands for the irregularities of their wives, when there was no proof of their connivance with the refractory dames. His majesty was graciously pleased to authorize the council to dispense with the fines on loyal husbands "who do not connive at their obstinate wives' ways, and are willing to deliver them prisoners!"

On this subject the Earl of Aberdeen and Queensberry differed—the former being for the milder, the latter for the harsher, measures, and those which would bring cash into the treasury, with which Perth

coincided; and the consequence was, that Aberdeen was dismissed from the chancellorship, and Perth installed into the office, to which he had long been aspiring. The elevation of Perth—a man ready to sacrifice every principle of honour or religion to his ambition—augured ill for the cause of the sufferers. Perth was a cold-blooded, heartless politician, who would allow neither the feelings of the man nor the precepts of the religionist to stand in the way of his promotion. Could the Roman Catholic religion be divested of its intimate connection with civil power, the absurdities and the idolatries of its profession would disgust any rational mind; but when interwoven with politics, and presented as a state religion for securing the obedience of the lower ranks to their superiors, then it is viewed in a very different light by their superiors, who willingly unite with the clergy to keep the commonalty in darkness and degradation; and disguise it how we may, the prelacy of Scotland at this period was Roman Catholicism both in spirit and action. Perth knew this; and when he consented to compliment the Duke of York with his religion, it was merely offering the sacrifice of a form for the substantialities of a place. He showed the sincerity of his conversion by flattering York in the most abhorrent part of his religion—remaining to witness the agonies of the tortured. The royal Duke looked calmly on the excruciating torments of the sufferers, as if he had been witnessing some curious or agreeable experiment, when all those who could escape shrunk from the spectacle. Perth superintended and viewed similar inflictions with all the complacency of a thorough-bred inquisitor.

The number of the individuals in lower life subjected to such treatment, under his inspection—the sameness of their tortures—and the similarity of their testimonies—it would be tedious to repeat; because, although these worthies all died in the faith, their holy brotherhood of suffering presents few distinguishing characteristics. But as an example, we may take that of a youth of nineteen, Archibald

Stewart:—"I am more willing to die," said he, "for my lovely Lord Jesus Christ and his truths, than ever I was to live. He hath paved his cross all over with love. Now all is sure and well with me. I am brought near unto God through the blood of his Son Jesus Christ; and I have no more to do but to lay down this life of mine that he hath given me, and take up house and habitation with my lovely Lord." He was executed at Glasgow, with four others, whose last words were to the same purport. At their execution, one Gavin Black of Monkland, who had discovered some tokens of sympathy, was seized by the soldiers, imprisoned, and, because his answers to the usual inquiries were not deemed satisfactory, was banished to Carolina: and James Nisbet belonging to the parish of Loudon, in Ayrshire, having come to attend their funeral, was recognised as a Covenanter by a cousin of his own, a Lieutenant Nisbet, and apprehended. When examined, he refused to own the king's supremacy, and for this was condemned to suffer. During his confinement, he was treated very harshly, and was executed at the Howgate-head of Glasgow, on the 5th of June this year. He died in much peace and assurance, and expressed his joy that he had been counted worthy to suffer for the cause of his Lord.

Military atrocities, however detestable, do not produce that feeling of contempt which mingles with an abhorrence of legal murder. Neither Dalziel nor Claverhouse, justly as their memories are execrated, awaken the same loathing that the recollection of the bloody Mackenzie's judicial murders calls up, because in the conduct of the latter we see unmingled cowardice in its most revolting personification, safe from danger, and rioting in the spoils of its unfortunate victims. Yet I know not that men suffering for the cause of truth can be called unfortunate.

Sir Hugh Campbell of Cessnock's memory stands upon an elevation, that his most distant relations might well be proud of being connected with. His persecutors are despised by the humblest of our vir-

tuous peasantry, who still on a solitary Sabbath, between sermons, moralize amid the tombs of the Greyfriars' church-yard. He was arraigned, March 24th. His indictment stated, "that, having met some runaways from the westland army, (*i. e.* the Covenanters,) he said that he had seen more going than coming," "and that he liked not runaways"—"that they should stick to the cause, and they would get help if they wud bide bye it." It does not appear that even the words are authenticated. He offered to prove that he was not at the place where the expressions were said to be used; also, that the witnesses bore him ill will. One had said—"if he was out of hell, he would be revenged upon him." Another had received money to be an evidence against him. All his preliminary defences were, however, rejected, and the process was ordered to proceed. The cause, of course, was deemed hopeless, and the crown counsel, Mackenzie, brought forward his evidence. First, Thomas Ingram: he being sworn, the old and venerable panel rose up, and addressing him, said—"Take heed, now, what you are about to do, and damn not your own soul by perjury; for, as I shall answer to God, and upon the peril of my own soul, I am here ready to declare I never saw you in the face before this process, nor spoke to you." Struck with the solemnity of the address, the tutored suborned witness declared when examined, that he could not swear distinctly to what the prisoner had said. A loud shout and clapping of hands immediately arose in court, which so irritated the advocate, that he started up in a fury, and said—"He believed Cessnock had hired his friends to make this uproar to confound the king's witnesses; that he had never heard of such a protestant roar, except upon the trial of Shaftsbury: that he had always had a kindness for their persuasion, till now that he was convinced in his conscience it hugged the most damnable trinkets in nature." Perth, the justice-general, whose brother, Lord Melford, had received a previous gift

of the anticipated forfeiture, repeatedly questioned Ingram as to the truth of his assertion, when Nisbet of Craigintenny, one of the jury, interposing, declared they would only pay attention to the witness's first deposition, though he should be examined twenty times. Perth, with some warmth, replied—"Sir, you are not judges in this case."—"Yes, my lord," said Somervell of Drum, "we are the only competent judges as to the probation, though not of its relevancy!" And the whole jury rising, adhered to what he said. Another witness was brought forward—Crawford. He also could speak nothing with regard to the criminality of Cessnock, not having seen him for a considerable time either before or after Bothwell Bridge. A fresh shout from the spectators announced their sympathy with the prisoner. In vain the justice-general and the advocate stormed. The jury brought in a verdict of—not guilty. Yet he was sent to the Bass, and detained a prisoner for life, and his estate forfeited and given to Melford. The witnesses were laid in irons and the jury charged before the privy council with having created a riot in court. Nor were they dismissed till they made an apology.

The heartless levity with which these scoffers at Presbyterian sanctity, perpetrated the most revolting cruelties, would scarcely be credited, did not their own records furnish the proof. One George Jackson, who had lain in irons during all the winter, was brought before a committee of council on the 13th of May. Being hastily summoned, he happened to enter with his Bible in his hand. "Come away," said the advocate, "let's see where the text lies." George replied, "I was never a seeker out of texts; that is the work of a minister." Then said the advocate, "put up your Bible, we are for no preaching now."—"I am not come to preach," answered the prisoner; "but I charge you, and all of you, as ye shall answer one day before our Lord Jesus Christ, when he shall judge ——."—"You came here to

be judged and not to judge," retorted Mackenzie; "send him to prison." He was accordingly re-conducted to jail, and executed in December.

Some idea may be formed of the wide range to which the proscription of the best of Scotland's population now extended, from the rolls printed at this date, May 5th, in order to reach all who could be accused of harbouring any who were proclaimed fugitives. Not less than two thousand were declared outlaws; and when it is recollected, that the parent durst not speak to the child, nor the child to the parent; the husband to the wife, nor the wife to the husband—we may form some faint idea of the misery inflicted upon the suffering country. On the 9th of the same month, Captain John Paton of Meadowhead suffered. He had distinguished himself during the civil war; but after the battle of Worcester, settled upon the farm where he had been born, and became a member of Mr. William Guthrie's session, in the parish of Fenwick, till the Restoration. He was at Pentland and Bothwell, and was so marked a character that a large sum was offered for his head; and he experienced several remarkable escapes, till at last, early this year, he was taken in the house of Robert Howie of Floack, in the parish of Mearns. Dalziel, who had known him as a brave soldier, is said to have taken some interest in him, and to have obtained a reprieve from the king; but that falling into the hands of Bishop Paterson, he kept it up till the Captain was executed, which seems the more probable from the short notice in the council record, April 30:—"John Paton, in Meadowhead, sentenced to die for rebellion, and thereafter remaining in mosses and muirs to the high contempt of authority, for which he hath given all satisfaction that law requires, reprieved till Friday come se'ennight, and to have a room by himself that he may the more conveniently prepare for death"—a treatment so uncommonly favourable, that it looks very likely that something more had been intended. But he was honoured to suffer on the gibbet for the principles he had

so strenuously contended for on the field. He died, most cheerfully forgiving all his persecutors all the wrongs they had done to himself, and desiring they might seek forgiveness of God for the wrongs they had done to his cause.

But probably no case sets the iniquity of the then justiciary lords in a stronger point of view, than that of James Howison, maltman in Lanark, accused of being at Bothwell. The case as proved was, he resided in Lanark; and when a party of the west country army came there, he was, as all the inhabitants of the place were, obliged either to converse with them or retire. He could not retire, and was seen in conversation with some of the rebels, but without arms; for this the court sentenced him to be hanged at the Grassmarket, and his lands and goods forfeited to the king!

The partiality of the council was not less conspicuous. Having ordered the Lord Advocate to prosecute all heritors upon whose lands rebels were seen, among others, the Laird of Dundas was charged with this new crime; and his defence was, that he did not know of any persons either going to or coming from a conventicle, nor had he even heard of it till some time after. The lords repelled the defence; yet the very same day, the Earl of Tweeddale, accused of an exactly similar crime, was allowed to state his ignorance as his excuse, and the excuse was sustained.

It may be imagined, but I hardly think even imagination could conjure up a worse species of punishment than what was practised on well educated females—and such were the daughters and wives of the Covenanters*—for no fault but their opinions:—

* All the young women in Scotland at this time ought to have been taught to read. From every account, traditionary or otherwise, it appears the daughters of the Covenanters generally were; and some of their published diaries, which have been held up to scorn, are even in point of elegance equal to many English writers who have been praised as the improvers of the English language; but this is a subject which deserves greater attention than I can afford in a note. I hope at no distant period to discuss it more fully.

to be sent off the country as common felons, and sold in the colonies as common slaves; and not only was this villany effected, but worse; their companions who came to visit and take farewell of their young friends—some of whom had been prematurely, illegally, and cruelly created widows—were frequently subjected to a similar fate, being seized and sent themselves to the plantations. One girl, Elizabeth Linning, when a prelatical slave-ship was lying in the Clyde, in the month of June this year, ready to sail for Carolina, went on board to condole with an acquaintance; she was immediately detained by the captain's order, carried to Carolina, and offered to be sold for a slave, when she fortunately made her escape; and having got her case laid before the governor, he ordered her liberation. She returned, I believe, to her native land, but it does not appear that the captain was punished.

The manner in which these victims of clerical oppression were used on their passage, does not admit of transcription. The indelicacy they were exposed to, bad as it was, was not equal to the filth that was perpetrated upon them. That so many of them died was less wonder than that any survived. The African middle passage might be a purgatory—the passage of the covenanters across the Atlantic would have been a stage below, had not the divine comforts that supported them in such a situation assuaged all the miseries their persecutors could inflict; and even amid the suffocation of the crowded mid-ships, enabled many triumphantly to wing their way to heaven.

Nothing steels the heart against every feeling of humanity equally with a false religion; and it is no less remarkable that its two principal ingredients ever have been a love of money and a love of power. Argyle's proceedings touched both these mainsprings in the bosom of the Scottish rulers, and they were determined by every means they possessed to elicit information respecting them. His correspondence had been obtained, but the characters required three

keys to decipher them. They had the Earl's secretary in their possession, Mr. William Spence; and he was ordered to undergo the boot. He did so without communicating any thing of importance. They therefore had recourse to a diabolical expedient. On the 26th July, they passed an act "ordaining General Dalziel to receive Mr. William Spence from the magistrates of Edinburgh, and to appoint a sufficient number of officers and soldiers to watch him by turns, night and day, and not to suffer him to sleep; and to take down in writing every thing he should say."* Yet nature sustaining even this, a new instrument of torture, imported from Russia by General Dalziel, was employed—the thumbkins—iron screws for compressing the thumbs, productive of the most exquisite pain. These had been first tried upon Authur Tacket, a tailor in Hamilton, whose legs being too slender for the boots, the attendant surgeons recommended the squeezing of his thumbs, which was accordingly done previously to his execution, to extort from him a declaration of who preached at a field-meeting he had been apprehended on leaving. They were now applied to Spence. He had only one key, and they of course obtained but very partial information, and even that he had the resolution to stipulate should not be used judicially against himself or any of the persons mentioned. He had said, however, that Mr. Carstairs possessed another key; and they, in violation of all good faith, not long after subjected him to similar torture. Previously they had tried to obtain by insidious kindness the information they wanted; but Carstairs resisting all their advances, the chancellor, Perth, was so enraged, that he told him as he had refused so many singular favours that had been offered him beyond any prisoner, before God he should be tortured, and never a joint of him left

* He was, after the torture, put into General Dalziel's hands; and it was reported that, by a hair-shirt and pricking (as the witches are used), he was five nights kept from sleep, till he was half distracted
Fountainhall, vol i. p. 299.

whole. Against this he protested, as torture was prohibited by the civil law, and was unknown in the country where the crimes were said to be committed; but the Lord Advocate replied, he was now in Scotland, and though the crimes had been committed at Constantinople, he might be tried for them. Carstairs answered, that the crimes of which he was accused being said to be committed in England, his majesty's laws were there equally in force for the security of his government as they were in Scotland, which they were not at Constantinople. The king's smith was called in to settle the point. "I do acknowledge," says Carstairs, who has himself left an account of the process, "I was much afraid I should not have been able to go through with that scene of torture; and if I had not, I was miserable; for I should have been brought to speak against every man they mentioned, but God kindly ordered it otherwise." It is unnecessary to repeat an examination which was totally unsatisfactory to the persecutors, but it is impossible to dismiss it without awarding a meed of praise to the sufferer for a constancy, which we of these days are not perhaps fully able to appreciate.

In the course of these various examinations, nothing decisive respecting the English plot could be obtained against Baillie of Jarviswood; he was therefore ordered to be prosecuted before the privy council for corresponding with the rebels; and refusing to criminate himself by answering their ensnaring questions, he was fined six thousand pounds sterling, and turned over to the justiciary. Within a few days, he was brought to trial, though in the last stage of a decay, produced by the cruel treatment he had met with. Upon the most defective proof, he was condemned to die for a crime which he declared he abhorred, and of which the public accuser had declared to himself in prison that he did not believe him guilty. After receiving sentence, a friend asked him how he felt. "Never better," was the reply; "and in a few hours I'll be well beyond

all conception." Shortly after, he added, "they are going to send my quarters through the country; they may hag and hew me as they will, I know assuredly nothing shall be lost, but all these my members shall be wonderfully gathered and fashioned like Christ's glorious body." He was that same day sent to the scaffold, lest a natural death should have disappointed the malice of his enemies, who unintentionally were eager to encircle his brow with a brighter crown than that which monarchs wear. He died with Christian magnanimity and resignation; and his last moments were soothed by the heroic tenderness of his sister-in-law, a daughter of Warriston, who had watched over him in prison and waited upon him on the scaffold. His speech, declaring his attachment to the constitution of his country, and his hatred of popish idolatry, which he feared would be the plague of Scotland, he was prevented from delivering on the scaffold, but it was printed after his death, and, widely circulated through both kingdoms, tended greatly to promote the cause for which he died.

About the end of July, a few of the wanderers having rescued, at Enterkin-path, among the hills near Moffat, seven of their friends, whom a party of soldiers were carrying prisoners from Dumfries to Edinburgh, the privy council, on the first of August, passed a most barbarous act, ordering the execution of rebels to follow their conviction, within six hours in Edinburgh, and three hours in the west country. Meanwhile the murders went on in the fields. William Shirinlaw, a youth of eighteen, was met by a party at Woodhead, in the parish of Tarbolton, who, after asking him a few of the ordinary questions, and finding or alleging that his answers were unsatisfactory, immediately shot him. The subaltern, one Lewis Lauder, who commanded this party, seized other three, and would have proceeded in an equally summary manner with them, but his men positively refused to obey, remarking, one in one day was sufficient.

About the same time, five of the wanderers were

found by a party under Claverhouse, sleeping in the fields. When awoke, on attempting to escape, they were fired at, and some of them wounded and carried off. When they were halted at a house for the purpose of plundering, a poor woman, for offering to dress their wounds, was also made prisoner. They were marched bleeding to the capital; and, on their arrival, tried and executed the same day. In a joint testimony which they hurriedly wrote, they expressed their willingness to die:—"We bless the Lord we are not a whit discouraged, but content to lay down our lives with cheerfulness, and boldness, and courage; and if we had a hundred lives, we would willingly quit with them for the truth of Christ. Good news! Christ is no worse than he promised. Him that overcometh will he make a pillar in his temple. Our time is short, and we have little to spare, having got our sentence at one o'clock, and to die at five in the afternoon this day. So we will say no more; but farewell all friends and relations, and welcome heaven, and Christ, and the cross for Christ's sake."

James Nichol, a merchant in Peebles, being accidentally present at the execution, exclaimed, in the bitterness of his heart—"These kine of Bashan have pushed these good men to death at one push, contrary to their own base laws, in a most inhuman manner." For this speech he was instantly seized, and within a few days sent after them to the gallows.* Along with him was executed William Young from Evandale, a good man, but "distempered and crazed in his judgment," which certainly any rational person would have imagined ought to

* On this most infamous judicial assassination, Sir Walter Scott remarks—"It is strange how the ferocity of persecution begets in those who are exposed to it a corresponding obstinacy and pertinacity. In the present case, one may say with the jailer in Cymbeline, that 'unless a man would marry a gallows and beget young gibbets, I never saw one so prone.'" The fact was, he was on horseback riding home, when he was stopped by the crowd in the Grassmarket, and remained till the three were turned over, when, unable to repress his honest indignation, he expressed himself in the words for which he suffered.

have exempted him from suffering on account of his opinions; yet was he solemnly tried and condemned by the horrible judiciary, after being most barbarously used. Having attempted to escape from the Canongate tolbooth, he was re-taken and bound so firmly with cords that his whole body was racked. "A pain this," said he, "which would be intolerable, if eternal; but now I am near the crown, and rejoice in the full assurance of it." It was observed of him by his fellow-prisoners, that when engaged in serious conversation, reading, or prayer, he was always very composed, although exceedingly restless at other times.

It has been remarked, that during the period of the first ten Christian persecutions, the Roman world formed then one wide prison-house, from which there was no escape. The prelatical persecutors in Scotland appeared anxious to imitate their heathen predecessors; and in order to secure their victims, a proclamation was issued, 15th September, requiring all masters of vessels to present to the magistrates lists upon oath of all their passengers, whether leaving or returning to the kingdom; and on the 16th, another was published, forbidding all persons to travel from one shire to another without a government-pass, under the penalty of being punished as disaffected!—restrictions, of which it is difficult to say whether any could have been contrived more detrimental to the trade of the country and the liberty of the subject, as it would be difficult to conceive any act more tyrannical than one passed by them the same day, ordering such as would not declare the rising at Bothwell rebellion, the primate's death murder, or owned the covenants, or who only hesitated respecting them—to be prosecuted criminally, *i. e.*, in other words, to be put to death!

These were preparations for the circuit courts, which set out for the south and west in the beginning of October. On the 2d, the division of which Queensberry, his son Drumlanrick, and Claverhouse, were the judges, sat down at Dumfries. As money

was the everlasting cry of all these political cormorants, Queensberry procured an offer of five months' cess for eight years from the county; but when he proposed a similar vote at Ayr, Lord Dumfries opposed it, desiring to know when there would be an end of taxes, and then he would offer as cheerfully as any. To make up for this disappointment, the heritors were all required to take the test, and the recusants were fined. They were besides required to swear whether they had held any communication with the rebels, for this most cogent reason, "that no man can complain when judged by his own oath, by which he is in less danger than by any probation of any witness whatsoever;" and they were finally to swear that, upon hearing or seeing any who were or should be denounced, they should raise the hue and cry, or give notice to the nearest garrison, in order to their apprehension. There does not appear to have been any murders committed at this time by the court of Dumfries; but one case of extortion deserves to be mentioned. A young man, William Martin, a son of Martin of Dullarg, having been lately married, when at Edinburgh Queensberry sent for him and offered to purchase the property he held in right of his wife, the heiress of Carse. Martin refused to part with it for the sum Queensberry offered, when the latter told him he would make him repent it, and threatened to pursue him for his life, to escape which Martin let him have the estate upon his own terms. Yet, notwithstanding, he was at this time fined in seven hundred pounds Scots, and his wife forced to give bond for another hundred pounds, having had a child baptized by a Presbyterian minister.

The court of which Mar, Livingstone, and General Drummond, afterwards Lord Strathallan, were the commissioners, sat down at Ayr in the beginning of October; and the heritors, being assembled in various sections, were told that they would display their loyalty to great advantage were they to petition to have the test administered to them, when those

who agreed were dismissed, and those who refused were sent to prison, and had indictments for crimes which many of them were incapable of committing. Some young men who lived with their parents were charged with irregular marriages, and others who had no children with irregular baptisms; but none were set at liberty even after the absurdities of the charges were evident, till they found exorbitant bail to appear at Edinburgh when called. Almost all the indulged ministers were silenced by this vile junto, and those who would not oblige themselves to exercise no part of their ministry were sent to the Bass or other prisons; while, to terrify some young gentlemen recusants into compliance, a gibbet was erected at the cross, and pointed out as a most convincing argument. Quintin Dick, when urged to take the oath of allegiance, declared "he was ready to take it in things civil, but as to supremacy in matters ecclesiastical, he was too much the king's friend to wish him such an usurpation upon Christ's kingdom, being persuaded that the church of Christ hath a government in ecclesiastical matters independent upon any monarchy in the world, and that there are several cases which in no way come under the king's cognizance." For this saying, he was fined in one thousand pounds sterling, and ordered to be banished to the plantations.

The western circuit court, of which the Duke of Hamilton, with Lords Lundin (afterwards Earl of Melford) and Collington, were the judges, met at Glasgow on the 14th, when they commenced their proceedings by issuing a proclamation for disarming the counties of Clydesdale, Renfrew, and Dumbarton. They then imprisoned Schaw of Greenock, Sir James Montgomery of Skelmorly, Sir John Maxwell of Pollock, Cunningham of Craigends, and Porterfield of Douchal, all of whom they served with indictments for resetting rebels, which having no proof they referred to their oath, declaring their confession of guilt should not infer life or limb, but with a design to fine them in sums nearly equivalent to their

estates. Next, they declared the parishes of the indulged ministers vacant to the number of thirty-six, whom they also imprisoned for some alleged breach of the council's instructions. They likewise prevailed with the gentry and freeholders to become bound for the conformity of themselves, their families, and tenantry, to the whole of the present ecclesiastica' constitution; and further, to offer voluntarily to the king three months' cess more than was voted by parliament for the maintenance of an additional troop of horse for two years. They finished their proceedings in this quarter by fining Mr. Archibald Hamilton, advocate, in five hundred merks, for not attending them, though he was burying his servant, who was accidentally drowned in Irvine water.

The heritors of Stirlingshire voluntarily came forward with a bond similar to the above, accompanied by a loyal address, expressing their abhorrence of all rebellious principles and practices, declaring their dutiful and absolute submission to his majesty's authority and government, and offering their lives and fortunes to support the same.

The Merse circuit, of which Lord Balcarras, Lord Yester, and Hay of Drumellzier, were the commissioners, appear to have interested themselves to afford some relief or redress to the sufferers. They fined Pringle of Rigg, sheriff-depute, in five hundred merks, for oppressing the people, besides "modifying and discerning the restitution of the parties' damage," and fined one Alexander Martine, in Dunse, one thousand pounds sterling, and deprived him of his place as clerk. The shire of Berwick being urged either to vote four months' cess or maintain a troop, agreed to give two, which was opposed by Home of Wedderburn and some others, when the Earl of Home struck in "and out-bad a month more."

Unless some special providence prevent, continued persecution must at last drive religion from a land. This was accomplished by the inquisition in Spain, and partially by the horrible St. Bartholomew festival in France; and in Scotland, now it must have

been driven to skulk in holes and corners, where even some worthy men were glad to meet a few disciples, but for the fearless Christian intrepidity of one pious youth, James Renwick, who, during all these dark and stormy times, when almost every other minister had left the service, continued to carry on the warfare, and when many of the standard-bearers fainted, planted his in the high places of the field; and his ministrations were wonderfully owned of God. He attracted crowds and revived with more than primitive vigour those field-meetings which the tyrants had prematurely imagined were crushed for ever. This added fuel to their fury. Letters of intercommuning were issued against him and his followers, and all loyal subjects were not only forbidden to hold the least intercourse with the wanderers, but ordered to hunt them out of their most retired deserts, and to raise the hue and cry wherever they appeared; in consequence of which, many of the poor persecuted pilgrims were reduced to incredible distress through hunger and cold, while secret informers, and hypocritical professors, were bribed to associate with them, to discover their hiding-places, and give information to the satellites of the prelates and the underlings of government. At the same time, the country was traversed incessantly, night and day, by a bloody and merciless soldiery, composed of the lowest offscourings of society, aided by the sleugh-hound, in ever active pursuit of those under hiding—several of whom they shot, after asking them merely a few questions—while the sea-ports were shut, and flight, the last refuge of the denounced, denied them.

Every rational ground upon which a government can ask, or has a right to ask, obedience from a subject, being thus wantonly trampled under foot by the apostate prelatists of Scotland, nothing was left to a brave and a hardy race, placed beyond the pale of society, but to resign themselves and their children to hopeless slavery, or to resist. Fortunately for succeeding generations, they chose the latter; and, having done so, they resolved at a general meeting, held

October 15, in order "to evite their ineluctable ruin, to warn intelligencers and bloody Doegs of the wickedness of their ways, and to threaten them in case of persisting in malicious shedding of their blood, or instigating or assisting therein, that they would not be so slack-handed in time coming to revenge it." They therefore caused Mr. James Renwick, on the 28th October, to draw up a declaration for this purpose, which he did in "The apologetical declaration and admonitory vindication of the true Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland, especially anent intelligencers and informers." In it they testify their constant adherence to their covenants, and also to their declarations, wherein they had disowned the authority of Charles Stuart, and declared war against him and his accomplices. But they utterly detested and abhorred the hellish principle of killing all who differed in judgment from them, and proposed not to injure or offend any, but to stand to the defence of the glorious reformation and of their own lives; yet they declared unto all, that whosoever stretched forth their hands against them by shedding their blood, either by authoritative commanding, as the judiciary; or actual doing, as the military; or searching out and delivering them up to their enemies, as the gentry; or informing against them wickedly and willingly, as the viperous and malicious bishops and curates; or raising the hue and cry, as the common intelligencers—that they should repute them enemies to God and the covenanted work of reformation, and punish them according to their power and the degree of the offence.

This declaration was affixed to several market-crosses, and posted upon a great many church-doors in Nithsdale, Galloway, Ayr, and Lanark shires, and produced considerable effect upon the baser sort of informers, who were deterred for some time from pursuing their infamous vocation, and a few of the most virulent curates in Nithsdale and Galloway, who withdrew for a time to other quarters.

The state of the country, which had been rapidly

declining, was now wretched beyond conception. What prosperity it had begun to enjoy under the equitable and liberal dominion of Cromwell, was now blasted in the bud. The little commerce which he encouraged, and the agricultural improvements which the English army are said to have introduced, were interrupted and destroyed by the cultivators being in vast numbers called to attend the autumnal circuits, or forced to wander as fugitives, while the soldiers rioted in the spoliation of their crops, the breakage of their utensils, and the seizure of their horses. A famine threatened, and the bishops had appointed a fast to mourn for the sins of the land; but neither they nor the rulers appear to have had any sympathy for the suffering people.

The persecution continued with unabated or rather increasing violence; and the following are a few instances illustrative of the style in which it was conducted:—William Hanna, in the parish of Turnergarth, in Annandale, had been imprisoned in the year 1667, and fined one hundred pounds for hearing a Presbyterian minister preach. After his liberation, the curate of the parish was exceedingly troublesome, citing him before his session, and threatening him with excommunication. When one of his children died, the curate would not allow it to be buried in consecrated ground, because it had not been “regularly” baptized! and when some friends came to dig a grave in William’s own burying-ground, he came out of the manse in great fury, and carried off the spades and shovels, telling them “if they buried the child there by night or day he would cause trail it out again.” In 1681, he had a horse worth four pounds sterling carried away for not paying thirteen shillings Scots of cess; and after a train of constant harassings he was at last denounced and declared fugitive. He then hoping to find a little repose, went into England; but no sooner had he crossed the border, than he was seized and sent back prisoner to Scotland, which Queensberry no sooner heard of than he ordered him to be laid in irons in Dum-

fries jail, till he was sent to Edinburgh (October this year) to be immured in a dark hole under the Canon-gate jail, where he had neither air nor light. Here, being taken ill, he begged only for a little free air; but the soldier who guarded him, told him to "seek mercy from Heaven, for they had none to give." In this dungeon he lay till sent to Dunotter.

His son William, a youth not sixteen years of age, was denounced for not keeping the church—How many youths in Scotland would be denounced if that were *now* a crime?—and forced to flee to England a year after his father, where he abode some time. Venturing to return home in September 1682, he fell sick of an ague, and, while labouring under this disorder, was captured by some of the straggling soldiery, and forced to accompany them on foot for several days, in their ranging through the neighbourhood. At one time, coming to a martyr's grave, who had been shot in the fields, they placed him upon it, and covering his face, threatened him if he would not promise regularity and ecclesiastical obedience, they would shoot him. The intrepid youth told them, "God had sent him to the world and appointed his time to go out of it; but he was determined to swear nothing he thought sinful." Instead of respecting this courage in one so young, they sent the boy to Edinburgh, where he was first tortured with the thumbkins, then laid him in irons so strait that his flesh swelled out above them, after having been robbed of all the money sent him by his friends. This year he was banished to Barbadoes, and sold for a slave.

Age or sex was no protection. A respectable woman, seventy-three years old, who dwelt in Carsphairn, had a son cited to appear before one of these courts, 1680, for hearing Mr. Cameron preach. Not, however, making his appearance, he was intercommunicated—his mother's house was searched for him, when not finding him, the soldiers spolied the furniture. This year the military ruffians came again, and again missing the son, and finding nothing

worth plundering, carried the mother to Dumfries. Here she was offered the test, and was about to comply, when the monster in human shape, seeing her likely to yield, added a clause to the oath, that she would never speak to or harbour her son. This her maternal feelings refused; and for this she was publicly scourged through Dumfries on the next market day. Nor was she even after her punishment liberated till she paid two hundred merks.

Enraged at the Apologetical Declaration, the council were still more infuriated by what seemed a practical following up of its principles, in the putting to death of two soldiers, Thomas Kennoway [vide. p. 178] and Duncan Stuart. Kennoway was returning from Edinburgh, whither he had been for instructions with a list of one hundred and fifty persons he was required, it was said, upon his own information, to apprehend. Meeting Stuart at Livingstone, they both went into a public-house, when Kennoway produced his commission, and boasted over his cups that he hoped in a short time he would be as good a laird as many in that country, only he regretted he was turning old, and would not have long to enjoy his good fortune. They thence adjourned to Swine-Abbey, where they were both murdered, but by whom was never discovered. The authors of the declaration were, however, immediately suspected; and the council resolving upon an indiscriminate revenge, consulted the session as to whether the avowing or refusing to disavow the declaration constituted treason? That prostituted court replied in the affirmative. But the forms of law were too dilatory for the sanguinary council. On the same day they voted "that any person who owns or who will not disown the late treasonable declaration upon oath, whether they have arms or not, shall immediately be put to death;" and on the day following, gave a commission with justiciary powers to Lords Livingstone, Ross, Torphichen, and a number of other officers of the army, five to be a quorum, with instructions to assemble the inhabitants of Living-

stone and the five adjacent parishes, and to murder upon the spot, after a mock trial, all who would not disown the late traitorous declaration or assassination of the soldiers; and if any be absent, their houses to be burned and their goods seized; and as to the families of those who were condemned or executed, every person above the age of twelve years, was to be made a prisoner in order to transportation. They also approved of an oath (known by the name of the abjuration-oath) to be offered to all persons whom they or their commissioners should think fit, renouncing the pretended declaration of war and disowning the villanous authors thereof.

The extortions were tremendous. In the month of December, six gentlemen of Renfrew were fined in nearly twenty thousand pounds sterling, and although some abatement was made, yet had Sir John Maxwell of Pollock to pay five thousand; the Cunninghams of Craighs, elder and younger, four thousand; Porterfield of Fulwood, upwards of sixteen hundred; and Mr. James Pollock of Balgray, five hundred pounds sterling; besides various other gentlemen in the same districts, who were robbed of upwards of twenty thousand pounds sterling, by the council and the sheriffs. The pretexts under which such impositions were levied were, the dreadful negative treason of not attending ordinances in their own parish churches, and the more positive delinquencies of hearing Presbyterian ministers preach the gospel, or holding converse with the proscribed—men of whom the world was not worthy.

The real cause will be found in the grants which the debased and thievish counsellors received of the spoils.* To accomplish their laudable designs, they

* Sir George Mackenzie got £1500 of Sir William Scott of Harden's fine; the Duke of Gordon and the Marquis of Atholl shared the fine of Harden, junior—three thousand five hundred pounds between them! Some degree of honour, as the times went, might perhaps then attach to the open driving of their neighbours' cattle, not infrequent on the Highland borders, as it was accompanied with danger and required at least brute courage; but these legal

despatched Lieut.-General Drummond to the south and west, to pursue and bring the rebels and their abettors to trial, and pass sentence upon them as he should see cause; and likewise ordered him to plant garrisons where he should think it expedient, especially in Lanarkshire; and besides gave commission to William Hamilton, laird of Orbiston, to levy two hundred Highlandmen of the shire of Dumbarton, not only "to apprehend the denounced rebels and fugitives in that quarter, and in case of their refusing to be taken, to kill, wound, and destroy them," but "to employ spies and intelligencers to go in company with the said rebels and fugitives, as if they were of their party, the better to discover where they haunt and are reset."

But the chief instigators were the curates, and among them Peter Pierson, at Carsphairn, particularly distinguished himself. When Grierson of Lag held a court at Carsphairn church the preceding autumn, he sat with him, described the characters of the parishioners who were summoned, and appeared and gave information respecting the absentees. Soldiers were in consequence sent after them, who spoiled their houses and haled many old and infirm people, and women with child, and the sick, before the commissioner, who handled them but roughly. The whole parish was thus thrown into confusion, and Pierson being a surly ill-natured man, and very "blustering" withal, boasting in public companies that he feared no whigs—he only feared rats and mice—came to be very generally disliked throughout the district, and was particularly obnoxious to the wanderers who were under hiding in that quarter. A few of them, therefore, determined to force him to sign a written declaration, that he would give up his trade of informer, and proceeded to the manse early in December, when they understood he was alone; for he did not even keep a servant. Two

thefts, like the pilfering of the pick-pocket or the petty-fogging lawyer—his twin-brother in our day—excite unmingled disgust, because the thieves know they can do it safely.

of their number being sent before, got entrance and delivered their commission, which put Pierson into the utmost rage, and drawing a broadsword and cocking a pistol, he got between them and the door. Upon this they called out, when other two, James Macmichael, gamekeeper to the Laird of Maxwellton, and Rodger Padzen came and knocked at the door. Pierson opened it, and was proceeding to attack them, when Macmichael shot him dead on the spot. The rest at a distance, on hearing the noise, ran up and cried—"Take no lives;" but it was too late. This deed was instantly and strongly disavowed by the wanderers, who would never allow any of the party to join with their societies; but one of the assassins was afterwards discovered to be a government spy, and Padzen ere long enlisted in Strachan's troop of dragoons, which gave credibility to the report, that the whole had been a government plot, to bring discredit on the persecuted wanderers, and justify the savage, unconstitutional measures the managers were pursuing.

Several instances of severity, which occurred during this month, evince the natural tendency of persecution to harden the hearts and destroy every good feeling in the breast of the persecutors. A poor man, who had been imprisoned in Dumfries jail, for not hearing the curate, having broken the prison and fled to England, his wife with seven small children begged their way after him; but finding no shelter there, she was forced to return. When journeying back, she had stopped to rest at a small ale-house. While sitting peaceably there, Johnston of Westerlaw, with some other persecutors happening to come in, required her to take the test, which she refusing, they haled her to Dumfries prison; and though she earnestly begged they would allow her to take her sucking-child—an infant of three months old—along with her, they would not consent, but threatened unless she complied next day they would drown her. Still she held fast her integrity, and lay for five weeks in jail, till she was sent to Edinburgh, whither

her poor children, who, forbid to enter Dumfries, had been supported by charity, followed her, and where she somehow or other got released.*

John Linning, a dyer in Glasgow, a blind man, chargeable with nothing but non-conformity, was confined fourteen weeks. When a young daughter of his was taken sick, she cried out passionately for her father; yet would not the magistrates either suffer him to visit her on her death-bed or attend her funeral.

Claverhouse acted up to his instructions, and merited well of his employers. When ranging through Galloway (December 18) he came unexpectedly upon some of the wanderers, who were under hiding at Auchincloy, near the Water of Dee, and surprised six of them together; four he murdered upon the spot, and two he carried with him to Kirkcudbright, where, calling an assize, he went through the farce of a trial, and immediately ordered them to be executed! Nor would he permit them to write a few lines to their relatives to inform them of their fate. Other two escaped, and were pursued by some of the soldiers, who being informed of a house at which they had called in passing, but never sat down, entered the cottage, and missing their prey, took all its inmates prisoners and burnt it to the ground.

James Graham, a tailor in Corsmichael, was not so fortunate. Returning home from his work to his mother's house, he too was overtaken, when walking peaceably along the highway, by Claverhouse and his squad. They knew him not, and had nothing to lay to his charge; but searching him, and finding a Bible in his pocket, that was crime enough. They took it and his tools from him, and carried him as a

* The poor children who were able to walk came afterwards to Dumfries, and the eldest applied to the bailies that they might only have liberty to see and speak to their mother. This request was refused, and they were turned out of the town. When going past the prison, one of them saw her looking out at a window, but was not suffered to speak to her. When forced away from the spot, the child blessed the Lord that he had once more seen his mother.—*Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 441.

disloyal rebel to Kirkcudbright; thence he was sent to Dumfries, where he lay some time in irons, and was afterwards sent to Edinburgh, where, being questioned upon the declaration of the societies, and refusing to answer, he was found guilty of the treason he had not confessed—and of which there was no proof—and condemned and hung!

About the latter end of this month, Lady Cavers, who had been in prison, first in Edinburgh tolbooth and then in Stirling Castle, upwards of two years, for keeping conventicles and being present at them, was released through the intervention of her son, Sir William Douglas, upon his return from his travels, who became bound for her living regularly in future or leaving the kingdom within three months. Yet was she not let go till she paid an enormous fine of five hundred pounds sterling—a sum, says Wodrow, exceeding three years' rent of her estate—though the said rents had been sequestered, and her tenants plundered, during the time of her imprisonment.

About the same time, Dame Margaret Weems, Lady Colville, was imprisoned in Edinburgh tolbooth, for her ecclesiastical irregularities, especially for breeding up her son, Lord Colville, in fanaticism, and putting him out of the way when the council was going to commit his education to others.

In the parish of Nithsdale, James Crosbie, for refusing the test, had his ears cropt and was banished as a slave to Jamaica. In the parish of Auchinleck, William Johnstone being summoned to the court, and not appearing, a party of soldiers were sent to his house, which they plundered; and, as he and his wife had fled, they carried away with them a maid-servant who had charge of the children, leaving two or three destitute infants to shift for themselves; and because she refused to take the abjuration, which she told them she did not understand, they put burning matches between her fingers, and roasted the flesh to the bone. Her patience and composure under such torment so astonished the savages, that, after the infliction, they allowed her to return home.

John Hallome, a youth of eighteen, seized while travelling on the road by Lieutenant Livingstone, and refusing the oath, was carried to Kirkcudbright, where a jury of soldiers being called, and he of course found guilty, he was instantly shot.

The year closed with the appointment of ten special commissioners, to whom two were added in January next year, to hold justiciary courts in twelve shires. Their instructions were, to hang immediately in the place all males who owned or did not disown the "horrid principles" of the declaration, and to drown such women as had been active in disseminating them; and the same day a proclamation was issued, requiring all heritors, and in their absence, their factors and chamberlains, to convocate all the inhabitants on their lands, and to bring them before any of the privy counsellors or commissioners appointed by the council, and cause them swear the abjuration-oath, and receive a testificate to serve as a free pass, without which any person who should adventure to travel should be holden and used as a communer with the said execrable rebels; and all housekeepers, as well as hostler-houses, inn-keepers, or other houses of common resort, were forbid to entertain any person who could not produce such a testificate, under the same penalty; which testificate the holders, if required, were obliged to swear was no forged or false document—so suspicious ever are rogues of deceit!—and finally, whoever should discover any of the said traitors and assassins, who had been in any way accessory to the said traitorous and damnable paper, or the publishing or spreading of the same, were to receive a reward of five hundred merks, Scots, for each of them who should be found guilty.

[1685.] This year was ushered in by increasing severities, and whoever would not disclaim the society's declaration, and take the abjuration-oath, were subjected to be shot by any trooper who chose to interrogate them, or to be sent by the justiciary miscreants to slavery, exile, imprisonment, or death,

after being robbed of all they possessed. Nor did the decrepitude of age, the tenderness of sex, or even boyhood, afford any plea for mitigation. Captain Douglas, the Marquis of Queensberry's brother, stationed in the parish of Twineholme, oppressed it terribly. In the beginning of January, having prevailed with a poor tenant, after many severities, to swear the oath, they insisted upon his discovering the retreats of the wanderers. While dragging him along with them for this purpose, they met another poor man upon the road, who would neither answer their questions nor swear. Him they immediately murdered; and when their prisoner entreated the captain to give him a little more time, and not be so hasty, they beat and bruised the intercessor so cruelly, that in a few days he died the victim of his humanity.*

On the 18th, four of the persecuted were surprised at prayer, in a sequestered spot in the parish of Monigaff, in Galloway, by Colonel Douglas, with a party of horse; and as their serious occupation was sufficient evidence of their "atrocious rebellion," they were, without any process, murdered on the spot. On the 26th, three remarkable characters were forfeited—Sir Patrick Home of Polwart, George Pringle of Torwoodlee, and Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun. They all escaped to the Continent, and were reserved by Providence for better days. On the 30th, Dalziel of Kirkmichael and Lieutenant Straiton, with fifty soldiers, surprised a few of those under hiding, asleep in the fields at Mortoun, in Nithsdale; but they all

* How low the clergy could descend in their malice, may be judged from the case of a cripple but pious beggar, John Watson, in the parish of Cathcart. Mr. Robert Fennie, curate of the parish, enraged at the poor man, because he would not come to hear him, gave information against him as a disloyal and dangerous person, and procured a party of soldiers to be sent to seize him. John could neither get from them nor go with them; nor would he swear the abjuration-oath. The soldiers, ashamed of their errand, were at a loss what to do, when some of his neighbours offered to send him to Hawk-head, Lord Ross's residence, in a sledge; and they were proceeding accordingly, when his lordship hearing of the cavalcade, and being informed of the circumstances, sent his servant with an alms, and ordered them to carry the cripple home again.—*Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 457.

fled and escaped, except David Macmichael, who from bodily indisposition, and being wounded, could not follow. Him they took to Durisdeer, and told him if he would not own the supremacy in church and state, and take the oath that would be tendered, the law declared him guilty of death. "That," said David, "is what of all things I cannot do; but very cheerfully I submit to the Lord's disposal as to my life." The commander said, "Do not you know your life is in my hands?"—"No!" replied he, "I know my life is in the Lord's hand; and if he see good, he can make you the instrument to take it away." Being ordered to prepare for death next day, he answered, "If my life must go for his cause, I am willing; my God will prepare me!" He next day suffered at Dalveen with a composure and courage that melted even the rude soldiers who shot him.

An instance of the ferocious thirst after blood which urged on the persecutors, occurred February 1st. John Park and James Aldie, two young men, in Eastwood, were brought before the commissioners for Renfrewshire, Lord Ross and Hamilton of Orbiston; and when they were persuaded to consent to take the abjuration, "that shall not save you," said Orbiston; "unless you take the test, you shall hang."—"Then," replied the intrepid conscientious youths, "if the abjuration will not save us, we will take no oath at all." They were condemned, and immediately led to execution. While they were yet hanging, Robert King, miller at Pollockshaws, in the same parish, was brought into court, and had the test offered to him, which he refused. He was then led to the window, bid look upon the two suspended before it, and told if he did not comply, he should immediately be tied up along with them. Still resisting, he was shut up in a dark corner and assured that he had only an hour to live. They would, however, out of charity, give him three warnings by sound of trumpet, but if he sat the third, there was no mercy. He heard the two blasts, when his courage failing, he took the test. His wife was a "com-

posed woman, of uncommon sound sense." One day, as some of the plunderers were driving away her cattle, having rifled the house besides, she came to the door, and was looking after them, when a soldier, rather more merciful than his comrades, turned and said, "Poor woman, I pity thee." Janet answered with great gravity, yet cheerfulness, "Poor! I am not poor; you cannot make me poor! God is my portion; you cannot make me poor!"

On the 3d of February, the privy council passed an act for classifying prisoners; but the king dying, these measures underwent considerable alteration. Charles, it is said, having become dissatisfied with the rash violence of the Duke of York's proceedings, meditated the recall of his favourite bastard Monmouth, the exile of his brother, and the adoption of more moderate measures. If he entertained any such designs, they were never to be accomplished. An attack of apoplexy, or poison, as was suspected at the time, finished all his earthly projects; and, after a few days' illness, he died in the fifty-fifth year of his age. But oh! how different his deathbed from the scaffold scenes we have been recording. He could only mutter, he hoped he would climb to heaven after all! and eagerly grasped at the delusive phantoms of Romish superstition. When Huddleston, a papist priest, who had saved his life at Worcester, was introduced to save his soul, he sighed out expressively, "He is welcome!" received 'he last sacraments of that church, and expired in her communion.

BOOK XI.

A. D. 1685.

Accession of James VII.—Proceedings of the privy council—Field murders—Northern commission—Indemnity—Outrages in the south—Two women drowned—John Brown, the Christian carrier—Parliament—Argyle's expedition—Suspected persons sent to Dunotter—Argyle defeated—taken—executed—Colonel Rumbold—Nisbet of Hardhill and other sufferers.

AN express which left London on the 2d of February, arrived in Edinburgh on the 6th, bringing intelligence of the king having been struck with an apoplectic fit. On the 10th, early in the morning, the privy council received the news of his death, and at ten o'clock, the authorities proceeded in their robes to the cross, where the Chancellor, "who," says Fountainhall, "carried his own purse, and weeping," proclaimed James Duke of Albany, the only undoubted and lawful king of this realm, under the name of James VII. But he had not taken, and never did take, the Scottish coronation oath:—so scrupulous was he with regard to his own conscience in matters of religion. The proclamation, however, which was sent down from London, paid less respect to the consciences of his subjects, who were bound by every sacred and constitutional tie to resist popery and popish rulers. After declaring that his majesty, their only righteous sovereign over all persons and in all causes, held his imperial crown from God alone, he thus concluded—"And we—(the lords of his majesty's privy council, with the concurrence of several others, lords spiritual and temporal, barons

and burgesses of this realm)—hereby give our oaths, with uplifted hands, that we shall bear true and faithful allegiance unto our said sacred Sovereign, James VII., King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith!! &c., and to his lawful heirs and successors; and shall perform all duties, service, and obedience to him, as becomes his faithful, loyal, and dutiful subjects. So help us GOD.” Then followed another, announcing that his majesty continued all the servants of the crown in their offices till he had leisure to send down new commissioners.

Next day the Court of Session met, when the lords not only took the oath of allegiance, and swore the test again themselves, but administered them likewise to all the advocates, clerks, and writers. The king’s speech to his cabinet—in which he promised to follow the example of his brother in his great clemency and tenderness to his people, to preserve the government in church and state, as by law established; and as he would never depart from the just rights and prerogatives of the crown, so he would never invade any man’s property—was extensively circulated; and the people were desired to believe that the royal papist would promote the Protestant religion, or at least preserve it.

As a practical illustration of his majesty’s professions, the council appointed a committee to inquire into the state of the prisoners in the Canongate jail; and, upon their report, sent two to the justiciary, and fourteen to the plantations, because they would not violate their consciences; and for the same obstinacy, the Dumbarton commission court fined John Napier of Kilmahew in two thousand pounds sterling; John Zuil of Darleith, one thousand pounds; John Campbell of Carrick, one thousand five hundred pounds, for himself and lady; and Isabel Buchanan, one hundred pounds; and ordered them to be imprisoned till they paid their fines, or gave satisfaction to Queensberry, the lord-treasurer.

At the same time, the work of blood went on in

the fields. Captain Bruce surprised (February 19th) six of the wanderers on Lochenket-muir, in Galloway, and ordered four of them to be shot without further inquiry. The other two he carried to Sir Robert Grierson of Lag, at Irongray, who, upon their refusing the abjuration, instantly hanged them upon an oak-tree. One of them, a married man, before his execution, being asked if he had any word to send to his wife, answered, "I leave her and my two babes on the Lord and on his promise;—a father to the fatherless, and an husband to the widow is the Lord, in his holy habitation." Two days after, five were murdered at Kirkconnel; and early next month, other three, in the parish of Kirkpatrick, were despatched in the same summary manner, by the same miserable slave of the prelates.

But the day did not suffice. Like the wild beasts, these monsters prowled about at night, seeking for their prey. On the 28th, about eleven o'clock, P. M. Lieutenant Douglas surrounded the house of Dalwin, and apprehended David Martin. When going away, they perceived a youth, Edward Kyan, concealing himself between the end of one house and the side-wall of another. He was immediately dragged forth; and, without being asked any other question than where he lived, the lieutenant shot him through the head, first with one pistol and then with another; and the soldiers pretending to observe some motion, shot him a third time. Martin underwent a more aggravated death. When the soldiers stripped him of his coat, they made him kneel beside the mangled body of his friend. Six were ordered to present their pieces, when another of the party stept between them and their intended victim, and begged the lieutenant to spare him till next day, alleging they might get some discoveries, to which Douglas consenting, his life was spared; but terror had deprived the poor youth of his reason, who at the same time being struck with palsy, was carried to bed, where he lingered four years, and died. Several women compassionating the sufferer, were cruelly beat and

wounded, for displaying the natural sympathy of their sex. After this exploit, Douglas caught one Edward Mackeen, and because he had a flint-stone, perhaps for striking fire in his hiding-place, shot him without other evidence of guilt.

Sir Robert Grierson of Lag, while ranging the country, having surprised Mr. Bell of Whiteside, step-son to Viscount Kenmuir, with whom he himself was well acquainted, and other four in company, in the parish of Tongland, Galloway, they surrendered without resistance, upon assurance of having their lives spared; but the wretch murdered them instantly, without even allowing them time to pray; and when Mr. Bell earnestly begged only for a quarter of an hour to prepare for death, he refused it with an oath, asking contemptuously, "What the devil! have you not had time enough to prepare since Bothwell?"

While the south suffered severely, the north was not exempted. On the 2d of March, the Earls of Errol and Kintore, and Sir George Monro of Culrain, who had been sent thither commissioners, gave in their report to the council, and have thus themselves recorded the oppressions for which they received the thanks of their worthy employers. On their arrival in Morayshire, their first act was to cause a gallows to be erected at Elgin, where the court sat, in order to stimulate the loyalty of the inhabitants. Then they issued orders to the sheriff for summoning all disorderly persons within the shires of Banff, Ross, and Sutherland, to appear before them on a certain day, and forbade any person to leave the district without their license, and all who entered it from the south to produce their papers for examination. At the same time, they graciously "allowed" the heritors and the burghs to meet and make address of what they would offer for the security and the peace of the government; and they "unanimously and voluntarily!" made offer of three months' supply, signed a bond for securing the peace, and did also swear the test and oath of allegiance, except a few heritors,

to whom the lords thought fit not to tender the same at that time, but who appeared willing to take it, and some loyal persons absent on excuses—evidently papists, as these alone among the recusants found any favour.*

They did very strictly examine all the ministers and elders, with several persons of honour and loyalty, anent the disorderly persons therein, libelled all persons delated, banished some, fined others, and remitted a few to the council. The aged Laird of Fowlis—"a disorderly person not able to travel"—they imprisoned at Tain, and the younger, at Inverness, in case he refused the bond of peace. They cleansed the country of all "outed" ministers and vagrant preachers; banished four of them for keeping conventicles and refusing to keep the kirk!!—one being an heritor, they fined in ten thousand merks besides!—and sent the five prisoners to Edinburgh. A good many common and very mean people, who were accused and indicted for church disorders, upon inquiry being found to have been formerly punished and since regular, were set free upon finding security for their future good behaviour.

The case of the Laird of Grant, however, deserves especial notice, for the peculiarly unprincipled rapa-

* This appears pretty plain from the manner in which Presbyterians were treated and the way their fines were disposed of. The Laird of Grant was fined in £42,000 Scots; the Laird of Brody, £24,000; Laird of Lethin, £40,000; Francis Brody of Miltoun, £10,000; Francis Brody of Windyhills, £3333: 6: 8.; James Brody of Kinlee, £333: 6: 8. These were the sums as reported to the council. In a particular narrative sent Wodrow by "a worthy gentleman in Murray, upon whom the reader may depend for the truth of it," the sums are rated higher; and it is mentioned besides, that the Laird of Brody—this Brody's grandfather, which family seems, either from their wealth or worth, or both, to have been peculiarly mulcted—was fined forty-five thousand merks, merely for having a conventicle in his house. Of this plunder, £22,000 were paid to one Colonel Maxwell, a papist; £40,000, Lethin's fine, were gifted to the Scottish papistical college at Douay, which was compounded for; £30,000 paid to the Earl of Perth. The remainder appears to have been bestowed on the satellites of the party. Gray of Crichy, who adjudged the estate, got the proceeds.—*Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 468.

city displayed by the ravening crew. The decret against him was founded on his wife's having confessed two years and a half's withdrawing from ordinances, his keeping an unlicensed chaplain, hearing "outed" ministers preach and pray several times, which he himself had confessed. To this he answered in a petition to the council, for relief, April 2:— that the parish church was vacant for a year and a half of the time mentioned; and that during the remainder his wife was so unwell, that she was given over by her physicians; and that both before and after the time libelled, she had been a constant hearer. Nor did he or his wife ever hear an "outed" minister either preach or pray, except in the House of Lethin, when his mother-in-law, the Lady Lethin, was on her death-bed, and there were not more than five or six present, who were members of the family, performing the last sacred duties to their dying relative; that Alexander Murray, called his unlicensed chaplain, was never in his service, but was a minister, instituted by Bishop Murdo Mackenzie into the kirk of Daviot, who had given up his charge in consequence of bodily infirmity; and he (Grant) was most desirous, and cheerfully offered, to give all the evidences and demonstrations of his loyalty and affection to the government that could be demanded. Yet did his majesty's high commissioner and the lords of the privy council, find "that the lords commissioners of the district of Moray had proceeded conform to their instructions, in fining the Laird of Grant, and ordained the same to be put to execution, ay and while the said fine be fully satisfied and paid."

About this time, rumours of Argyle's intended invasion having reached the council, they published what they called the king's act of indemnity to all below the rank of heritors and burgesses; but all who were capable of paying a fine being excepted, it was considered as a just "demonstration of Our innate clemency, which also has shined in the whole line of our royal race;" and as it declared "Our reso-

lution to imitate our said dearest royal brother," the Presbyterians anticipated that they would reap little advantage from such a boon. Nor were they mistaken; or if they had been so, the council would soon have undeceived them; for on the 10th, they gifted to the Laird of Pitlochrie, one hundred of the prisoners "who were willing to go to the plantations," only excluding such as were able to be fined—"all heritors who had above £100, Scots, rents."

Nor did the wanton massacre in the fields intermit. Subalterns intrusted with the power of life and death abused it, as might have been expected; and the most valuable of the Scottish peasantry were destroyed by a licentious soldiery, who delighted to indulge in riot with the worst; but now their outrages deplorably increased, especially those in the south and west, where a Cornet Douglas and a Lieutenant Murray eminently distinguished themselves in this cowardly warfare. Claverhouse went still further, and endeavoured to ruin the peace of mind, as well as plunder the estates and torture the bodies, of the sufferers. On the 10th of March, he parcelled out Annandale and Nithsdale into a number of divisions, of about six or eight miles square. He then assembled the whole inhabitants, men and women, old and young, belonging to each of them in one place, and made them swear the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, and afterwards promise that they would renounce their hopes of heaven, if ever they repented of what they had done! If any one refused, he was carried to a little distance from the rest, a napkin tied over his face, and blank cartridge fired over his head. Having thus suffered the terror of death, he was once more offered his life upon taking the test and becoming bound to inform against all disloyal persons. Few were able to withstand so trying a compulsitor. But perhaps the most heartless trait in his conduct, was his treatment of the children. Those above six and under ten years of age were collected together, and a party of soldiers being drawn out before them, they were bid pray,

for they were going to be shot; and when the terrified creatures answered—"Sir, we cannot pray," they were told they would be let free if they would tell where they saw men with guns in their houses, and if they got any meat or drink there.

Among the villanous apostates who associated with the wanderers, on purpose to betray them, was Andrew Watson, who got acquainted with many of their hiding-places throughout Galloway and Nithsdale, and among others of a cave near Ingliston, which had been a secret and secure retreat to many for several years. He gave information of it. In consequence, Colonel James Douglas and Lieutenant Livingstone surprised five lurking within it; among whom was a brother of the proprietor of the estate, John Gibson. He was first taken out; and being permitted to pray, he went through his devotional exercises with a cheerfulness that astonished his murderers, and greatly encouraged his sister, who through the compassion of some of the soldiers, had got admission to him, telling her that was the joyfulest day he had ever had in the world; and his mother also being allowed to speak with him, he begged her not to give way to grief, but to bless the Lord upon his account, who had made him both willing and ready to suffer for his cause. The rest were then despatched, without being allowed formally to pray. They lie buried in Glencairn churchyard. Another wretch of the same description, an Alexander Ferguson of Kilkerran, informed against John Semple, one of the excellent of the earth, who led a quiet and peaceable life, nor had ever carried arms or had been connected with any disturbance, only he came not to church to hear the Episcopal minister, and did sometimes relieve the poor. A party at midnight, guided by the informer, came to his house, and after seeing them shoot the good man, while attempting to escape at a window, the miscreant went with the murderers to the barns of Bargeyny, and caroused with them till next night.

Towards the end of this month, three women—

Margaret Maclauchlin, a widow about sixty-three years of age; Margaret Wilson, aged eighteen; and Agnes Wilson, aged thirteen—were brought to trial before the commission court, composed of the Laird of Lag, Colonel David Graham, sheriff, Major Windnam, Captain Strachan, and Provost Cultrain, indicted for rebellion, Bothwell Bridge, Airs-moss, and being present at twenty conventicles. The absurdity of the charges carried their own refutation. But this was not sufficient, there was no proof produced; but they refused to swear the abjuration-oath, and were therefore condemned to be drowned. On the last day of April, the council, when the subject was laid before them, suspended the execution of the sentence for an indefinite time, and recommended to the secretaries to procure a complete remission; but the voice of mercy, though uttered by the council on behalf of helpless females, could not be listened to. The only argument that had any effect was money; and the afflicted father was allowed to purchase, with nearly the whole of his worldly substance, the life of his youngest daughter. Windram guarded the others to the place of execution, where an immense number of spectators assembled to witness the unusual sight. The old woman's stake was fixed much further in the sands than her companion's, and thus she was first despatched. When the water was overflowing her, one of the persecutors asked her what she thought of that sight? She answered, "What do I see? Christ and his members wrestling there. Think you we are the sufferers? No! it is Christ in us; for he sends none a warfare on their own charges." She then sung the 25th Psalm from the 7th verse, and read the 8th chapter of the Romans, and then prayed. While engaged in prayer, the water covered her. She was then dragged out by Windram's orders, and when sufficiently recovered to speak, was asked if she would pray for the king. She answered, she wished the salvation of all men, and the damnation of none. "Dear Margaret," urged a bystander, deeply affected, "Dear Margaret, say—

God save the king; say—God save the king!” She replied with great composure—“God save him if he will; it is his salvation I desire!” on which, it is said, Lag bellowed out—“Damned bitch! we do not want such prayers:—tender the oaths to her;” which she refused, and was immediately thrust under the water.

Sir James Johnstone of Wester-raw, another hypocritical turncoat who had sworn the covenants and was now a zealous apostle of Episcopacy, evinced his ardour in the cause, by ordering the corpse of one of the wanderers who had died in the house of widow Hislop, to be dug out of his grave and exposed. The house they pillaged and pulled down, and turned the widow and her children to the fields. Her son had been previously murdered by Wester-raw, to whom Claverhouse had brought him; yet while procuring his death, the latter seemed to have some compunctious visitations, for he said to his associates, ere the deed was perpetrated, “The blood of this poor man be upon you, Wester-raw—I am free of it.”

May-day morning was dewed this year with the blood of John Brown, in Priestfield, a carrier to his employment, distinguished by the honourable title, or, as they called it, nicknamed, “The Christian Carrier.” Having performed family worship between five and six o’clock—fearless of danger, for he was blameless in life—he had gone out to cast peats in the field. While thus engaged, he was suddenly surrounded by Claverhouse with three troops of horse, and brought back to his humble dwelling. After the usual questions, Claverhouse said to him—“Go to your prayers, for you shall immediately die.” He did so; but when praying, the impatient assassin thrice interrupted him, saying—“I gave you time to pray, and ye’re begun to preach.” John turning calmly round upon his knees, replied—“Sir, you know neither the nature of preaching nor praying, that calls this preaching,” and then continued without confusion. When he had ended, Claverhouse

said, "Take good-night of your wife and children." She was standing weeping, with an infant in her arms, and another child of his first wife beside her. He came near and said, "Now, Marian, the day is come that I told you would come when I first spoke to you of marrying me."—"Indeed, John," she replied, "I can willingly part with you."—"Then," answered he, "that's all that I desire. I have no more to do but to die. I have been in case to meet with death for many years." He kissed his wife and bairns, and wished purchased and promised blessings to be multiplied upon them. When he had finished, Claverhouse ordered six of his men to fire, which they did; and the most part of the bullets striking, splintered his skull, and scattered his brains upon the ground.* "What thinkest thou now of thy husband, woman?" asked Claverhouse. "I ever thought much good of him," she replied; "and as much now as ever."—"It were but justice to lay thee beside him," said the murderer.—"If ye were permitted," answered the new made widow, "I doubt not but your cruelty would go that length:—but how will ye make answer for this morning's work?"—"To man," said he, "I can be answerable; and as for God I will take him in my own hand," and mounting his horse, marched off with his troop. The poor woman, left with the corpse of her husband lying before her, set the bairns upon the ground, and gathered his brains, and tied up his head, and straightened his body, and covered him with her plaid, and sat down and wept; it being a very desert place, where never victual grew, and far from neighbours. Claverhouse afterwards repeatedly confessed, that he never could altogether forget Brown's prayer.

Amid these bloody scenes, a parliament was convoked, April 28, to confirm the despotism by which they were enacted, for so subservient had those assemblies now become, that, like the parliaments of Paris, they met only to register the royal edicts.

* Wodrow says the men refused, and Claverhouse pistolled the good man with his own hands.



The Christian Carrier Shot by Claverhouse.

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The Duke of Queensberry was the commissioner. In his first message to his first high court, James frankly told them that his main design was to give them an opportunity not only "of showing their duty to Us in the same loyal manner as they had done to Our late dearest brother, but likewise of being patterns to others in their exemplary compliance with Our desires as they had most eminently been in times past, to a degree never to be forgotten by Us; but also of protecting religion against fanatical contrivances, murderers, and assassins, and to take care that such conspirators might meet their just deservings."

The speeches of the Commissioner and Chancellor echoed the letter, and inveighed against the persecuted Presbyterians, as wretches of such monstrous principles and practices, as past ages never heard, nor those to come will hardly believe, whose extirpation his majesty asked, as no more rebels against their king, than enemies of mankind. The address followed in a strain of adulation and abject baseness, clearly evincing the absence of every right-hearted man from the meeting. "We can assure your majesty," said they, "that the subjects of this your majesty's ancient kingdom, are so desirous to exceed all their predecessors in extraordinary marks of affection and obedience, that, God be praised! the only way to be popular with us is to be eminently loyal;" "and therefore your majesty may expect that we will think your command sacred as your person, and that your inclination will prevent our debates."

Their first act was "an act ratifying and confirming all the acts and statutes formerly passed for the security, liberty, and freedom of the true Church of God and the Protestant religion." Their next, an offer of their lives and fortunes to the king, accompanied by a declaration of their abhorrence and detestation, not only of the authors and actors of all preceding rebellions against the sovereign, but likewise all principles and positions which are contrary or derogatory to the king's sacred, supreme, sovereign;

absolute power and authority, which none, whether persons or collective bodies, can participate of any manner of way, or upon any pretext, but in dependence on him, and by commission from him. All persons summoned as witnesses against frequenters of conventicles, who refused to answer, were to be reputed guilty of the same crimes as the persons accused—to administer or receive the covenants, or even to write in their defence, was declared treason. Field preachers were already subjected to confiscation or death. Hearing was now made liable to the same punishment, which was also extended to preachers in house-conventicles, expounding the Scriptures, or even worshipping God in a private house. If there were more than five persons, in addition to the family, present, it was to be considered as an house-conventicle; but if any were listening outside, it was to be reputed a field-conventicle, for which the whole congregation, with the preacher, were to suffer death. At the same time, the test was extended, with exemptions only favourable to the papists. Then, as a final winding up of this scene of iniquity, followed the forfeiture of Sir John Cochrane, Sir Patrick Home, Lord Melville, Pringle of Torwoodlee, Stuart of Cultness, Fletcher of Saltoun, and several other gentlemen, implicated in the late conspiracy with Cessnock and his son, whose estates, together with those of Argyle, Douchal, and Jerviswood, were annexed for ever to the crown; while to preserve their own estates from a similar fate, the act of entail was passed, professing to secure the estates of the nobles, but in fact enabling them to evade the just claims of their creditors.

Meanwhile the Scottish exiles, reduced to despair, resolved to attempt the liberation of their native land, with which they had never ceased to hold a secret correspondence; and after many meetings in Holland, an expedition set sail on the 2d of May, of which Argyle was elected General, and the expense supplied by Mrs. Smith, a rich sugar baker's widow, at Amsterdam; but accounts of his preparations had

been sent to the government, and measures were taken to frustrate his object before his arrival, which were increased on the council's receiving notice from the Bishop of Orkney, that the Earl had touched there on his passage. The strengths in Argyleshire were ordered to be dismantled, and the sons of the chiefs to be sent as hostages to Edinburgh; and all the non-conformist prisoners, about two hundred and fifty, were, on May 18th, hurried off under night from the jails of Edinburgh and Canongate, and sent across the Firth in open boats to Burntisland, and confined for two days and nights in two small rooms, where they had no space almost to lie down, and no place to retire to. Nor had they any provisions, and only a few were allowed to purchase a little bread and water.

When it was imagined hunger and fatigue would have worn out their powers of endurance, liberty was offered them on condition of swearing the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; but many who could have taken the first refused the last as blasphemous. To acknowledge a papist as the head of Christ's Church, was what they durst not do. About forty complied and were released, the rest were driven like cattle to Dunotter Castle—an old, ruinous building, in the county of Kincardine, situated on an almost insulated perpendicular rock, one hundred and fifty feet above the level of the sea, where they were received by George Keith of Whiteridge, sheriff-depute of Mearns, and thrust into a dark vault, with only one small window towards the sea, and full of mire ankle deep. They had no provision but what they were forced to purchase, at a dear rate and of the worst quality, from the governor's brother. Even their water was brought in small quantities, though their keepers would sometimes pour whole barrels into the cavern to increase their discomfort. Means of cleanliness they had none, and the smell of the place became so noxious, for it was a warm summer, that several of them died; and it was considered little less than miraculous that any survived.

Within a few days, the governor removed about forty of the men to another low small cell, scarcely less disagreeable, as the only light or air they had was through a small crevice in the wall, near which they used to lie down by turns, that they might breathe a little fresh air. Shortly after, the governor's lady having visited these miserable abodes, prevailed upon her husband to separate the prisoners; and the females were removed from the large vault into two more comfortable smaller apartments. The men, however, continued to suffer the utmost misery in the large vault, and a contagious disorder having broken out among them, many died. The survivors, reduced to desperation, endeavoured to escape, and having got out one night by the window, were creeping along the hazardous precipice, when an alarm was given by some women—most probably the soldiers' wives—who were washing near the rock. Immediately the guards were called, the gates shut, and the hue and cry raised, and fifteen were intercepted; yet twenty-five had got off before the alarm was given. Those who were retaken, were most inhumanly tortured. They were laid upon their backs upon a form, their hands bound down to the foot of the form, and a burning match put between every finger—"six soldiers attending by turns to blow the matches," and keep them in flame—and this was continued for three hours without intermission by the governor's orders! Several died under this torture, and those who survived were disabled for life. About July, in consequence of representations to the council, the prisoners were brought south, and the Earls Marishal, Errol, Kintore, Panmure, and the Lord President of the Court of Session, empowered to call them before them, and banish such as would not take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, to his majesty's plantations—the men having their ears cut off, the women their cheeks branded—with certification that such as should return to the kingdom should incur the pain of death.

Unfortunately for the success of Argyle's expedi-

tion, while the Scottish government were fully apprised of its approach, adverse winds and untoward circumstances retarded its progress; so that when the Earl arrived, he found he had been anticipated by the measures of the council; and where he expected willing vassals, he met only heartless or deceitful adherents; but the worst symptom was the insubordination of his officers, especially Sir Patrick Home and Sir John Cochrane, who disputed when they ought to have obeyed, and argued when they should have acted. In such circumstances, after landing, he lost instead of gathering strength as he advanced, while the ships and military stores he left behind in the Castle of Ellengreg, fell, together with it, into the hands of some English frigates, which arrived on the coast. He published two proclamations, but they produced no effect, and unhappily were even counteracted from quarters whence, if he had not received decided support, it was not too much to have expected a friendly neutrality.

The wanderers, although they were favourable to Argyle, unfortunately could not embark with him, upon account of the too promiscuous admittance of persons to trust in that party, and because they could not espouse his declaration as the state of their quarrel. But they published another declaration at Sanguhar, May 28, 1685, against the usurpation of a bloody papist advancing himself to the throne, as the height of confederacy with an idolater, forbidden by the law of God and contrary to the law of the land.

Thwarted at every step, and prevented from following his own brave resolution, and giving the enemy battle, Argyle was at last, either by treachery or mistake, landed in a morass, where his baggage and horse were swamped, and universal confusion ensuing, his little band, which had with difficulty been collected and kept together, dispersed during the night. Argyle himself, forced to withdraw, was retiring in the disguise of a peasant, when he was attacked in crossing the Cart at Inchannon (June 17th) by two of the militia, with whom he grappled, and

would have overcome, had not five more arrived and wounded and secured him. When falling, he had exclaimed—"Alas! unfortunate Argyle," which first discovered him to his captors, who appeared deeply concerned at his seizure, but durst not let him go. He was immediately carried to Edinburgh, where the marked ignominy with which he was treated, bore strong testimony to the high estimation in which the illustrious prisoner was held. By an especial order of the council, dated June 20th, he was conducted through the Water-gate, and carried up the main streets to the Castle, with his hands bound and his head bare, preceded by the hangman, and surrounded by Captain Graham's guards; and there he was safely lodged in irons. In the privy council, it was debated whether he should be tried for his present rebellion or executed upon his former sentence. The most iniquitous proposition of the two prevailed, in which the king of course concurred, only he suggested the propriety of the Earl's being tortured before he was executed, in order to try if any information could be elicited respecting those who had assisted or who were acquainted with the expedition. His openness upon his examination prevented his persecutors incurring the infamy which the royal mandate implied, and he was ordered to prepare for execution next day after the receipt of the royal letter.

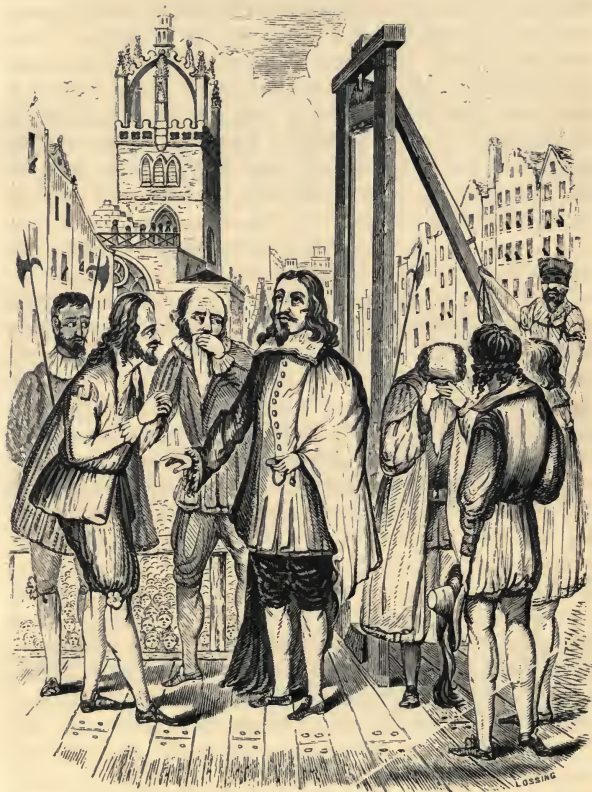
The interval he spent with a cheerful tranquillity, which soothed his afflicted relatives and amazed his political antagonists. Being accustomed to sleep a little after dinner, on his last solemn day he retired to his closet, and laid himself down on bed, and for about a quarter of an hour slept as sweetly as ever he did. At this moment an officer of state came to inquire for him. Being informed that he was asleep and desired not to be disturbed, the officer, who doubted the story, insisted upon being admitted to his lordship. He was admitted accordingly, but instantly rushed from the apartment to a friend's house on the Castle Hill, and threw himself on a bed in

great agony of mind. When asked by the lady of the house if he was unwell, or would take a glass of sack—"No! no!" replied he; "I have been at Argyle, and saw him sleeping as pleasantly as ever a man did, within an hour of eternity; but as for me ——."

The Earl left the Castle, accompanied by a few friends; and while waiting in the laigh council-house, wrote a farewell letter to his Countess. "Dear Heart,—As God is of himself unchangeable, so he hath been always good and gracious to me, and no place alters it; only I acknowledge I am sometimes less capable of a due sense of it. But now, above all my life, I thank God I am sensible of his presence with me, with great assurance of his favour through Jesus Christ, and I doubt not will continue till I be in glory. Forgive me all my faults; and now comfort thyself in Him in whom only true comfort is to be found. The Lord be with thee, bless thee, and comfort thee. My dearest—adieu." He also wrote the following to his daughter-in-law, Lady Sophia Lindsay:—"My dear Lady Sophia,—What shall I say in this great day of the Lord, wherein, in the midst of a cloud, I find a fair sunshine? I can wish no more for you, but that the Lord may comfort you and shine upon you, as he doth upon me, and give you the same sense of his love in staying in the world, as I have in going out of it. Adieu. ARGYLE.—P. S. My blessing to dear Earl Balcarras. The Lord touch his heart and incline him to his fear."

He was accompanied to the scaffold by Mr. Annand, dean of Edinburgh, appointed by the council, and Mr. Laurence Charteris, named by himself. Before they left the council-house, the Earl pleasantly asked Mr. Annand, "If he thought the Pope was that Antichrist the Scripture speaks of." He answered, "Yes, my lord, the Protestant churches hold so."—"But what think you?" asked the Earl.—"I think so too," replied Mr. Annand.—"Then," said the Earl, "be sure you instruct the people so." When they had mounted the scaffold, Mr. Charteris

exhorted him if there were any sin unrepented of, to lay it open before God, who is ready to forgive all penitent sinners. The Earl regretted, as the chief, that he had set too little time apart to wrestle with God in private, in behalf of his work and interest, and for his own poor soul; also that he did not worship God in his family so much as he ought to have done; likewise his public failings. Here Mr. Anand interrupted him; but without taking notice of the interruption, he lamented that he did not improve the three years' respite the Lord had given him, so much for his glory and the advancement of his work, as he might have done in his station; and he looked on his death as a just punishment from God, though undeserved at the hands of men, and added, "I would have thought as little to have appeared in this place some time of day after this manner, as many of you who are now satiating your eyes in beholding me; but the Lord in his divine wisdom hath ordered it otherwise, and I am so far from repining and carping at his dispensations towards me, that I bless his name and desire to give him endless praise and thanks for the same." The clergymen then prayed, after which the Earl fell down on his knees, and having his face covered and his hands clasped together, prayed in silence for a considerable time. Upon rising, he delivered a speech he had previously composed, expressive of his cheerful submission to the divine will, and his willingness to forgive all men, even his enemies. "Afflictions," he said, "are not only foretold, but promised to Christians. We are neither to despise nor faint under them; nor are we by fraudulent pusillanimous compliance in wicked courses to bring sin upon ourselves. Faint hearts are ordinarily false hearts, choosing sin rather than suffering—a short life and eternal death, before temporal death and a crown of glory." "I know many like Hazael go to excesses they never thought they were capable of." He then prayed God to send peace and truth to these three kingdoms; to continue and increase the glorious light of the gospel, and



Execution of the Earl of Argyle.



restrain a spirit of profaneness, atheism, oppression, popery, and persecution; and was about to conclude, when it was suggested to him that he had said nothing about the royal family; he added, "this remembers me that before the justices, at my trial about the test, I said that at my death I would pray that there might never want one of the royal family to be a defender of the true, ancient, apostolic, Catholic, and Protestant faith, which I now do; and may God enlighten and forgive all of them that are either hid in error or have shrunk from the profession of the truth; and in all events, I pray God may provide for the security of his church, and that antichrist nor the gates of hell may never prevail against it."

When he had ended, he turned to the south side of the scaffold, and said, "Gentlemen, I pray you do not misconstrue my behaviour this day. I freely forgive all men their wrongs and injuries done against me, as I desire to be forgiven of God." Mr. Annand repeated these words louder to the people. The Earl then went to the north side of the scaffold, and had the same or like expressions. Mr. Annand again repeated them, adding, "This nobleman dies a Protestant;" on which Argyle stepped forward again, and said, "I die not only a Protestant, but with a heart hatred of popery, prelacy, and all superstition whatsoever." Returning to the middle of the scaffold, he embraced and took leave of his friends, delivering to Lord Maitland some tokens to be given to his lady and children; then he stript himself of his upper garments, which he also gave to his friends, and kneeling, embraced the instrument of death, saying, "It was the sweetest maiden he ever kissed, it being a mean to finish his sin and misery, and his inlet to glory, for which he longed." Having prayed a little in silence, he said aloud three times—"Lord Jesus, receive me into thy glory;" and lifting up his hand, the sign agreed upon, the executioner let the knife of the maiden fall, and his head was severed from his body.

The misfortunes and death of this excellent noble-

man did not destroy the cause for which he suffered. The universal sympathy they excited, from the diffusion of his speech, which was widely circulated, aided by concurring circumstances, accelerated rather than retarded the event of his country's liberation. His vassals, however, were cruelly treated by Atholi and Breadalbane. Upwards of twenty of the name of Campbell were put to death, and more than fifty sent to the plantations. Their houses were pulled down, their mill-stones broken, the woods burned, and the whole shire of Argyle cruelly ravaged for thirty miles round Inverary; his estate was given to strangers, his children scattered, his creditors defrauded, and his brother, Lord Neil Campbell, forced to go as an exile to America.

Besides Argyle, very few of any note suffered upon this occasion. These were—Col. Rumbold, known by the name of the maltster, who underwent a form of a trial; but being severely wounded, lest he should have disappointed their revenge, the council had prescribed the mode of his death the day before,* according to which he was taken from the bar to the scaffold, supported by two officers, and preceded by the hangman with his hat on. When he attempted to explain his principles, the drums beat, at which he shook his head and said, "Will they not suffer a dying man to speak his last words to the people?" And even when praying for the extirpation of popery, prelacy, and other superstitions, the drums again drowned his voice. He then silently breathed out his soul to God, and giving the signal, the executioner turned him off. Ere yet dead, his heart was torn from his bosom, and exhibited, while still palpitating on the point of a bayonet, to the people by the hangman, who bawled out—"Here is the heart of a bloody murderer and traitor," and threw it disdain-

* When before the council, he expressed his joy in suffering for such a cause, on which one of the gang called him "a confounded villain." He sedately replied, "I am at peace with God through Jesus Christ; to men I have done no wrong—what, then, can confound me?"

fully into the fire. His quarters were distributed through the country and his head fixed on an high pole at the West Port of Edinburgh.

Some time after, Mr. Thomas Archer, a popular preacher, now in the last stage of a decay. Having been wounded severely, much interest was made to obtain his liberation, as he was evidently dying; even the Duke of Queensberry's own son entreated his father for his life, without effect. Nothing would satisfy the rulers but his blood. A plan had been laid for his escape out of prison, but he would not consent, saying, that since he could not serve his Master in any other manner, he thought it his duty not to decline a testimony for him and for his truth by a public death on the scaffold. He was several times interrupted when addressing the spectators, but enough was heard to evince that he died steady to his principles, rejoicing in hope, and anticipating deliverance for the church, notwithstanding the then threatened visitation of popery. "I will bring them to Babylon, and there will I deliver them," would, he believed, be accomplished in their case. He sung the latter part of the 73d Psalm, and prayed. Before being turned off, he said—"Fear of death does not fright or trouble me; I bless the Lord for my lot," and submitted with cheerfulness to the hands of the executioner. He was about thirty-two years of age, of uncommon abilities, and very learned.

Ayloffé was sent to London and examined by James in person. He was related to the royal family, and the king pressed him to make discoveries. "You know," said the tyrant, "it is in my power to save you."—"Yes," replied Ayloffé, "but it is not in your nature." He was hanged accordingly.

Sir W. Denholm of Westshiels, Mr. James Stuart, and Mr. Gilbert Elliot, were condemned in absence, and ordered to be executed when apprehended; the Earl of Loudon, Dalrymple of Stair, Fletcher of Saitoun, with a number of other gentlemen of rank and fortune, were forfeited, whose only crimes were their

estates, and the charges their having honestly fulfilled their duties as public men.

Of the prisoners at Leith, many of whom had been brought back from Dunotter, about seventy-two were ordered for banishment; but in the greatness of their humane condescension, the council came to Leith and sat in the tolbooth to re-examine them, when such as made some moderate compliances, a few who were sickly, and others who had friends, got free; for government were now beginning to relax in their severities, in contemplation of extending the same or greater freedom to the Roman Catholics; but a number who still unyieldingly adhered to their tenets, were given as a present to the Laird of Pitlochie, and shipped by him for his plantations in New Jersey.* They, however, had scarcely left land, when a malignant fever broke out, especially among those who had been confined in Dunotter. Most of the crew also died, as did Pitlochie and his lady; yet, notwithstanding, the captain and some other hardened wretches would not suffer the persecuted exiles to worship God in peace, but when they heard them engaged in their devotions, threw down great planks of wood in order to annoy them. After their arrival, Pitlochie's son-in-law claimed the prisoners as his property, but the governor remitted the case to a jury, who immediately freed them. The greater part retired to New England, where they were kindly received; and many of them settled in the colony. Others returned to their native country at the Revolution.

About the latter end of this year, John Nisbet of Hardhill, with three of his fellow-sufferers, was surprised by a relation of his own, Lieutenant Nisbet, in a house in the parish of Fenwick. They defended

* The following incident was much spoken of at the time. Mr. W. Hanna, one of these prisoners, on being threatened with banishment, told the council he was now too old to work or go to war. General Dalziel bitterly replied, "But you are not too old to hang." On that same day, the General, in the act of drinking a glass of wine, was suffocated, and went to his own place.

themselves bravely, till the three were killed and he was wounded and taken. When tauntingly questioned what he thought of himself now? "I think," he replied, "as much of Christ and his cause as ever; but I judge myself at a loss, being in time, and my dear brethren, whom you have murdered, being in eternity." He was sent to Edinburgh, and, on his examination before the council, behaved with much Christian fortitude. Being asked if he would own the king's authority, he said he would not. "Why?" said they; "do you not own the Scriptures and Confession of Faith?"—"I own both," he replied "with all my heart, but the king is a Roman Catholic; and I have not only been educated a Presbyterian, but solemnly sworn against owning popery."

The council ordered him to be prosecuted before the justiciary. His confession was adduced against him, and he was sent to follow those who had not counted their lives dear unto them, that they might finish their course with joy, and set to their seals to the truth. "Now," said he, in his last testimony, "we see open doors, that are made wide, to bring in popery and set up idolatry in the Lord's covenanted land. Wherefore, it is the indispensable duty of all who have any love to God, or to his Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, to witness faithfully, constantly, and conscientiously, against all that the enemies have done, or are doing, to the overthrow of the glorious work of reformation. But it will not be long to the fourth watch, and then will He come in garments dyed in blood, to raise up saviours upon Mount Zion to judge the mount of Esau; and then the house of Jacob and Joseph shall be for fire, and the malignants, papists, and prelates shall be for stubble, the flame whereof shall be great. But my generation work being done with my time, I go to him who loved me, and washed me from all my sins in his own blood." And thus, after much, long, and painful suffering (upwards of twenty years), did this faithful servant enter into the joy of his Lord. Ed-

ward Marshall of Kaemuir, formerly forfeited, was executed along with him.

From this period we shall meet only with one other public judicial murder, expressly on account of religion; yet many died in prison and exile who may be numbered among the martyrs, as having suffered unto death. Many others were scourged, had their ears cropt, and were sent to the plantations. The indecent cruelty of their conduct towards pious women was unworthy of manhood. Thus a number of old women were whipped at Glasgow; at Dumfries two women were scourged, and the youngest afterwards sent to New Jersey, with Pitlochrie, merely because they would swear no oaths; another poor woman was tied to a man, and both scourged together through the town, because they would not tell what wanderers they had harboured, though to have acknowledged the fact would have been exposing themselves to the gallows. But the banishments, plunderings, and varied modes of harassing still continued, or were intermitted only by arbitrary and insidious indulgences, intended to prepare the way for the introduction of popery.

The want of natural affection is one of the peculiar marks of a reprobate, but the prelatical rulers of Scotland deemed its possession a peculiar object of punishment. By order of the sheriff of Wigton, a party of his underlings after destroying the furniture of a Sarah Stuart, the wife of William Kennedy, in the parish of Cunningham, marched the poor woman, with a child in her arms, not quite nine months old, to Wigton, a distance of several miles, forcing her to leave other three behind without any one to look after them, though the oldest was not nine years of age. There she was kept eleven weeks prisoner, though a conformist herself, because she would not engage never to converse with her husband, nor consent to discover him! And another, Jean Dalziel, a tenant of Queensberry's, was banished for the same reason.

Thus closed the year sixteen hundred and eighty-five—a year long remembered by the sufferers, and which was remarkable also for that terrible revocation of the edict of Nantes by Louis XIV., which made Europe resound with tales of horror, equalled only by the retributive sufferings the descendants of the persecutors endured in the days of Robespierre, from a revolution whose origin may perhaps be traced back to the ambition, mis-government, and cruelty of Voltaire's Louis le Grand.

BOOK XII.

A. D. 1686-1688.

Conduct of the soldiers—A riot—Recantation of Sibbald—Alexander Peden—Proceedings of the society-men—Synod of Edinburgh—Parliament—Disputes among the persecuted—Indulgence—Thanksgiving for the Queen's pregnancy—Seizure and death of Mr. Renwick—Dr. Hardy's trial and acquittal—Rescue of David Houston—Murder of George Wood—Arrival of the Prince of Orange.

[A. D. 1686.] THE entrance of the new year was signalized by an exploit worthy of the heroes of the day. A party of their marauders came to the parish of Stonehouse, in Lanarkshire, and carried off eight men and two women who had infants at the breast, for alleged hearing an ejected minister; while another no less heroic band, under Skene of Hallyards, plundered the house of a widow, in the neighbouring parish of Glassford, and destroyed what they could not carry off, because they chose to allege her son had been at Bothwell.

Intent upon forcing his favourite object, the king had ordered his chapel of Holyrood-house to be repaired* for the use of the royal servants who had embraced the royal religion; and the paraphernalia necessary for conducting its Romish rites with becoming splendour, being openly brought to Leith, this, with the ostentatious celebration of mass in the

* He also erected a seminary in the Abbey—the Royal College; and in order to allure youth and induce Protestant parents to send their children, the scholars were to be taught gratis; and no particular system of religion was to be inculcated by the Jesuits!—*Credat.*

popish meetings, roused such indignation in the Edinburgh populace, that "a great rabble of prentices" rose, who threatened to pull down the mass-house. They insulted the Chancellor's lady and her company coming from chapel, assailing them with opprobrious language, and throwing dirt at them, but doing no further damage. For this riot several were apprehended, and one "baxter lad" sentenced to be whipped; but when the hangman was about to perform his duty, the mob rose, rescued their associate out of his hands, and gave himself a sound drubbing. The confusion, however, continuing, the troops in the Castle and Canongate were called out to assist the town-guard, when a woman and an apprentice of one Robert Mein, were killed. Next day, a woman and two youths were scourged, guarded by soldiers; and one Moubray, an embroiderer, was indicted for his life. At the place of execution, he told Mr. Malcolm, a minister who attended him, that he was offered a pardon if he would accuse the Duke of Queensberry of having excited the tumult; but he would not save his life by so foul a calumny.

This was not the only ominous circumstance which preceded the meeting of parliament. Another took place at the same time, which bore more immediately upon the grand question that was to come under their consideration, and for which they had especially been called together—the recantation of Sir Robert Sibbald, M. D. This celebrated antiquarian, who lived in a course of philosophical virtue, but in great doubts of revealed religion, had been prevailed upon by the Earl of Perth to turn papist, in order to find that certainty which he could not find upon his own principles. But he was ashamed of his conduct almost as soon as he had made his compliance, went to London, and for some months retired from all company. There, after close application to study, he came to be so convinced of the errors of popery, that he returned to Scotland some weeks before the parliament met, and could not be easy in his own mind till he made a public recantation. The Bishop

of Edinburgh was so much a courtier, that, apprehending many might go to hear it, and that it might be offensive to the court, he sent him to do it in a church in the country; but the recantation of so learned a man, after so much studious inquiry, had a powerful effect.

Fining, that lucrative branch of persecution, though still a favourite, began now to descend to the humbler classes of consistent Presbyterians; for the chief gentlemen and heritors among them were either dead, forfeited, or in exile; yet the gleanings were by no means despicable, and far from being so regarded by some of the under-hirelings of government. In the parish of Calder, John Donaldson, portioner, was fined two hundred pounds for a prayer-meeting held at his house on a Lord's day; John Baxter, forty pounds; Walter Donaldson, for his wife being present, thirty-six pounds; with several others in smaller sums, making in all eight hundred and sixteen pounds and sixteen shillings, Scots. William Stirling, bailie-depute of the regality of Glasgow, who imposed these fines, received a gift of them for his zeal and exertions.*

On the 4th of January, at the criminal court, Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck and thirty-two more Argyleshire heritors, were forfeited for joining with the Earl, and their estates were gifted chiefly

* While the rulers were plundering the best in the land, solely because they were the best, they were no less anxious to protect those who were at least not the most worthy; but they were their own minions. The universal profligacy of manners which had been introduced at the Restoration, appears to have been followed by its natural consequence, an almost universal bankruptcy; for, when those who had wasted their substance in riotous living could no longer supply their waste by the plunder of the persecuted Presbyterians, they supported themselves for a while by the scarcely less dishonourable shift of living upon their creditors; then failing, and throwing themselves upon the crown. Fountainhall notices some such circumstances as mere matters of course:—"Provost George Drummond", says he, "turns bankrupt, as alsoe George Drummond, town-treasurer, [and] Drummond of Carlourie; and the Chancellor gets protections to them all, and Skene of Hallyards in Louthian, and John Johnstoun of Poltoun;" and he adds, in the same business like style, "William Seaton, in the life-guards, gets a gift of five thousand merks he had discovered resting to Argyle."

to those of the same family who had joined the royal party during the invasion, although, as usual, the prelates and their relatives came in for a share of the spoil, Campbell of Otter's estate being gifted to Commissary McLean, son to the Bishop of Argyle. Fountainhall adds, "there were sundry apparent heirs amongst the forfeited, whose second brothers were on the king's side with Atholl. It were but charity to encourage them, to make them donators to their brothers' forfeitures." On the same day, the Earl of Lothian, brother-in-law to Argyle, was admitted a privy counsellor, with a pension of three hundred pounds per annum, given, it was said, in reward of the great courage he displayed in the Dutch war, when fighting under the king, then Duke of York; but rather, as the same author hints, to engage his interest in the ensuing parliament. Protestant heritors who had not taken the test were also ordered by his majesty to be pursued and fined; but within a few days a letter came, postponing the time for taking the test, and shortly after another dispensing with it altogether in their favour during the king's pleasure.

About this time, Mr. Alexander Peden died (January 26th), full of assurance of faith, and was privately interred in the churchyard of Auchinleck. He was certainly an extraordinary man, whose memory was long cherished in the south and west of Scotland with fond affection, and where he had laboured long and faithfully and with much success. A little before the Restoration, he was settled as minister at New Luce, in Galloway, where he remained about three years, till he was thrust out by the tyranny of the times. When about to depart, he lectured upon Acts xx. from the 7th verse to the end, and preached in the forenoon from these words—"Therefore, watch and remember, that for the space of three years I ceased not to warn every man," &c., asserting that he had declared unto them the whole counsel of God, and professing he was free from the blood of all men. In the afternoon, he preached from the

32d verse ; “ And, now, brethren, I commend you to the word of his grace,” &c.—a sermon which occasioned a great weeping in the church. Many times he requested them to be silent ; but they sorrowed most of all when he told them they should never see his face in that pulpit again. He continued till night ; and when he closed the pulpit door, he knocked three times on it with his Bible, saying each time —“ I arrest thee in my master’s name, that none ever enter thee but such as come in by the door, as I have done.” And it is somewhat remarkable that neither curate nor indulged entered that pulpit, which remained shut till it was opened by a Presbyterian preacher at the Revolution. Yet it may be doubted whether he would have thought that any one entering by that settlement, did so exactly in the manner that he did. Some time before his death, through the misrepresentations which were brought him, he had been much alienated from James Renwick, and had spoken bitterly against him ; but when on his deathbed he sent for Mr. Renwick, and asked if he was that Mr. Renwick there was so much noise about. “ Father,” he replied, “ my name is James Renwick ; but I have given the world no ground to make any noise about me, for I have espoused no new doctrine.” He then gave him such an account of his conversion and call to the ministry—of his principles and the grounds of his contending against tyranny and defection—that Mr. Peden was satisfied, and expressed his sorrow for having given credit to the reports that were spread against him.*

* Ker of Kersland, in his memoirs, speaking of Mr. Peden, says —“ Abundance of this good man’s predictions are well known to be already come to pass. When he was sick unto death in the year 1686, he told his friends that he should die in a few days ; ‘ but having,’ said he, ‘ foretold many things which will require some time before they be verified, I will give you a sign which will confirm your expectation, that they will as surely come to pass as those you have already seen accomplished before your eyes. I shall be decently buried by you ; but if my body be suffered to rest in the grave where you shall lay it, then I have been a deceiver, and the Lord hath not spoken by me : whereas, if the enemy come a little afterwards to take it up and carry it away to bury it in an

The unflinching confessors of the truth in this day, like those in primitive times, were often in perils among false brethren, and often persecuted with the scourge of the tongue, even by some who were suffering in the same cause. They were accused "of overturning the Presbyterian government in the church, and substituting a loose kind of independency, by committing the trial and censure of offences to persons who were not office-bearers—of usurping the magistrates' place in the state, by constituting themselves a convention of estates, and managing the civil affairs of their community by their edicts—and of disowning, as silent and unfaithful, all ministers who cannot preach upon their terms, there being not now, according to them, one minister in Scotland, England, or Ireland, save one Mr. James Renwick, who, by his own confession in a letter to a friend in Ireland, is not one either."

To this Mr. Renwick, at the desire of the societies, replied—"That they never committed the trial of 'scandals' to the people in a judicial way, but only allowed them, when there were no church judicatories, to withdraw privately from associating with those who erred, that they might not partake of other men's sins, but by this be a means of reclaiming offending brethren; which certainly was not overturning Presbyterian government, any more than their declining the authority of tyrants was thrusting themselves into the magistrates' room." He added, personally—"As to that, that by my own confession I am not a minister of the church, I altogether deny. I said I am a minister wherever I have a call from the people and do embrace it.—O! that all those who shall agree together in heaven, were agreeing

ignominious place, then I hope you will believe that God Almighty hath spoken by me, and consequently there shall not one word fall to the ground." Accordingly, about forty days after his interment, a troop of dragoons came, lifted his corpse, carried it two miles to Cumnock, and buried it under the gallows."—*Crookshanks*, vol. ii. p. 320.—James Nisbet, in his memoirs, states the same fact, p. 184.

upon earth. I think if my blood could be a mean to procure that, I could willingly offer it."

A change having taken place in the cabinet about the end of the year, the administration was now intrusted only to papists, chiefly to Perth the chancellor, and his brother Melford, who had gained the king's entire confidence by embracing his religion, and the Earl of Murray, another proselyte, who was appointed Commissioner to open the parliament, from which was expected a repeal of those penal statutes which his ancestor, "the good regent," had procured to be enacted against papists.

Preparatory to the sitting of parliament, the synod of Edinburgh met, when its usual tranquil submissiveness was interrupted by a contrariety of sentiment respecting the test; some contending for it, and others urging toleration to all who differed in judgment, insinuating a charitable accommodation with the papists. Paterson, bishop of Edinburgh, who had lately returned from London, gratified by a pension of £200 sterling, told them that the king would defend their religion, and only craved the exercise of his own for those of his persuasion in private, which he said could not be denied him, because he might take it by his prerogative of church supremacy, asserted by parliament 1669. He further told them that the Archbishop of St. Andrews (Ross) and himself had got ample power to suspend and deprive any that preached sedition, *i. e.* impugned the king's religion, even though they should be bishops. Mr. George Shields, minister at Prestonhaugh, was sharply reprov'd "for that he declaimed rudely against popery in the Abbey church on the preceding Sunday, having said the Pope was as little infallible as the Bishop of the Isles"—who was one of the silliest in the world—"and that he would believe the moon to be made of green cheese, and swallow it, as soon as he would believe in transubstantiation."

Parliament met, April 29th. In his letter, the king

was perfectly explicit. After hanging out the lure of a free trade with England, and an indemnity for his greatest enemies themselves, *i. e.* the consistent Presbyterians, he came to the point:—"Whilst we show these acts of mercy to the enemies of our person, crown, and royal dignity, WE cannot be unmindful of others, our innocent subjects, those of the Roman Catholic religion, who have, with the hazard of their lives and fortunes, been always assistant to the crown in the worst of rebellions and usurpations, though they lay under discouragements hardly to be named: Them we do heartily recommend to your care, that they may have the protection of our laws, and that security under our government, which others of our subjects have, not suffering them to lie under obligations which their religion cannot admit of."

The Commissioner enforced this communication by what he must have thought an irresistible argument. He informed the house that he was instructed to give the royal assent to any acts prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle, horses, and victual, or any measures which might prevent smuggling these articles into Scotland to the prejudice of the landholders of the country! and likewise promised to authorize such regulations as should secure exact payment to the tenantry from all his officers and soldiers in their quarters, both local and transient, for the future. In return, he expected that they would show themselves the best and most affectionate subjects, to the best, the most incomparable, and most heroic prince in the world!

The dutiful parliament humbly thanked the king for his care of the trade of his ancient kingdom, and expressed their astonishment at his clemency, testified in the offer of an indemnity to these desperate rebels, who could have expected pardon from no monarch on earth but his sacred majesty! and sincerely and heartily offered their lives and fortunes for suppressing all such as should, upon any account or pretext whatsoever, attempt either by private contrivance or open rebellion, to disquiet his glorious reign. As to

that part of the royal letter relating to his subjects of the Roman Catholic religion, they promised, in obedience to his majesty's commands, to go as great lengths as their consciences would allow, not doubting that his majesty would be careful to secure the Protestant religion established by law. "This," says honest Wodrow, "is the first time since the Restoration I remember that the parliament speak of their conscience."

Their answer, however, was so little satisfactory at court, that although the custom always had been to print these official documents, it was not allowed to be printed; and within a few days the royal displeasure was expressed against such as had opposed the Commissioner in this affair. Sir George Mackenzie, lord-advocate—who with rat-like sagacity, when he perceived the vessel was sinking, had already shown a disposition to leave her—was laid aside from an office he might curse the day he ever was appointed to fill. Lord Pitmedden was removed from the bench, and the Earl of Glencairn and Sir William Bruce from the privy council. Glencairn was besides deprived of his pension, as was also the Bishop of Dunkeld.—"Thir warning shots," observes Sir John Lauder, "were to terrify and divert other members of parliament from the opposition."

Could any inconsistency or tergiversation in unprincipled politicians astonish us, we might well be amazed at the shamelessness of the parties on this occasion. When a bill for repealing the penal statutes was brought in, the papists—or Roman Catholics, as they were styled by their foster-brethren the Scottish bishops, in compliment to the king—were now strong advocates for liberty of conscience, contending that nothing can bind the conscience as a divine law, which neither directly nor by clear consequence is founded on the doctrine or practice of Christ or his apostles, or of the primitive church; that no oath whatsoever can bind or oblige to that which is sinful or unlawful to be done; and that for a Chris-

tian magistrate to take away the life or estate of a subject who is not guilty of sedition or rebellion, nor of injuring his neighbour, but is quiet, and peaceable, and contents himself in the private exercise of his own religion, merely for difference of opinion, is neither founded on the doctrine or practice of our Saviour or his apostles, nor of the church in the following ages, who never urged their kings or emperors, when the empire became Christian, to take away the lives and fortunes of open infidels and heathens who did worship stocks and stones, although these idolatrous heathen, when they had power, did execute all manner of cruelty against the Christians.

The Episcopalians, taking up the arguments of some of the first Reformers, asserted "that by the doctrine of the New as well as of the Old Testament, the magistrate beareth not the sword in vain, for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil. Idolaters are ranked among the very chief of evil doers; and John foretells it as that which God requires of, and approves in, the kings of the earth, in times of reformation, that they shall hate the Babylonish whore, and make her desolate and naked, and shall burn her with fire—a just punishment upon her who made and cruelly executed laws for burning to death the innocent saints of God! But the penal laws were enacted merely for the safety of the religion of the country against papists, who are not the meek lambs they pretend to be—as witness the Irish massacre and the murderous conduct at present in France, towards persons who were guilty of no rebellion, and who only sought to worship God according to their conscience!"—It is impossible not to pause here and ask, whether those who urged these reasons for keeping papists out of power, had no sense of shame, or no memory—whether they did not recollect, that, for more than twenty-five years, they had been pursuing exactly the same course towards their own Protestant brethren in Scotland?

During the first month of the session, the Commis-

sioner was incessant in his attention to the nobles and leading men, and liberal both of his promises and threatenings, but all he could prevail upon them to consent to, was a bill for allowing Roman Catholics "the exercise of their religion in private houses—all public worship being excluded—without the danger of incurring sanguinary or other punishments contained in any laws or acts of parliament against the same." But as such a restricted liberty would not satisfy the king, it was dropped; and an act in favour of the heir of Argyle, who had been prevailed upon to profess the royal religion, closed the session.

Several of the bishops had strenuously opposed the repeal, clearly perceiving that their craft was in danger, because, had the papists obtained power, they would not long have retained their livings without apostatizing from their religion; others were prepared to go every length to please the king and keep their places. Nor is it perhaps judging too harshly, to say, that if the alternative of allowing liberty to Presbyterians, or themselves turning papists, had been offered them, they would have chosen the latter, such appeared to be their hatred of what they called the fanatical rigidity of the former.*

Defeated in parliament, contrary to all expectation, James determined to carry through his favourite project by the power of his prerogative. First, he

* "The methods of solicitation to obtain consent to this act were very strange and extraordinary. The laying aside of men from their places, who could have no interest but serving their consciences—commanding Mar, Ross, Kilsyth, Sir John Dalziel, &c. to their charges, but they offered to give up their commissions—the imprisoning my two servants, I being a member of parliament—the importunities used by Sir William Paterson and others in concussing members of parliament—their dealing with members not clear to stay away or go home, and then prolonging the meeting to weary out the poorer sort, who had exhausted both their money and credit—and lastly, the letters were one post all broken up and searched, to see if any correspondence or intelligence could be discovered between Scotland and England.—*Fountainhall's Decis.* vol. i, p. 419.—The burrows, because they were obstinate against the court party, could justly expect no favour. They never were so unanimous in any parliament as in this, but formerly depending on noblemen; and therefore some called this an independent parliament."—*Ib.* p. 418.

re-modelled his privy council, turning out the most stubborn opponents, as the Earls of Mar, Lothian, and Dumfries, with other decided Protestants, and introducing the Duke of Gordon, the Earls of Traquair and Seaforth, and other papists in their room, dispensing, by his own absolute authority, with their taking the test. To them he most undisguisedly communicated his royal intentions in the plainest language of tyrannical assumption:—"It was not any doubt WE had of our power in putting a stop to the unreasonable severities of the acts of parliament against those of the Roman Catholic religion, that made us bring in OUR designs to our parliament, but to give our loyal subjects a new opportunity of showing their duty to US, in which we promised ourselves their hearty and dutiful concurrence, as what was founded on that solid justice we are resolved to distribute to all, and consequently to our Catholic subjects. And to the end the Catholic worship may, with the more decency and security, be exercised in Edinburgh, we have thought fit to establish our chapel within our palace of Holyrood-house, and to appoint a number of chaplains and others, whom we require you to have in your special protection and care. You are likewise to take care that there be no preachers nor others suffered to insinuate to the people any fears or jealousies, as if we intended to make any violent alteration; and if any shall be so bold, you are to punish them accordingly; for it is far from our thoughts to use any violence in matters of conscience, consistent with our authority and the peace of our ancient kingdom."

Still Mr. Renwick was the Mordecai in the gate. He kept the fields, and continued to pursue his course steadfastly, notwithstanding the calumnies to which he was exposed, and the opposition he met with from several of the other persecuted ministers, and the dissensions among some who attended his ministry. About the end of the year, as he was preaching through Galloway, a protestation was presented to him by William McHutchison, in the name

of all the professors between the rivers Dee and Cree, lamenting the woful effects of their divisions, and the adherence of so many to him without the consent and approbation of the remnant of godly and faithful ministers, and referring and submitting themselves in all these to an assembly of faithful ministers and elders. He retorted, "The divisions had arisen from those Presbyterian ministers who changed their commission and exercised their ministry under this abjured antichristian prelacy: from others, who took a new holding of their ministry from an arrogated headship over the church, by accepting indulgences, warrants, and restrictions from the usurper of their Master's crown: from others, who have been unfaithful in not applying their doctrine against the prevailing sins of our day: from others, who have satisfied themselves to lie by from the exercise of their ministry, and desisted from the work of the Lord, and that when his vineyard stood most in need: and, he adds, from others, who have carried on or countenanced hotch-potch confederacies with malignants, and sectaries, and temporizing compliers."* But he was strengthened and comforted by the accession of two efficient coadjutors in his work—Mr. David Houston from Ireland, and Alexander Shiels, who had escaped from the Bass, where he had been a considerable time confined. On the 9th of December, a proclamation was issued, offering a reward of £100 sterling to any who should bring him in dead or alive. In the end of the month, David Steil, in the parish of Lesmahago, was surprised in the fields by Lieu-

* This last accusation seems rather strained, as at this time there were no sectaries visible in Scotland, except Quakers or Gibbites, with neither of whom did the indulged confederate. In England and upon the borders, it is true, the good persecuted ministers united together, without much regard to church government, which the state of the times did not permit being very strictly observed among the sufferers, who appear to have practically adopted the general principle of the people judging of the character and qualifications of the ministers they heard, and of the consistent conduct of those with whom they held communion.—vide *Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson.*

tenant Crichton; and after he had surrendered upon promise of safety, was barbarously shot.

[1687.] James's precipitation in forcing popery upon his people appeared so impolitic, that even a jesuit missionary thought he made too great haste; but he told him he would either convert England or die a martyr; and, when one of his popish lords gently remonstrated with him, replied—"I am growing old, and must take large steps, else, if I should happen to die, I might perhaps leave you in a worse condition than I found you." Yet with a strange inconsistency, he allowed both his daughters to be educated in the Protestant faith; and when he was asked why he was so little concerned about their conversion, replied—"God will take care of that!" But he had introduced shoals of seminary priests and jesuits for the instruction of his other subjects; and, while he interdicted the Presbyterian ministers from preaching or publishing any thing against his religion, under pain of treason, he employed these emissaries of Rome in every quarter; and having appointed Watson, a papist, his printer, assiduously caused publications in favour of popery to be widely disseminated. His most powerful argument, however, was, bestowing the chief places upon papists, especially converts, which induced many of the nobility and gentry to apostatize; and, like all apostates, they became the bitterest persecutors of the faith they had forsaken.

Mr. Renwick and his hearers continued to be the objects of unmitigated hatred, in proportion as they continued to hold fast their integrity and preach the gospel. Two persons returning from hearing him, James Cunningham, merchant, and John Buchanan, cooper in Glasgow, were seized, sent prisoners to Edinburgh, and banished to Barbadoes;* and, on

* Perhaps it does not belong exactly to *religious* persecution, but as it is a curious trait of the times, I quote the following:—"Reid the mountebank pursues Scot of Harden and his lady for stealing away from him a little girl, called the tumblin-lassie, that danced upon his stage; and he claimed damages and produced a contract,

the 17th of February, the council received a letter from the king, in which he expressed his highest indignation against these enemies of Christianity, as well as government and human society, the field-conventiclors, whom he recommended to the council to root out with all the severity of the laws, and the most vigorous prosecution of the forces, it being equally his and his people's concern to be rid of them. At the same time, he sent a royal proclamation, allowing, "by OUR sovereign authority, prerogative, royal and absolute power," moderate Presbyterians and Quakers to meet in their private houses, but to hear such ministers only as have accepted or are willing to accept the toleration without explanation; and in like manner, by the same absolute power, he suspended all laws and acts of parliament, and other proceedings, against Roman Catholics, so that they should in all time coming, not only be as free as Protestants to exercise their religion, but to enjoy all offices, benefices, &c., which he should think proper to bestow, upon their taking an oath acknowledging him as rightful king and supreme governor of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and over all persons therein, and that they would never resist his power or authority; at the same time, he declared he would never suffer violence to be offered to any man's conscience, nor use force or invincible necessity against any man on account of his persuasion. This, which was termed the first indulgence, did not

whereby he bought her from her mother for thirty pounds Scots. But we have no slaves in Scotland, and mothers cannot sell their bairns; and physicians attested the employment of tumblin would kill her; and her joints were now grown stiff, and she declined to return; though she was at least a prentice, and so could not run away from her master: yet some cited Moses' law, that if a servant shelter himself with thee against his master's cruelty, thou shalt surely not deliver him up. The lords *renitente cancellario*, in opposition to the Chancellor, assoilzied Harden."—*Fountainhall's Decis.* vol. i. p. 440. A few days after, his lordship adds, "Reid the mountebank is received into the popish church, and one of his blackamores was persuaded to accept of baptism from the popish priests, and to turn christian papist, which was a great trophy. He was called James, after the king, the chancellor, and the Apostle James."—*Ibid.* p. 441.

pass the council unanimously. The Duke of Hamilton, and the Earls of Panmure and Dundonald, refused to sanction it; for which the Duke was reprimanded and the two Earls dismissed the board; and as a practical exposition of its real meaning, sixteen men and five women were shortly after, in the month of April, banished to America, because they would not own the present authority to be according to the word of God, nor engage never to hear Mr. Renwick preach.

None of these indulgences satisfied fully the Presbyterian ministers, while they were decidedly testified against by the denounced wanderers. Another was therefore issued, July 5th, to palliate the former, giving them leave to meet and serve God after their own way, be it in private houses, chapels, or places purposely built or set apart for that use; while it again denounced the full vigour of the law and of the army against such as should be guilty of field-conventicles; "for which, after this our royal grace and favour—which surpasses the hopes and equals the very wishes of the most zealously concerned—there is not the least shadow of excuse left!"

On the 20th, the Presbyterian ministers from various parts of the country met at Edinburgh, and agreed to accept the benefit of the new toleration; but an address of thanks to the king, "for granting them the liberty of the public and peaceable exercise of their ministerial functions without any hazard," was not carried without considerable opposition. Upon this, many of the exiles returned from Holland, and among them Mr. Patrick Warner, to whom the Prince of Orange, at parting, gave the following significant advice:—"I understand you are called home upon the liberty granted there; but I can assure you that liberty is not granted from any favour or kindness to you or your party, but from favour to papists and to divide you among yourselves; yet I think you may be so wise as to take the good of it and prevent the evil designed, and, instead of dividing, come to a better harmony among yourselves,

when you have liberty to see one another and meet freely together.”

The wanderers, as they were excepted, so they disregarded the toleration. Persecution had made them cling closer to their principles. They refused to accept as a favour what they believed themselves entitled to claim as a right—the liberty of worshipping God according to their conscience—and they published their reasons:—They could not have any transactions with a person whose principles bound him to keep no faith with heretics, and whose dissimulation they had already detected. They considered accepting toleration from him as bargaining with an apostate, excommunicated, bigoted papist, and as such under the Mediator’s malediction, “yea, heir to his own grandfather’s [James VI.] imprecations, who wished the curse of God to fall upon such of his posterity as should at any time turn papists. They renounced him as a magistrate, because he had not taken the oath constitutionally required; and to accept this toleration flowing from his absolute power, would be acknowledging a power inconsistent with the law of God and the liberties of mankind; for, though nothing can be more desirable than when true liberty is established by the government, nothing can be more vile than when true religion is tolerated under the notion of a crime, and its exercise only allowed under certain restrictions.” As to the address of thanks by the ministers, they considered it “a train of fulsome flatteries, dishonourable to God, the reproach of his cause, the betraying of the church, the detriment of the nation, and the exposing of themselves to contempt.”

The conduct of the government, amid all their professions of toleration, fully warranted the worst suspicions of the persecuted. On the 25th July, John Anderson, younger of Wastertown, was indicted before the court of justiciary, for having in a tavern, over a glass of wine, argued in favour of using defensive arms against tyrants, and, by an execrable majority of that degraded tribunal, condemned to die.

He was not executed, but the stain of the sentence remains upon the memories of the servile senators who pronounced it. And this was followed on the 5th October by a proclamation, not only forbidding all field-conventicles, under the usual penalty, but even indulged ministers, from preaching in houses, unless they observed the prescribed directions; that is, unless they abstained from exposing or in any way reflecting upon the king's religion, *i. e.* the errors of popery; and on the 18th, by another, all officers, civil and military, were ordered to apprehend James Renwick, and assured of the sum of £100 sterling for taking him dead or alive—a high price! but so cautious had he been, that he had eluded fifteen desperate searches made after him within five months since the first toleration, which exasperated the rulers beyond measure.

The year ONE THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-EIGHT—a year greatly to be remembered as the last in the annals of the persecution in Scotland—was ushered in by a circumstance which threatened to rivet their chains upon the Presbyterians, but which in the good providence of God was the means of accelerating their deliverance. On the 2d of January, the Queen's pregnancy was announced; and the 29th was ordered to be observed as a day of thanksgiving in the diocese of Edinburgh, where the clergy were commanded to pray, after this form, for "Our gracious Queen Mary:—Good Lord, strengthen her, we beseech thee, and perfect what thou hast begun. Command thy holy angels to watch over her continually, and defend her from all dangers and evil accidents, that what she has conceived may be happily brought forth to the joy of our sovereign lord the king, the further establishment of his crown, the happiness and welfare of the whole kingdom, and the glory of thy great name!" The papists, who pronounced the conception miraculous in answer to a vow the Queen had made to the lady of Loretto, prophecied that the promised birth

would be a son. The Protestants sighed in secret, and began to whisper their suspicions of a fraud.

On the 17th, Mr. Renwick published a testimony against the toleration and in vindication of field-meetings, the convening of which he contended was a testimony for the headship, honour, and princely prerogative of Jesus—"Since in these meetings there is a particular declaration of our holding our ministry and the exercise thereof from Christ alone, without any dependence on, subordination to, or license from, his usurping enemies;" and this testimony he was shortly after called upon to seal with his blood. From Edinburgh he went to Fife and preached several Sabbaths, then re-crossed the Firth, and upon the 29th of January, preached his last sermon at Borrowstounness; thence he returned to the capital, where he arrived on the 31st, under cloud of night. Having gone to a friend's house on the Castle-hill, who dealt in English wares, a custom-house officer, Thomas Justice, was informed by one of his spies that a stranger had arrived; and early next morning he came with some others on pretence of searching for prohibited goods. Mr. Renwick hearing the noise, came out of his room, when the officer standing at the door exclaimed—"My life for it, this is Mr. Renwick!" on which Mr. Renwick went to another door, and finding it also beset, fired a pistol to terrify his pursuers, and was attempting his escape, when he received a severe blow on the breast, that stunned him; and he fell several times as he was running, and was taken. He was carried directly to the guard-house, and from thence to a committee of the privy council, who ordered him immediately to be laid in irons.

Previously to his being indicted, he was examined in Viscount Tarbet's chamber, when he undauntedly maintained his principles, disclaiming the idea that lineal descent alone gave a right to the crown, and disowning especially the authority of James as a papist, who had never taken the Scottish coronation

oath, and therefore could not legally reign; justifying the non-payment of cess, as it was an impost levied for suppressing the gospel; and asserting the right of carrying arms at field-meetings as necessary self-defence. On every point about which he was questioned, he answered with an openness which greatly softened his inquisitors, and saved him the torture. He received his indictment on the 3d of February, charging him with having cast off the fear of God and all regard to his majesty's laws; of having entered into the society of rebels of most damnable and pernicious principles, and become so desperate a villain, as openly to preach in the fields these his treasonable doctrines. On the 8th he was brought to the bar of the justiciary.* When asked whether he pled guilty or not guilty to his libel, he answered that he acknowledged all "except where it is said, I have cast off all fear of God; that I deny: for it is because I fear to offend God, and violate his law, that I am here standing ready to be condemned." Being asked if he had any objections to the jury, he made none, but protested "that none might sit on his assize that professed Protestant or Presbyterian principles, or an adherence to the covenanted work of reformation." He was found guilty on his own confession, and sentenced to be executed on the 10th. Lord Linlithgow, justice-general, asked if he desired longer time. He answered, it was all one to him; if it was protracted, it was welcome; if it was shortened, it was welcome: his master's time was the best.

Many efforts were made to induce the youthful sufferer to comply. He was reprieved to the 17th.

* The following note is appended to his life in the last edition of the Scots Worthies, Glas. 1827, p. 541:—"It is to be remarked, that many of the jury were professors and eminent in the tolerated meetings; while others, even of the malignants, chose rather to run the hazard of the penalty;—as the Laird of Torrance, who compeared not, and Sommerville, chamberlain of Douglas, who, though he appeared, yet when he saw Mr. Renwick turn about and direct his speech to them, ran away, saying—'He trembled to think to take away the life of such a pious-like man, though they should take his whole estate.'"

Paterson, bishop of Edinburgh, appears to have interested himself much on his behalf. He often visited him, and applied for another reprieve, which would have been readily granted, provided Mr. Renwick would only have petitioned. "Will you kill yourself with your own hands," asked the bishop, "when you may have your life upon so easy terms?" He replied, he acted not rashly but deliberately, and was fully convinced that the truths for which he suffered were sufficient points to suffer for. The bishop took his leave, expressing his sorrow for his being so tenacious, and afterwards offered to serve him to the utmost of his power. Mr. Renwick thanked him for his civility, but knew nothing he could do, or that he could desire. Mr. Macnaught, a curate, visited him, robed in his canonicals—an insult which Mr. Renwick appeared to feel, but took it calmly. When asked his opinion respecting the toleration and those that accepted it, he declared he was against it; but as for those that embraced it, he judged them godly men. He was also visited by some popish priests who essayed his conversion, but he peremptorily ordered them to be gone.

On the morning of his execution, the goodman of the tolbooth, *i. e.* head jailer, begged that on the scaffold he would not mention the cause of his death, and forbear all reflections. Mr. Renwick told him that what God gave him to speak, that he would speak, and nothing else, and nothing less. The jailer said he might still have his life, if he would but sign that petition which he offered him. Mr. Renwick replied, that he had never read in Scripture or history of martyrs petitioning for their lives when called to suffer for the truth; and in present circumstances, he judged it would be found a receding from the truth and declining a testimony for Christ. His mother and sisters, who had been kept away, at length obtained liberty to see him. He exhorted them much to prepare for death, expressing his own joyful assurance of endless glory. Observing his

Another weep, he exhorted her to remember that they who loved any thing better than Christ were not worthy of him. If ye love me, rejoice that I am going to my Father, to obtain the enjoyment of what eye hath not seen, ear hath not heard, nor hath it entered into the mind of man to conceive. When the signal drum beat, he joyfully exclaimed—"Yonder the welcome warning to my marriage; the Bridegroom is coming—I am ready—I am ready."

Then, after taking an affectionate leave of his mother and sisters, he was carried to the low council-house. Here he was offered any minister he chose to be with him, but he preferred being attended by a friend then in company, and proceeded cheerfully to the Grassmarket, surrounded by an immense multitude, which was the greater, that executions had not been so frequent of late. On the scaffold, he sang the 103d Psalm, and read Revelations, chap. xix. Then he prayed, commending his soul to the Lord through the Redeemer, and his cause to be vindicated in his own good time. He blessed the Lord for the honour of the crown of martyrdom—an honour the angels are not capable of! Being disturbed in his devotions, he regretted the circumstance, but continued with ennobling anticipation. "By and by I shall be above these clouds, and enjoy, and worship, and glorify thee without interruption or intermission for ever." After he had finished, he addressed the people, and stated the heads of his testimony, in terms similar to what he had used before the council, adding—"Ye that are the people of God, do not weary in maintaining the testimony of the day in your stations and places; and whatever you do, make sure an interest in Christ, for there is a storm coming which will try your foundations. And you that are strangers to God, break off your sins by repentance, else I will be a sad witness against you in the day of the Lord." Here he was ordered to stop and go up the ladder. There he prayed again, and was heard to say—"Lord, I die in the faith that

thou wilt not leave Scotland, but that thou wilt make the blood of thy witnesses to be the seed of thy church, and return again and be glorious in this land." When the napkin was tying over his head, he said to his friend—"Farewell, be diligent in duty, make your peace with God through Christ. There is a great trial coming to the remnant I leave. I have committed them to God. Tell them from me not to weary nor be discouraged in maintaining the testimony. Let them not quit nor forego one of these despised truths. Keep your ground, and the Lord will provide you teachers and ministers; and when he comes he will make all these despised truths glorious upon the earth." He was turned over the ladder with these words upon his lips—"Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit; for thou hast redeemed me, O God of truth!"

Thus fell a standard-bearer in the Scottish Zion, at the early age of twenty-six—the last legal murder during this black period. Cut off in the prime of life and in the midst of usefulness, the death of this faithful witness appeared a dark dispensation; but as he himself had anticipated, it did more service to the good cause than his preaching might have done, even had his life been prolonged many years; because, being perpetrated by a government which made strong professions of liberality, the question naturally arose, How far can we trust specious profession in political men, without not only legal but *bona fide* security for our rights? The principles for which he died were the principles which the Revolution sanctioned and settled; and wo to the country should they ever be despised or forgotten; and those principles which by the "conform ministers" were deemed "heights," have since been declared the only bases upon which the best and the most thoroughly tried practical system of national and personal freedom can stand:—the obligation of the original compact [*i. e.* the coronation vow] between a king and a people, and the accountability of both the contract-

ing parties. The less, however, such objects are theoretically agitated the better—nor will they ever be violently urged, except when they are practically forgotten—but it was to the unshaken assertion of these principles, invigorated and chastened by principles of religion, that we owe the liberty we now enjoy—a liberty far beyond what any of the famed republics of old ever possessed, and which will only perish when these foundations are destroyed.

After the death of Mr. Renwick, Mr. Alexander Shiels, author of “*The Hind let Loose*,” continued to preach in the fields to the indomitable wanderers, who, immovably attached to the covenanted work of reformation, refused to be ensnared by any precarious liberty which they rightly judged was only intended to pave the way for the introduction of popery; or receive any favour from a papistical usurper, who, by the fundamental laws of the country, was constitutionally excluded from the throne; and their conduct was more than justified by the treatment their compliant brethren received. There now, however, began to appear some streaks in the sky—some dawns of the coming day.

The Rev. John Hardy, M.D., minister at Gordon,* had in a sermon, last year, used some such expression as the following:—“They thanked his majesty for the toleration; but if they behoved to take away the laws against popery, sectarianism, &c., it were better to want it, and that any that consented to it, Zechariah’s flying roll of curses would enter the house and eat the stones and timber.” He was dealt with,

* Several of the young men who intended the ministry, went over to Holland and studied medicine, and took degrees, and thus got their education without taking tests; but they had contracted a liberality (or, as it was termed, a looseness) of sentiment with regard to the rigid principles held by the wanderers, which occasioned a separation between them when they returned. The wanderers were naturally more wedded to the principles for which they had suffered so much, and which they had seen so many seal with their blood. The others had met with a variety of sects in Holland living in harmony, and were not over zealous for the uniform profession even of their beloved Presbytery:—on this they split at the Revolution.

says Fountainhall, to retract, which not finding liberty to do, he was continued [*i. e.* his case was delayed] with a reprimand. But, on the 22d November, a letter came from the king "ordaining him to be panelled criminally before the justices for his preaching," on which he was imprisoned, as "he would not fly, though he had leisure and advertisement." On February 13th, this year, an indictment was raised against him, for using seditious expressions and leasing-making, endeavouring to alienate the affections of the people from the king. He replied, "that upon Presbyterian principles, idolatry, even under the gospel, is punishable by death, and that popery is such. That the expressions had no sedition in them, seeing that he might regret that Socinians and others had liberty to vent their doctrines against Christ's deity, &c.;" and the criminal lords, who appear to have had some prognostications of the coming change, "took the courage to find the expressions libelled not relevant to infer sedition," therefore assoilzied him from the crimes libelled, and liberated him from prison. One Bold was indicted for having acted as precentor to Mr. Renwick, and condemned to be hanged, but was reprieved; and Gilbert Elliot, who had been forfeited for engaging with Argyle, was not only pardoned, but admitted as an advocate.

On the 17th, Sir George Mackenzie was restored to his lord-advocateship; but no criminal informations were lodged during the short time that intervened between his appointment "and the glorious Revolution," though several petty vexatious harassments showed that the tiger was only asleep, not dead. The Rev. Thomas Cobham, a native of Dundee, was, on the 23d May, imprisoned for having performed family-worship at his cousin Mr. Smith's, in that town, and both were committed to jail for the offence. About the same time, the council issued a proclamation, forbidding booksellers to disseminate any treatises tending to alienate the people from his

majesty, or vend any translations of "Buchanan de Jure Regni," "Lex Rex," "Jus Populi," "Naph-tali," "The Apologetical Relation," "The Hind let Loose," and the treasonable proclamations published at Sanquhar, or those issued by the late Monmouth or Argyle. At Edinburgh, one of the counsellors went into the shop of Mr. Glen, a firm Presbyterian, to search for the proscribed books, but having found none, when retiring, asked the bookseller if he had any books against the king's religion. Mr. Glen said he had a great many. The counsellor asked to see them, and was immediately carried to where a goodly stock of Bibles were lying. "O! these are Bibles!" quoth the counsellor. "True," replied the other, "and they are all against popery from the beginning to the end." For this the bookseller was summoned before the council, where he appeared the same afternoon, and was, we are told, brought to some trouble.

In nothing, however, did the ruling powers relax with regard to the wanderers. Having learned that a Mr. David Houston had been proposed by the societies to succeed Mr. Renwick in his perilous labours in the fields, he was apprehended in Ireland and brought prisoner to Scotland. Being ordered to Edinburgh, a general meeting which had convened at Lother's, heard of his seizure, and fearing he would be murdered as Renwick had been, determined "to relieve him from these bloody murderers;" and immediately a few friends, armed, attacked the party escorting him at Carbelpath, and, after a sharp skirmish, in which some soldiers were killed, succeeded in rescuing him; but he having his feet bound under the horse's belly, was knocked over in the scuffle, and his head trailed some time on the ground before he could be unloosed, by which he lost his teeth, and was otherwise so much wounded about the head, that his elocution was rendered very indistinct. So he returned to Ireland, and there died. The last whose blood was shed, was George Wood,

a youth about sixteen years of age, who was wantonly shot, without any questions being asked, by one John Reid, a trooper, whose only excuse when challenged for it, was—"He knew him to be a Whig, and these ought to be shot wherever they were found!"

Shortly after, the news of William Prince of Orange's landing in England reached Scotland; and to the honour of the persecuted, be it recorded, the Revolution was accomplished without bloodshed, or any one act of retaliation being inflicted by them, notwithstanding all they had suffered.

THE END.