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THE SCOTTISH COVENANTERS

JAMES TAYLOR. D.D.





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BY
JAMES TAYLOR, D.D., F.A.S.E.

"Nec tamen consumebatur."

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P R E F A C E .

THE "fifty years' struggle of the Scottish Covenanters" has exercised a deeper and more permanent influence on the character of the Scottish people than any event in the history of Scotland since the period of the Reformation. It has contributed in no small degree to strengthen their spirit of national independence, their patriotism, and their devotedness to the cause of civil and religious liberty. The memory of the heroic men who laid down their lives on the battle-field or at the gibbet, in pestiferous dungeons or in foreign lands, for "Christ's Crown and Covenant" is held by them in the highest veneration. The struggles and sufferings of the Covenanters have been the theme of eminent historians, poets, novelists, and painters. The "Scots Worthies" and the "Cloud of Witnesses" in which their deeds and "dying testimonies" are recorded, have long been favourite volumes among the Scottish peasantry. The scenes of their conflicts with the ruthless instruments of the tyrant and the persecutor are regarded as "holy ground." Their anniversaries are celebrated as national

commemorations, and "martyrs monuments," emblems of their zeal and fidelity and sufferings, are to be found in every district of Scotland where the Covenanters have fought or fallen, in remote moors and wilds as well as in populous cities. The men who have been thus commemorated are worthy of all the honours they have received. In an age of unparalleled corruption and moral depravity they endeavoured, in the words of their Covenant, "to be good examples to others of all godliness, soberness, and righteousness, and of every duty we owe to God and man." At a time when the doctrine of passive obedience in its most unqualified and slavish form was preached by ecclesiastics, and enforced by rulers at the point of the sword, and when the Scottish Parliament enjoined all classes, under the penalty of death, to acknowledge that the sovereign is supreme over all persons and in all causes, civil and ecclesiastical, the Covenanters boldly declared that "magistrates have no power but what is derived from the people."

"Among innumerable false unmoved,
Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified,
Their loyalty they kept, their love, their zeal;
Nor number nor example with them wrought
To swerve from truth, or change their constant mind."

They never despaired of the "good old cause" even at the darkest hour, when to every one else it seemed hopeless. "All is not lost," they said, "that is in

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peril." "The loss of men is not the loss of the cause. What is the matter though we all fall? the cause shall not fall." And when the time of deliverance at length came, they were the first to take up arms in defence of the Covenant against the supporters of the "fore-faulted" and fugitive monarch. "It will be a reproach," they said, "when the quarrel is for religion and liberty, if they who have borne arms hitherto for the defence thereof shall now lay them by as indifferent." And they raised and equipped a regiment of 1200 men, to aid in securing and protecting the blood-bought liberties, civil and religious, of the country. The heroic struggles of the Covenanters have largely contributed to insure to succeeding generations peace and security, freedom of thought, and speech, and worship. Their memory may well be held in "everlasting remembrance."

J. T.

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CHAPTER I

Covenant of 1557—The King's Confession—Riot in St. Giles' Church—The National Covenant Renewed—Leslie—The Bishops' War—Charles Subscribes the Covenants—Peace under the Protectorate.

IN Edinburgh there stood of old the monastery of the Franciscans, or Greyfriars, founded by James I. of Scotland for the encouragement of learning. The monastic buildings, which were remarkable both for their magnificence and their extent, occupied the slope of an eminence looking down on the spacious Grass-market, the scene of many a quaint ceremonial and splendid royal pageant, and of many a sorrowful tragedy. A little higher up than the monastery, on the summit of the acclivity, stands the noble pile of Heriot's Hospital, and directly opposite, on the north side of the Grass-market, towers majestically the Castle rock, crowned by the ancient fortress so intimately associated with the struggles of the Scottish people for national independence. The extensive grounds and gardens attached to the monastery were bounded on the south by the old wall which the citizens of Edinburgh hastily

erected to protect the city after the disastrous battle of Flodden, in which their provost and many of the inhabitants fell. After the dissolution of the monasteries, Queen Mary made a grant of the gardens to enlarge the churchyard attached to the church of the Greyfriars, and for generations it has been the last resting-place of not a few of the most illustrious statesmen, scholars, lawyers, divines, and artists of Scotland. This interesting spot was the scene of the subscription of the NATIONAL COVENANT, one of the most momentous events of Scottish history.

The year 1557 was a critical period in the history of Scotland, as regards both its civil and religious interests. Queen Mary, now in France, was on the eve of her marriage to the Dauphin. Her mother, Mary of Guise, the Queen Dowager, with her French counsellors and auxiliary troops, was striving to prop up the tottering Roman Catholic Church, to render Scotland a province of France, and to assist in carrying out the schemes of her brothers, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, for the extirpation of Protestantism on the Continent. Alarmed at the progress which the reformed faith had made in the towns and populous parts of the country, the Scottish Roman Catholic hierarchy were putting forth their utmost efforts, and they had brought to the stake George Wishart, Adam Wallace, and others. The great reformer John Knox, now residing at Geneva, had been condemned in his absence as a heretic, and his effigy had been burned at the Cross of Edinburgh. Everything portended a time of fierce conflict and sanguinary persecu-

tion, and the minds of the people were in a state of great apprehension and anxiety. A remarkable comet which shone for three months, rivers dried up in winter and swollen so high in summer that villages were flooded and great numbers of cattle swept away into the sea, whales of uncommon size thrown ashore on various parts of the Forth, hailstones as large as pigeons' eggs which destroyed the standing crops, and a fiery dragon which it was alleged was seen flying over the country vomiting flames, and other "great signs and wonders," made the hearts of the people "fail them for fear," and "perplexed their minds" with apprehensions that great changes were at hand, especially in the Church. At this season of perils and portents a small company of remarkable men met on the 3rd of December, 1557, at Edinburgh, to consult as to the steps which should be taken to avert the dangers that were threatening the civil and religious rights of the people of Scotland. Foremost among them in position and power was Archibald, fourth Earl of Argyll—Maccallian More, as he was designated by the Highlanders—the first of the great nobles who declared in favour of the Protestant faith, and who, partly as the chief of a powerful clan, partly as Royal Justiciary, ruled with almost regal sway over the Western Highlands and islands. He was accompanied by his eldest son, Lord Lorne, whom on his death-bed he earnestly exhorted to support the Protestant doctrines, and to resist "Popish superstitions." There was present also the Earl of Glencairn, the head of an ancient and illustrious Ayrshire family. There, too, was James Douglas, Earl of

Morton, afterwards the celebrated Regent, the real head of the great house of Douglas, with his swarthy complexion, piercing eyes, and "corrugated and knotty features." John Erskine of Dun attended as the representative of the minor barons and gentry, whom Queen Mary styled "a mild and sweet-tempered man, with true honesty and uprightness;" "a man fervent for the services performed to his prince and country," said Archbishop Spottiswood, "and worthy to be remembered for his travails in the Church; a baron he was of good rank, true, learned, liberal, and of singular courage." Above all, there was the famous William Maitland of Lethington—versatile, dexterous, accomplished, fertile in researches, and held in such esteem for his sagacity that, like Ahithophel of old, "the counsel which he counselled in those days was as if a man had inquired at the oracle of God."

After long and careful consideration, the meeting resolved to prepare and subscribe a Bond, the first of those instruments which have become so celebrated in Scottish ecclesiastical history under the name of "COVENANTS." This document, which declares it to be the resolution of the subscribers to "apply their whole power, substance, and very lives to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed Word of God," proved a standard around which the friends of the Reformation in Scotland gathered, and which gave unity and consistency to their efforts.

A second covenant was drawn up in 1580 by Mr. John Craig, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. It included an abjuration of the tenets of the Romish

Church, and a solemn engagement to adhere to and defend the doctrines and discipline of the Reformed Church in Scotland, together with a promise or oath on the part of the Covenanters to defend the person and authority of the King with their "gear [goods], bodies, and lives in the defence of Christ's Evangel, liberties of the country, ministration of justice, and punishment of iniquity." This covenant was usually termed the "King's Confession," as it was signed by James himself and his household, as well as by his nobles and all ranks of men in the realm.

The most famous of these documents, however, was the NATIONAL COVENANT, which was drawn up and subscribed in 1638, and has exercised a momentous influence on the character and destiny of the Scottish people.

James VI. had long cherished a strong antipathy to the Presbyterian system of church government on political rather than on religious grounds. "A Scottish Presbytery," he exclaimed, at the Hampton Court Conference, "is as well fitted with monarchy as God and the devil." "No bishop, no king," was his common adage. He therefore struggled long, and in the end successfully, to establish Episcopacy in Scotland and to remodel the Presbyterian form of worship, by the introduction of the famous "Five Articles of Perth," which prescribed Kneeling at the Sacrament; Private Communion; Private Baptism; Confirmation of the Young by the Bishop; the observance of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, and Whit Sunday as holidays. The clergy who refused to

conform to the new rites and ceremonies were fined, banished, or imprisoned for their contumacy.

The form of Episcopacy, however, introduced by James did not meet the views of Charles I. and Laud; and in 1636 a Book of Canons for the government of the Church of Scotland, which it placed absolutely in the hands of the bishops, was prepared by Laud and issued by the King on his own sole authority, and gave deep offence to the Scots, who denounced these canons as Erastian and prelatical, and as "subjecting the whole nation to the discipline of a foreign Church." This mode of procedure was condemned even by English ecclesiastical authorities as imposing upon the people a Book of Canons without "their own approbation and consent, contrary to the usage of the Church in all times and nations." Zealous Episcopalians and Royalists compared this arbitrary act to the conduct of a Boniface or a Gregory "sitting in the Vatican of Rome compiling their decretals;" and "many other ministers, who otherwise favoured the bishops," says a contemporary writer, "were startled with these canons, and thought them grossly extravagant as betraying a too great neglect of all the Church in the introduction of them, and a too great usurpation of power to themselves in the canons there set down."

This unconstitutional and most unwise innovation on the ecclesiastical polity of Scotland was followed by another still more openly offensive and imprudent. By a similar stretch of the Royal prerogative the Book of Common Order, popularly designated "Knox's Liturgy," drawn up by that reformer on the model

of the Genevan Prayer Book, which had been in use in the Scottish Church for more than a century, was superseded by a new liturgy based upon the English Book of Common Prayer, but altered in various instances so as more closely to resemble the Roman Catholic Missal. Laud, however, as King James said, "knew not the stomach" of the Scottish people, and had no idea of the resistance he was to encounter in his attempt to make that "stubborn Kirk stoop more to the English platform." The introduction of this new Service Book applied the torch to the elements of combustion, which at this time were thickly scattered around Scotland, and the result was an explosion which destroyed both the throne and the altar. The Scottish clergy themselves were apprehensive that the innovation would meet with serious resistance; but they were compelled by peremptory orders from the King to introduce the new Service Book into their churches in the summer of 1637. Sunday, the 23rd of July, was the day appointed for that purpose. On that day a great concourse of people, including the Lord Chancellor and the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, along with several members of the Privy Council, the Judges of the Supreme Court, the magistrates of the City, and a great multitude of the citizens, assembled in the church of St. Giles, then called the "Great Church," to witness the ceremony. In the morning the usual prayers had been read from the old Book of Common Order. The Dean of Edinburgh, in his surplice, was to read the new service, and the Bishop of Edinburgh was to preach. As soon as the dean took his place

Antichrist ! Pull him down !” and other exclamations of the same sort. At the close of the service the dean made his escape unnoticed ; but the Bishop of Edinburgh, who was very unpopular, was threatened and assailed by the populace, and was with difficulty rescued from their hands.

In this riot, from which the most momentous consequences flowed, the lower classes alone were implicated. The Privy Council assured the King that “after all inquiry made it did not at all appear that any above the meaner sort were accessory to that tumult.” But similar manifestations of public indignation against the attempt to impose upon the Scottish people an English and a Popish liturgy took place in various parts of the country, and the public excitement rapidly increased. The angry and peremptory orders sent down by the King and Laud that the Service Book should be used throughout the kingdom were met by a shower of petitions, or “supplications” as they were termed, to the Council from all classes of the community, from “the noblemen, gentry, ministers, and burgesses” as well as the “men, women, children, and servants of Edinburgh.” Alexander Henderson, who was soon to take the place of clerical leader of the Presbyterian party, and other two ministers in Fife, against whom legal proceedings were taken to compel them to use the new liturgy, boldly pleaded that the “book is neither warranted by the authority of the General Assembly, nor by any Act of Parliament, which in things of this kind hath ever been thought necessary by his Majesty and the Estates.” “This

church," they added, "is a free and independent church, just as this kingdom is a free and independent kingdom." No fewer than sixty-eight petitions, from the same number of groups of supplicants, were entrusted to the Duke of Lennox when he passed through Edinburgh on his way to London at this crisis, to be by him presented to the King. Nobles, ministers, gentlemen, and burghers from every district poured into Edinburgh to take part in a national resistance to these innovations, and an appeal was made from the whole body assembled in the capital, not only against the Service Book, but also against the Book of Canons and the conduct of the bishops. Instead, however, of granting redress of these grievances, the King issued a series of angry and exasperating proclamations commanding the crowds of strangers in the capital to return immediately to their own homes, and instructing the Council and the Supreme Courts of Law to remove to Linlithgow. But instead of obeying the injunction to leave Edinburgh, the multitudes there continued to receive accessions from all parts of the country. Fresh tumults arose, in which it was noticed that persons of the higher classes took part, and it became evident that the peace of the city could not be long maintained unless some means were taken to lessen the crowds who swarmed in its streets and rendered the ordinary transaction of business impossible. In answer to the complaint of the Council that their meeting in such numbers was disorderly and illegal, the supplicants offered to choose a limited number from each of the classes into which they were

socially divided—nobles, lesser barons, burgesses, and clergy—to act as their representatives. This was at once very imprudently agreed to by the Council. A committee of four was accordingly selected by each of these classes, who were instructed to reside in the capital, and were empowered to take all necessary steps to promote their common object. They had also authority to assemble the whole of their constituents should any extraordinary emergency arise. The opponents of the new Canons and Service Book were thus organised with official approval into one large and powerful body, known in history as THE TABLES, which speedily exercised an important influence in the country. As soon as this arrangement was completed, the crowds of supplicants who thronged the metropolis returned to their own homes, leaving the committee of sixteen to watch the progress of events.

The members of Council made various efforts to divide the supplicants and to break up this formidable combination, but without effect. It was soon made evident that they were determined to act in firm concert until they had gained their object, and that nothing would satisfy them short of a formal revocation of the canons and liturgy and the abolition of the unconstitutional Court of High Commission. It was impossible to conceal any longer from the King the serious nature of the emergency that had arisen; and the Earl of Traquair, the Treasurer, went up to London to lay before his Majesty a full account of the position of affairs in Scotland. Charles, however, with his characteristic obstinacy, determined to adhere to his

own policy, and entrusted Traquair with a proclamation in which he declared that the bishops had acted by his direct authority, expressed his cordial approval of the Canons and Service Book, condemned the petitions of the supplicants as illegal and disloyal, and prohibited their meetings for the future, under pain of treason.

Traquair, on his return to Edinburgh, refused to give any information respecting the tenor of the Royal proclamation and of his instructions; but the supplicants, by means of secret agents at Court, obtained full intelligence regarding these points, and prepared a formal protest against them, which was read publicly at Edinburgh, Stirling, Linlithgow, Aberdeen, and other towns where the Royal proclamation was published. This step, it was then believed, had the effect of legally suspending that document and rendering it for the present inoperative.

Matters were now rapidly approaching a crisis, and the deputies assembled in Edinburgh resolved to summon the whole body of supplicants to repair at once to the capital in order to concert measures for their common safety and the furtherance of the good cause. The summons was promptly obeyed, and after full deliberation it was resolved, on the suggestion of Johnstone of Warriston, that in order to strengthen their union against the enemies of the Protestant faith they should renew the NATIONAL COVENANT, which had been originally drawn up and sworn to at a time when the Protestant religion was in imminent peril, through the schemes of France and Spain, and the plots of

Queen Mary and the Roman Catholics in England and Scotland. The original document denounced in vehement terms the errors and devices of the Romish Church, and an addition was now made to it adapting its declarations and pledges to existing circumstances. "We do solemnly declare," it said, "that with our whole hearts we agree and resolve all the days of our lives constantly to adhere unto and defend the true religion, forbearing the practice of all novations already introduced in the matters of the worship of God, or approbation of the corruptions of the public government of the Church, or civil places or power of churchmen, till they be tried and allowed in free assemblies and in parliaments." The subscribers to this document further pledged themselves "to labour by all means lawful to recover the purity and liberty of the Gospel, as it was established and professed before the said novations." "Because," they go on to say, "we plainly perceive and undoubtedly believe that the innovations and evils have no warrant in the word of God, are contrary to the articles of the fore-said confessions, to the intention and meaning of the blessed reformers of religion in this land, and do sensibly tend to the re-establishment of the Popish religion and tyranny, and to the subversion and ruin of the true reformed religion, and of our liberties, laws, and estates. And therefore, from the knowledge and conscience of our duty to God, our King, and country, without any worldly respect and inducement so far as human infirmity will suffer, wishing a further measure of the grace of God to this effect, we

promise and swear by the great name of the Lord our God to continue in the profession and obedience of the foresaid religion, that we shall defend the same and resist all those contrary errors and corruptions according to our vocation, and to the utmost of that power which God hath put in our hands, all the days of our life." They strongly protest that they have no intention to attempt anything that may turn to the diminution of the King's greatness or authority. "On the contrary," they say, "we promise and swear that we shall to the uttermost of our power, with our means and lives, stand to the defence of our dread sovereign, his person and authority, in the defence and preservation of the true religion, liberties, and laws of the kingdom." They proceed, however, to add a clause which to some at the time seemed somewhat inconsistent with this strong profession of loyalty, and at any rate showed that the doctrine of passive obedience had no place in their creed. "As also to the mutual defence and assistance every one of us of another in the same cause of maintaining the true religion and his Majesty's authority with our best counsel and bodies, means, and whole power against all sorts of persons whatsoever; so that whatsoever shall be done to the least of us for that cause shall be taken as done to us all in general, and to every one of us in particular; and that we shall neither directly nor indirectly suffer ourselves to be divided or withdrawn, by whatsoever suggestion, combination, allurements, or terror, from our blessed and loyal conjunction."

The Covenant was signed in the first instance,

as we have seen, in the churchyard of the Greyfriars, at Edinburgh—a place selected, no doubt, chiefly for convenience, but probably also with a view to picturesque effect. On the 1st of March, 1638, an immense crowd, collected from every district of the Lowlands, from the Tay to the Tweed, from St. Abb's Head to the Rhinns of Galloway, flocked to the chosen spot, all bearing the aspect of men about to engage in a transaction of momentous importance and solemnity. Lord Loudon, who was reputed the most eloquent man of his day in Scotland, addressed the assembled multitude in an impressive speech, enforcing upon them the urgent duty of union at this critical juncture. The Rev. Alexander Henderson then offered up a fervent prayer for the blessing of Him who is "King of kings and Lord of lords." The Covenant was next read aloud in a clear and firm voice by Johnstone of Warriston, amidst deep and reverential silence. A solemn pause ensued; and then a thrill ran through the whole of the vast assembly when the venerable Earl of Sutherland, the premier peer of Scotland and the chief of a great northern clan, stepped slowly forward, and with deep emotion appended the first signature to the National Covenant. He was followed by the heads of other great historical houses—the Grahams, Kerrs, Keiths, Montgomerys, Kennedys, Leslie, Lindsays, Hays, and Homes. Prominent among them was the high-spirited and gallant Montrose, who, however, was soon to fall away from the good cause; Earl Marischal, whose grandson forfeited titles and estates

for his loyalty to the ungrateful Stewarts, and Lord Balmerino, whose descendant laid down his life in their cause ; Loudon, afterwards Chancellor, the head of a branch of the great clan Campbell ; Rothés, the representative of the junior branch of the wide-spread Leslies, which had surpassed both in titles and estates the main line, whose chief, the Baron of Balquhain, adhered to the old faith, as did most of the Aberdeenshire lords and lairds ; Lord Sinclair, the chief of the "lordly line of high St. Clair ;" Hay of Yester, ancestor of the Marquis of Tweeddale ; Sir James Johnstone, the chief of the powerful Border clan, whose appropriate badge was the winged spur ; and numerous others of Scotland's best blood. The lesser barons then followed, headed by Douglas of Cavers, a descendant of the celebrated hero of Otterburn, the "dead man that won a fight ;" Agnew of Lochnaw, the chief of an old Galloway family ; Baillie of Lamington, the head of a famous old house to which the wife of the Scottish patriot Sir William Wallace belonged ; Stirling of Keir, the ancestor of one of Scotland's most distinguished men of letters ; Graham of Fintray, the representative of the gallant Graham, who fell at Falkirk fighting for the independence of his country against the English invaders ; Ramsay of Balmain ; Skene of Skene ; Fraser of Philorth ; Barclay of Towie, the ancestor of the celebrated Russian Field-Marshal Barclay de Tolly ; and a vast number more of the same rank. The ministers next subscribed, led by Alexander Henderson, whose great ability, learning, wisdom, and piety made him a worthy successor

of Knox and Melville. Such men even as Robert Douglas, Robert Baillie, George Gillespie, and James Guthrie looked up to him with veneration, and put implicit confidence in his sagacious and moderate counsels. The burgesses came in the rear of the clergy; and after all within the church had signed the document, it was taken out into the churchyard and laid upon a gravestone. Then the promiscuous multitude pressed forward and subscribed the Covenant, in a tumult of enthusiasm, and with uplifted hands solemnly swore to do what it required. Some wrote after their signatures "till death." The tears ran down the cheeks of many of the subscribers, and some, it was reported, "did draw their own blood and used it in place of ink to underwrite their names."

Steps were immediately taken to obtain the accession of the people in every district of the country. "Gentlemen and noblemen," says an impartial spectator, "carried copies about in their portmanteaus or pockets, requiring subscriptions thereunto, and using their utmost endeavours with their friends in private for to subscribe. It was subscribed publicly in churches, ministers exhorting their people thereunto. It was also subscribed and sworn privately. All had power to take the oath, and were licensed and welcome to come in, and any that pleased had power and licence for to carry the Covenant about with him, and give the oath to such as were willing to subscribe and swear." Pressure, however, was not required, for the combined spirit of national independence and religious feeling was irresistible. Even in those districts of the

country where Episcopacy was strongest the people took part in the national movement; and the Commissioners, when they returned to Edinburgh, not only brought with them the signatures of "most of the name of Hamilton, Douglas, Gordon, and all the Campbells without exception," to the National Covenant, but were also able to report that even the Mackenzies, Mackays, Macdonalds, Camerons, Grants, and other northern clans had also "for the most part subscribed." It is interesting to learn that care was taken to prevent unfit persons from subscribing. "Some men of no small note," says Alexander Henderson, "offered their subscriptions, and were refused till time should prove that they joined from love to the cause and not from the fear of man." And Rothes affirmed that "the matter was so holy that they held it to be irreligious to use violent means to advance such a work." The Covenanters, indeed, were now virtually the nation (for Aberdeen was the only town in which they were in a minority); and, thoroughly imbued with the old national spirit of independence and with the new spirit of religious liberty, they were prepared against all odds to resist to the death any attempt to force upon them an alien creed. The signing of the National Covenant may be regarded as the most important event in the history of the Scottish people since the War of Independence; and it has exercised an influence on their character and public conduct which has not even yet passed away.

The signing of the Covenant was followed up by the famous General Assembly, held in Glasgow, in

November, 1638, at which the Book of Canons, the Service Book, the High Commission, and the Five Articles of Perth were condemned and set aside, and the bishops were deposed from their office; Episcopacy was abjured and abolished with a brand, and the Presbyterian system of church government was re-established in its room.

The real nature of this national movement at last became apparent to the King and his Council. Nothing would satisfy him but the surrender of the "damnable Covenant," which left him, he said, "no more power in Scotland than as a Duke of Venice," "which I will die," he adds, "rather than suffer." But as the Covenanters resolutely adhered to the position they had taken up, he saw that nothing but force would induce them to yield. As he was quite unprepared for war, it was necessary, he said, to "win time," and for this purpose an attempt was made to amuse their leaders with delusive negotiations and pretended concessions, while preparations for war were hurried on. The Covenanters, however, were ready to take the field sooner than the King, and thirty thousand enthusiastic and stalwart volunteers were soon marshalled in arms to defend their rights and liberties. Foreseeing that the question at issue would ultimately be decided by the sword, they had taken care to provide "what was mainly needful—a fit commander-in-chief."

Among the cadets of ancient historical Scottish families who had fought in the Protestant cause during the "Thirty Years' War," the most eminent was Alexander Leslie, the son of Captain George Leslie, of Bal-

gonie, in Fife. At an early age he obtained a captain's commission in the regiment of Lord Vere, who was sent in 1621 to assist the Dutch in their contest with Spain, and soon became conspicuous for his valour and military skill. He passed thence into the service of Gustavus Adolphus, with whom he was a great favourite. His successful defence of Stralsund, in 1628, against the Imperialists under Wallenstein, who boasted that he would take that place "though it were chained to heaven by adamant," was accounted one of the most splendid incidents of the general war, and gained a high reputation for the young Scottish soldier. The citizens of Stralsund made him a handsome present, and struck a medal in his honour; and Gustavus appointed him governor of that town, and promoted him to the rank of Field Marshal. After the death of Gustavus, Leslie remained in the Swedish service until the year 1638. He had, however, taken a deep interest in the proceedings of the Covenanters in his native land, and even obtained signatures to the Covenant among the Scottish officers and soldiers in Sweden and Germany. When matters were evidently coming to a crisis, Rothes, the head of the Fife branch of the Leslies, had entered into communication with his distinguished kinsman, and in the autumn of 1638 General Leslie returned to Scotland and placed his great military skill and experience at the service of the Covenanters. At his invitation his veteran comrades, who, like him, had won high renown at Breitenfeld and Lutzen, under the "Lion of the North"—Scottish adventurers, the younger sons of

the nobles and lesser barons who had taken part in the contests then raging in almost every country in Europe, had fought under Mansfeldt, or had shed their blood in the cause of the fascinating and much-injured Elizabeth, Princess Palatine, and Queen of Bohemia, or had aided Holland and Denmark in their protracted struggle with Spain and Austria—flocked to the blue banner of the Covenant. Noble-men acted as colonels. “Our captains,” says Baillie, “were, for the most part, barons or gentlemen of good note; our lieutenants almost all soldiers who had served over sea in good charges.” The peasantry who formed the great body of the army were intelligent and thoughtful men, full of enthusiasm for their national rights and their religious liberties, and under the training of “that old little crooked soldier,” Alexander Leslie, whom all ranks obeyed, “as if he had been the Great Solymán,” they were speedily drilled and disciplined, and rendered fit for active service. Far from dreading an encounter with the Royal forces, they boldly advanced towards the borders to meet them, and, on the 31st of May, they took up a strong position at Dunse Law, within sight of the English army, posted a few miles distant on the south bank of the Tweed. The summit of the hill on which the Scots were encamped bristled with cannon, while the slopes beneath were covered with the tents of the soldiers. On their banners were emblazoned the Royal arms of Scotland, with the motto “FOR CHRIST’S CROWN AND COVENANT” inscribed in golden letters. Regularly at dawn of day the troops were summoned

to prayers by sound of trumpet or beat of drum, and on the approach of sunset the whole camp resounded with the voice of prayer and psalmody.

King Charles, with an undisciplined, half-hearted army under his command, an empty treasury, and a discontented people behind him, was in no condition to encounter a body of men like the Scottish Covenanters, full of enthusiasm, well equipped, and commanded by experienced officers zealous for the good cause. He had no alternative, therefore, but to yield to their demands, and to grant them a free Parliament and a free Assembly.

There was too much reason, however, to believe from the first that the King had no intention to fulfil these engagements, and that as soon as it was in his power he would disavow the terms which had been wrested from him by the Covenanters. Their leaders were on their guard against a renewal of his attempt to coerce them into submission to his dictates. The "Bishops' War," as it was called, was renewed in August, 1640, and was once more speedily terminated by the concession of the terms which the Covenanters demanded. But the great Civil War shortly after broke out between the King and the Parliament; the Covenanters entered into a SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT with the English Parliament, and sent an army to its assistance, which contributed not a little to the success of the popular cause.

On the termination of the great Civil War and the ascendancy of the Independent and Republican party under Cromwell, a change came over the spirit of

the Scottish people, and the execution of King Charles elicited from them a strong expression of indignant reprobation of that deed. So steadfast were the people in their loyalty to their old line of sovereigns, notwithstanding all they had suffered at their hands, that on the 5th of February, 1649, only a week after the death of Charles I., the Scottish Parliament proclaimed his son, Charles II., his successor, and expressed their determination to defend his rights with their lives and fortunes, provided he "gave satisfaction to the kingdom in those things that concern the security of religion, &c., according to the Covenants." So little did the young prince relish the prospect thus held out to him, that it was not until the ill-judged enterprise of Montrose, which he had secretly instigated, had failed, and no other hope remained, that he accepted the invitation of the Covenanters. It is evident that they suspected his sincerity, for while he was on board ship he was required to sign the National Covenant, which he accordingly did in the presence of the Commissioners, swearing to observe the same during his whole reign, and never to innovate on the Presbyterian form of church government. Patrick Gillespie entreated him not to subscribe to the declaration—"No, not for the three kingdoms, if he were not satisfied in his soul and conscience, beyond all hesitation, of its righteousness." "Mr. Gillespie! Mr. Gillespie!" exclaimed the youth, "I am satisfied! I am satisfied! and therefore will subscribe."

Charles was crowned on the 1st of January, 1651, at Scone, near Perth, where the coronation of the

ancient Kings of Scotland used to take place. It was conducted with great pomp and solemn ceremonial, in the venerable abbey church there, in the presence of the nobility and the estates of the kingdom. The Rev. Robert Douglas, the most eminent minister of the Church, who preached the coronation sermon, emphatically warned the young King "that he receiveth this day a power to govern, but a power limited by contract; that these conditions he is bound by oath to stand to, and that those kings are deceived who think that the people are ordained for the king and not the king for the people." The Covenants were then read by Douglas slowly and distinctly, and the King, kneeling and lifting up his right hand, repeated the following words:—"I, Charles, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, do assure and declare by my solemn oath in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of hearts, my allowance and approbation of the National Covenant and of the Solemn League and Covenant, and faithfully oblige myself to prosecute the ends thereof in my station and calling." He then subscribed the Covenants and the words of the oath. The people, on their part, held up their hands and gave their solemn assent to the words of their oath of allegiance as read by the Lord Lyon. "We become your liege men, and truth and faith shall bear unto you, and live and die with you against all manner of folks whatsoever in your service. according to the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant."

Charles was not able to conceal the hollowness of this profession of adherence to the Covenant, and the

Covenanters, on their part, showed how they distrusted him, by their exclusion of his cavalier associates from his company, and the vigilant watch which they kept upon his movements. So intolerable, indeed, were the restrictions imposed upon him, and the endless fasts and long prayers and still longer sermons to which he was subjected, that he actually ran away, and was captured and brought back ignominiously by a troop of horse sent in pursuit of him. These indignities he never either forgave or forgot.

This unreal and unsatisfactory state of affairs was brought to an end by the defeat of the Covenanting army at Dunbar, and of the Royalists at Worcester, which made Oliver Cromwell supreme ruler over Scotland, as well as over England and Ireland, and obtained for the northern kingdom a tranquillity and security to which it had long been a stranger. "We always reckon those eight years of the usurpation," said Bishop Burnet, "a time of great peace and prosperity." The General Assembly, indeed, was not allowed to meet; but there was no interference with the subordinate Church courts, and religious liberty was firmly protected. The rule of the clergy over their own people was no doubt strict and severe, and their intolerance towards Episcopalians and Roman Catholics merits strong condemnation. But it must be admitted that they devoted themselves assiduously to their pastoral duties, that the instruction of the young was carefully attended to, and that provision was made for the support of the poor. Justice was administered with an impartiality and equity hitherto unknown in

the country, and the improvement of the material prosperity of the people, as well as of their moral and intellectual well-being, was very marked. "Blessed preparation," says an enthusiastic eulogist of the Covenanters, "for the fiery trials in which they were so soon, ministers and people, to be involved."

CHAPTER II.

The Restoration—Sharp and Middleton—The Act Rescissory—Executions of Argyll and Guthrie—Episcopacy Restored—Execution of Johnstone of Warriston—High Commission Court re-established—Cruelties of Turner—The Covenanters Rise.

THE Presbyterians of Scotland cordially concurred with the Royalists in the restoration of their ancient regal dynasty and the return of Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors. But they were not without misgivings respecting the security of their Church under his sovereignty, so they sent to London as their representative and confidential agent James Sharp, minister of Crail, a person of insinuating manners and great craft and skill in the management of men. He had represented the moderate party in the Church at a conference with the Protector, who dubbed him "Sharp of that ilk," and was believed to have secured some advantages for the "Resolutioners," as that party was usually termed. Principal Baillie expresses the opinion which at this period was generally entertained of the minister of Crail, when he

designates him "that very worthy, pious, wise, and diligent young man, Mr. James Sharp." He was at once selected as the fittest person to watch over the interests of the Presbyterian Church at this critical juncture, and was instructed to use his "utmost endeavours that the Kirk of Scotland may without interruption or encroachment enjoy the freedom and privileges of her established judicatories, ratified by the laws of the land." The venerable Robert Douglas was appointed his colleague, to join him in London as soon as his services were required there. But in the first instance Sharp considered it expedient to wait upon Charles at Breda, in order to ascertain the feelings of the young King respecting the Scottish Church. It has been confidently asserted that even at this early period he betrayed his trust, and concerted with Clarendon the plan by which the Presbyterian polity was to be subverted and Episcopacy established in its stead. But of this there is no satisfactory evidence, and the probability rather is that he did really exert himself to preserve the Scottish National Church, until he discovered that Charles, who cherished a strong dislike to Presbyterianism, which he used to declare "was not a religion for a gentleman," was bent on its subversion. Be this as it may, Sharp's correspondence after his return to London shows how, step by step, he became more and more favourable to the introduction of Episcopacy into Scotland, all the while striving to lull the suspicions and apprehensions of his brethren until it was too late. There can be no doubt that Sharp was possessed of superior abilities and

attainments, and that his moral character was unblemished ; but, taking the most favourable view possible of his conduct, he must be regarded as crafty, self-seeking, ambitious, vindictive, and unscrupulous. His base treachery towards his party made the title which the Covenanters gave him of the "Judas" of the Scottish Church not wholly unmerited. Bishop Burnet says of him : "As he had observed very carefully Monk's solemn protestations against the King and for the Commonwealth, it seems he was so pleased with the original that he resolved to copy after it, without letting himself be diverted from it by scruples ; for he stuck neither at solemn protestations both by word of mouth and by letters (of which I have seen many proofs), nor of appeals to God of his sincerity in acting for Presbytery both in prayers and on other occasions, joining with these many dreadful imprecations on himself if he did prevaricate. He was all the while maintained by the Presbyterians as their agent, and continued to give them a constant account of the progress of his negotiations in their service, while he was indeed undermining it. This piece of craft was so visible, he having repeated his protestations to as many persons as then grew jealous of him, that when he threw off the mask about a year after this it laid a foundation of such a character of him that nothing could ever bring people to any tolerable thoughts of a man whose dissimulation and treachery were so well known, and of which so many proofs were to be seen under his own hand."

The Scottish Parliament assembled on the 1st of

January, 1661. The person appointed to preside as Lord High Commissioner was not one of the great nobles, as had hitherto been the custom, but the newly created Earl of Middleton, a soldier of fortune, who had risen from the ranks, and was selected solely on account of his fitness for the work he was to do. He had been "a pikeman in Colonel Hepburn's regiment in France." Trained in the civil wars of that country he had acquired the rapacity and cruelty and utter disregard of principle which characterised the mercenary soldier of that period, and was ready to sell his sword to the party that offered him the highest terms. On his return from the Continent he cast in his lot with the Covenanters, and served in the campaign of 1644 and 1645, and was sent by David Leslie in his Highland expeditions against Montrose. He joined the party of the Engagers in 1648, and commanded the cavalry in that ill-fated effort to retrieve the Royal cause which terminated in the total defeat at Preston. From this time forward he belonged to the Royalists, and was excommunicated by the Church for his "malignancy," and compelled to do public penance before receiving absolution—an indignity which he never forgave. He fought under Charles II. at Worcester, and escaped, like his Royal master, to the Continent, where he lived until the Restoration. He was a good soldier, courageous, and skilful in military tactics; but he was fierce and arbitrary in his disposition, ruthless in deeds of oppression and cruelty on all who refused to obey his mandates, and was now so addicted to habits of intoxication that he was seldom

sober. Such was the man whom Charles at this critical moment selected to overturn the Scottish Church and to break the spirit of the people.

Care had been taken to exclude from this meeting of the Estates all who were likely to resist the measures of the Court, and accordingly no opposition seems to have been offered even to their most outrageous proceedings. They imposed an oath of allegiance acknowledging the supremacy of the sovereign "over all persons and in all causes," and made the denial of it high treason. They annulled the Solemn League and Covenant and prohibited its renewal without the Royal sanction under the severest penalties, and enacted that all ministers presented to churches should take and subscribe the above oath of allegiance. They proceeded for some time in abrogating one by one the statutes passed by preceding Parliaments; but at length Sir Archibald Primrose, whom Bishop Burnet terms "the subtlest of all Lord Middleton's creatures," suggested at a debauch, "half in jest," that they should bring to an end this tiresome work of repealing particular Acts, and should sweep away at once the whole of the statutes which had been enacted by the Scottish Parliament since the year 1633. After the junto "had drunk higher" they resolved to adopt this course, which, as Burnet remarks, "was only fit to be concluded after a drunken bout." "It was a maddening time," he adds, "when the men of affairs were perpetually drunk." By this insane "Act Rescissory," as it was termed, the whole of the proceedings of the various Parliaments and conventions

which had been held during the previous twenty-seven years were abrogated at a stroke, on the plea that the late King had been compelled to sanction them. A revolution of the most sweeping character was thus effected: the privileges which the Estates had wrested from the Crown were withdrawn, and the safeguards which had been erected, not only with the cordial approval of the nation but with the full and free consent of the sovereign, for the protection of the civil and religious rights of the people, were in a moment thrown to the ground.

This step was no doubt intended to prepare the way for the destruction of the leading Covenanters and the establishment of arbitrary authority over both Church and State in Scotland. With this view the amnesty which Charles, on his restoration to the throne, promised to the supporters of the Parliament and of the Protector in England, was withheld from the Scottish Covenanters. "It was deemed more political," says one of the defenders of the Royal policy, "to hold over men's heads for some time the terror of punishment till they should have made the requisite compliances with the new government." In order to render this crooked and harsh policy effectual it was deemed necessary to take revenge on some of the most eminent Parliamentary leaders, and the first victim selected was the Marquis of Argyll. The chief of the clan Campbell was "questionless;" as Baillie says, "the greatest subject the King had"—too great and powerful to be permitted to live when an attempt was about to be made to overturn the entire

fabric of the civil and religious liberties of the country. He was the head of one of the oldest and most powerful historic houses of Scotland, which had always been on the popular, and, what has proved in the long-run, the winning side. His ancestor, Sir Neil Campbell, the chief of the clan, when the War of Independence broke out, espoused the cause of his brother-in-law, Robert Bruce, and was rewarded with a large share of the forfeited estates of his Argyleshire rival, M'Dougall of Lorne. At the era of the Reformation the fourth Earl of Argyll was the first of the Scottish nobles who embraced the principles of Protestantism, and of course obtained a considerable share of the spoils of the old Church. The ninth earl and first marquis cast in his lot with the Covenanters at the famous General Assembly of Glasgow in 1638, and at once became their leader, and gave a powerful impetus to their cause. His vast Highland estates, extending from Ben Cruachan and Loch Awe on the north to the Mull of Kintyre and the estuary of the Clyde on the south, were inhabited by a hardy and warlike clan, who regarded him with the highest veneration, and rendered to him the most devoted and implicit obedience. His office of High Justiciary over the whole of the Western Highlands, and the Western Isles from the Lewes to Arran, gave him authority not only over the property but over the lives and liberties of the entire population. He had extensive estates in several Lowland counties as well as in the Highlands, which yielded him a large revenue, and gave him a position in the country quite different from that of

an ordinary Highland chieftain. As Lord Macaulay remarks, the fact that he could at a word bring five thousand men into the field greatly increased his authority in the Council Chamber at Holyrood, while his influence at Court contributed not a little to make him dreaded by the Macdonalds and other rival clans in the Highlands. His personal qualities also eminently qualified him to be the head of a great party in these trying and "troublous times." He was highly educated, possessed a profound knowledge of jurisprudence and theology, and had assiduously cultivated the principles of state policy and diplomacy. He was deficient in physical courage, and had no genius for war, but he was a singularly judicious counsellor, and in all critical circumstances he "did give most and best advice in every purpose which came to hand." He was held in the highest esteem by his contemporaries, both in Scotland and England, for his remarkable wisdom. "The man was very wise," says Baillie; "his authority and wise carriage has much stopped the mouth of our enemies." His astuteness, indeed, was apt to degenerate into "craft and subtlety," as his opponents alleged, and he was undoubtedly ambitious of power; he "was much set on raising his own family to be a sort of king in the Highlands." Though his natural temperament was reserved and unconfiding, he was possessed, says Burnet, who knew him well, "of an invincible calmness of temper," and was courtly and bland in his demeanour, so that, as Baillie expresses it, "he drew all men after him." His piety was sincere and

fervent, and his life was correct and pure. His patriotism was unquestionable, and his conscientious attachment to the Presbyterian faith was displayed in many trying circumstances, and was proof both against courtly blandishments and personal danger. Charles dreaded and hated him, and evidently thought of him what he said of Sir Henry Vane, that if occasion could be found against him he was too powerful to be allowed to live.

The mode in which the marquis was captured was quite in keeping with the character of the King and his counsellors. It would have been both a difficult and a dangerous task to have seized this powerful chieftain in his Highland stronghold, surrounded by his numerous and devoted clansmen ; but he was enticed to London by an apparently friendly letter from Charles ; and on repairing to the Court he was suddenly arrested and committed to the Tower. He was soon after sent down in a ship of war to Edinburgh to be tried on a charge of high treason. The indictment brought against him consisted of fourteen articles, extending over the whole period from the rising of the Covenanters in 1638 down to the dissolution of Richard Cromwell's Parliament. He was held responsible for all the opposition which the Scottish nation had made to the arbitrary policy of Charles I., and for their submission to the government of the Protector. He pleaded unanswerably that all the proceedings of the Covenanters were covered by the Treaty of Ripon and by the indemnity granted by the present King at Stirling ; and with respect to his compliance with

Cromwell's usurpation, he did not submit to it until the whole country, including the greater part of those who were now his judges and prosecutors, had acquiesced in the rule of the Protector, and resistance was no longer practicable. "And how could I suppose," he added, "that I was acting criminally when a man so learned as his Majesty's advocate took the same oath to the Covenant with myself?" The official referred to was Sir John Fletcher, whom Burnet describes as "a bold and fierce man, who hated all mild proceedings, and could scarce speak with decency or patience to those of the other side." He was so enraged at this reference to his compliance with Cromwell's government, that he termed Argyll "an impudent villain." The marquis, whose equanimity throughout the trial was unruffled, replied with the utmost composure, "I have learned in mine affliction to bear reproaches." He was ultimately found guilty of a criminal compliance with the usurpation; but even on this point the evidence was so defective that the issue of the trial appeared extremely doubtful. At this critical moment a messenger arrived from London with a packet of private letters which Argyll had written to Monk, expressing his adherence to the government of the Protector, and which, with almost incredible baseness, Monk now sent down with all haste to insure the condemnation of his former friend. On evidence thus obtained the old nobleman was found guilty and condemned to death. After sentence was pronounced, he said to his judges, with great calmness and dignity, "You have the indemnity of an earthly

King among your hands, and have denied me a share in that ; but you cannot hinder me from the indemnity of the King of kings. Shortly you must be before His tribunal ; and I pray He may not mete out such measure to you as you have done to me, when you are called to account for your actings, and this among the rest. I had the honour to set the crown upon the King's head, and now he hastens me to a better crown than his own." He was beheaded at the Cross at Edinburgh on the 27th of May. Burnet, who was present on the occasion, says "he came to the scaffold in a very solemn and undaunted manner." Like other sufferers for the "good old cause," he reminded the spectators of what was called "the descending obligation of the Covenants." "God hath laid engagements on Scotland," he said. "We are tied by covenants to religion. Those who were then unborn are yet engaged, and it passeth the power of all the magistrates under heaven to absolve from the oath of God." The memory of the great marquis is still held in high veneration by the Scottish Presbyterians, who regard him as the Proto-martyr of the Covenanters, and believe, with John Howie of Lochgoin, that "he had piety for a Christian, sense for a counsellor, and a soul for a king. If any man was, he might be said to be a true Scotsman."

The next representative victim was selected from the Church, and the choice fell on the venerable Rev. James Guthrie of Stirling—a person of great ability, restless energy, and indomitable courage. He was accused as the author of a document called the

"Western Remonstrance," and of a pamphlet entitled "The Causes of the Lord's Wrath." To this was added the charge of his declining the authority of the King in ecclesiastical affairs ; but, probably, the chief reason why he was selected as the first clerical victim and martyr was the fact that he was appointed in 1650 to pronounce sentence of excommunication against Middleton, now the Royal Commissioner. He was hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh on the 1st of June, 1661. On the scaffold "he spoke an hour," says Burnet, who witnessed his execution, "with the composedness of one who was delivering a sermon rather than his last words." Just before he was turned over, the aged and infirm but intrepid sufferer lifted the napkin from his face and exclaimed, "The Covenant, the Covenant shall yet be Scotland's reviving."

It was intended by the Commissioner and Council that another clerical victim, the celebrated Samuel Rutherford, author of a treatise called "Lex Rex," and Professor of Divinity in the University of St. Andrews, should have suffered along with Guthrie. Though he was known to be dying, he was expelled from his office, and was summoned to appear before the Council on a charge of high treason. But, as Wodrow remarked, "he had a higher tribunal to appear before, where his Judge was his friend." He died on the 19th of March of this year, the day before the "Act Rescissory" was passed by the Parliament.

These proceedings having, it was supposed, stricken terror into the more zealous Covenanters, the way

seemed now clear to carry out the meditated subversion of the Presbyterian Church. Accordingly, in August, 1651, the King sent a letter intimating his resolution to "interpose his Royal authority for the restoring of the Church to its government by bishops." A proclamation was immediately issued by the Council, announcing the restoration of Episcopacy, and prohibiting the meeting of synods and assemblies. Sharp now threw off the mask which he had hitherto worn, and made known the fact that he was to be appointed Archbishop of St. Andrew's, alleging, however, that he had consented to accept the office of Primate solely for the public benefit. He was anxious to secure the countenance of Robert Douglas, "a great state preacher," whose remarkable wisdom and prudence, combined with his calmness and the moderation of his opinions, gave him great authority among his brethren. According to Kirkton, Sharp affected to have no desire for the archbishopric, and pressed the acceptance of the office upon Douglas. He told the venerable minister that his Majesty was determined to introduce Episcopacy; that he was very desirous that Mr. Douglas should accept the Primacy; and that he had better comply with the offer lest a worse should be appointed. Douglas answered he would have nothing to do with it. Sharp insisted and urged him; Douglas repeated his refusal, on which Sharp rose and took his leave. Douglas accompanied him to the door: "James," said he, "I perceive you are clear; I see you will engage; you will be Bishop of St. Andrews; take it," and, laying his hand on Sharp's

shoulder, he added, "and the curse of God along with it." "The subject," says Sir Walter Scott, "might suit a painter."

At the same time that Sharp was nominated to the Primacy, the sees of Glasgow, Galloway, Dunblane, and Orkney were restored and filled up. As only one of the old Scottish prelates survived (Sydserf, who had been Bishop of Galloway), the four ministers chosen for the Episcopal office were enjoined to repair to London for ordination and consecration. The validity of Presbyterian orders was acknowledged by the English hierarchy when Spottiswood and his associates were consecrated in 1610, but was now denied. Sharp seems to have felt some touch of shame at submitting to the degradation of acknowledging the nullity of the office which he had so long held, and at first objected to the double ordination. But Sheldon, Bishop of London, peremptorily insisted that it must be undergone, and Sharp gave way; on which Sheldon scornfully remarked that "it seemed to be the Scotch fashion to scruple at everything, and to swallow everything." The only one of the new prelates who was respected by the people was the saintly Robert Leighton, who from the first felt himself out of sympathy with his brethren, and refused to take part in their triumphal entry into the Scottish capital on their return from London. Sharp, "who had the greatest hand in the affair, proceeded," he said, "with so much dissimulation, and the rest of the order were so mean and selfish, and the Earl of Middleton, with the other secular men that conducted it, were so openly impious and vicious, that

it did cast a reproach on everything relating to religion to see it managed by such instruments."

The second session of the Parliament commenced its sitting on the 8th of May, 1662, and on the 27th an Act was passed "for the restitution and re-establishment of the ancient government of the Church by archbishops and bishops." Presbyterianism was formally abolished, the Covenants were declared unlawful, null, and void, and all persons in office were required to declare that it was unlawful under any pretext to take up arms against their sovereign. Patronage was restored, and all ministers ordained since its abolition were required to obtain a presentation from the patrons, and collation from the bishop of the diocese, under the penalty of deprivation.

The attendance of ministers at the diocesan meetings held by the bishops had been peremptorily enjoined on pain of being held contemners of his Majesty's authority. The order, however, was generally disregarded, especially in the West, and Middleton determined to enforce it, and the other measures adopted in support of Episcopacy, at the point of the sword. He made a tour through the western counties—the stronghold of the Covenanters—accompanied by certain members of the Privy Council, who joined him in scenes of the grossest debauchery. His naturally fierce and imperious temper was inflamed by his habits of drunkenness, and he was seldom sober. At Glasgow matters came to a crisis. Fairfoul, the archbishop, complained that not one of the young ministers in his diocese acknowledged his authority.

It was therefore resolved to frame an Act of Council to enforce their submission. This was done at a meeting held on the 1st of October, 1662, at which the members were in a state of the most disgraceful intoxication. "Duke Hamilton told me," says Burnet, "they were all so drunk that day that they were not capable of considering anything that was laid before them, and would hear of nothing but executing the law without any relenting or delay." By this notorious Act the ministers who had failed to obtain a presentation from the patron and collation from the bishop were to be immediately deprived of their livings, and expelled from their parishes. Lockhart, the only sober member of the Council, protested against this cruel and impolitic procedure, declaring that "the proclamation would only lay the country desolate, and increase the hatred to bishops, and confusion among the people." But Middleton and his coadjutors persisted in their determination to adopt what was called the "Drunken Act of Glasgow," relying on the assurance of the archbishop that there would not be two ministers in all his diocese who would refuse to comply. To the astonishment of the Commissioner and the Council, and the deep mortification of the bishops, three hundred and fifty of the ministers—upwards of one-third of the whole number—at once abandoned their benefices, and, along with their families, were expelled from their homes in the depth of winter. The Council were greatly embarrassed at this unexpected result. "What will these mad fellows do?" exclaimed Middleton. In the hope that if time were afforded for

reflection the ministers might yield, the Council, on the 23rd of December, issued a proclamation, extending till the 1st of February next the time for complying with the requirements of the Act of Parliament, but declaring that those who still refused should "thenceforth be esteemed and holden as persons disaffected to his Majesty's Government;" and recusants in the Lowland counties were ordered to transport themselves and their families to the district beyond the Tay.

The expelled Covenanters, however, firmly declined to avail themselves of this opportunity to abandon their principles. It became necessary, therefore, to supply the vacant churches with ministers, and this was no easy task. David Hume, the historian and philosopher, no friend to the Covenanters, admits that no one was so ignorant or vicious as to be rejected. Even lads of eighteen were invited to occupy the vacant benefices. The new incumbents were brought mostly from the north-eastern counties, in which Episcopacy was strong, and were "a set of young lads, unstudied and unbred." "They were the worst preachers I ever heard," says Bishop Burnet; "they were ignorant to a reproach, and many of them were openly vicious. They were a disgrace to their order and the sacred function, and were, indeed, the dregs and refuse of the northern parts." Sir Robert Murray, who held an important office in the Government, and could have had no prejudice against the Episcopal clergy, corroborates the testimony of Burnet, and affirms that "the clergy were such a set of men, so ignorant and so vicious, that it was not possible to support them,

unless the greatest part of them could be turned out, and better men found to be put in their places ; but it was not easy to know how this could be done." The great body of the people naturally regarded these "curates," as they were called, with dislike, and persisted in attending the ministrations of their former pastors, to whom they were warmly attached. The ejected ministers performed religious services at first in their own houses, and when the numbers of their hearers increased they repaired to the open fields. This was the origin of the conventicles, or field-preachings, so famous in the annals of Scottish Covenanters.

As the parish churches were now nearly empty, the Council deemed it necessary to employ coercive measures to secure attendance on the ministrations of the "curates." An Act was therefore passed by the Parliament denouncing "all and every such persons as shall hereafter ordinarily and wilfully withdraw and absent themselves from the ordinary meetings for divine worship in their own parish churches on the Lord's day." This Act was enforced by heavy penalties. A landed proprietor was to forfeit a fourth part of a year's rent ; tenants and burgesses a fourth part of their movables ; the latter were in addition to be deprived of the freedom of their burghs, and both classes were to be subjected to such corporal punishment as the Privy Council might think proper to inflict. This Act was popularly termed "The Bishop's Drag-net." The penalties of sedition were denounced against the ministers who continued to preach without the sanction of the bishops, and an Act was

passed, called "The Scots' Mile Act," which required, under the same penalties, the recusant ministers and their families to remove from their parishes within twenty days, and not to reside within twenty miles of the same, nor within six miles of Edinburgh, or of any cathedral church, nor within three miles of any royal burgh.

The Parliament which framed "The Bishops' Drag-net" and "The Scots' Mile Act" still farther degraded itself by the execution of Archibald Johnstone of Warriston, the celebrated leader of the Covenanters, on whom, in his absence, sentence of death had been passed nearly three years before. Ever since his forfeiture he had lived in hiding in the Low Countries and in Germany, till about the end of 1662, having ventured to visit Rouen, he was betrayed into the hands of the English Government. He was brought to Scotland by sea, and landed at Leith, whence he was conducted on foot and bareheaded to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh while the Parliament was sitting. He was brought to the bar of the House, and without the form of a trial was condemned to be executed on his former sentence. Johnstone was a person of eminent abilities, and of great sagacity and eloquence. But he was now far advanced in years and utterly broken down, having by age and hardships and misfortunes lost his memory, so that "he could not remember what he had done or said a quarter of an hour before," and could scarcely speak coherently. "He was so disordered in body and mind," says Burnet, "that it was a reproach to the

Government to proceed against him." Some of the members of the Council, pitying the melancholy condition of a man who had borne so distinguished a part in public life, wished to delay the sentence, but Lauderdale, who had sat as Johnstone's brother elder in the Westminster Assembly, insisted upon its immediate execution. Johnstone was accordingly hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh on the 22nd of July, and his head was cut off and affixed, beside that of James Guthrie, to the Netherbow Port.

There had for some time been a struggle for supremacy between Middleton and Lauderdale, which had led to bitter personal animosity. Middleton, supported as he was by Clarendon and the Anglican party, who regarded Lauderdale with suspicion and dislike, at first obtained the superiority. But his "too much arbitrariness and want of circumspection," as Sir George Mackenzie expresses it, "aided by his reckless dissipation, led him to various rash and insubordinate acts, which ultimately lost him the Royal favour, and brought about his downfall." He was deprived of all his offices in Scotland, but was sent out as Governor of Tangiers, where he soon after died, in consequence of an injury received by falling down stairs in a fit of intoxication. Middleton was succeeded by the Earl of Rothes, son of the nobleman who signed the Covenant in 1638—a person of a somewhat kindly disposition, but dissipated and licentious, and greedy of place and pelf. Lauderdale, who continued Secretary of State, was principally entrusted with the management of Scottish affairs, so that no

change was made in the harsh and oppressive measure hitherto pursued towards the Covenanters.

A Parliament was held in 1663, under Rothes as Commissioner, but for six years after that date no meeting of the Estates was summoned. The Government was chiefly carried on by the members of the Privy Council, who continued to harass the ejected ministers and their adherents with unsparing severity. In order to deter the people from giving food and shelter to their ministers, or attending their ministrations, parties of troops were quartered in Ayrshire, Dumfries, and Galloway, where the Covenanting spirit was strongest.

At the Restoration an unconditional amnesty was granted in England to all, with the exception of the regicides, who might have been accused of treasonable acts. But the indemnity for the people of Scotland was delayed, as we have seen, for a considerable time, and when it was at length issued, in the autumn of 1662, it was accompanied with the condition that large sums of money should be paid by the individuals who were to be pardoned. A list of nearly nine hundred persons was made out whose fines amounted in the aggregate to eighty-four thousand pounds, some of whom were dead; some had been abroad during the civil wars, and some were mere infants. But no proof of innocence was admitted, and the indemnity was suspended unless the fine was paid.

This shameful process of extortion, however, was only the beginning of the pecuniary penalties inflicted with increasing severity on the unfortunate Coven-

anters. A system of levying fines on those who absented themselves from their parish churches was now carried into operation. A roll of the parishioners was called over by the "curates" at the close of the service, and the names of those who were absent were reported to the commanding officer of the nearest company of soldiers, by whom the fine for absence was levied. The "process" was very short; no witnesses or proof were required. The soldier summarily pronounced and executed his own sentence, and that with the greater cheerfulness, as the money, generally speaking, went into his own pocket. The military behaved just as if they had been in an enemy's country. If a tenant or head of a family was unwilling or unable to pay, the soldiers were quartered on him till they had destroyed ten times the value of the fine, and when poor families were no longer able to sustain them, their goods were distrained and sold for a trifle.

The repressive measures taken against the Covenanters had greatly increased the work of the ordinary law courts, and Sharp, who complained that the members of the Privy Council were not sufficiently zealous and active in taking steps to crush the spirit of resistance to their mandates, went up to London about the beginning of 1664 and persuaded the King to restore the obnoxious Court of High Commission for the summary trial and punishment of all recusants, clergy or laity. This tribunal, of which Sharp himself was the head, consisted of nine prelates and thirty-five laymen, and was invested with almost absolute powers.

They were authorised to call before them "all Popish traffickers, intercommuners with and resettlers of Jesuits and seminary priests, all who say or hear mass, all obstinate contemners of the discipline of the Church, all keepers of conventicles, all who preach in private houses or elsewhere without licence from the bishop of the diocese, all who speak, preach, write, or print to the reproach or detriment of the Church or kingdom as now established, and all who do not or duly attend divine worship in their respective parish churches," &c. The mention of the Papists was intended simply as a blind, for no steps were ever taken against them ; but the authority entrusted to this Court was wielded with merciless severity against the Covenanters. There was no appeal from their sentence, which was frequently pronounced without any summons having been served, or evidence adduced, or defence allowed. No one brought before this tribunal was ever known to escape condemnation. Exorbitant and ruinous fines were imposed on many persons of rank, and landed proprietors, for permitting or attending conventicles. Ejected ministers who persisted in preaching to their people were imprisoned and banished ; women were publicly whipped through the streets ; boys charged with offences which scarcely deserved a reprimand were scourged, and branded on the face with a hot iron, and then sold as slaves to the plantations. Even relieving the necessities of the ejected ministers, when they were starving, was punished as sedition. But these measures, severe as they were, completely failed to compel the great body

of the people to attend the ministry of the Episcopal clergy. The churches remained empty, though the jails were full.

The Presbyterians for several years submitted in silence to these arbitrary and oppressive measures, but the country was in such a condition that a spark was quite sufficient to kindle into a conflagration the inflammable materials which were scattered on every hand; and at length, in the winter of 1666, the "oppression that maketh even a wise man mad" raised an insurrection in Galloway which was regarded as a stronghold of the Covenanters. The command of the troops in that district had been committed to Sir James Turner, an English soldier of fortune, who had at one time served in the army of the Covenanters, but was now employed by the Council in plundering and oppressing his former associates. "Sir James Turner," says Bishop Burnet, "was naturally fierce, but was mad when he was drunk, and that was very often. He was a learned man, but had always been in armies, and knew no other rule but to obey orders. He told me he had no regard to any laws, but acted as he was commanded in a military way." Hundreds of families had been reduced to beggary by the fines which, under one pretext or other, this fierce and dissolute soldier exacted from them. In the course of three raids which he made into Nithsdale and Galloway he plundered the people of nearly one hundred thousand pounds of Scots money—an enormous sum at that time, considering the poverty of the country. When, some years later, the Privy Council

made an investigation into his conduct at this period, they found that he had been guilty of "quartering soldiers for levying fines and impositions, exacting cess or quartering money for more than were actually present, sometimes for double the number or more; and that besides free quarters for those present, sometimes eight pence, sometimes twelve pence, sometimes sixteen pence, and sometimes more, for each man, cess exacted for during days sometimes eight, ten, or more before the party did actually appear. Imposing of fines and quartering before any previous citation or hearing of parties; fining without due information from ministers; fining such as lived orderly, as appears by ministers' certificates; fining and cessing for causes for which there are no warrants from Acts of Parliament or Council; fining for whole years preceding his coming to the country, and that after they had begun to live orderly; fining fathers for their daughters baptising their children without ministers, though forisfiliate six months before, and living in another parish; fining without proportioning the sum with the fault; fining in whole parishes promiscuously as well those that lived orderly as those that did not; fining whole parishes where there was no incumbent minister; fining one that lay a year bedfast; forcing bonds from the innocent; cessing people who were not fined; taking away cattle." It might well be added by the Privy Council that "all these actings are illegal."

Turner's cruelties and exactions at length brought matters to a head, and goaded the peasantry into a

sudden and unpremeditated insurrection. About the beginning of November, 1666, four Covenanters—one of whom was the laird of Barscob, who had for some time been under hiding—came down from the hills for food and shelter at that inclement season to the little village of Dalry, in Kirkcudbrightshire, about twenty miles north-west from Dumfries. It so happened that some of Turner's soldiers quartered there had laid violent hands on a poor old man in that village who could not pay his fine incurred for absence from church, and were threatening to strip him naked "and set him on a red-hot gridiron." The four "honest men," as Wodrow terms them, interposed in his behalf. Some of the neighbours began to loose his bonds, on which a scuffle ensued. The soldiers drew their swords, and almost killed two of them. One of the Covenanters discharged a pistol, which wounded one of the soldiers. "This quickly made the rest yield, and the countrymen disarmed them and made them prisoners, and the poor old man was happily delivered."

The Covenanters on reflection were convinced that this act would bring down upon them the vengeance of the Government. They resolved, therefore, to continue in arms, and with the assistance of the country people they surprised and took prisoners a small party of soldiers stationed in the neighbourhood, one of whom was killed in the attack. The news of this exploit soon brought considerable accessions to their numbers, among whom was Neilson, the laird of Corsack, and they resolved to make a rapid march on Dumfries, and seize Sir James Turner before he was aware of the rising.

The little band, now amounting to fifty horse and about two hundred foot, surprised Turner in his bed at Dumfries, and seized him, but made no attempt to take vengeance upon him for his cruelties.

CHAPTER III.

Dalziel--Rullion Green--The Boot--Hugh M'Kail--Accusation against Sharp--Persecution of the Covenanters--The Cabal--Lauderdale--The Indulgence--An Armed Conventicle.

THE news of the insurrection alarmed the members of the Privy Council, who despatched against the insurgents a body of two thousand foot and five hundred horse, with four pieces of cannon. The command of these troops was entrusted to General Thomas Dalziel, "the Haynau of the Scottish Persecution." He was bred to the profession of arms--had fought at Worcester, where he was taken prisoner, and committed to the Tower, but made his escape to the Continent. He spent several years in the service of the Czar of Muscovy, where his natural ferocity and brutality had been greatly increased. He was a fanatical Royalist, and from the day of the execution of Charles I. he had never shaved his beard, which hung down white and bushy almost to his girdle.

While Dalziel was marching to Glasgow to meet the insurgents, they were making their way through the upper part of Galloway into Ayrshire, exposed to "the great rains and coldness of the weather." At the Bridge of Doon they were joined by Colonel Wallace

of Achauns, a brave and experienced soldier, who had fought with much distinction on the side of the Parliament in the great Civil War. He was accompanied by Major Learmont, Captain Arnot, and Captain Paton of Meadowhead, who had all been trained under Gustavus Adolphus, and had fought in the Royal cause along with Dalziel at the battle of Worcester. Wallace was at once appointed to take the command, and, by his skilful management, brought the undisciplined multitude into such a state of efficiency as to elicit the warm commendation of Sir James Turner, whom they carried with them in their march. "Notwithstanding the darkness and tempest," he says, "I saw few or none of them straggle." At Lesmahagow they were put through their military exercises. "I saw," he adds, "two of these troops skirmish against other two, which I confess they did handsomely to my great admiration. I wondered at the agility of both horse and rider, and to see them keep troop so well, and how they had come to that perfection in so short a time."

The insurgents reached Lanark on the evening of the 25th, and next day they renewed the Covenant and published a "Declaration," in which they asserted their loyalty to the King, and set forth the reasons why they had taken up arms—"the burning of the Covenant by order of the Government—the establishment of Episcopacy in its height of tyranny—grievous fines—sudden imprisonments—vast quarterings of soldiers, and a cruel inquisition by the High Commission Court, inflicted on all who would not comply

with the Government by lordly hierarchy, and abjure their Covenant."

Their numbers had now risen, according to some accounts, to three thousand horse and foot ; but this estimate is without doubt exaggerated, and there is good reason to believe that they never exceeded fifteen hundred. Some of them were anxious that they should give battle at Lanark to Dalziel, though he had three thousand well-appointed horse and foot. But the majority insisted upon marching to Edinburgh, as they were certain to receive large reinforcements in the Lothians. Amid torrents of rain, alternating with snow, the courageous band pushed their way across the moors ; but though suffering from cold, fatigue, and exhaustion, they "bated no jot of heart or hope." "The foot," says Turner, "kept rank and file on that miserable way and weather, even to admiration, and yet outmarched their horse, and got to the van of them." As those who disapproved of this step of marching to Edinburgh had quitted the body at Lanark, their numbers were now reduced to nine hundred. But they still held on their way till they came, late on the 27th, "mighty weary with marching," within five miles of the capital, which, to their dismay, they found in arms against them, while Dalziel was only a few miles distant in their rear. They must have suffered severely from "a sore night of frost and snow" on the 27th ; but though they now saw clearly that their cause was hopeless, their courage was in no degree abated. "They were not unwilling to die," they said, "for the cause of religion and liberty." A retreat, however, was imperative, and

early on the morning of the 28th, "a fair frosty day," Wallace led his men round the eastern end of the Pentland hills, and then along the south side, towards the west, until they had crossed a narrow valley or defile which intersects the range from north to south. Here he posted his troops on the slope of the hill, at a place called Rullion Green, either for the purpose of resting them before pursuing his retreat, or of waiting the attack of the enemy. General Dalziel, having heard that the insurgents were retreating by the south side of the Pentlands, marched his troops (three thousand in number) through this pass, and, on emerging from it, found the nine hundred Covenanters drawn up so skilfully that he saw it would be no easy matter to dislodge them. His first two assaults by detachments of the Life Guards were repulsed by the insurgents, who fought with desperate courage; and it was not until the whole of the Royal army had reached the ground and made a simultaneous attack on the small body of their opponents, who were imperfectly armed, and every way ill provided, that they at length gave way. "All the army," says Mein, postmaster of Edinburgh, in his report to the Government, "affirm they never saw men fight more gallantly, and abide better than they did." About fifty were killed, and a hundred and thirty were taken prisoners, but the great body of the insurgents, favoured by the twilight, made their escape over the hills. It is curious, as showing the change of feeling which had taken place among the people in the district since 1633, that about thirty of the fugitives were taken

prisoners, and a number more were barbarously put to death, by the neighbouring peasantry.

The prisoners had surrendered on promise of quarter ; but Sharp, who presided at the Council, was determined to inflict vengeance on them for the alarm they had caused, and insisted that no mercy should be shown to those who had been taken in arms. Eleven of their number were first placed together at the bar of the Criminal Court. It was in vain that they pleaded the promise made to them, at the time of their surrender, that their lives should be spared. They were informed that, though pardoned as soldiers, they were not acquitted as subjects. They were, of course, all found guilty, and condemned to be hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh, and their heads and right arms to be cut off. The former were to be placed on the City gates, and their right arms to be affixed to the prison at Lanark, because there they had been held up in swearing to maintain the Covenant. They suffered this barbarous and cruel treatment with perfect firmness and constancy. "All of them," wrote Mein, who, it seems, acted as reporter to the Government, "died according to the Covenant, declaring they never intended in the least any rebellion ; and all of them prayed most fervently for his Majesty's interest, and against his enemies. They prayed to forgive their judges and the noblemen, and declared their blood lay only at the prelates' door—would not be hindered from expressing themselves in such a manner—which expressions had too great dipping in the hearts of the commonalty. . . . If any more die they are to be

carried out of the town to the Borough-muir, a place where an hundred of them may all hang together." He adds, that "on Tuesday next there is as many of the same kind of lay elders to fill the stage, and go along, till the remnant of the damned old cause be ferreted out of their conventicles of retreat."

Altogether about twenty of the Pentland insurgents were executed in Edinburgh, ten of them on one gibbet; seven at Ayr; and a number throughout the country were hanged before their own doors.

There can be no doubt that the insurrection which had been quenched in blood at the Pentlands was entirely unpremeditated and unorganised; but the Council were bent on making out that it was only a part of a wide-spread and dangerous conspiracy against the throne, as well as against the Government. In the hope that they might extort evidence to that effect, they resolved to put some of the prisoners to the torture of the "boot." The instrument so designated was a box or case in the shape of a boot, constructed of iron, or wood firmly hooped with iron. The leg and knee of the victim were enclosed within this case, and wedges were driven with a mallet between the edge of the boot and the knee, causing intolerable pain, and not unfrequently splintering the bone of the leg. The first of the prisoners taken at Rullion Green who was subjected to this diabolical torture was Neilson of Corsack, an inoffensive country gentleman, who, solely on the ground of his refusal to attend his parish church, had been fined and imprisoned, and ultimately, after being stripped of his whole property,

had been driven out by the soldiers from his home, along with his wife and children, to find refuge among the hills adjoining his estate. He joined the Covenanters at Dalry when the outbreak commenced, and was the means of saving the life of Sir James Turner when some of the insurgents proposed to put him to death. The torture of the "boot" utterly failed to wring from him any admission that the rising was premeditated; and the Earl of Rothes, who presided at the examination, was so provoked at the persistency with which he adhered to this testimony that he repeatedly called out to the executioner to "give him another touch."

Another victim of the Council whose case has excited peculiar interest and attention was Hugh M'Kail, a young man about twenty-six years of age, son of the ejected minister of Bothwell. He was a youth of distinguished abilities and learning, as well as piety, and was also noted for the beauty of his person, which was celebrated by a contemporary versifier in very glowing terms. He was licensed as a preacher when only in his twentieth year, and officiated as chaplain in the family of Sir James Stewart of Coltness. He preached in the High Church of Edinburgh a few days before the 8th of September, 1662—the day fixed for the ejection of the nonconforming ministers of that city—and gave mortal offence to the Council by saying that "the Scriptures doth abundantly evidence that the people of God have been persecuted, sometimes by Pharaoh upon the throne, sometimes by a Haman in the State,

sometimes by a Judas in the Church." He was in consequence compelled to take refuge on the Continent, where he spent three years. After his return from Holland, in 1665, he was living in retirement in Galloway when the insurrection broke out there, and joined the insurgents, though he was in such a state of weakness that he "would have fallen off his horse if one had not laid hold of him and kept him up." In consequence of his illness he was obliged to quit the ill-fated band before the battle of Rullion Green, but two days afterwards he was captured by some dragoons on his way to his father's house at Liberton, near Edinburgh. He was twice brought before the Privy Council, and as he strenuously declared that the insurrection was not premeditated, Rothes caused him to be examined under the torture of the "boot." As M'Kail steadfastly adhered to his previous statement respecting the origin of the insurrection, Rothes insisted that the torture should be continued. After ten strokes of the mallet the poor sufferer exclaimed, "I protest solemnly in the sight of God I can say no more though all the joints in my body were in as great torture as that poor leg." The eleventh stroke splintered the bone, and the tortured youth fainted under the intolerable pain.

Earnest intercessions were made on M'Kail's behalf to Rothes by the Duchess of Hamilton and the Marchioness of Douglas, but in vain. His cousin, Dr. M'Kail, an eminent physician, earnestly pleaded with Sharp for mercy to his young kinsman, but received the cold reply, "The business is now in the

Justiciary's hands, and I can do nothing." After some delay caused by his weakness and suffering, M'Kail was tried before the Justiciary Court, and was, of course, found guilty and sentenced to be executed at the Cross of Edinburgh on the 22nd of December. On the scaffold he behaved with great firmness and composure. "There was not one dry cheek upon all the street," says a contemporary writer, "or in all the numberless windows in the market-place." The closing words of M'Kail's farewell address have been often quoted. "Now," he said, "I leave off to speak any more to creatures and begin my intercourse with God, which shall never be broken off. Farewell, father and mother, friends and relations! Farewell, the world and all delights! Farewell, meat and drink! Farewell, sun, moon, and stars! Welcome, God and Father! Welcome, sweet Lord Jesus, the Mediator of the New Covenant! Welcome, blessed Spirit of grace, God of all consolation! Welcome glory! Welcome eternal life! Welcome death!"

There is reason to believe that it was in consequence of the impression produced by this address on the crowd of spectators that, from this time onwards, at the execution of the Covenanters, trumpets were blown and drums beaten in order to drown their last words.

A charge of the gravest kind has been brought against the Primate, and Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow, in connection with these proceedings. It is asserted that an order was sent by King Charles

to the Privy Council commanding them to stop the execution of the prisoners taken at Pentland, and to banish them to the plantations instead of putting them to death, but that his Majesty's letter was kept from the knowledge of the Council until all who had been condemned had been executed. Wodrow imputes this foul deed to Sharp, but, according to Bishop Burnet, it was done by the Archbishop of Glasgow. He says: "Mr. M'Kail's death was the more cried out on because it came to be known afterwards that Archbishop Burnet of Glasgow, who had come down before his execution, had brought with him a letter from the King in which he approved of all they had done, but added that he thought there was blood enough already shed, and therefore ordered that such of the prisoners as should promise to obey the laws for the future should be set at liberty, and that the incorrigible should be sent to the plantations; but Burnet let the execution go on before he produced the letter." That such a document was written and sent by the King is proved by the records of the Privy Council, which expressly mention "his Majesty's letter giving orders for sending such of the said prisoners as were guilty to the plantations." But, strange to say, this important document is not to be found in the Register, though no fewer than eleven letters written to the Council at this period by the King are inserted at full length in these records. In these circumstances the absence of the letter ordering the executions to be stopped—the most important document of the whole—certainly does afford some countenance to the assertion

that it was not inserted in the records of the Council, because "its date would expose the abuse of trust and outrage on humanity of which the two prelates had been guilty."

Apart from this incident there is abundant evidence that Sharp took a prominent part in the arbitrary and oppressive proceedings of that period, and that he was cordially supported by some of the bishops. At the same time, it is only an act of justice to state that there were others who acted in a very different manner. "The best of the Episcopal clergy," says Burnet, "set upon the bishops to lay hold of this opportunity for regaining the affections of the country, by becoming intercessors for the prisoners, and the country that was like to be quartered upon and eaten up for the favour they had expressed to them; and that many of the bishops went into this; and that Wishart, Bishop of Edinburgh, showed a very Christian disposition at the time by sending every day very liberal supplies to the prisoners, which was likewise done by almost the whole town."

After the suppression of the insurrection, Rothes made a progress through the western counties, hunting out and punishing all who had in any way been implicated in it. "Most of the prisons in the whole country are full of them," writes Mein; "Barbadoes will be full plenished this next year."

The Commissioner was followed by General Dalziel at the head of a body of soldiers, who ranged through Ayrshire, Dumfriesshire, and Galloway, in search of

Covenanters, and were allowed to indulge with impunity in the worst military excesses of every kind. "Sir James Turner and Sir William Bannatyne," says Kirkton, "had by their cruelties driven the poor people of Galloway into despair, but they were saints compared to Tom Dalziel and his soldiers." Some idea may be formed of the barbarities perpetrated by this ferocious soldier, compared with which the cruelties of his subordinates were regarded as mild, from the manner in which Sir William Bannatyne tortured a poor woman, who had been guilty of no offence except that of aiding the escape of her husband. He caused lighted matches to be fixed between her fingers for several hours, till she lost one of her hands, and died in a few days from the effects of this savage treatment.

It was an old maxim of Scottish law that the trial of any person charged with a criminal offence should take place "in presence of the party accused, in face of judgment, and na otherwise." But it was now resolved to alter this just regulation, which had been acted on for centuries, in order to obtain possession of the estates of the more opulent of the Presbyterians, who had taken refuge on the Continent from the persecution of the Government. The judges of the Court of Session having been previously tampered with by the Crown officials, declared in answer to a question put to them by the King's Advocate, "that a trial might proceed, and forfeiture might be decreed against persons adjudged guilty of high treason, though absent." Acting on this illegal and iniquitous opinion, the officers of State instituted proceedings against twenty-

two landed proprietors, who though absent were declared guilty, and condemned to be executed when apprehended. Their estates were at the same time forfeited, and divided between Generals Dalziel and Drummond and the members of the Privy Council.

At this period an unexpected change for the better took place in the administration of Scottish affairs. The Chancellor, Lord Clarendon, the mainstay of the Scottish prelates and their system of church government, had, with characteristic ingratitude, been dismissed from office, disgraced, and driven into exile by the King. Freed from the influence of his great minister, Charles, in May, 1670, signed the secret treaty of Dover, binding him to make a public profession of the Roman Catholic religion, and to unite with the French King in conquering the United Provinces, and supporting the claims of his house to the monarchy of Spain. The administration passed into the hands of the notorious CABAL Cabinet. The public disasters and financial difficulties which followed the accession of these men to power excited strong discontent throughout the country, which was aggravated by the well-founded suspicion that the King had become the pensioner of the French Court, and that his councillors had been bribed by Louis to promote his secret designs. In order to allay the discontent thus excited, the Government resolved to make an effort to conciliate the Nonconformists in England and the Covenanters in Scotland. Rothes, the High Commissioner, who, as he himself said, on account of his licentious conduct was peculiarly fitted

to represent his Majesty, was deprived of all his offices except the Chancellorship. Sharp was disgraced, and ordered to retire to his diocese. Sir James Turner and Sir William Bannatyne were brought to trial for their illegal and oppressive conduct. They were both dismissed his Majesty's service, and Bannatyne was also imprisoned and fined, and banished the kingdom. Turner admitted that the charges brought against him were well-founded, but pleaded in his own defence that he had even fallen short of the orders which he had received from Rothes and Sharp. A general amnesty was granted to all who were implicated in the late insurrection, with the exception of those who had been outlawed, on condition of their subscribing a bond to keep the peace, but it was so hampered with restrictions of one kind or other, that it was remarked at the time that "in the beginning it pardoned all, in the middle very few, and in the close none at all." "I have heard him," says the Archbishop of Glasgow, pleading with Secretary Williamson on Turner's behalf, "recommended for the very same acts for which he is now so much condemned; and soldiers think they do not offend when they obey their superior officers' orders."

The influence of Lauderdale in the management of Scottish affairs, which had hitherto been thwarted by Middleton and Sharp, supported by the dominant Anglican party in England, was now paramount at Court. He was one of the five members of the Cabal Ministry, and has been branded by Lord Macaulay as the most dishonest man of that infamous conclave.

He was originally a zealous Presbyterian, and was commissioned by the General Assembly in 1643 to present to Charles I. a supplication entreating him to establish throughout all his dominions unity in religion and uniformity of Church government, and was one of their delegates to the celebrated Westminster Assembly. He was accused of taking a prominent part in the surrender of Charles I. to the English Parliament. In consequence of his early career and character he was distrusted and disliked by the Royalists, but he had always been a favourite with Charles II., whose privations he shared during his exile on the Continent, and after the battle of Worcester, where he was taken prisoner. He spent nine years in confinement, and was not released until shortly before the Revolution. He frequently spoke with coarse ribaldry of the time when he was a Covenanter and a rebel, but his opinions in reality continued unchanged. He was still at heart a Presbyterian, though he was quite willing, in order to preserve the Royal favour, to subject the unfortunate Covenanters to the sword, the halter, and the boot. He was now President of the Council, First Commissioner of the Treasury, Extraordinary Lord of Session, Lord of the Bedchamber, and Governor of Edinburgh Castle. He was created Duke of Lauderdale and Knight of the Garter, and the government of Scotland was entirely in his hands. Lauderdale was a man of great natural shrewdness and energy and extensive learning. Bishop Burnet says he was thoroughly versant not only in Latin and Greek but

also in Hebrew, and that he had read a great deal of divinity and almost all historians ancient and modern. But he was utterly unprincipled ; mean, and cringing to his superiors, haughty and imperious to his inferiors. He had a violence of passion that carried him often to fits like madness. His personal appearance was extremely unprepossessing. "He was very big," says Burnet, "his hair red, hanging oddly about him ; his tongue was too big for his mouth, which made him bedew all that he talked to, and his whole manner was rough and boisterous."

When Lauderdale was entrusted with the government of Scotland, the office of Justice Clerk and the management of the Treasury was bestowed upon Sir Robert Murray, who is styled by Wodrow, "a very learned and ingenious gentleman, a great ornament of his country, a diligent promoter of every branch of useful knowledge, and moderate in his temper." He was distinguished for his love of literature and science, and is worthily remembered as the founder of the Royal Society. With Sir Robert were associated as Commissioners of the Treasury Lords Kincardine and Tweeddale, noblemen of eminent ability and integrity, and, though attached to Episcopacy, yet decidedly opposed to religious persecution.

The standing army was at the same time reduced to a small reserve force, greatly to the dissatisfaction of the prelates as well as of the military officers who had shared in the plunder of the Covenanters in the western districts. "Now that the army is disbanded," said the Archbishop of Glasgow, "the country com-

plains very much of the soldiers, and I fear the soldiers have as much reason to complain as any. Many, especially of the Royal party, are strongly alarmed with the new change of our officers and officers of State, and think a foundation is laid for ushering in another interest. My fears are indeed very great, and it is my misfortune that I must bury them in my own heart." Unfortunately for himself, however, the archbishop did not adhere to this prudent resolution, but took the lead in a remonstrance from the Synod of Glasgow against the Indulgence, and was, in consequence, deprived of his office, which was conferred upon Bishop Leighton.

The measures adopted by the new Government were certainly both distasteful and alarming to the prelates. The most important of these was the INDULGENCE, as it was usually termed, which was issued in June, 1669, for the purpose of granting permission to the Presbyterian ministers to exercise the functions of their office. Referring to the "considerable number of ministers who were at once turned out by the Act of Council in the year 1662, and so debarred from preaching of the Gospel and exercise of their ministry," it authorised the Council "to appoint so many of the ousted ministers as have lived peaceably and orderly in the places where they have resided, to return and preach and exercise other functions of their ministry in the parish churches where they formerly resided and served, provided they be vacant." Those who still declined to receive collation from the

bishops were not to receive the stipend, but only the manse and the glebe, with a yearly "maintenance" out of a fund made up of all the vacant stipends. They were to minister only in their own parishes, and were not to admit to ordinances persons belonging to other parishes without the consent of their own pastors.

Only forty-three of the ejected ministers availed themselves of the Indulgence, and, as might have been foreseen, their conduct was condemned by the great body of the people as an acknowledgment of the Royal supremacy, and an acceptance of conditions which were subversive of the spiritual independence of the Church, and of the sole headship of Christ. "It was derived from the King's supremacy," says Kirkton, "and so judged a bitter fruit from a bitter tree." This hostile feeling was strengthened by a declaration in the Royal letter which contained the Indulgence, that the laws against conventicles would be henceforth enforced with all severity, and still more by the "Act against Conventicles," passed by the Estates in July, 1670, under the presidency of Lauderdale as Lord High Commissioner. By this most oppressive and sanguinary Act, the ejected ministers were prohibited from preaching or even praying except in their own houses and to members of their own family:—no other persons were allowed to be present. Heavy fines were imposed upon all who attended Presbyterian meetings out of their own houses; and husbands were to be held responsible for their wives, fathers for their children, and masters

for their servants. It was further enacted, that "whosoever without licence or authority shall preach expound Scriptures, or pray at any of these meetings, in the field, or in any house where there be more persons than the house contains so as some of them be without doors—which is hereby declared to be a field-conventicle—or who shall convocat any number of people to these meetings *shall be punished with death and confiscation of their goods.*" Double fines and the penalties of sedition were to be inflicted on persons attending conventicles, and on the master of a house in which a conventicle had been held. Magistrates of boroughs were liable to an arbitrary fine if such meetings were held therein. A reward of thirty pounds was to be given to any person who should arrest the preacher at a conventicle, and an indemnity for his slaughter if he should be killed in the attempt to seize him. Even the refusal to give evidence on oath against delinquents was to be punished by imprisonment, fines, and banishment to the plantations. It is a significant fact that the Roman Catholics were expressly exempted from the penalties thus inflicted upon the Presbyterians.

These severe and oppressive measures completely neutralised the effect of the Indulgence, and at the same time failed to intimidate the recusants or to suppress their conventicles. Lauderdale's hope "that the penalties will be stronger arguments to move them to outward conformity than any divines could use," was completely disappointed. His mention of "divines" was an allusion to a deputation of Epis-

copal clergymen who, by the advice of Leighton, were sent to itinerate in the western counties and to endeavour to persuade the people to attend the ministry of the Established clergy. Gilbert Burnet, who was the chief member of the deputation, "the Bishop's Evangelists," as they were called, frankly admits that this attempt to convert the Presbyterians to Episcopacy proved a complete failure. "The poor of the country," he says, "came generally to hear us, though not in great crowds. We were, indeed, amazed to see a poor commonalty so capable to argue upon points of government, and on the bounds to be set to the power of princes in matters of religion. Upon all these topics they had texts of Scripture at hand, and were ready with their answers to anything that was said to them. This measure of knowledge was spread even among the meanest of them, their cottagers, and their servants." This unsuccessful effort was followed by another attempt of the pious and amiable Leighton to conciliate the Presbyterians by means of his celebrated "Accommodation," the object of which was to combine the main elements of the Presbyterian system with a moderate Episcopacy. But the proposal failed to please either party, and was especially distasteful to the prelates, so that after several conferences "the treaty was broken off," says Burnet, "to the amazement of all sober and dispassionate people, and to the great joy of Sharp and the rest of the bishops."

For reasons which it is not easy to understand, open-air meetings for religious services were peculiarly obnoxious to the Government, and the severest

penalties were denounced against all who took part in such meetings, or who were present at them. These field-preachings, at first, were peaceable; the worshippers came to them without arms, and at the close of the services they quietly dispersed, and returned to their homes. But, as the parish churches continued to be deserted, the bishops sought, by the infliction of heavy penalties, to deter the people from frequenting the field-meetings, and to compel them to attend the ministrations of the curates. The more, however, that these conventicles were forbidden and punished, the more they multiplied, and they were now frequented by great numbers, who came with arms in their hands for the purpose of defending themselves if attacked by the soldiers. These meetings were usually held in some secluded spot or hollow, on wide mountainheaths, or in glens embosomed in the mountain recesses and shut out from view by the surrounding summits. Trusty sentinels were placed on the hill-tops, commanding a view of the whole district, so as to give instant notice of the approach of the enemy. An elevated temporary pulpit was erected for the clergyman on the level ground, in front of which, generally on a sloping bank, the audience were seated. The male portion of the congregation consisted, for the most part, of farmers and peasantry, with a sprinkling of the burgher class and of the minor gentry, but there were frequently present ladies of good position, who were invited to sit in front of the assembly. Their side-saddles were placed on the ground to serve them for seats, and their horses were

picketed in the rear of the congregation. In the space in front, between the ladies and the pulpit, the arms of the men present—pikes, swords, and muskets—were “regularly piled, in such order as is used by soldiers, so that each man might, in an instant, assume his own weapon.” If, during the service, the sentinels gave notice that the dragoons were within sight, the female portion of the congregation at once dispersed, and sought refuge in some inaccessible fastness, while the men seized their arms and faced the enemy till their wives, daughters, and sisters had reached a place of safety. Sometimes the soldiers made an attack on the Covenanting guards, and blood was occasionally spilt ; but usually the whole congregation escaped, though now and then a straggler was captured by the pursuers and dragged off to prison.

In course of time, the Communion also was celebrated in the open fields, and was attended by vast numbers of the Covenanters, who frequently assembled from great distances, in order to obtain that spiritual support and consolation of which they stood so much in need. A most interesting account of one of these “times of refreshing” is given by the Rev. John Blackadder, the representative of the ancient baronial house of Tulliallan, and one of the most influential of the Covenanting clergy. It was held at East Nisbet, in the Merse of Berwickshire, in 1677. The place selected for the solemn service was eminently fitted for the purpose, both in regard to its convenience and its natural beauty. It was a spacious level haugh, on the banks of the Whitadder, the chief river of

Berwickshire, a clear, broad, and rapid stream, which, pouring down from the Lammermoor Hills, waters that large and fertile plain—the Garden of Scotland—and joins the Tweed, near Berwick. The inhabitants of this Border district had been much more noted for their courage and vigilance in keeping “watch and ward” against the English freebooters, in the “auld days of rugging and riving,” than for their religious character, and, with one or two distinguished exceptions, the nobility and gentry of the country, and even the common people, were indifferent or hostile to the Covenanting cause. “Most of the gentry there, and even the commonalty,” says Blackadder, “were ill set.” It was rumoured that the Earl of Home, the chief territorial magnate of the Eastern Marches, a zealous Royalist, “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.” In these circumstances, it is probable that it was owing to the presence of Blackadder, who had been obliged to flee from Edinburgh and take refuge in Berwickshire, that it was arranged to observe the Lord’s Supper there at this time. Perhaps, also, the fact that the Government had considered it unnecessary to station troops in that district, and that General Dalziel and his dragoons were a hundred and fifty miles distant, may have led the Covenanters to believe that they could observe the Communion in the Merse without any risk of molestation. The

reports, however, respecting the hostile intentions of their enemies in that quarter made them take all proper precautions for their safety. About a hundred and fifty well-armed horsemen were hastily collected on the Saturday. Pickets of from twelve to sixteen men each were appointed to reconnoitre the places from which danger was apprehended; while single horsemen were despatched to greater distances to examine the country, and give warning in case any symptoms were seen of the approach of a body of troops. "The remainder of the horse were drawn round the place of meeting, to be a defence at such distance as they might hear sermon, and be ready to act if need be. Every means was taken to compose the multitude from needless alarm, and prevent in a harmless defensive way any affront that might be offered to so solemn and sacred a work. Though many, of their own accord, had provided for their safety—and this was the more necessary when they had to stay three days together, sojourning by the "lions' dens and the mountains of leopards"—yet none had come armed with hostile intentions.

Intimation of the meeting had been given far and wide, and at least four thousand persons of both sexes, and various conditions in life, assembled at the appointed place on the Sunday morning. There were shepherds from the Lammermoors, with their grey checkered plaids, and broad blue bonnets; burghers from Coldstream, Dunse, and Kelso, and other towns in the district; tenant farmers and retainers from the estates of Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, Robert

Baillie of Jerviswood, Sir William Scott of Harden (the head of the powerful house of Scott, now that the Buccleuch branch had passed into the female line), stalwart Kerrs, Pringles, Elliots, Riddells, Haliburtons, Douglasses and Erskines from the banks of the Tweed, the Teviot, and the Jed, and the recesses of the Cheviot Hills, and even a detachment of Northumberland Borderers, among whom there had long been a strong leaning in favour of the Presbyterian Church.

“We entered on the administration of the holy ordinance,” says Blackadder, “committing it and ourselves to the invisible protection of the Lord of Hosts, in whose name we were met together. Our trust was in the arm of Jehovah, which was better than weapons of war, or the strength of hills. The place where we convened was every way commodious, and seemed to have been formed on purpose. It was a green and pleasant haugh, fast by the side of the river. On either hand there was a spacious brae (bank), in form of a half-circle, 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 beside the river, and around them the people had arranged themselves in decent order. But the far greater multitude sat on the brae-face, which was crowded from top to bottom—full as pleasant

a sight as ever was seen of that sort. Each day, at the congregation's dismissing, the ministers, with their guards, and as many of the people as could, retired to their quarters in their several country towns, where they might be provided with necessaries. The horsemen drew up in a body till the people left the place, and then marched in goodly array behind, at a little distance, until all were safely lodged in their quarters. . . . 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 in the work, and sensible evidence that the great Master of assemblies was present in the midst. It was indeed the doing of the Lord, who covered us a table in the wilderness, in presence of our foes, and reared a pillar of glory between us and the enemy, like the fiery cloud of old that separated between the camp of Israel and the Egyptians—encouraging to the one, but dark and terrible to the other. Though our vows were not offered within the courts of God's house, they wanted not sincerity of heart, which is better than the reverence of sanctuaries. Amidst the lonely mountains

we remembered the words of our Lord, that true worship was not peculiar to Jerusalem or Samaria; that the beauty of holiness consisted not in consecrated buildings or material temples. We remembered the ark of the Israelites, which had sojourned for years in the desert with no dwelling-place but the tabernacle of the plain. We thought of Abraham and the ancient patriarchs, who laid their victims on the rocks for an altar, and burnt sweet incense under the shade of the green tree.

"The tables were served by some gentlemen and persons of the gravest deportment. None were admitted without tokens,* as usual, which were distributed on 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 (the sermon which precedes the Communion), and served the first two tables, as he was ordinarily put to do on such occasions. The other four ministers, Mr. Blackadder, Mr. Dickson, Mr. Riddell, and Mr. Rae, exhorted the rest in their turn. The table service was closed by Mr.

* Small pieces of metal with an inscription stamped on them, which were given in the Presbyterian Church by the ministers or elders to persons who were regarded as worthy to receive the Sacrament. This precaution was taken for the purpose of preventing the admission of improper persons.

† Mr. Welsh was the great-grandson of John Knox, the celebrated Scottish Reformer.

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 voice to the Rock of their Salvation. It was pleasant, as the night fell, to hear their melody swelling in full unison along the hill, the whole congregation joining with one accord and praising God with the voice of psalms.

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

It was not often, however, that even in the early days of the “persecution,” the Covenanters ventured to assemble for “field-preachings” in the fertile and well-peopled parts of the country. They usually selected for the celebration of the Communion some sequestered spot in the pastoral and moorland districts remote from the busy haunts of men—such scenes as that described by the poet of “The Sabbath” when he represents stalwart men and comely matrons, “old men, and youths, and simple maids,” flocking from all quarters to the sacred rendezvous in the mountainous district where the Tweed, Annan, and Clyde take their rise.

“Long ere the dawn, by devious ways,
O'er hills, through woods, o'er dreary wastes, they sought
The upland moors, where rivers, then but brooks,

Dispart to different seas. Fast by such brooks
 A little glen is sometimes scooped, a plat
 With green sward gay, and flowers that strangers seem
 Amid the heathery wild, that all around
 Fatigues the eye. In solitudes like these
 Thy persecuted children, Scotia, foiled
 A tyrant's and a bigot's bloody laws ;
 There, leaning on his spear,
 The lyart (grey-haired) veteran heard the Word of God
 By Cameron thundered, or by Renwick poured
 In gentle stream ; there rose the song, the loud
 Acclaim of praise ; the wheeling plover ceased
 Her plaint ; the solitary place was glad ;
 And on the distant cairns the watcher's ear
 Caught dolefully at times the breeze-borne note."

But when darker times came, and the persecution
 waxed hotter, and the bloodthirsty troopers of Dalziel
 and Claverhouse were scouring the country in all
 directions, the scattered remnant were compelled to
 hold their meetings in remote wildernesses and in
 hollows known only to the shepherd and the hunts-
 man. They assembled in much smaller numbers,
 and took much stricter precautions against surprise.
 They sometimes met for worship in broad daylight,
 but more frequently their religious services were
 performed at night, under the canopy of the midnight
 heaven, while "the voices of the night"—the wind,
 and the stream brawling over its rocky bed—formed a
 burden to the voice of the preacher, and the psalms
 of the worshippers re-echoing the plaintive words of
 the ancient Jewish exiles :—

"Oh, God, why hast Thou cast us off ?
 Is it for evermore ?

Against thy pasture-sheep why doth
Thine anger smoke so sore ?”

Gradually their opportunities for worship became even fewer.

“ No more
The assembled people dared in face of day
To worship God, or even at the dead
Of night, save when the wintry storm raved fierce,
And thunder-peals compelled the men of blood
To couch within their dens ; then dauntlessly
The scattered few would meet in some deep dell,
By rocks o’er-canopied, to hear the voice,
Their faithful pastor’s voice.”

In such circumstances, surrounded by stern looking men with gaunt visages, and eyes “ burning with the glow of enthusiasm,” each with his little clasped-Bible in his hand, and the old-fashioned short but true-tempered Scottish sword by his side, we may conceive what deep emotion would be produced when a Hugh M’Kail painted the desolation of the Church, describing her “ like Hagar, watching the waning life of her infant amid the fountainless desert ; like Judah, under her palm-tree, mourning for the devastation of her temple ; like Rachel weeping for her children and refusing comfort ;” and how “ fierce eyes became fiercer in the darkness, and the Bibles of the hearers were clasped with greater earnestness to their bosoms, and their hands unconsciously grasped their swords,” as the preacher thundered in their ears exhortations to “ set up a standard in the land, and to blow a trumpet upon the mountains. Let not the shepherd tarry by his sheepfold, or the seedsman

continue in the ploughed field, but make the watch strong, sharpen the arrows, burnish the shields.

“Well is he this day that shall barter his horse for a helmet, and sell his garment for a sword, and cast in his lot with the children of the Covenant, even to the fulfilling of the promise; and woe, woe unto him who for carnal ends shall withhold himself from the great work, for the curse shall abide with him, even the bitter curse of Meroz, because he came not to the help of the Lord against the mighty. Up, then, and be doing; the blood of martyrs reeking upon scaffolds is crying for vengeance; the bones of saints which lie whitening in the highways are pleading for retribution; the groans of innocent captives from desolate isles of the sea, and from the dungeons of the tyrant’s high places, cry for deliverance; the prayers of persecuted Christians, sheltering themselves in dens and deserts from the sword of their persecutors, famishing with hunger, starving with cold, lacking fire, food, shelter, and clothing, because they serve God rather than man—all are with you, pleading, watching, knocking, storming the gates of heaven in your behalf. Heaven itself shall fight for you, as the stars in their courses fought against Sisera. Then whoso will deserve immortal fame in this world, and eternal happiness in that which is to come, let them enter into God’s service and take arles at the hand of his servant—a blessing, namely, upon him and his household, and his children to the ninth generation, even the blessing of the promise for ever and ever! Amen!”

CHAPTER IV.

The Influence of Lady Dysart—The Highland Host—The Bond of Law-burrows—Mitchell—Murder of Sharp—Drumclog—Bothwell Bridge—The Wanderers—Fate of Cameron, Hackston, and Cargill—James in Scotland.

THE government of Lauderdale was most acceptable to the King; but it was exceedingly obnoxious, not only to the Covenanters, but to a large portion of the Episcopalian nobility and gentry. His life was steadily deteriorating his character, and Lady Dysart's unbounded influence over him was exerted only for evil. This lady, whose reputation for wicked deeds was scarcely inferior to that of Lauderdale himself, was the eldest daughter of "Will Murray," as he was termed, who had been originally page and whipping-boy to Charles I.—an office that required him to receive the chastisement which his young master merited from his tutor. He was afterwards Groom of the Chamber to that unfortunate prince, and it is alleged systematically betrayed the King's secrets to his enemies. Charles, however, was ignorant of Murray's treachery, and conferred upon him the title of Earl of Dysart. His eldest daughter married Sir Lionel Tollemache, who died in 1668, and on the death of her father she obtained the title of Countess of Dysart. Her inti-

macy with Lauderdale was conducted in such a manner that his wife separated from him, and six weeks after her death the duke made the countess the sharer of his rank and power. The new duchess was a woman of great beauty and ability as well as accomplishments, but venal and rapacious, almost incredibly extravagant in her expenditure, and utterly unprincipled. She sowed the seeds of dissension between Lauderdale and his colleagues, Lord Tweeddale and Sir Robert Murray, and compelled them to retire from office. To supply her profusion and satisfy her ravenous "greed of filthy lucre," she exacted large sums of money from the candidates for office, and filled the Privy Council and the courts of justice with her minions. At her instigation Lauderdale appointed his brother, Lord Hatton—a weak and rapacious creature—Treasurer-depute, Master of the Mint, and a Lord of Session. Rothes, through the same means, was restored to office. Sharp, the Primate, paid court to the duchess and was received into favour; and thus the administration of affairs returned to its old channel. The revenues of the Crown, which were engrossed by Lauderdale, large as they were, did not suffice for the lavish expenditure of his wife, and the fines imposed upon the Covenanters were exacted with increased severity. The sums extorted from eleven gentlemen in the county of Renfrew alone, at this period, amounted to upwards of thirty thousand pounds sterling. The offences which were visited with such heavy penalties were absence from the parish church, attendance at conventicles, and the baptism of children by ejected ministers.

On the downfall of the Cabal Administration, Lauderdale was dismissed from his Majesty's Council in England, but he still retained his place in the Royal favour, and continued to be Minister for Scotland, as the English Parliament had no authority to interfere with the government of that country. A zealous attempt was made by the Duke of Hamilton and a number of influential members of the Scottish Parliament to induce the King to remove Lauderdale from office on the ground of his gross corruption and malversation, but without effect. They were informed that the redress of their grievances should be left to the Parliament, but it was immediately adjourned and then dissolved, and no other meeting of the Estates was ever convened during Lauderdale's administration. Thus freed from all restrictions on his power, he resumed his persecution of the Covenanters more fiercely than ever. "As if Satan himself," says Sir Walter Scott, "were suggesting the means of oppression, the Council raked out of oblivion the old and barbarous laws which had been adopted in the fiercest times and directed them against the Nonconformists." One of the most oppressive of these obsolete statutes was the Act which authorised the King to issue what were called "Letters of Intercommuning," which, however, could be legally done only by the Estates, and not by the Privy Council. By these letters those who could not be apprehended and brought to trial were outlawed, and all who in any way held intercourse with them were rendered liable to the same penalty. Proclamation was accordingly

now made (1676) at the market crosses of the principal towns in the south and west of Scotland, that "his Majesty commanded all and sundry his lieges and subjects not to intercommune with the rebels (as the Covenanters were styled), nor to furnish them with meat, drink, house, harbour, victual, nor any other thing useful or comfortable to them, nor to have intelligence with any of them by word, writ, or message, under pain of being considered guilty of the same crimes as the persons intercommuned." It was calculated that at least seventeen thousand persons, including landed proprietors, ministers, and even ladies, were by this Act deprived of the protection of the law, excluded from society and from intercourse with their nearest relations, and compelled to take refuge among the hills and morasses, "destitute, afflicted, tormented." Some of them, after being hunted from every mountain and from every glen, and out of the holes of the rocks, for weeks and months, were compelled to flee for safety to foreign countries. Others were captured and imprisoned in the fortress on the Bass Rock, and left there for years half-starved and neglected, probably forgotten by the authorities.

The oppressive measures adopted by the Council completely failed to suppress conventicles, or to increase the attendance on the ministry of the Episcopal clergy. Another expedient was therefore tried, which there is good reason to believe was adopted for the purpose of goading the Covenanters into rebellion, which would afford a plausible excuse for keeping on foot a standing army that might ultimately be em-

ployed to destroy the liberties of the English people. A demand was made upon the landed proprietors in the western counties that they should compel their families, domestics, and tenants to abstain from frequenting conventicles or succouring preachers, and to attend their parish churches. They made answer that "it was not within the compass of their power to do so." On receiving this expected and desired refusal, Lauderdale immediately declared the western districts in a state of revolt. A body of troops was collected at Belfast, and an English force was ordered to march to the Borders, but it was found unnecessary to employ their services, as the notorious "Highland host" proved sufficient for the purpose. At this time there was no community of interest or feeling between the Highlanders and the Lowland Scots. While the latter were peaceable and industrious, and now unaccustomed to war, the former were still as they had been for centuries, "a barbarous and savage people, accustomed to rapine and spoil." It was resolved to let loose a numerous body of these marauders upon the western counties, "to take effectual course for reducing them to due obedience." Accordingly, about eight thousand Camerons, Athole men, Macdonalds, and Mackenzies were instructed by Royal authority to march "wherever they shall be ordered; on which march we hereby authorise them to take free quarter according as our Privy Council and their committee shall think fit to order, and, if need be, to seize on horses for carrying their sick men, ammunition, and other provisions. And for their encouragement we

hereby indemnify them against all pursuits, civil and criminal, which may at any time hereafter be intended against them for anything they shall do in our service by killing, wounding, apprehending, or imprisoning such as shall make opposition to our authority, or by seizing such as they have reason to suspect, the same being always done by order of the Privy Council, their committee, or the superior officer.' It was in vain that the landed gentlemen of Ayrshire remonstrated against the "sending among them so inhuman and barbarous a crew." The more inhuman and barbarous they were, the better were they fitted to serve the purpose for which they were sent. Besides their usual weapons they carried with them spades, shovels, and mattocks, iron fetters, and an instrument of torture called thumb-locks, to compel suspected persons to answer any question put to them, and to discover their hidden money or goods. Much to their surprise, no doubt, and not less to the disappointment of their employers, they met with no resistance. The people whom they plundered and maltreated, took patiently, if not "joyfully, the spoiling of their goods." Their submission, however, did not save them from shameful usage on the part of a body of men whom a zealous partisan of the Government describes as "a multitude not accustomed to discipline, averse to the restraint of laws, and trained up in rapine and violence. Nothing escaped their ravenous hands: by menaces, by violence, and sometimes by tortures, men were obliged to discover their concealed wealth. Neither age, nor sex, nor innocence afforded protection." These licensed

banditti swarmed over the whole western district, breaking open houses, and laying violent hands on whatever they could carry away with them. They even stopped travellers on the highway and stripped them of their clothes. The whole country was laid waste, and the fields were left uncultivated. When the devastation wrought by the "Highland host" was reported to Lauderdale, he merely remarked, "Better that the west bore nothing but windle-straws and sand-laverocks (dog-grass and sand-larks) than that it should bear rebels to the King." A deputation consisting of fourteen peers and fifty gentlemen, with the Duke of Hamilton at their head, repaired to London and laid their grievances before the King, in the presence of the Cabinet. But the only redress they obtained was to be told by Charles, "I perceive that Lauderdale has been guilty of many bad things against the people of Scotland, but I cannot find he has acted anything contrary to my interest." The Sovereign and his favourite servant were worthy of each other.

The ravages of the Highland host did not, however, shake the resolution of the western gentry not to enter into bonds which they regarded as both illegal and unpracticable; and Lauderdale was so enraged at their refusal, that at a meeting of the Privy Council he bared his arms above the elbows, and swore by the great God that he would compel them to subscribe. With this view he caused the King to take out what was called "a bond of law-burrows" against the people of Scotland—a legal process by which a person who

has been threatened with violence by another appeals for protection to a court of law, which compels his adversary to find security to keep the peace. By this process Lauderdale endeavoured to bind the landed proprietors under heavy penalties not only to refrain from attending conventicles themselves, but also to prevent their families, domestics, and tenants from frequenting such meetings, and to eject from their estates those whom they suspected of being favourable to the Covenanting cause. There can be no doubt that the object of these harassing and oppressive measures on the part of the Council was to goad the people into insurrection in order that Lauderdale and his accomplices might reap a rich harvest of fines and forfeitures. Burnet states that "on Valentine's Day instead of drawing mistresses they drew estates, and great joy appeared in their looks upon a false alarm that was brought them of an insurrection." But the people bore with astonishing patience both the ravages of the Highland caterans and the arbitrary and harassing exactions of the Privy Council, so that no plausible excuse could be found for inflicting on them the penalties of rebellion. At length the Government found that the ravages of the marauders whom they had let loose on the western counties were exciting universal execration, and giving deep offence to their own friends. It was therefore deemed expedient to send them back to their native hills. "When the Highlanders went back," says Wodrow, "one would have thought they had been at the sacking of some besieged town by their baggage and luggage. They

were loaded with spoil. They carried away a great many horses, and no small quantity of goods out of merchants' shops, whole webs of linen and woollen cloth, some silver plate bearing the names and arms of gentlemen. You would have seen them with loads of bed-clothes, carpets, men and women's wearing clothes, pots, pans, gridirons, shoes, and other furniture whereof they had pillaged the country." During the three months in which they had enjoyed free quarters and unrestricted licence, the damage they had done in the county of Ayr alone was moderately estimated at £36,000.

The public indignation which these measures roused was chiefly directed against the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who was generally regarded as their author or instigator, and was doubly obnoxious as the Judas of the Presbyterian Church, and an agent of Satan, who, according to the vulgar belief, frequently appeared to him in a bodily shape. Sharp seems, not without reason, to have been apprehensive of assassination. As far back as July, 1668, an attempt was made on his life by a fanatical preacher named James Mitchell, who discharged a pistol at him as he was sitting in his coach in the High Street of Edinburgh, but the shot missed the archbishop and severely wounded Honeyman, Bishop of Orkney, who was stepping into the coach at the moment. Though this incident took place in broad daylight, Mitchell was allowed to walk away unmolested. No trace could be got of the man; but six years after Sharp himself, on whose memory Mitchell's face and figure

had naturally made a strong impression, noticed a man frequently looking hard at him, and thought he recognised the person who had fired at him in 1668. He caused Mitchell to be seized and brought before the Council, but they failed to extract any evidence of guilt from him until, on a solemn promise that his life would be spared, he confessed that it was he who "shot the said pistol at the said archbishop." The Council were under the impression that there was a conspiracy among the Covenanters against the Primate, and they expected to discover through Mitchell the persons implicated in the plot. He affirmed, however, upon oath, what there is no reason to doubt, that "no living creature did persuade him to it, or was upon the knowledge of it." His confession was therefore useless for the purpose of the Council, and it appears from a letter of Lord Hatton that they intended to wreak their disappointment on Mitchell by cutting off his right hand and condemning him to perpetual imprisonment on the Bass. He was accordingly brought before the Justiciary Court and required to repeat his confession. But Burnet states that as he was entering the court one of the judges "who hated Sharp," whispered to him, "Confess nothing unless you are sure of your limbs as well as of your life." Mitchell took the hint and refused to repeat his confession. On this the Privy Council declared that they retracted their promise, but as there was no other evidence against him the indictment had to be abandoned.

Mitchell was sent back to prison, where he was

detained for two years, loaded with chains. In 1676 he was again brought before the Council, and as he steadfastly refused to be his own accuser he was put to the torture of the Boot until he fainted through agony, but he still adhered to his refusal. He was remanded to the prison on the Bass Rock, where he remained two years longer, when at the instance of Sharp he was brought to trial for the attempted murder of the Primate. No evidence, however, could be produced against him except his own confession before the Privy Council. Sir George Lockhart, Mitchell's counsel, an able and learned lawyer, pleaded the promise of indemnity, and produced a copy of the Act of Council containing the promise of pardon, and requested that the original record should be laid before the court. Lauderdale, however, imperiously declared that the records of the Council contained the King's secrets, which no court should be allowed to examine ; and he and his brother Hatton, Rothes the Chancellor, and the Primate denied on oath that any assurance of life had been given to the prisoner. But the records of the Privy Council, which are still in existence, contain in most explicit terms the promise referred to, and load with infamy the five councillors who were guilty of perjury in order to insure Mitchell's conviction. Lord Fountainhall says, "The secret council would have given him one reprieve if the archbishop would have consented." But as Sharp insisted upon the execution of the sentence, Mitchell, in the coarse and brutal language of Lauderdale, was sent to "glorify God in

the Grassmarket." The unhappy man was evidently a crazy fanatic who could not safely be allowed to go at large, but his guilt was almost lost sight of amid the general abhorrence of the manner in which he was convicted.

The day of vengeance on the Primate, however, was at hand, though it came in a totally unexpected manner. A worthless fellow of the name of Carmichael, who had been a bankrupt merchant in Edinburgh, had been appointed by the Primate sheriff-substitute of Fife, to enforce the laws against the Covenanters in that county, and had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious by fining, imprisoning, and cruelly torturing men, women, and children. At length a band of the Covenanters, twelve in number, headed by Hackston of Rathillet, and Balfour of Burley, his brother-in-law, met and resolved to "take some course with Carmichael to scare him from his cruel courses." They accordingly (May 3rd, 1679) waylaid Carmichael, when he was hunting on Tarvit Hill, near Cupar; but the obnoxious official, having received warning that suspicious inquiries had been made about his movements, had hastily returned to the town. Thus baulked of their prey the party were about to separate, when they were informed that the archbishop himself was approaching in his carriage. "It was immediately suggested," says one of the band, "that albeit we had missed the man we sought for, yet God had by a wonderful providence delivered the great and capital enemy of His Church into our hands, and that it was a visible call to us from heaven not to

let him escape." "I think we have a clear call from God to go forth and pursue him," said another. They accordingly gave the archbishop chase and overtook his carriage at a place called Magus Moor, then an elevated open common, within three miles of St. Andrews, of which it commands a full view. They cut the traces of the vehicle, disarmed and dismounted the attendants, dragged the archbishop himself from the carriage in which he was seated with his daughter, pierced him with upwards of twenty wounds, and then rode off, leaving his lifeless and mangled body on the moor.

The great body of the Presbyterians, though doubtless thinking that "the loon was weel away," condemned this cruel and bloody deed as a foul murder; and they could not fail to see that it would greatly increase the severity of the persecution against their party. The Privy Council issued a proclamation offering a large reward for the apprehension of the murderers, but they had fled to the west, and it was noted at the time that only one of them was ultimately seized, and he was merely a passive spectator of the deed. The death of the archbishop furnished the Government with a new test: "Was the death of Sharp murder or no?" with which for some years they grievously harassed the Covenanters of both sexes. A refusal to answer was at once followed by imprisonment, or, in not a few instances, by military execution on the spot. It was now declared a treasonable act to attend a conventicle, and orders were issued to the commanders of the troops in the western district to

disperse all such meetings at the point of the sword. Meanwhile, Hackston and Burley, and the other assassins of the Primate, had made their way through great dangers to the west country, where the down-trodden Covenanters were in a state bordering on rebellion. When field-meetings were first held, those who attended them, as we have seen, came unarmed. Afterwards, when they were liable to be broken in upon and dispersed by the soldiers, a part of the worshippers came armed, and acted as guards for the protection of the meeting. Now, however, when the persecution was waxing hotter and hotter, they resolved to hold, not detached conventicles, in different places, as opportunity might offer, but great aggregate meetings in central localities, attended by large bodies, prepared to resist by force of arms any attempt to interfere with their religious services.

Towards the end of May preparations were made to hold a great conventicle on a moor in the parish of Avondale, near the borders of Lanarkshire. The day selected for the service was the first of June. No secret was made of the arrangement, and it became known to John Graham of Claverhouse, the "Bloody Claverhouse," as he was called, who commanded a body of dragoons, stationed at Glasgow, for the purpose of suppressing the Covenanters in that district. This man, so notorious in the annals of the "persecution," was, as Lord Macaulay says, "a soldier of distinguished courage and professional skill, but rapacious and profane, of violent temper

and of obdurate heart, and has left a name which, wherever the Scottish race is settled on the face of the globe, is mentioned with a peculiar energy of hatred." Having been apprised of the intended meeting, he hastened towards the spot at the head of his own troop of horse and two companies of dragoons. On reaching Hamilton he surprised and made prisoner John King, chaplain to Lord Cardross, with fourteen others, whom he bound and drove before him, on his way to disperse the field-meeting.

The Covenanters had assembled on the farm of Drumclog, in the midst of a high and moorland district out of which rises the wild craggy eminence of Loudoun Hill, in whose vicinity Robert Bruce gained his first victory—a miniature battle of Bannockburn—over the English invaders in the War of Independence. The dreary expanse at intervals swells into lumpish hills covered with dark heath, alternating with quagmires and green morasses intersected by deep gullies—the channels of mountain torrents almost dry in summer and filled with heaps of stones and gravel. In this desolate region a numerous body of Covenanters had gathered from various quarters to worship the God of their fathers; and the preacher, Thomas Douglas, had proceeded only a short way with his sermon when a watchman posted on an adjoining height fired his gun as a signal that the enemy was approaching. The preacher paused in his discourse, and closed it with the oft-quoted words—"You have got the theory, now for the practice." The women and

children were sent to the rear. The armed men separated from the rest of the meeting and took up their position. They consisted of about fifty horse and two hundred foot, of whom only fifty had guns, the remainder were armed merely with halberts, scythes set straight on poles, hay-forks, and other rustic weapons. The command was taken by Robert Hamilton, the younger son of Sir Thomas Hamilton of Preston, a young man of courage and zeal, but narrow-minded, bigoted, and intolerant, and without military talent or experience. He was assisted, however, by men of a different stamp, some of them old soldiers, such as the veteran Henry Hall of Haughhead, Balfour of Burley, Robert Fleming, Hackston of Rathillet, and William Cleland of Douglas, a youth of distinguished courage and abilities. They were joined at this critical moment by John Nisbet of Hardhill, who had served on the Continent during the Thirty Years' War. Under the direction of these skilful officers the Covenanters were drawn up in a most advantageous position on a gently sloping declivity, protected in front by a morass or natural gully. As they marched to the spot selected for them they sang with great spirit, to the tune *Martyrs*, the first four verses of the 76th Psalm, according to the metrical version of the Scottish Kirk :—

“ In Judah's land God is well known,
His name's in Israel great;
In Salem is His tabernacle,
In Sion is His seat.

"There arrows of the bow He brake,
The shield, the sword, the war.
More glorious Thou than hills of prey,
More excellent art far."

"A shout, or rather a solemn acclamation," says Sir Walter Scott, "attended the close of the stanza; and after a dead pause, the second verse was resumed by the insurgents, who applied the destruction of the Assyrians as prophetic of the issue of their own impending contest :"—

"Those that were stout of heart are spoiled,
They slept their sleep outright;
And none of those their hands did find,
That were the men of might.

"When Thy rebuke, O Jacob's God,
Had forth against them past,
Their horses and their chariots both
Were in a dead sleep cast."

"There was another acclamation, which was followed by the most profound silence."

By this time Claverhouse and his dragoons were descending the slope of the opposite eminence, called Calder Hill, and with a loud cheer they rushed towards the morass and fired a volley at the Covenanters. It was returned with great effect, emptying a number of saddles. The dragoons made several unsuccessful attempts to cross the marsh, and flanking parties sent to the right and to the left were repulsed with considerable loss. At this juncture John Nisbet cried out, "Jump the ditch and charge the enemy." The

order was instantly obeyed. Balfour, at the head of the horsemen, and Cleland, with a portion of the infantry, crossed the marsh and attacked the dragoons with such fury that they were thrown into confusion and took to flight, leaving from forty to fifty of their number dead on the field. Claverhouse himself had his horse killed under him, and narrowly escaped his pursuers. The word given out by him before the battle was "No quarter," and the soldiers who guarded King and the other prisoners were ordered to shoot them if the troops were defeated; they were allowed to escape, however, in the confusion of the flight. A number of the dragoons fell into the hands of the victors, but were at once set at liberty, much to the dissatisfaction of Hamilton, who insisted that they should have been dealt with as their commander had enjoined them to treat the Covenanters.

The victory at Drumclog roused the whole country. Great numbers poured in to join the victors, and in a short time their ranks had swelled to upwards of six thousand men. But though their courage and enthusiasm rendered them formidable they were quite undisciplined, and were, moreover, torn by intestine dissensions and interminable disputes respecting the Indulgence. One party insisted that its acceptance should be expressly condemned in a public proclamation, and that none should be allowed to fight for the cause who did not share these views. The more moderate and reasonable section pleaded for forbearance, though they had personally refused to avail themselves of the Indulgence. While the disorderly

host were wasting precious weeks in their insane disputes, and, as one of them complained, "broke by these divisions their little army before it was broken by the enemy," the Government were preparing to send down an overwhelming force to crush the insurrection at a blow. The command was entrusted to the Duke of Monmouth, a natural son of the King, who had been created Duke of Buccleuch on his marriage to the heiress of that house. At the head of 15,000 men, with a complete train of field artillery, and accompanied by Lord Livingston and Claverhouse, Monmouth, on the 21st of June, reached the village of Bothwell, on the north bank of the Clyde opposite Hamilton Moor, on the south bank of which the insurgents were encamped.

Early next morning two of the moderate party of the Covenanters waited on Monmouth and stated their grievances, and asked for the free exercise of their religion, a free General Assembly, and a free Parliament. The duke received them kindly, but informed them that he could not enter into terms until they laid down their arms and submitted to the clemency of the King. He stipulated that they must send their answer in half an hour. But even at this critical moment the army of the insurgents was a mere mob, without unity of aim or action, and, in the words of Bishop Burnet, they seemed "to have neither the grace to submit, the courage to fight, nor the sense to run away." "We were not concerned with an enemy," said one of them, "as if there had not been one within a thousand miles of us. There were none sent through

the army to see if we wanted powder or ball. I do really think there were few or none that had both powder and ball in all the army to shoot twice." They were still engaged in clamorous disputes about the "Black Indulgence," when the cannon of the Royal army began to thunder on their disordered ranks. The message sent from Monmouth served only to increase the bitterness of their noisy alterations respecting a proposal to cashier their officers, and to elect others in their room. Some recommended submission; others thought the conditions too stringent; a third class would enter into no terms with an uncovenanted King. The period of grace expired, and the attack began.

The position of the Covenanters was well chosen and strong. In front was the "broad and brimming" river Clyde, too deep to be forded; but it was crossed at this spot by a long, steep, and narrow bridge, with a gateway in the centre. Several houses on the south bank and some thickets of alder and hazel afforded cover to the defenders of the passage. A picked party of three hundred men under Hackston of Rathillet, Turnbull of Bealey in Teviotdale, and Hall of Haughhead, were posted at the bridge, and the gateway was strongly barricaded with stones and logs of timber. Burley and Captain Nisbet defended the level bank of the river above the bridge. The assault was led by Lord Livingstone at the head of the English Foot Guards, but they were bravely resisted and repulsed by the defenders with great loss, while another body who attempted to ford the river were thrown

into disorder by a well-directed fire from the party under Nisbet and Burley. For three hours Hackston maintained his post with indomitable resolution against overwhelming numbers ; and it appeared highly probable that his obstinate defence would ultimately be successful. But at this critical moment his ammunition began to fail. His urgent messages imploring a fresh supply were unheeded. Either there was none remaining, or there was no one who could issue it. Hackston and his resolute band were forced to retire with "sore hearts" from the post which they had so gallantly defended. The Royal troops then forced open the gate, and defiling along the narrow bridge, with their cannon in front, formed in line of battle on the south bank of the river. The main body of the insurgents, as if paralysed or stupified, made no attempt to interrupt this dangerous movement, though a determined charge while the Royal army was in the act of crossing might even then have changed the fortune of the day. But at the first discharge of the duke's artillery the insurgent horsemen wheeled about and fled ; their untrained horse, it was alleged, would not stand fire. In their flight they broke through the ranks of the infantry, and threw them into disorder. Hackston and his troop of horse alone remained, and did not quit the field till they saw that all was lost. The foot, after an ill-directed and disorderly volley, fled in all directions hotly pursued, and were hewn down without mercy by the dragoons. Monmouth earnestly exerted himself to stop the butchery of the unresisting fugitives, but the voice of Claverhouse

was heard shouting, "Kill! kill! no quarter!" His troops were as merciless as their commander, and spared none whom they overtook. Few fell in the battle, but four hundred were killed in the pursuit. A body of twelve hundred infantry who remained on the moor and could neither escape nor resist, threw down their arms and surrendered themselves prisoners at discretion. When the fugitives reached Hamilton, Burley made an attempt to rally them, and to induce them to defend the streets of that town. But his sword-arm was broken by a bullet, and fell powerless at his side. "May the hand be withered," he exclaimed, "that fired that shot. I can fight no longer." He then sought safety in flight, and ultimately succeeded in making his escape to Holland.

Monmouth, who sympathised with the oppressed and down-trodden Covenanters, did all in his power to repress the barbarities perpetrated by his troops, much to the displeasure of Dalziel, who soon after superseded him as commander-in-chief. That ruthless savage is said to have upbraided the duke publicly with his lenity towards the insurgents, and to have expressed a wish that his commission had come before the battle, for then, he added, "These rogues should never more have troubled the King or country." Charles himself is reported to have said to Monmouth, that if he had been there, there should have been no trouble about prisoners. "If that was your wish," was the dignified reply of his son, "you should not have sent me, but a butcher." Monmouth, however, succeeded in obtaining an indemnity for those

who would promise never again to appear in arms against the King, nor to frequent field-conventicles. But before it was issued innumerable barbarities had been committed by the soldiers, especially by those under Claverhouse, on the defenceless country people; and Lauderdale, in framing the Act, inserted so many exceptions that its object was to a great extent frustrated. King and Kid, the two clergymen who were rescued at Drumclog, were re-captured, and though they had not been present at Bothwell Bridge, they were cruelly tortured with the Boot, and then put to death. Five others were executed on Magus Moor, and their bodies hung in chains, though none of them had anything to do with the murder of the Primate. The rest of the prisoners, twelve hundred in number, were tied two and two and marched to Edinburgh, where they were penned in the Greyfriars' Churchyard, the scene of the memorable subscription to the National Covenant forty years before. Here they were confined for five months with no covering but the sky, and no couch except the greensward of the graves, stinted of their food, and watched day and night by sentinels, who treated them with great brutality. A considerable number were ultimately liberated on signing a bond never to take arms against the King. A few made their escape; the remainder, amounting to two hundred and fifty-seven, were condemned to be transported to the plantations in the West Indies, and sold as slaves. Their treatment on board the ship in which they were embarked was barbarous and cruel in the extreme. They were

stowed under deck in a hole not sufficient to contain half their number. Both food and water were served out to them with a most niggardly hand, and many of them fainted for want of air. "All the troubles we met with since Bothwell," wrote one of them to his wife, "were not to be compared to one day in our present circumstances. Our uneasiness is beyond words." The vessel encountered a terrible storm on her voyage, and was wrecked on the coast of the Orkney Islands. The sailors succeeded in reaching the land by lowering the mast, and laying it between the ship and the rock on which she had struck. The prisoners might all have escaped in the same way, but the captain—a Roman Catholic, of the name of Patterson—turned a deaf ear to their agonising entreaties, and refused to allow the hatches to be opened. When the vessel went to pieces, about fifty of the prisoners reached the shore on parts of the wreck; the remainder were swallowed up by the waves.

Comparatively few of the Covenanters took advantage of the Act of Indemnity, hedged round, as it was, with offensive restrictions; and the persecution of those in the south and west of the country was carried on with greater severity than ever. A lawless and ruthless soldiery scoured the country in search of the fugitives from Bothwell Bridge, and shocking cruelties were perpetrated to discover their hiding-places. The thumbkins, a portable instrument of torture which Dalziel is said to have introduced from Russia, was frequently employed to compel their rela-

tions to tell where the fugitives were concealed. In other cases lighted matches were put between the fingers until they were burned to the bone and the hand destroyed.

Many of the "Wanderers," as they were now termed, were driven by their relentless persecutors to take refuge in "desert wildernesses," on the summits of lonely mountains, in dank and almost inaccessible morasses, and "in dens and caves of the earth." According to the impartial testimony of Defoe, "they suffered extremities that tongue cannot describe, and which heart can hardly hear of, from the dismal circumstances of hunger, nakedness, and the severity of the climate; lying in damp caves and in hollow clefts of the naked rocks, without shelter, covering, fire, or food; none durst harbour, entertain, relieve, or speak to them upon pain of death. Many, for venturing to receive them, were forced to fly from death, and several were put to death for no other offence. Fathers were persecuted for supplying their children, and children for nourishing their parents; husbands for harbouring their wives, and wives for cherishing their own husbands. The ties and obligations of the laws of nature were no defence; but it was made death to perform natural duties, and many suffered death for acts of piety and charity in cases where human nature could not bear the thoughts of suffering it. To such an extent was the rage of these persecutors carried."

It need excite no surprise that, surrounded by such scenes and enduring such sufferings, a gloomy superstition took possession of the minds of the more fierce

and fanatical of the "persecuted remnant." Many of their superstitions naturally related to their persecutors, on whom they believed visible judgments were divinely inflicted for their treatment of God's people. They were firm believers in magical spells and enchantments under Satanic agency. They were persuaded that the enemies of the Church were all sold to Satan. Sharp was said to have been a sorcerer, and to have had intercourse with the devil in a bodily shape. Claverhouse was believed to be proof against leaden bullets; and so was Dalziel. Of one of the persecutors it was reported that his bowels gushed out. The tongue of another was said to have swelled, so that he remained speechless till he died. Lauderdale, like Herod of old, was eaten up of worms. The bodies of some of his subordinates rotted away piecemeal; the wine they were about to drink turned into blood; they died in agonies of remorse, declaring that they were already suffering the torments of hell. That not a few of the men who took a prominent part in the bloody deeds of the "killing time" did not "die the common death of all men," and that most of them ended their days in poverty and disgrace, are undoubted facts; but the ascription of these calamities to supernatural agency is no doubt due to the feelings which suffering and solitude engendered in the minds of the Covenanting Hillmen.

Unlike the English Puritans, the great majority of the Scottish Presbyterians were staunch supporters of monarchy, and had no sympathy with republican principles. Even those who laid down their lives for the "good old cause," solemnly declared on the scaffold that

they "did not intend to rebel against the King and his just authority, but acknowledged him as their lawful sovereign." The Pentland sufferers declared that they took up arms, not against his Majesty, but solely to defend themselves "against the unsupportable tyranny of the prelates, and against the most unchristian and inhuman oppression that ever was enjoined and practised by unjust rulers upon free, innocent, and peaceable subjects"—the identical ground on which, at the Revolution, the Stewarts were expelled from the throne. Now, however, owing to the "oppression which maketh a wise man mad," an extreme party arose among them, who not only condemned the Indulgence and refused to pay cess, but publicly threw off their allegiance to the King, on the ground of his violation of his coronation oath, his breach of the Covenant which he solemnly swore to maintain, his perfidy, and his "tyranny in matters civil." A declaration to this effect was publicly read, and then affixed (June 22nd, 1680) to the market cross of Sanquhar, in Dumfriesshire, by Richard Cameron and Donald Cargill, two of the most distinguished Covenanting ministers, accompanied by an armed party of about twenty persons. This bold step was followed by another and still more daring deed—the excommunication of the King, the Duke of York, the Dukes of Monmouth, Lauderdale, and Rothes, General Dalziel, and Lord Advocate Mackenzie, which was pronounced by Donald Cargill at the Torwood in Stirlingshire—a place famous in the War of Independence as having afforded shelter to the patriot Wallace after

his defeat at Falkirk. "On these rotten malignant enemies," says the author of "The Hind let Loose," "the Lord hath ratified that sentence since very remarkably, whose sins and punishments both may be read more visibly in the providences of the time than I can record them."

These acts of the "Society men," or "Cameronians," as they were called after their leader, afforded the Government a plausible pretext for far more severe measures than they had yet taken against the Hillmen, whom they hunted for several weeks through the moors and wild glens of Ayr and Galloway. Richard Cameron, their leader, was a remarkable man, whose memory is still held sacred among a section of the Presbyterians. He was brought up in the Episcopal Church, but had become a convert to Presbyterianism, by attending the ministrations of the indulged clergy, and had adopted the views of the extreme party among the Covenanters. He was for some time tutor in the family of Sir William Scott, of Harden, ancestor of Lord Polwarth, who suffered both imprisonment and a fine of £4,000 on account of nonconformity. On leaving Harden, Cameron was licensed to preach the gospel, and joined the ejected ministers in labouring on the Borders, and in Nithsdale and Galloway. He then went over to Holland, where he received a cordial welcome from the ministers of the Reformed Church, and was ordained as pastor of the Scottish Church at Rotterdam. After ordination, one of the ministers, who evidently understood the neophyte's character, laying his hand on Cameron's head, said,

“Behold, all ye spectators, here is the head of a faithful minister and servant of Jesus Christ, who shall lose the same for his Master’s interest, and it shall be set up before sun and moon in the view of the world.”

Cameron, still a young man, returned to Scotland in 1680, when the persecution of the Covenanters was at the hottest. He was, undoubtedly, the most powerful of their preachers, and his indomitable courage, physical and moral, and unflinching firmness and zeal eminently fitted him to be the leader of the Society men, who had thrown off their allegiance to the King. The Government put forth their utmost efforts to seize the redoubtable author of the “Sanquhar Declaration,” and he was himself aware that his days were numbered. Chased from one hiding-place to another, Cameron, accompanied by his brother Michael, Hackston of Rathillet, and about sixty armed men, twenty of whom were mounted, took refuge in the wild moorland district which stretches between Cumnock and Muirkirk, in Ayrshire. They had spent the night of July 19th in a large and dreary morass, called Ayrs-Moss. In the afternoon of the next day they were resting on a grassy plot in the midst of the moss, when a troop of dragoons, one hundred and twenty in number, commanded by Bruce of Earlshall, suddenly appeared in view. Escape was impossible, and the handful of Wanderers resolved to fight it out like men. Hackston, an old soldier, selected an advantageous position on which they could take their stand. They had hardly time

to listen to a brief prayer, offered up by Cameron, of which one memorable sentence, thrice repeated, has been preserved by tradition, "Lord, spare the green and take the ripe," till the dragoons were upon them. They fought with indomitable courage, but were soon overpowered by numbers. Cameron and his brother were killed, after a desperate resistance. Hackston, after performing prodigies of valour, cut his way through the thick of the dragoons, and might have escaped, had not his horse become inextricably entangled in the morass. He turned on his pursuer, a dragoon named Ramsay, an acquaintance of his own, whose horse was also bogged, and the two were engaged in a keen hand-to-hand fight, when three dragoons came behind Hackston and struck him on the back of the head. He fell to the ground and was taken prisoner. The remnant of the Covenanters fought desperately till they were completely overpowered. The few horsemen were either killed or scattered, but the greater part of the foot escaped by taking refuge in the morass, whither the dragoons could not follow them.

Hackston and the other prisoners were carried to Edinburgh, and treated with the most degrading indignities. The hands and the head of Richard Cameron were cut off by a person named Murray, and carried before Hackston to Edinburgh. "These," said Murray, as he delivered them to the officials of the Privy Council, "these are the head and hands of a man who lived praying and preaching, and died praying and fighting." With shocking barbarity they

were presented to Cameron's father, in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, with the unfeeling and mocking inquiry if he knew to whom they belonged? "Oh, yes," said the poor old man, taking them and kissing them, "they are my son's, my own dear son's. Good is the will of the Lord, who cannot wrong me nor mine, but has made goodness and mercy to follow us all our days." The head and hands of the martyr were ultimately fixed on the Netherbow Port of Edinburgh, with the hands stretched out in the attitude of prayer.

Cameron, who fell on the field of battle, was much more fortunate than his associate Hackston, who was carried faint and bleeding from his wounds before General Dalziel at Lanark. With characteristic barbarity, that brutal savage refused to allow the prisoner's wounds to be dressed, and ordered him to be put in irons and chained to the floor of his prison. Some questions which he put to Hackston not having been answered to his satisfaction, he threatened to roast him. Hackston was afterwards carried to Edinburgh, and made his entry into that city on a horse, with his face backward. Three of his friends accompanied him on foot, bound to a goad of iron—one of whom expired on the way—and Cameron's head was carried on a halbert before him. He was of course sentenced to be executed. His presence at the murder of Sharp, though he took no part in it, and at Bothwell Bridge, insured his condemnation; but he was put to death with circumstances of studied and shocking cruelty which were a disgrace to humanity.

Donald Cargill, who was upwards of seventy years

of age, the last of the three leaders of the Hillmen, after many hair-breadth escapes, was at length captured by Irvine of Bonshaw, a notorious persecutor, and sealed his testimony with his blood, July 27th, 1681. The Government were so afraid of the effect which his dying speech would produce, that they caused the drums to beat when he attempted to address the people, on being brought out to execution.

At this stage the Duke of York, the heir to the throne, came down to Scotland. His conversion to Popery had roused the English House of Commons to make a strenuous effort to alter the succession, and in order that he might be out of the way during the struggle he was appointed Lord High Commissioner to preside at the meeting of the Scottish Parliament. The Estates, which had not been convened for nine years, assembled on the 28th of July, 1681, with the expectation, which was not disappointed, that they would set an example to the English Parliament of subservience to the wishes of the King. They passed an Act respecting the succession to the Crown, which declares that "The Kings of this realm, deriving their Royal power from God Almighty alone, do succeed lineally thereto, according to the known degrees of proximity in blood;" and that "no difference of religion, nor no 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." It was also declared high treason to propose any alteration or limitation of the right of the presumptive heir to the Crown.

Another Act was passed at the same time, entitled "An Act anent Religion and the Test," which was intended to carry the former into practical effect. It required all persons who held any office—civil, military, or ecclesiastical, and even schoolmasters and clerks, all members of Parliament and all electors, to take, on solemn oath, a test which asserted the Royal supremacy over all persons, and in all causes, civil or ecclesiastical, along with the doctrine of passive obedience in the broadest and most unqualified terms. The person who took this test was also required to promise that he would constantly adhere to the Protestant religion as defined in the Confession of Faith framed by Knox, and ratified by the first Parliament of James VI.—a document which distinctly declares that it is the duty of all good subjects to resist the tyranny of the Sovereign. Even the slavish sycophants who composed this Parliament hesitated to take a test which was a mass of contradictions, and which no honest man, Papist or Protestant, Presbyterian or Episcopalian, could subscribe. About eighty of the Episcopal clergy refused to take this test, and were in consequence ejected from their livings. The Earl of Argyll said he took it "as far as it was consistent with itself and the Protestant religion." For this explanation he was brought to trial for treason and leasing-making, and was condemned to death; but before the sentence was carried into effect the earl escaped from the castle in the disguise of a page, and fled to Holland. His estates were confiscated, and a large reward was offered for his head. The prostitu-

tion of justice to serve the illegal and unconstitutional ends of the Court was no new thing in Scotland, but the flagrant violation both of law and equity in the treatment of Argyll excited deep feeling against the Government in the southern as well as in the northern division of the island. "I know nothing of the Scottish law," said Lord Halifax to the King, "but this I know, that we should not hang a dog here on the grounds on which my Lord Argyll has been sentenced."

A few months after this event the savage old persecutor Lauderdale, broken down by intemperance and disease, closed his flagitious career. He had been deprived of all his offices by the Duke of York, and passed the last two years of his life in obscurity and disgrace. "Discontent and age," says Fountainhall, "were the chief ingredients of his death, if his duchess and physicians were free of it; for she abused him most grossly, and had gotten from him all she could expect, and was glad to be quit of him." About the same time the Duke of Rothes, an intimate friend of Lauderdale, and like him a cruel persecutor of the Covenanters, died in great agony of remorse, earnestly imploring the prayers of the Presbyterian ministers on his behalf. The Earl of Glencairn, formerly Chancellor, and the Earl of Annandale, a Privy Councillor, both deeply implicated in the persecution of the Covenanters, showed the same anxiety on their deathbeds to obtain the services of the ministers whom they had cruelly treated in their lifetime. The Duke of York, on this, remarked, not altogether without

reason, that "he believed that Scotsmen, be they what they would in their lifetime, were all Presbyterians at their death."

The presence in Scotland of the heir to the throne brought no alleviation to the sufferings of the persecuted Covenanters. On the contrary, it had the effect of causing the furnace to be "heated for them even seven times more than it was wont to be heated." The harshness and cruelty of the duke's character were conspicuously displayed in his behaviour while presiding at the examination of the Covenanters before the Council. When the apparatus of torture was produced, the members so often rushed from the chamber to avoid witnessing the shocking spectacle, that the duke at length found it necessary to issue an order that they should keep their seats. But he himself remained unmoved, and watched the agonies of the tortured wretches with as much coolness as if he had been observing some curious physiological experiment. He is said to have declared that "there would never be peace in Scotland till the whole of the country south of the Forth was turned into a hunting-field," and he certainly spared no pains to bring this about. Instructions were given to General Dalziel, who assuredly needed no spur, to exact with more severity the fines incurred for nonconformity, and to take more stringent measures to enforce attendance at the parish churches, and to suppress conventicles. The lawless soldiery were let loose upon the people, armed with almost irresponsible powers, to apprehend any whom they might suspect of disaffection, to examine,

condemn, fine, or put them to death on the spot, at their pleasure. If any refused to deny upon oath a charge made against them, they were immediately held to be guilty, and were punished. The wife of Douglas of Cavers—the representative of an old and distinguished family—declined to swear that she had not been present at a field-meeting since 1679, and was in consequence imprisoned for two years, and fined five hundred pounds. A landed proprietor, named Alexander Hume, was condemned and executed without any evidence, really for his attendance at conventicles, but ostensibly on the ground that his “defence was repugnant to the indictment,” or, in other words, because it was contrary to the charge brought against him.

Two poor young women, one of them a servant girl, were induced by insidious questions, backed by threats and promises, to acknowledge that they had heard Mr. Cargill preach, and had conversed with intercommuned persons, and were, without any other evidence except their own admissions, condemned to death and executed in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh, along with five women who had been found guilty of child-murder. Even persons who had no connection with the Covenanters were on the most frivolous pretexts involved in their punishment. Mr. Laurie of Blackwood, factor to the Marquis of Douglas, was accused of treason because he had transacted business with a man said to have been at Bothwell Bridge. Laurie pleaded that the person referred to had never been prosecuted or intercommuned, but had been living for

several years quietly in his own house without molestation, and that there was no evidence that he had ever taken part in the insurrection. It was held by the court that it was to be presumed that Blackwood must have been aware that the individual in question was a rebel, and upon that allegation he was found guilty and condemned to death. The day of his execution was actually fixed, when through powerful influence he obtained a reprieve. This atrocious procedure was followed up with a proclamation against holding intercourse with rebels, even though "neither forfeited as traitors nor denounced at the time of the rebellion." Even accidental intercourse with Non-conformists was to be treated as treasonable. That no time might be lost, Circuit Justiciary Courts were appointed to perambulate the south and west for this purpose. They did not spare even the friends of the Government. Hamilton of Monkland, who regularly attended his parish church, paid cess, and had always been loyal and peaceable, was condemned to death on the charge that he had received rent from a tenant who was at Bothwell Bridge, but had afterwards obtained an indemnity. His life was ultimately spared, but he was imprisoned for four months and was fined sixteen thousand pounds—eight years' rent of his estate.

CHAPTER V.

The Rye House Plot—Mackenzie and Baillie—Sir Patrick Hume—
The Killing Time—Accession of James II.—Claverhouse—
The Christian Carrier—The Wigtown Murders—Claverhouse's
Coadjutors.

THE Rye House Plot, which took place in 1683, brought new calamities on Scotland. Several Scottish gentlemen who were in communication with the leaders of the Whig party in England were suspected of complicity in the plot, and were brought to trial on a charge of treason. Sir Hugh Campbell of Cessnock, a highly respectable country gentleman far advanced in years, was the first person placed at the bar of the Justiciary Court. As there was no proof that he had any connection with the English plotters, the Council trumped up against him a charge of having conversed with some of the Bothwell insurgents. But the proof completely broke down, and, though the Lord Advocate Mackenzie attempted to browbeat and intimidate the jury, they, with unwonted independence, returned a verdict of not guilty. But notwithstanding this verdict Sir Hugh was kept in confinement in the Bass on the plea that he was the King's prisoner, and his estates were forfeited.

The English Government had arrested Spence, the Earl of Argyll's secretary, and William Carstairs, afterwards Principal of the University of Edinburgh, both of whom were supposed to have some knowledge

of the Rye House Plot. But as the law of England forbade the use of torture, they were sent down to Scotland to be "put to the question." Both were severely tortured, but they endured the excruciating suffering inflicted on them with great fortitude, and nothing more than the Government already knew was extracted from them.

Baillie of Jerviswood, a venerable patriot—"a gentleman of great parts," says Burnet, "but of much greater virtue"—greatly revered by his countrymen for his remarkable ability, learning, and distinguished piety, was now lying in prison, dying of a disease brought on by a long and rigorous imprisonment. But it was resolved to anticipate the termination of his illness in order to obtain possession of his estates, on which the minions of the Court had cast their covetous eyes. When placed at the bar he was so weak that he was unable to stand, and had to be supported by cordials to keep him from sinking. His objections to the indictment were unanswerable, and the evidence adduced in its support was utterly insufficient, but this mattered not. The Lord Advocate Mackenzie—"Bloody Mackenzie," as he was justly styled—assailed the aged and helpless prisoner in the most insolent terms as an accomplice in the "horrible plot" for assassinating the King and the Duke of York. Looking his accuser full in the face Baillie said, "I think it strange, my lord, that you should accuse me of such abominable actions. Did you not when you came to me in prison tell me such things were laid to my charge, but you did not believe them?"

Are you now convinced in your conscience that I am more guilty than before?" Every eye in the court was turned upon Mackenzie, who, in spite of his brazen assurance, was covered with confusion, and muttered in a tremulous tone, "Jerviswood, I own what you say, but my thoughts there were as a private man; what I say here is by special direction of the Privy Council; and," pointing to Sir William Paterson, the Clerk of the Council, he added, "he knows my orders." "Well," rejoined Baillie, "if you have one conscience for yourself and another for the Council, I pray God to forgive you—I do." He was of course found guilty, and was condemned to be executed on the same day, his body to be quartered, and his limbs to be exposed in the chief towns of the kingdom. On receiving sentence he said, "My lord, the time is short, the sentence is sharp, but I thank my God who hath made me as fit to die as you are to live." The sentence was executed with all its revolting barbarities, his estates were confiscated, and bestowed upon the Duke of Gordon, a Roman Catholic, and Baillie's destitute family had to flee for safety to Holland. But the day of retribution to the oppressor, and of full reparation to the oppressed was not far off.

Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, afterwards Earl of Marchmont and Lord Chancellor of Scotland, was involved in the same accusation with his intimate friend Robert Baillie. He had long been a marked man, and had twice suffered imprisonment for his constitutional resistance to the arbitrary measures of the Government. The judicial murder of his vener-

able friend made Sir Patrick aware of his own imminent danger, and he sought a hiding-place in the family burial-vault underneath the parish church of Polwarth. This ancient building stands in a lonely sequestered spot, on a knoll surrounded by old trees, with a brawling burn at its foot, and no dwelling near it. Sir Patrick's grand-daughter, Lady Murray, in her charming memoir of the noble heroine, Lady Grisell Baillie, her mother, gives a graphic picture of the dangers to which he was exposed, and the privations he had to endure at this time. "Her father," she says, "thought it necessary to keep concealed, and soon found he had too good reason for so doing, parties being continually sent out in search of him, and often to his own house, to the terror of all in it; though not from any fear for his safety, whom they imagined at a great distance from home, for no soul knew where he was but my grandmother and my mother, except one man, a carpenter, called Jamie Winter, who used to work in the house and lived a mile off, on whose fidelity they thought they could depend, and were not deceived. The frequent examinations and oaths put to the servants in order to make discoveries were so strict, they durst not run the risk of trusting any of them. By the assistance of this man they got a bed and bed-clothes carried in the night to the burying-place, a vault under ground at Polwarth Church, a mile from the house, where he was concealed a month, and had only for light an open slit at one end, through which nobody could see what was below. She (Grisell) went

every night by herself at midnight to carry him victuals and drink, and stayed with him as long as she could to get home before day. Often did they laugh heartily in that doleful habitation at different accidents that happened. She at that time had a terror for a churchyard, especially in the dark, as is not uncommon at her age by idle nursery stories; but, when engaged by concern for her father, she stumbled over the graves every night alone, without fear of any kind entering her thoughts but for soldiers and parties in search of him, which the least noise or motion of a leaf put her in terror for. There was difficulty of getting victuals to carry to him without the servants suspecting. The only way it was done was by stealing off her plate at dinner into her lap. Many a diverting story she has told about this and other things of the like nature. Her father liked sheep's head; and while the children were supping their broth she had conveyed most of one into her lap. When her brother Sandy (the late Lord Marchmont) had done he looked up with astonishment and said, 'Mother, will ye look at Grisell? While we have been supping our broth she has ate up the whole sheep's head!' This occasioned so much mirth amongst them that her father at night was greatly entertained by it, and desired Sandy might have a share of the next. His great comfort and constant entertainment (for he had no light to read by) was repeating Buchanan's Psalms, which he had by heart, from beginning to end, and retained them to his dying day."

On the approach of winter, Lady Hume and

Jamie Winter contrived a place of concealment for Sir Patrick more comfortable and less injurious to health than the dark and damp burial-vault. In one of the rooms on the ground floor of his mansion, Grisell and the faithful carpenter dug a hole in the earth beneath a bed, using their fingers alone to prevent noise ; and, under cover of night, they carried out the earth in a sheet to the garden, and scattered it in places where it was least likely to be noticed. The severity of this task is shown by the fact that when it was finished the nails were quite worn off the young lady's fingers. In the excavation thus made Winter placed a box large enough to contain some bed-clothes, and to afford a place of refuge for the hunted Covenanter. Sir Patrick lived for some time in this room, of which his daughter kept the key ; but an irruption of water into the excavation compelled him to seek another asylum, and the search for him having become keener after the judicial murder of his friend Baillie, he resolved to make an attempt to escape in disguise from the country. He set out on horseback during the night, accompanied by a trusty servant named John Allan, who was to conduct him part of his way to London. In travelling towards the Tweed, Sir Patrick and his guide accidentally separated in the darkness, and the former was not aware that he had quitted the proper road till he reached the banks of the river. This mistake proved his safety, for Allan was overtaken by the soldiers who had been sent in pursuit of his master. In the assumed character of a surgeon Sir

Patrick reached London in safety, and thence made his way by France into Holland.

Not a few of the Covenanters were exposed to dangers and sufferings much more severe, and made even narrower escapes from the hands of their enemies. "Wonderful," says Wodrow, "were the preservations of the persecuted about this time. The soldiers frequently got their clothes and cloaks, and yet missed themselves. They would have gone by the mouths of the caves and dens in which they were lurking, and the dogs would snort and smell about the stones under which they were hid, and yet they remained undiscovered."

The period which followed the judicial murder of Baillie is usually styled "The Killing Time," to denote the sanguinary character of the measures now adopted for the extermination of the Covenanters. A prescription roll, issued in the month of May, contained the names of no fewer than two thousand persons, described as fugitives from the law, and destined, if caught, to capital punishment. Intercourse with the intercommuned Wanderers was treated as treason, and so was even the refusal to swear that such intercourse had not taken place. Fathers were punished for harbouring or even conversing with their sons, and wives for receiving their husbands. Ruinous fines were exacted for refusal or neglect to comply with any of the arbitrary and illegal demands of the Privy Council, and became a large and regular revenue to the minions of the Court. Formerly husbands were held responsible for the attendance of their wives at

conventicles, now they were heavily fined for their absence from the parish church. Sir William Scott of Harden was amerced in the sum of fifteen hundred pounds sterling for this offence, and Mackenzie, the Lord Advocate, who obtained a gift of the fine, exacted the whole amount. A few of the chief proprietors in the county of Roxburgh had to pay no less than twenty-two thousand five hundred pounds because their wives refused to attend the ministrations of the Episcopal clergymen. The fines imposed on various grounds on the gentry in eleven counties amounted to a hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling, an enormous sum in those days in a poor country like Scotland.

But it was against the Society men that the Government directed their most vindictive proceedings, and it was evident that their utter extirpation was determined upon. They were truly "killed all the day long: they were counted as sheep for the slaughter." As every man's hand was against them, they, like Ishmael, naturally began to turn their hand against every man. They were hunted like wild beasts, and on some occasions bloodhounds were employed to discover their places of refuge. Spies and renegade Presbyterians were hired to gain their confidence and betray them. The soldiers were authorised to put to death on the spot, without any form of trial or evidence, suspected persons they might meet with who should refuse to take the Test, or to answer ensnaring questions respecting the murder of Sharp, or the rising at Bothwell Bridge, or the law-

fulness of taking up arms against the King. Driven to desperation by these atrocities, the Hillmen turned upon their oppressors and made it known that they would no longer submit to be tamely butchered like sheep. In October, 1684, they published what is termed their "Apologetical Declaration," in which "they solemnly warned the enemies to their cause, such as bloody militiamen, malicious troopers, soldiers and dragoons, and spies, and their aiders and abettors, all who either conspired with bloody Doeg to shed our blood, or with the flattering Ziphites to inform persecutors where we are to be found. We desire you to take warning of the hazard that ye incur by following such courses, for sinless necessity, for self-preservation, accompanied with holy zeal for Christ's reigning in our land and suppressing of profanity, will move us not to let you pass unpunished. We desire you to take warning of the hazard that ye incur by following such courses. All that is in peril is not lost, and all that is delayed is not forgiven."

This daring manifesto struck terror into the hearts of those who were conscious that they had made themselves marked men by their prominence in hunting down the Wanderers—curates, who had transmitted to the nearest military officer the names of Nonconformists in their parishes; spies and informers, who had betrayed them into the hands of their enemies; local magistrates, who had been the willing tools of the Council; country gentlemen, like Bruce of Earlshall, Grierson of Lagg, and Johnstone of Westerhall, who had volunteered their

services to assist the soldiers in hunting out and butchering the hapless fugitives ; and the dragoons, who had shed their blood like water and played at football with the heads of the martyrs, were all in dread of the vengeance of the men whom their cruelties had thus brought to bay. They were well aware of the determined character of the men whose vengeance they had provoked, and as cowardice is closely allied to cruelty, orders were issued that the "field conventiclers" should be "rooted out with all the severity of our laws, and with the most rigorous prosecution of our forces." The Lords of the Privy Council ordained that, any person who owned, or who would not disown, the late treasonable Declaration upon oath, whether they had arms or not, were to be immediately put to death ; this being always done in presence of two witnesses, and the person or persons having commission from the Council to that effect.

This was virtually a commission to the soldiers to put to death without trial all whom they should think fit to regard as rebels. At the same time, special courts of inquiry were appointed with authority to try those who refused to take a form of abjuration, declaring that they "did abhor and renounce the pretended declaration of war lately affixed at several parish churches," and to "instantly exercise the sentence of death on such as do refuse to disown it." "All usual forms of law," says Sir Walter Scott, who was no friend to the Covenanters, "by which the subjects of a country are protected against the violence of armed power, were at once broken down ; and

officers and soldiers received commissions not only to apprehend, but to interrogate and punish any persons whom they might suspect of fanatical principles; and, if they thought proper, they might put them to death on the spot." Any scruple or hesitation to say that the slaughter of Sharp was murder, or that the rising at Bothwell Bridge was rebellion, or to take the Test or Abjuration Oath, was followed by immediate execution. The children, above twelve years of age, of those who were thus put to death were sold as slaves to the plantations. Women who adhered to the Covenant were ordered to be drowned, by authority of a royal warrant, signed by the King himself.

The Martyrology of the Covenanters is filled with instances in which these inhuman decrees were executed to the letter. Defoe mentions the case of a peasant whom a lieutenant and soldiers found sleeping on a bank with a Bible lying beside him. They awoke him and asked if he would pray for the King. "With all my heart," was the ready reply. He was next asked if he would renounce the Covenant. "I would as soon renounce my baptism," was his answer. On this he was at once put to death. On another occasion some soldiers, commanded by Colonel Douglas, observed a countryman lying in a field engaged in reading, and called to him to come to them. The poor man was deaf, and made no reply, and they, without inquiry, fired and shot him. Five Wanderers who were in hiding had taken refuge in a cave in the parish of Glencairn. They were betrayed by an informer, and surprised by

a party of soldiers under Colonel Douglas. They were dragged out and, without any examination or form of trial, were at once put to death. One of their number, though mortally wounded, was observed to be still alive, when a person named Ferguson, an apostate Covenanter, thrust him through the body. The martyr, weltering in his blood, reared himself up, and exclaimed with his last breath, "Though every hair of my head were a man, I would die all these deaths for Christ and His cause." Even an expression of sympathy for the sufferers, or of indignation at their cruel treatment, was sufficient to bring on the spectator a similar fate. A burgess of Peebles, who was on a visit to Edinburgh, was accidentally entangled in a crowd, and compelled to witness the execution of three Covenanters in the Grassmarket. As he was leaving the spot, he said, "These kine of Bashan have pushed these three good men to death at one push, contrary to their own base laws, in a most inhuman manner." These words having been overheard, he was immediately seized and committed to prison; and a day or two thereafter was brought to trial, condemned, and executed.

The death of Charles II., 6th February, 1685, and the succession of his brother, James, Duke of York, to the throne, brought no relief to the harassed and oppressed Covenanters, against whom the penal laws of the Parliament and the proclamations of the Council were enforced with the same relentless severity as before.

At this period of the persecution, there were several

persons employed in executing the edicts of the Government who have earned an unenviable notoriety, and whose memories are still held in abhorrence by the Scottish peasantry, on account of their savage treatment of the Covenanters. The most conspicuous of these were Grierson of Lagg, who had married the Duke of Queensberry's aunt, Johnstone of Westerhall, Colonel (afterwards Lieutenant-General) Douglas, brother of the Duke of Queensberry, and Bruce of Earls-hall, and, above all, John Graham of Claverhouse. This ruthless persecutor of the Covenanters was, at this time, about forty years of age. While quite a youth, he had entered the French service as a volunteer, and afterwards became a cornet in the Dutch Guards, where he is said to have earned distinction as a skilful soldier. Shortly after his return to Scotland, in 1677, he was appointed by the King to the command of one of the three troops of horse which had been newly raised for the purpose of enforcing conformity to the Episcopal Church.

Claverhouse, as we have seen, was sent to the west country, and entrusted with full powers to put to death all who would not abjure the Covenant and swear that they considered it unlawful in any case to take up arms against the King, and to disperse at the point of the sword all field meetings for public worship. Burnet says that "he was proud and ambitious," and that "he had taken up a most violent hatred of the whole Presbyterian party." He had an utter disregard of individual rights, and of law and justice. In a letter to the Commander-in-Chief, he frankly declares : "In

any service I have been in I never inquired further in the laws than the orders of my superior officers." Sir Walter Scott has drawn a fancy portrait of the arch-persecutor, whom he has represented as possessing "a spirit profound in politics, unbounded in daring and in aspiring, yet cautious and prudent as Machiavelli himself." In reality Graham's acquirements were limited to his own profession and to a taste for mathematics, and the somewhat incongruous study of Highland poetry. His letters and despatches show that in everything else he was quite illiterate; and, as regards spelling, grammar and composition, his writings present a most unfavourable contrast to the letters of the Covenanting ministers, and even laymen, whose blood he shed like water. He is represented by Sir Walter Scott and others as having acquired notoriety by his zeal in hunting down the Covenanters, and forcibly dispersing their meetings before the battle of Drumclog; but, in reality, he had little or no experience in the work, and had interfered with only one conventicle prior to that encounter. But having once tasted blood, he became as fierce and ravenous as a tiger, sparing neither sex nor age, rank nor condition. Even his eulogists admit that he "was imbued with a disregard of individual rights," and that, "careless of death himself, he was ruthless in inflicting it upon others."

The cases of barbarous usage and cruel murder which occurred at this time were so numerous that it is not easy to make a selection. As an example of brutality on the part of a man who has been held up

as the "mirror of chivalry," we may mention an incident which occurred in the year 1683. A party of Highlanders were searching for the Wanderers, and after rifling in their usual style the house of a man in humble life near Hawick, whom they did not succeed in finding, they carried off his wife and child. The poor woman burdened with the infant was unable to keep pace with the soldiers, and Claverhouse ordered them to put a rope around her neck and trail (drag) her. On another occasion, when the Highlanders were marching through Eskdale and Ettrick Forest, they complained to Claverhouse that they could not get the women and children along; and this "gallant and chivalrous soldier" commanded them "to bind the little ones to the muckle ones and gar them *harl* (drag) them." Claverhouse was appointed Sheriff of Wigtown in 1682, and this union of civil and military authority furnished him with peculiar facilities for carrying out the policy of the Government. An Act of the Privy Council, usually designated "the bloody Act," empowered certain noblemen, gentlemen, and military officers, "to convocate all the inhabitants (in certain districts named), men and women above fourteen years of age; and if any own the late Declaration you shall execute them by military execution upon the place; and if any be absent ye shall burn their houses and seize their goods. And, as to the families of such as you condemn or execute, you shall make prisoners of all persons in their families above the age of twelve years in order to transportation." Claverhouse not

only carried out this illegal and sanguinary edict with the utmost rigour, but, going beyond even this commission, he frequently collected all the children in a district from six to ten years of age, and, drawing up a line of soldiers in front of them, he ordered them to pray, for he was about to put them to death. He sometimes even caused the troops to fire over their heads to augment their fears. He then informed the poor innocents, with the terrors of death upon them, that he would spare their lives if they would tell him where their fathers, or elder brothers, or friends, were concealed.

Claverhouse's own account of his proceedings in these districts, where he found the Nonconformists numerous and in comfortable circumstances, gives a striking view of his arbitrary and oppressive conduct, and of the desolation which, "like a sweeping rain that leaveth no food," he brought upon the south and west of the country.

He told the people that he "was positively resolved to bring them to conformity, and if there were severe things done they might blame themselves." In order to induce them to conform, he offered an indemnity to those "not guilty of reset, and communing with rebels or intercommuned persons, or of field conventicles, or insulting the regular clergy," if they "would go to church." No promise to attend, nothing short of their actual presence at the services conducted by the Episcopal clergy, would procure them immunity. But "it could not be known in most parts who were absent." Whereupon he ordered the collectors of

every parish "to bring in exact rolls upon oath, and attested by the minister, and caused them to read these every Sunday after the first sermon, and mark the absents, who were severely punished if obstinate. And wherever he heard of a parish that was considerably behind, he went thither on Saturday, having acquainted them to meet, and assured them he would be present at sermon, and whoever was absent on Sunday was punished on Monday."

Claverhouse declared that his object was "not to enrich himself," but the Nonconformists of Galloway must have been slow to give him credit for such self-denial. His rapacity was as notorious as his cruelty, and is proved beyond contradiction both by the judicial records of the kingdom and the evidence of Lord Fountainhall, one of the judges of the Supreme Court, and no friend to the Covenanters, who has given a vivid picture of the exactions of Graham and the combined meanness and cruelty of his proceedings. He spoiled the houses of his victims as he avowed and boasted, and exacted the uttermost farthing of the fines which he imposed upon them. With all his anxiety to compel the people to conform to the Episcopal Church, he was quite ready to release those whom he had imprisoned for nonconformity, on their giving him bonds for the payment of a thousand marks apiece. The Crown officers were obliged to resort to legal proceedings in order to compel him to disgorge the forfeited possessions of the Covenanters, which he was bound to have paid into the Exchequer, as in law they were the property of the Crown until

they were gifted away. It was not, however, his rapacity, grasping and indiscriminate as that was, which has rendered the character of Claverhouse abhorrent to the Scottish peasantry, but his deeds of blood, of which he says himself, he was "not sparing."

Of all these deeds no one has made such a deep and permanent impression on the public mind as the murder of John Brown, the "Christian Carrier." Brown was a quiet, inoffensive person, greatly respected for his singular piety and integrity. An impediment in his speech had made it necessary for him to lay aside his intention of entering the office of the ministry, for which he was originally intended. His education and intelligence, however, fitted him to give religious instruction to the young in the vicinity of his farm, and, according to a contemporary narrative, he met once a week in the evening "with the young persons of the neighbourhood and instructed them from the Bible and the Confession of Faith." In summer they assembled in a sheep-bught, and in winter they formed a circle around a large fire of peat and cannel-coal that blazed in the middle of the spence-floor. He lived at a place called Priesthill, a wild and lonely spot in the parish of Muirkirk, in Ayrshire, surrounded by a wide tract of heather and moss. Meetings for worship were often held at his fireside; but as the persecution waxed hotter they were discontinued. Three of the little band who met there were summarily put to death, and the "Christian Carrier" himself, who did not attend the parish church, and had given shelter to Renwick and Peden

and other Wanderers, was frequently obliged to seek concealment amid the moors of Kyle and Lanarkshire.

The close of Brown's career is related by the chroniclers of the martyrs with almost Scriptural simplicity. On the morning of the first of May, 1685, he went out at an early hour to the moss to cut some peats. Claverhouse, who had spent the previous night at the village of Lesmahagow, came upon him, about six o'clock, with three troops of dragoons, and captured and brought him back to his house. The usual questions were put to him respecting the abjuration oath, and the lawfulness of taking up arms against the King. He replied that he acknowledged Christ as the only head of the Church, and expressed his opinions so clearly that Claverhouse asked his guides if they ever heard Brown preach. "He never was a preacher," was the reply. "If he has never preached," said Graham, "meikle (much) has he prayed in his time." Then, turning to his prisoner, he said, "Go to your prayers, for you shall immediately die." Brown at once knelt down on the ground and prayed with great fervour, his wife and children standing by his side. Three times did Claverhouse interrupt him, declaring that he gave him time to pray but not to preach. "Sir," replied the meek and patient victim, "ye know neither the nature of preaching nor praying, if ye call this preaching," and resumed his devotions. When he had finished, Claverhouse said to him, "Take good night of your wife and children." Rising from his knees, John turned to his wife and said, "Now, Marion, the day is come

that I told you would come, when I spoke first to you of marrying me. You see me summoned to appear in a few minutes before the court of heaven as a witness in our Redeemer's cause. Are you willing that I should part from you?" "Indeed, John," was her reply, "in this cause I am willing to part with you." "Then," said he, "this is all I desire; I have no more to do but to die." He put his arms tenderly around her, and kissed her and her infant child, wishing "purchased and promised" blessings to them, and then embraced his daughter by his first wife, who was about five years of age, saying to her, "My sweet bairn, give your hand to God as your guide, and be your mother's comfort." Claverhouse then ordered six soldiers to shoot him, but the prayers of Brown, and the situation of his wife holding one child by the hand, carrying another in her arms, and evidently again about to become a mother, made such an impression on the minds of the hardened troopers, that they stood motionless, shrinking from the crime of murdering the inoffensive peasant before the eyes of his wife and children; and Claverhouse, "fearing for their mutiny," shot him dead with his own hand. He then turned to the poor woman, whom he had just made a widow, and said, "What thinkest thou of thy husband now, woman?" "I ever thought meikle of him," she replied, "but never sae meikle as I do this day." "It were but justice," he said, "to lay thee beside him." "If you were permitted," was her quiet rejoinder, "I doubt not but your cruelty would go that length; but how will ye answer for this morning's

work ?” “To man I can be answerable,” replied the murderer, “and, as for God, I will take him into my own hands.” He then mounted his horse and rode off with his soldiers. The heroic woman, left alone on this desolate spot, set her child on the ground, and gathered together her husband’s brains, tied up his head, straightened his body, covered him with her plaid, and then sat down and wept over him. “It being a very desert place, where never victual grew, and far from neighbours, it was some time before any friends came to her.” *

Six days after the murder of John Brown, two women were drowned at Wigtown, for nonconformity and their refusal to take the Abjuration Oath. One of the two was an aged widow, named Margaret Mac-Lauchlan, or Lauchlison, distinguished for her piety and moral worth. The other was a girl of eighteen, the daughter of a farmer named Gilbert Wilson, who, along with his wife, had conformed to the Established Church, but whose children had refused to follow the example of their parents. He was a man of substance, “in good condition as to worldly things, with a great stock on a large ground, fit to be a prey.” As a punishment for the nonconformity of his children,

* Professor Aytoun has made an elaborate attempt to prove that John Brown was not put to death by Claverhouse, who, he alleges, was at that time in another part of the country. Unfortunately for the learned Professor’s effort to rescue the reputation of his hero from the crime of what he justly calls “a dastardly and unprovoked murder,” the despatch of Claverhouse to the Lord Treasurer, the Duke of Queensberry, describing the deed, has been found and published.

soldiers were quartered upon him, sometimes as many as a hundred at a time, who consumed and wasted his substance till he was reduced to poverty. As for his children, "they being required to take the Test and hear the curates, refused both; were searched for, fled, and lived in the wild mountains, bogs, and caves. Their parents were charged on their highest peril that they should neither harbour them, speak to them, supply them, nor see them; and the country people were obliged, by the terror of the law, to pursue them with hue and cry." In the month of February, 1685, two of Wilson's daughters, Margaret and Agnes, the one eighteen, the other thirteen years of age, probably compelled by the cold and the privations they must have endured in the mountains at that inclement season, quitted their place of refuge, and went down secretly to some friends in Wigtown, and "were there discovered, taken prisoners, and instantly thrust into the thieves'-hole, as the greatest malefactors." After the two girls had for a considerable time been subjected to the horrors of this dungeon, they were brought to trial, along with Margaret Lauchlison, before David Graham, a brother of Claverhouse, Sir Robert Grierson of Lagg, Major Winram, and Captain Strachan, all four notorious persecutors, and were, of course, found guilty, and sentenced to be drowned in the river Blednoch, at Wigtown, which the Solway Firth overflows twice a day. Gilbert Wilson succeeded, with no little difficulty, after a journey to Edinburgh, in saving the life of his younger daughter, by the payment of a hundred pounds sterling; but the elder

having stedfastly refused to take the Abjuration Oath, and to promise to conform to the Church, was left to her fate.

On the 11th May, six days after the murder of John Brown, Margaret Lauchlison and Margaret Wilson, widely different in years, but equally firm in resolution, were brought out to suffer for their faith, in the presence of Grierson and Major Winram, and an immense concourse of spectators. "They did put the old woman first into the water," says the Chronicler (no doubt with the expectation that the sight of her death-struggles would terrify the younger sufferer into submission), "and when the water was overflowing her they asked Margaret Wilson what she thought of her in that case? She answered, 'What do I see but Christ wrestling there? Think ye that we are sufferers? No! it is Christ in us, for He sends none a warfare on their own charges.' Margaret then read the eighth chapter of the Romans, and sang Psalm xxv. from the seventh verse :—

‘ My sins and faults of youth
Do thou, O Lord, forget;
After thy mercy think on me,
And for thy goodness great,’ &c.,

and did pray, and then the water covered her. But before her breath was quite gone they pulled her up and held her till she could speak, and then asked her if she would pray for the King. She answered that she wished the salvation of all men and the damnation of none. Some of her relations being on the place

cried out, 'She is willing to conform,' being desirous to save her life at any rate. 'Dear Margaret, say "God save the King!"' entreated another of the spectators. 'God save him, if He will,' replied the poor girl, 'for it is his salvation that I desire.' On hearing these words the bystanders cried out eagerly to Major Winram: 'Sir, she has said it! She has said it!' Upon which the major offered the oath of abjuration to her, either to swear it or to return to the waters. She refused it, saying, 'I will not; I am one of Christ's children, let me go.' And then they returned her into the water, where she finished her warfare." *

The month in which these poor women and John Brown of Priesthill were put to death, seems to have been peculiarly fertile in deeds of atrocity. On the 5th of May, John Bryce and Peter Gillies were tried in Ayrshire by a military tribunal, not for any overt act of rebellion, but merely because they refused to disown the opinions held by the Hillmen, and in a few hours were convicted and hanged, and buried in a hole under the gallows. Six days later three poor labouring men were stopped by a Major Balfour, on

* The martyrdom of these two women has recently attracted a great deal of public attention, in consequence of a strange attempt on the part of the late Sheriff Napier to prove that the story of their sufferings and execution is a fable, and that they were not really put to death. But the truth of the statements regarding their martyrdom made by Wodrow and other Presbyterian writers, has been established beyond the possibility of doubt or dispute by the late Rev. Dr. Stewart, of Glasserton, in his work entitled, "History Vindicated in the case of the Wigtown Martyrs."

the public road near Glasgow, and asked whether they would pray for the King. They returned what Balfour chose to regard as an unsatisfactory answer, to the effect that they would pray for all within the election of grace. "Do you question the King's election?" asked Balfour. "Sometimes," they replied, "they questioned their own." On this, with an oath, he ordered them at once to be seized, and within an hour the dogs were licking their blood.

A peculiarly atrocious deed was perpetrated in Eskdale in Dumfriesshire, near the Border, a few days after the murder of the "Christian Carrier." One of the Wanderers, who was dying, had been sheltered by a pious widow of the name of Hislop, and had died under her roof. This fact had come to the knowledge of Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall, an apostate Presbyterian, who immediately pulled down the widow's house, carried off her property, and dragged her eldest son Andrew, who was a mere stripling, before Claverhouse, that he might be condemned to death. For once that persecutor was in a clement mood. It is reported that the prayers of John Brown had left a strong impression on his obdurate heart, and that he had expressed some compunction for his murder. He seems to have felt pity for the poor lad, and recommended that his case should be delayed. Johnstone, however, insisted that the sentence of death should be executed at once, and Claverhouse at last yielded, saying, "This man's blood shall be on you; I am free of it." He then ordered the captain of a company of Highlanders, who were with

his troop, to shoot the prisoner, but he peremptorily refused, declaring that "he would fight Claverhouse and all his dragoons first." Graham, on this, commanded three of his own dragoons to execute the sentence. When they were ready to fire they desired Hislop to draw his bonnet over his eyes. "No," he replied, "I can look my death-bringers in the face without fear. I have done nothing of which I need be ashamed." Then, holding up his Bible, he charged them to answer for what they were about to do at the great day, when they should be judged by that Book. As he uttered these words the dragoons fired and shot him dead, and he was buried where he fell. The Covenanting chronicler, who has recorded this incident, adds, with evident satisfaction, that Westerhall "died about the Revolution in great torture of body, and horror, and anguish of conscience, insomuch that his cries were heard at a great distance from the house as a warning to all such apostates."

Sir George Mackenzie, the Lord Advocate, was scarcely less detested by the people of Scotland than his coadjutor, Claverhouse. He was counsel for the Marquis of Argyll in 1661, and for some time professed patriotic sentiments, and opposed several of the worst measures of the Court. His patriotism, however, was only assumed to enhance his price. On the dismissal of Sir John Nisbet in 1677, Mackenzie was appointed Lord Advocate, and made one of the Lords of the Privy Council. He enjoyed considerable celebrity in his day as an elegant scholar as well as an able lawyer. But in the discharge of

the duties of his office he rendered himself infamous by his unscrupulous perversion of the law on the trials of the Covenanters, and the base arts and threats which he employed to extort a verdict of guilty from reluctant juries. Persons accused before the Council, who refused to answer his questions and to criminate themselves, were threatened by him that their tongues would be torn out with pincers.

“ His favourite art was lying with address,
His hollow promise helped the princely hand
To screw confession from the tortured lips.”

Persecutors like Johnstone of Westerhall, Grierson of Lagg, Bruce of Earlshall, and Captain Douglas, while quite as cruel as Claverhouse, were more coarse and brutal. Of these men of blood Grierson was probably the worst, as regards both cruelty and rapacity. On one occasion, at the head of a part of Claverhouse's troops and Strachan's dragoons, he surprised five Covenanters in the parish of Tongland and immediately put them to death, not even allowing them time to pray. John Bell, one of the murdered band, was the only son of the heiress of the estate of Whiteside in the parish of Anwoth, who took for her second husband Viscount Kenmure, and was a person of great influence in the district. Claverhouse, in accordance with his usual practice, quartered a troop of soldiers for several weeks in Bell's house until they had consumed all the provisions they could find, and destroyed what they could not carry away. Bell, however, found refuge among the hills and made

several hairbreadth escapes from his enemies. He at length fell into the hands of Lagg in February, 1685, In answer to his entreaty for a little time to pray. the persecutor exclaimed, "What the devil have you been doing? Have you not prayed enough these many years in the hills?" Some time after the murder of Bell, Lord Kenmure met Grierson and Claverhouse at Kirkcudbright, and reproached the former for his cruelty to his stepson, and especially for his refusal to allow his body to be buried. Lagg swore at the Viscount and said, "Take him if you will, and salt him in your beef-barrel." This brutal reply so enraged Lord Kenmure that he drew his sword and would have run the ruffian through the body, had not Claverhouse interposed and prevented him.*

CHAPTER VI.

The Middle Classes and the Covenant—The Ladies of the Covenant—Veterans—Captain Paton—The Prisons—The Bass Rock—Designs of James II.—Renwick—The Revolution—Conclusion.

It is a common but wholly erroneous opinion, that the Covenanters consisted almost exclusively of poor and ignorant peasants. We find, however, that the Covenant was embraced by at least as large a proportion

* The weird and thrilling legend which Sir Walter Scott has put into the mouth of Wandering Willie the musician, in "Redgauntlet," was told of Grierson, whose memory is held in scarcely less abhorrence by the Scottish peasantry than that of Claverhouse himself. Grierson and his associates used in their drunken orgies to personate devils, and to play at the torments of the

of the minor gentry and burgesses. The official lists of the persons fined for Nonconformity by Middleton, in 1662, are sufficient to show that they consisted of the very flower of the middle classes of the country. There are, it is true, only seven peers in the number—the Earls of Lothian and Loudon, and Lords Borthwick, Balmerino, Cowper, Rollock, and Ruthven, with the eldest son of Lord Forbes; for at no time since the War of Independence have the nobles of Scotland as a body ever sympathised with the principles and feelings of the people; and at the period of the Restoration they were needy, spiritless and unpatriotic, and eager to gain the favour of the Court and Council. But if the nobles stood aloof, there was no lack of the representatives of the oldest and most honourable families among the gentry. There were no fewer than nineteen baronets in the list, and the heads of the ancient and renowned houses of the Carmichaels, Kers, Pringles, Bruces, Scotts, Riddells, Agnews, Elliotts, Nairns, Munros, Brodies, Wallaces, Forbeses, Inneses, Skenes, Dundases, Stirlings, Oliphants, Maxwells, Erskines, McCullochs, and great numbers more of the same class, including upwards of fifty of the minor branches of the clan Campbell and nearly the whole of the Galloway Gordons. The total sum levied from these men by Middleton at one stroke amounted to nearly £85,000

damned. He was created a baronet in 1685, and received a pension of £200 a year as a reward for his services in persecuting the Covenanters. But the curse denounced on the “bloody man” has never left his house.

sterling—an enormous sum at that period, when the country had been impoverished and laid waste by long-continued cruel wars and sanguinary feuds. But far more severe exactions were made under the government of Lauderdale, whose little finger was thicker than Middleton's loins. At this period no attempt at resistance to the unconstitutional and arbitrary decrees of the Government had been made, or even threatened. The sole offences for which these fines were inflicted were a refusal to attend the ministrations of the curates, or frequenting or allowing their wives to frequent the field preachings. Women of all classes, indeed, were conspicuous for their zeal in behalf of the Covenant. "Not many gentlemen of estates," says Kirkton, "durst come to the field meetings, but many ladies, gentlewomen, and commons came in great multitudes;" and ladies of the highest rank, such as the Duchesses of Hamilton and Rothes, the Countesses of Wigton, Loudon, and Crawford, Ladies Kenmure and Colvill, and many others, privately encouraged or openly followed the field preachers. The officers employed by the Government to suppress conventicles informed the Privy Council that women were "the chief fomenters of these disorders." Some of them were in consequence subjected to the most cruel tortures. Hundreds were imprisoned, and great numbers, after being branded on the cheek with a red-hot iron, were banished to the plantations, and forbidden to return under pain of death. Several were hanged, and others drowned, as we have seen, for their refusal to disown the Covenant. When these

shocking barbarities failed of effect, and the female relatives, even of persons who had themselves conformed, firmly refused to attend religious services in the parish churches, the Government resolved to make husbands responsible for their wives, and fathers for their daughters. "Many husbands in Galloway and Nithsdale," says a contemporary writer, "who yield to the full length are punished by fining, cess, and quartering of troops for their wives' non-obedience. There are many wives who will not be commanded by their husbands in lesser things than this; but I must tell you that this hath occasioned much contention, fire, and strife in families, and brought it to this height that some wives are compelled to fly from their husbands and forced to seek a shelter elsewhere, and so the poor good-man is doubly punished notwithstanding all his conformity." When the wives of even conforming husbands were obliged to take refuge in dens and caves in the rocks, amid frost and snow, in order to escape imprisonment and banishment, it need excite no surprise that the female relatives of the Covenanters had to undergo sufferings much more severe. "In many instances," says a contemporary writer, "while the husband was compelled to flee for safety, the wife suffered the execrable cruelty of savage troopers, who, visiting her house, would abuse and threaten her in the very spirit and language of hell, seize upon her corn and meal, and throw them into the dunghill or otherwise destroy them, plunder her of her poultry, butter, cheese, and bed-clothes, shoot or carry away her sheep

and cattle, reducing her and her family to great distress," in many cases to utter destitution.

One of the most eminent of "the Ladies of the Covenant," as they have been termed, was Lady Anne Cunningham, daughter of the seventh Earl of Glencairn, and wife of the second Marquis of Hamilton. She inherited from her father and his ancestors an ardent zeal for the Presbyterian faith, as well as for national rights and liberties, and when her son, Marquis (and afterwards Duke) of Hamilton, a staunch supporter of the policy of the English Court, was sent down by Charles I. with a powerful fleet to enforce the adoption of the English Liturgy, the Marchioness appeared on horseback, with pistols at her saddle-bow, at the head of a troop of horse, on the shore at Leith, among the crowds who had assembled to resist his landing. Anne, Duchess of Hamilton in her own right, the granddaughter of this intrepid lady, inherited her zeal for the Covenant. Though her father had laid down his life on the scaffold for the royal cause, she strongly condemned the policy of Charles II. in overthrowing the Presbyterian Church and ejecting and persecuting its ministers, and earnestly supported the exertions of her husband—a son of the Marquis of Douglas—to mitigate their sufferings. Her interposition, it is well known, prevented the soldiers, after the battle of Bothwell Bridge, from pursuing the defeated Covenanters, who had taken refuge in the wooded park around Hamilton Palace, and thus saved the lives of a large number of these helpless fugitives. Her high rank and territorial

influence protected the Duchess from the persecution to which other "Ladies of the Covenant" were subjected. She was held in the highest esteem by men of opposite political and religious creeds, and even Lockhart, a violent Jacobite, characterises her as "a lady of great honour and singular piety."

Lady Anne Lindsay, daughter of the fifteenth Earl of Crawford, and wife of the Duke of Rothes, was quite as decided and zealous as the Duchess of Hamilton in her attachment to Presbyterian principles and her efforts to protect the Covenanting clergy. She was, as Law describes her in his Memorials, "a discreet, wise, virtuous, and good lady," and not only befriended the ejected and persecuted ministers, but was in the habit of attending the field preachings held in the beautiful and sequestered valley called Glenvale, a few miles distant from her mansion. The position of the Duke as Lord High Commissioner caused the offence of the Duchess in attending these "seditious meetings," as they were termed by the Privy Council, to be overlooked. Though utterly unprincipled and profligate, Rothes was a kindly, good-natured man, and when instigated by Sharp to hunt out the Covenanters who had taken refuge in the woods near Leslie House, he used to give a hint to his wife that she might warn them to make their escape. "My hawks will be out to-night, my lady," he would say, "so you had better take care of your blackbirds." When he happened to see any of them in the house, as was sometimes the case, he was in the habit of saying to her, "My lady, I

would advise you to keep your chickens in, about, else I may pick up some of them." Lady Mary Johnstone, Countess of Crawford, another zealous Covenanter and frequenter of field meetings, was much more fortunate in her domestic relations than her neighbour, the Duchess of Rothes; for her husband, one of nature's noblemen, was a zealous Nonconformist, and was on that account a marked man through the whole period of the persecution.

Equally fortunate in the affection of a devoted husband, though she had to suffer the loss of all things for the good cause, was Lady Caldwell, a member of the Glencairn family, and the wife of William Mure of Caldwell. He was a gentleman of great ability and accomplishments, the head of an ancient and honourable family, which for generations has held a conspicuous position both in literature and in law. He was on his way, at the head of fifty horsemen, to join the Covenanters at the Pentland Hills, but was unable to reach them in time for the battle. For this act he was found guilty of high treason in his absence, and condemned to death, with the forfeiture of his estates, which were bestowed on General Dalziel. He made his escape to Holland, where he soon after died (9th February, 1670.) Dalziel, whose rapacity was in keeping with his cruelty, stripped the poor widow and her four fatherless children of everything they had in the world, and turned them out of "house and hauld" without any means of support. It is satisfactory to know that after the Revolution, Sir Thomas Dalziel,

the grandson of the ruthless persecutor, was compelled to disgorge the property of which the General had plundered the Covenanters, and the estate of Caldwell was consequently restored to its lawful owners.

The Government, however, was not content with depriving Lady Caldwell of all her worldly substance, and leaving her and her children to earn the means of subsistence by their own industry. In May, 1683, on the allegation of an informer, who lived on the opposite side of the street, that one night he saw a minister preaching in her house in Glasgow, this excellent matron and her three daughters were dragged from their home and imprisoned in the Tolbooth of that city. She and her eldest daughter, who was only twenty years of age, were shortly after carried prisoners to the Castle of Blackness, an ancient fortress standing on a rocky promontory on the south side of the Firth of Forth. The daughter, whose health suffered severely from her close confinement, was set at liberty in February, 1684, but Lady Caldwell herself was kept a prisoner for upwards of three years in a cold, dark, and unhealthy cell. Her second daughter was attacked by a fever, of which she died at Linlithgow, about two miles distant from Blackness. On being informed of the severe and dangerous illness of her daughter, Lady Caldwell presented a petition to the Secret Council, earnestly entreating permission to visit her "dearly beloved dying daughter," even for a single hour, if no more could be granted, and offering to take a guard with

her at her own expense ; but her petition was peremptorily refused. Truly "the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel." After the expulsion of the Stewart dynasty and the restitution of her inheritance, this excellent Christian lady, who had borne her trials with exemplary patience, spent the closing years of her protracted life in comfort and honour.

Did space permit we might have noticed here the cases of the Marchioness of Argyll, the Viscountess of Kenmure, the Countess of Balcarres and Argyll, and her daughter, Lady Campbell of Auchinbreck, Lady Colvill of Ochiltree, and Lady Douglas of Cavers, and other noble women who "had trial of bonds and imprisonment" and "counted not their lives dear to them" for the sake of the "good old cause." But enough has been said to show how the tyranny of the wretched tools of the Court who misgoverned Scotland for twenty-eight years reached every rank and condition of society, and spared neither sex nor age.

The old soldiers who cast in their lot with the Covenanters are deserving of special notice. The first of those who came to the front was Colonel James Wallace, who commanded the Pentland insurgents at Rullion Green. He was descended from the famous old family of the Ayrshire Wallaces, to which the great Scottish patriot, Sir William Wallace, belonged. Auchans, in the parish of Dundonald, the original seat of the royal Stewarts, had long been the patrimonial residence of his family. At an early age he entered the army which fought for the Covenant in

the great civil war, and by his military skill and courage he rapidly rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel under the Marquis of Argyll. He took a conspicuous part in all the great battles of that trying period, and was taken prisoner both at Kilsyth and Dunbar. He retired into private life with the reputation of a brave and accomplished soldier, and of a devout and consistent Christian, and lived in the strictest seclusion until the year 1666, when he suddenly and unexpectedly joined the Covenanters, who had been goaded into insurrection by the cruelties and oppression of Sir James Turner, "wearing a long cloak, his montero drawn over his face, and his beard very rough." He had no personal motive to induce him to take part with these ill-armed and undisciplined rustics. He had no private quarrel to revenge ; he had given no personal offence to the Government ; and as he had taken no part in any previous rising he had no cause to be alarmed for his own safety. He was actuated solely by a desire to succour the oppressed, and to vindicate the civil and religious liberties of his country. The state of efficiency into which, in a brief space, he brought the peasants under his command, drew forth the reluctant commendation of Sir James Turner himself, and the mode in which he drew up his men at Rullion Green, so as to enable them for several hours to resist four times their number of disciplined troops, has always been regarded as a proof of his remarkable military skill. After the battle was lost he made his escape to the continent, and for several years wandered from one country to

another; till, when the search after him was somewhat relaxed, he took up his residence at Rotterdam, and was persuaded to accept the office of an elder in the Scottish Church in that town. The asylum afforded to Colonel Wallace, however, excited the displeasure of King Charles, and instigated, it was believed, by Archbishop Sharp, he wrote a holograph letter to the States-General, insisting on the expulsion of the Covenanting soldier and two refugee ministers from the United Provinces. Much to their credit, they refused to comply with his request. Charles, however, repeated the demand in three several letters, threatening the States not only with his displeasure, but with hostilities in the event of their persistent refusal; and Sir William Temple, the English Ambassador to the States, pressed the matter so strongly, "leaving no sort of argument unessayed," he says, "with the prince, the pensioner, and the deputies," that they were at last obliged to yield. "This business," wrote Sir William, "hath been the hardest piece of negotiation that I have ever yet entered upon here." Accordingly in February, 1677, the States-General, after two days' debate, most reluctantly requested the refugees to withdraw from the country, but declared, at the same time, in a public and official document, that Colonel Wallace had lived in the State for many years, "highly esteemed for his probity, submission to the laws, and integrity of manners," and earnestly entreating the emperor and all other kings and princes to receive him in a friendly manner, and to "assist him with their counsel, help,

and aid." Wallace, however, returned to Rotterdam in 1678, and died there "in great serenity of soul" at the close of that year. He was truly a soldier of the type of the Gardiners and Havelocks of later times.

His fellow-soldier, the veteran Henry Hall, of Haughhead in Teviotdale, was less fortunate in the termination of his career. He fought with distinguished bravery at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge, and on the defeat of the Covenanting forces there he made his escape to Holland. After the lapse of a few months, however, he returned to Scotland, and lurked for some time in company with Donald Cargill on the shores of the Firth of Forth. The governor of Blackness Castle came upon them at Queensferry, and attempted to take them prisoners. Hall, who was a powerful as well as courageous man, made a vigorous resistance, which enabled Cargill to escape, but at the cost of his own life. He was mortally wounded by a tide-waiter, or exciseman, who struck him on the head with a carbine. He succeeded, however, in escaping from the town, and was carried fainting and speechless into a house by the roadside. Dalziel, who lived in the vicinity, quickly appeared with a troop of soldiers and seized the dying man, and was carrying him to Edinburgh, when he expired by the way. On his person was found a rude draught of a document afterwards called the "Queensferry Paper," which attracted considerable attention as a manifesto of the Cameronian party.

One of the most famous of these old Covenanting

heroes was Captain John Paton, of Meadowhead, in Ayrshire—a man “of middle stature, strong and robust, and somewhat fair in complexion, with large eyebrows”—a “sturdy, great-shouldered, lion-hearted yeoman.” Like many others of his countrymen, Paton was trained to war under Gustavus Adolphus, and “for some heroic achievement at the taking of a city,” says John Howie, “he was advanced to a captain’s post.” On his return home he joined the Covenanting army, and fought at Marston Moor and at Kilsyth, where he had several hair-breadth escapes, and had repeatedly to cut his way sword in hand through parties of the enemy. He took up arms for Charles II. when he came to Scotland, after the execution of his father, and was present at the battle of Worcester, where he fought with his characteristic energy and valour. During the Protectorate, and after the Restoration, he lived quietly on his farm of Meadowhead, and was an elder in the church of Fenwick, under the ministry of the celebrated William Guthrie. But in 1666, when the Covenanters of Galloway were driven to take up arms in their own defence, Captain Paton joined them with “a party of horse from Loudon and Fenwick.” He commanded the rear-guard of the insurgents in their ill-judged march to Edinburgh, and at the battle of Pentland he performed prodigies of valour, the details of which have been handed down by tradition. In his retreat Paton was overtaken by General Dalziel himself, who was personally acquainted with him, having fought side by side with

him at Worcester. They fired at each other, but without effect ; Paton's ball struck his adversary, but, says Howie, "it glanced down upon Dalziel's boots," no doubt because he wore chain armour. The Covenanters, however, imagined that "Tom Dalziel," like Claverhouse, was protected by Satanic agency against leaden bullets. "Knowing what was the cause," says Howie, "Captain Paton put his hand into his pocket for a small piece of silver he had there on purpose, and put it into his other pistol ; but Dalziel having his eye upon him in the meantime, retreated behind his own man, who by that means was slain." Paton and two other Fenwick men cut their way on horseback through Dalziel's soldiers "five men deep." Three of the troopers were sent by the General in pursuit of his old comrade. They overtook him as he was about to leap a broad and deep ditch or slough, which he cleared at a bound, and then faced about, and sword in hand watched his pursuers. The first who came up leaped the ditch, but Paton cleft the trooper's head with his sword, and the horse and his rider rolled into the gulf below. The other two fell short in their leap and were inextricably bogged in the morass. "Take my compliments to your master," cried Paton, with grim humour, "and tell him I cannot sup with him to-night."

Captain Paton was not at Drumclog, but he was present at Bothwell Bridge, where, however, even his prudence and experience failed to induce the disorderly squabbling mob to unite in any definite plan of action. After that affair he was

proclaimed a rebel, a price being set upon his head. From this time onward he led the life of a houseless, hunted wanderer among the moors and mountains; in constant perils; "in weariness and painfulness; in watchings often; in hunger and thirst; in fastings often; in cold and nakedness." Many thrilling stories are told in the Covenanting annals of the mode in which he beat off the soldiers who attacked him, or evaded their pursuit, and escaped the snares laid for him. He was at length, in August 1683, captured by a party of five soldiers in a house at Floack, in the parish of Mearns. Contrary to his habit he was without arms, but the inmates offered to aid him in resisting the troopers; "yea," says Howie, "he himself, once in a day, could have extricated himself from double that number; but he said it would bring them to further trouble, and as for himself, he was now become weary of his life, being so hunted from place to place; and being now well stricken in years his hidings became more irksome." He was conveyed by his captors to Edinburgh, where he met with his former fellow-soldier, General Dalziel, who, in spite of his brutal and savage disposition, was touched with the situation in which his old comrade was placed, and said, "John, I am both glad and sorry to see you. If I had met you on the way before you came hither, I should have set you at liberty, but now it is too late; but be not afraid, I shall write to his Majesty for your life." Paton replied: "You will not be heard." Dalziel said: "Will I not? If he does not grant me the life of one

man I shall never draw sword for him again." One of the soldiers upbraided Paton with being a rebel to the King; he mildly replied: "I have done more for the King than perhaps you have done." Dalziel, overhearing the conversation, said: "Yes, John, that is true;" and, turning to the soldier, struck him with his cane, and told him he would teach him other manners than to abuse such a prisoner. Dalziel obtained a reprieve for the Captain, but was not able to save his life, owing, it was said, to the opposition of the prelates, and especially of Bishop Paterson. Fountainhall says Paton was willing to take the test, but a quorum of the Privy Council could not be then got to reprieve him. "No doubt," as the editor of Fountainhall remarks, "a quorum could have been easily collected to hang the prisoner." The gallant old soldier was executed in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh, on the 9th of May, 1684. "He died most cheerfully," says Wodrow. Paton has been justly pronounced "the favourite hero of the chroniclers of the Covenant." The most wonderful stories are related of his hardihood and prowess; and his Bible, which he handed to his wife on the scaffold, and his sword, with its thirty nicks, are still preserved by the descendants of his biographer at Lochgoin.

Of Captain Arnot, who was an officer in the army of the Covenanters during the great Civil War, and Major Learmont, who is described by a contemporary as "a man skilful, resolute, and courageous enough, but of no great projection," nothing is known except that they fought with signal bravery at Rullion

Green. But John Nisbet, of Hardhill, who served with great distinction on the Continent during the Thirty Years' War, was one of the most celebrated and interesting of the heroes of the Covenanters. He took part in the battle of Rullion Green, and was left for dead on the field. He recovered, however, though a year elapsed before his wounds were entirely healed. Captain Nisbet was of a tall and powerful frame, and his reputation for military skill and courage caused him to be hastily summoned to the assistance of the Covenanters at Drumclog. He reached the spot as they were about to join battle, and contributed not a little to the victory which they gained over Claverhouse. He fought at Bothwell Bridge, and was one of the officers in command of the party who so gallantly defended the passage of the river against greatly superior numbers. After years of wandering and hiding among the hills and morasses, and many remarkable escapes, Nisbet was at length seized by a party of dragoons, commanded by a cousin of his own, after a desperate resistance in which he received seven wounds. His three companions were put to death on the spot, but the soldiers spared Nisbet's life at the moment, in order that they might obtain the reward of three thousand marks offered for his capture. His replies to the questions put to him by the Council show him to have been a person of marked ability and presence of mind. He was executed in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh, on the 5th of December, 1685.

The last, but not the least, of these soldiers of the

Covenant was William Cleland. "He was a youth of distinguished courage and abilities," says Lord Macaulay; "his manners were polished, and his literary and scientific attainments respectable. He was a linguist, a mathematician, and a poet." When only eighteen years of age he held a command as captain among the insurgents who fought at Drumclog. He is believed to have escaped to the Continent on the suppression of this insurrection; and he was studying civil law at Utrecht in 1684. In the following year he was in hiding among the wilds of Ayrshire and Clydesdale. He again left the country, but returned at the Revolution. He hated Claverhouse with a deadly hatred, and it was apprehension of his vengeance that made the bloodthirsty persecutor of the Covenanters flee from the Convention at Edinburgh in 1688, and take refuge in the Highlands. Cleland was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the famous Cameronian regiment, and commanded them when they were attacked at Dunkeld by a vastly superior force of Highlanders, under General Cannon, after the battle of Killiecrankie, 21st August, 1689. After an obstinate struggle, in which Cleland displayed remarkable courage and skill, the Jacobite force was compelled to retreat, leaving three hundred men killed and wounded behind them; but the gallant young leader of the Cameronians was unfortunately killed in the action. Among the poems of which he was the author, there is a bitter Hudibrastic satire upon the Highlanders.

After the battle of Bothwell Bridge, no organised

attempt to resist the Government was ever made by the Covenanters, though there were individual encounters between them and the soldiers who attempted to arrest them. In one of these, at the Water of Dee, in Galloway, a stalwart Wanderer named James M'Michael fought single-handed with Claverhouse himself, and pressed the ruthless persecutor so hard that he had to cry for assistance. "You dare not abide the issue of a single combat!" exclaimed the Covenanter. "Had your helmet been like mine, a soft bonnet, your carcass had ere this found its bed on the heath." One of the dragoons hastened to the relief of his commanding officer, and coming behind M'Michael, split his skull with his sword.

An encounter of a different kind, which had a more satisfactory issue, is related by Defoe in his "Memoirs of the Church of Scotland." It took place in a steep pass called Enterkin, which connects Nithsdale and the vale of Clyde. The road through this pass winds along the side of a high mountain with a tremendous and almost perpendicular precipice below. One misty morning a company of dragoons were wending their way slowly through this dangerous defile, carrying with them to Edinburgh nine prisoners bound on horses, when suddenly a voice was heard from the hill above. The commanding officer called out, "Who are ye, and what do you want?" In reply, a body of about a dozen men stood forward through the mist on the side of the hill above the pass, and their leader cried to the officer, "Sir, will you deliver up our minister?" The officer with an oath refused.

The Covenanter without another word fired and shot him through the head. He fell dead to the ground, and his horse, frightened at the fall of its rider, reared back over the precipice, and rolling to the foot was dashed to pieces. The officer next in command requested a parley, and agreed to release the minister, saying to him as he unloosed his bonds, "Go, sir; you owe your life to this damned mountain." "Rather, sir," was the reply, "to the God who made the mountain." The release of the rest of the prisoners was next demanded and granted, and the crestfallen troopers were then allowed to continue their journey.

There is no reason to believe that any of the persons who took part in this daring exploit were ever identified and punished. But summary vengeance was taken upon the country people in the district, a number of whom were seized and put to death on mere suspicion that they might have had some connection with the rescue of the prisoners.

The prisons in Edinburgh were at this time crowded with Covenanters confined for Nonconformity, and during the alarm created by the invasion of the Earl of Argyll the Privy Council resolved to send them for more safe custody to Dunnottar Castle in Kincardineshire. This celebrated fortress, the principal seat of the great historic house of the Keiths, Earls Marischall, was the last place in Scotland to yield to the arms of Cromwell. It stands on an insulated rock which rises a hundred and fifty feet out of the sea, about fifteen miles south of Aberdeen. Its massive ruins, which still remain, bear witness to its

ancient strength and great extent. The prisoners—a hundred and sixty-seven in number, including several women and children—were compelled to perform on foot their toilsome journey of nearly a hundred miles, with their hands tied behind their backs. They suffered every kind of indignity on their way through Fife and along the Forfarshire coast, and at night were confined in crowded and unwholesome apartments in the jails. On reaching their destination they were thrust, men and women together, into a dark underground dungeon in the castle, which still bears the name of the “Whigs’ Vault,” having only one small window looking out to the sea, and the floor covered with mire ankle deep. After a few days forty of them were removed to a vault still smaller, into which light and air were admitted only by a chink in the wall. But they discovered that a current of fresh air came in through a crevice in a decayed part of the wall near the ground, and they were accustomed to lie down by turns on the damp floor in order to obtain the advantage of breathing it. In this state, not exceeded by the horrors of the Black Hole of Calcutta or the dungeons of Naples in our own day, these wretched victims of tyranny remained during the whole summer with little more than standing room, and without any means of preserving even the appearance of common decency. Fortunately the governor’s wife was made acquainted with their condition, and through her intercession the women were removed into a separate apartment and the number of prisoners in the

smaller vault was reduced. Still their sufferings were very great. They were treated with shocking inhumanity by the guards, who compelled them to purchase unwholesome provisions at an extravagant price, and even to pay for the water supplied them. Many of them died of disease brought on by their cruel hardships. Twenty-five of those confined in the larger vault contrived to creep out of the window and make their escape over the precipitous rocks, but fifteen of them were betrayed by the country people, who were hostile to the Covenant, and retaken, and were subjected to the most cruel tortures by the soldiers, who bound them down to the floor of their dungeon, and placed lighted matches between their fingers till they were burned to the bone. Several of them died under this treatment. They might have obtained their freedom if they would have taken the Abjuration Oath, but, like the old Hebrew worthies, "they were tortured, not accepting deliverance."

About the end of July the survivors were brought back to Edinburgh, and a hundred of them, after being branded on the face with a hot iron, were transported to America to be sold as slaves. Sixty died of fever on the passage, which lasted fifteen weeks. The scanty remnant who reached the shore were declared by the authorities of New Jersey to be free men, and were thus rescued from the cruel fate to which their own Government had destined them.

Another much more celebrated place of imprison-

ment associated with the persecution of the Covenanters, is the Bass Rock. This remarkable rock rises four hundred and twenty feet sheer out of the sea in the Firth of Forth, about two miles from the East Lothian shore, and is about a mile in circumference. A strong and almost impregnable fortress stood upon it, and was the last place that held out for King James in Scotland after the Revolution. The Bass was for four centuries the property of the ancient family of Lauder, but shortly before this period, in some way not clearly understood but regarded as not creditable, it had become the property of Sir Andrew Ramsay, then Provost of Edinburgh, a creature of Lauderdale, and through the Duke's intervention it had been purchased by the Government for four thousand pounds ("a dear bargain it was," says Kirkton,), and converted into a State prison for the Covenanters. The rock from its height and exposure to the sea air was cold and damp, and its dungeons were small, dark, dank and unhealthy. "The Bass was a bare, cold, unwholesome prison," says the son of one of the ministers imprisoned there for conscience sake, "all their rooms ordinarily full of smoke like to suffocate and choke them, so as my father and the other prisoners were necessitated many a time to thrust their head and shoulders out of the windows to recover breath." As there is no spring of water in the island, the prisoners had to drink "corrupted rain water sprinkled over with a little oatmeal." Their health suffered greatly from the confinement, and not a few of them contracted diseases which

destroyed their constitution, and carried them to a premature grave. Altogether about forty Covenanters were at different times imprisoned on the Bass Rock, and several of their number occupy a prominent place in the annals of the Covenant. There James Fraser of Brea, grandson of the seventh Lord Lovat, and author of the celebrated "Treatise on Justifying Faith," spent two years and a half; more fortunate than Alex. Peden, the prophet of the Covenanters, who was confined there upwards of four years. There too might be seen William Bell, the famous field preacher; the feeble and delicate Thomas Ross brought from Morayshire; John M'Gilligan from Ross-shire; Thomas Hog, minister of Kiltearn, on whom Hugh Miller has pronounced a most beautiful and touching eulogium; Major Learmont, who fought with conspicuous courage and skill at Rullion Green; Robert Bennet of Chesters, a Roxburghshire laird; Sir Alex. Gordon of Earlstoun, the head of a Galloway branch of the powerful sept of the Gordons, who fought at Bothwell Bridge, where his father was killed, and who was removed from the Bass to undergo the torture of the Boot; the venerable Sir Hugh Campbell of Cessnock, a cadet of the Earl of Loudon's family, who, though acquitted by a jury, was kept upwards of six years in prison in defiance of law and justice; John Scot, son of Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, author of the curious book entitled "The Staggering State of Scots Statesmen"; Archibald Riddell, son of Sir Walter, second baronet

of Riddell, and head of one of the oldest families in Scotland; John Spreul, the Town Clerk of Glasgow, and his namesake, an apothecary in that city. There sojourned for a few months, John Law, minister of Campsie, who survived to a great age in better times as one of the ministers of Edinburgh; Robert Traill, an able theologian and popular author; the learned, judicious, and moderate Gilbert Rule, who after the Revolution was appointed Principal of the University of Edinburgh, and contributed not a little to bring about a peaceable settlement of ecclesiastical affairs, and to prevent the adoption of severe measures against the Episcopal clergy. There, too, was Alexander Shields, author of the "Hind let Loose," a treatise which attracted great notice in its day, who, after the expulsion of the Stewarts, became minister of St. Andrews, but ended his days amid the cedar and palm groves of the West Indies. There brave old John Blackadder, the head of an ancient and honourable family, was released by death from his long and dreary imprisonment, leaving five sons, who all came to honour, the eldest having been appointed physician to King William, and the youngest, "a devout Christian and a brave soldier," served with great distinction as Colonel of the famous Cameronian regiment, under the Duke of Marlborough, in Queen Anne's wars. The greater part if not the whole of the prisoners immured in the cells of the old fortress of the Bass were men of good education, and had held a position in the country, which must have greatly aggravated their sufferings, and made them

feel more keenly the seclusion from society, and the other privations of their confinement in the dungeons of this sea-girt rock. We are informed that they were at times, two and two, allowed to leave their dark, dank, dripping, squalid cells, where they were "not permitted to converse, diet, or worship together," and to "have the liberty of the island above the walls to breathe in the open air." Surveying, as they must often have done with wistful eyes, the magnificent landscape which lay before them—

"Traced like a map

In cultured beauty, stretching wide"—

dotted over with famous old castles like Dunbar, Tantallon and Dirleton, and splendid mansions, and stately woods; in the distance Arthur's Seat, and the Castle and City of Edinburgh; and, on the north, the fertile shores of Fife, and the broad Firth between, studded with islands; and listening, as Fraser of Brea says they did, to "the swelling waves beating upon the rock with a mighty force and a wonderful noise," it is no matter of surprise that they should, in the simple and touching words of old Alexander Peden, have "envied the very birds of the air their freedom." But they comforted themselves, like "poor auld Sandy," as he termed himself, with the thought that "when darkest it will be light."*

* Peden was brought out of the Bass prison in 1678, and sentenced, along with sixty others, to be transported for life to the plantations. The ship that conveyed them put in at London, where, from some unexplained cause, they were all released. Peden returned to Scotland in 1679, and, after many dangerous

After the suppression of Argyll's insurrection, the Covenanters enjoyed a period of comparative peace. King James was bent on the abolition of the penal laws against the members of his own Church, though they had not been enforced for many years. Roman Catholics were, however, excluded from all public offices in both kingdoms ; and the object of James was to remove these civil disabilities, and to confer upon his co-religionists situations of trust and power. The English Parliament, subservient though it was to royal authority, gave such unmistakable indications of a determined opposition to this policy, that it was dissolved by the King. James then turned to the Scottish Estates, who had ever been abjectly servile in their submission to the sovereign, in the confident expectation that they would readily comply with his wishes. He had intended at first to obtain for the members of his own Church exemption from civil penalties on account of adventures and hairbreadth escapes during the "Killing Times," died in peace at an advanced age in 1685. "Carry me to Ayrsmoss," he said to his friends, "and bury me beside Richie (Richard Cameron), that I may have rest in my grave, for I have had little in my life." Peden was intimate with the Boswells of Auchenleck, the family to which the biographer of Dr. Samuel Johnson belonged, and they caused his body to be interred in their family vault. This circumstance came to the knowledge of the soldiers quartered at Sorn ; and though forty days had elapsed since the interment, these ruffians opened the coffin, carried the body to an eminence near Cumnock, where the gallows stood, and suspended it on the gibbet. It was afterwards taken down and interred at the foot of the gallows tree. Such was the reverence entertained for Peden's memory, that the churchyard of Cumnock was transferred from the town to the spot hallowed, in the estimation of the people, by its having been made the last resting-place of the "Prophet of the Covenanters."

of their creed, but to leave the Covenanters still exposed to the vengeance of the law. He found, however, that there was no hope that even his Privy Council would yield to his demands unless the proposed measure of relief should be extended to the Presbyterians as well as to the Roman Catholics. When, therefore, the Estates assembled at Edinburgh, on the 29th of April, 1686, the Lord High Commissioner, the Earl of Moray, the representative of the "good Regent," but a Popish pervert, laid before them a letter from the King, in which he promised a full indemnity for all offences committed against his person and authority, and, at the same time, recommended to the special care of the Parliament his Roman Catholic subjects, "to the end that they should not be suffered to lie under obligations which their religion cannot admit of." Greatly to his astonishment and indignation, the Estates, instead of re-echoing the royal opinions and wishes, as they had been accustomed to do, contented themselves with declaring that "they would take his Majesty's letter into their serious and dutiful consideration, and would go as great lengths therein as their consciences would allow." Even the Lords of the Articles, without whose approval no measure could be laid before Parliament, though nominated by the King, could not be induced to do more than promise that the Roman Catholic service should be tolerated in private families. Seeing that the contest was hopeless, the Commissioner adjourned the Parliament, which was soon after dissolved by the King.

The wrong-headed and bigoted monarch now declared that since his gracious and benignant proposals had been rejected by the Scottish Estates, to whom he had condescended to submit them, he would dispense, by his own supreme authority, with all the penal laws affecting the Roman Catholics. By virtue of his royal prerogative he set aside the test, abrogated all laws against Roman Catholics, forbidding all judges and magistrates to put these laws in execution, permitted them the free exercise of their religion, declared that they were at liberty to accept all public offices and benefices, and ordered a chapel to be fitted up at Holyrood, and provided with chaplains, for the public celebration of divine service according to the Romish ritual.

As a set-off to this illegal and unconstitutional proceeding, and to cover his real design, he granted a partial indulgence to the Presbyterians and the Quakers, allowing them to assemble in their own private dwellings, at the same time renewing all the former sanguinary enactments against conventicles. All this he did. He says, "We have thought fit to grant, and by our sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power, which all our subjects are to obey without reserve, do hereby give and grant our royal toleration." In this form, however, the boon was rejected by Presbyterians of every grade, and as James was now exceedingly anxious, for his own purposes, to gain the good-will of the Nonconformists, he published in April, 1687, his "Declaration for Liberty of Conscience," in which additional con-

cessions were made with the view of giving "liberty to conscience" and "allaying the heat and animosities among the several professors of the Christian religion." In July he issued a third proclamation, abolishing all penal laws for Nonconformity, and all disabilities imposed on Nonconformists, with the exception only of the acts prohibiting field meetings.

There were many powerful reasons why the Presbyterians should have hesitated to accept these boons from a sovereign who had been the author of their severest sufferings, and who claimed absolute authority to dispense with the laws, and to set aside the constitution of the realm at his pleasure; but worn out as they were by long-continued persecution, the less zealous and resolute members of the party accepted the indulgence thus granted, and resumed their meetings for public worship. But the indomitable Hillmen would accept of no favour from a Popish despot, whose authority they had disowned, and whose violation of the fundamental laws of the realm they strongly condemned. Their warrant to preach the Gospel came not from men nor by men, but from the only King and Head of the Church, and they could not without treason to "Christ's crown and covenant" acknowledge the authority of any earthly sovereign in the affairs of the Church, especially when they were well aware that the offered boon was intended merely to bring about the restoration of Popery in the kingdom. They therefore defied the Government, and continued as before to hold field meetings for public worship, notwithstanding the perils to which

they thus exposed themselves. From the summits of the hills on which they had taken refuge they seem to have discerned the little cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, rising out of the sea, portending the storm that was ere long to overwhelm the dynasty accursed of God and hated of man, which now swayed the sceptre of Britain; and they confidently predicted, in the words of one of their leaders, that the "God of the Covenant was soon to cut off the house of Stewart, and that none of that idolatrous house was to tyrannise in Britain any more."

After the death of Donald Cargill, the leadership of the Cameronians devolved upon James Renwick, a young man only twenty-five years of age, but possessed of extraordinary administrative abilities and tact, as well as powerful eloquence. His career from first to last was every way remarkable. He was educated at the University of Edinburgh, and appears to have been a good classical scholar. His sympathies seem from an early period to have gone with the extreme party of the Covenanters, and the execution of Donald Cargill in 1681, when Renwick was only nineteen years of age, decided his adherence to their principles. He frequented the "Secret Societies," and at their request he repaired to Holland, and was admitted into the University of Groningen, where he prosecuted his studies with great diligence and success. As the Societies since Cargill's death were without a minister, he resolved at their urgent request to return to Scotland, and with a view to his entering on the duties of the

ministerial office, he was ordained by the classis of Groningen, and shortly after returned to his native country. He lifted the standard which had fallen from the hands of Cameron and Cargill, and by his scholarship, eloquence and ardour contributed greatly to strengthen the Cameronian cause. The excitement caused by his preaching, and the manifestoes of the Societies which were drawn up by him, alarmed the Privy Council, and they denounced him as a traitor, and set a price of a hundred pounds upon his head. He was compelled to lead a wandering life, preaching to the scattered remnant whenever he could find opportunity. He was the soul of the Societies, organising, preaching, debating, defending, corresponding, and writing their Declarations and "Testimonies," passing with almost incredible activity from parish to parish, and from county to county, comforting and cheering the scattered and down-trodden Hillmen. For four years he led this life of incessant toil and peril and privation, till his frame became so completely worn out that he could not sit on horseback without being held up by a friend on each side, travelling by the wildest paths, and lying down for rest in the most miserable huts, with sentinels watching over his safety; preaching often with a swift horse standing saddled and bridled beside him, that he might escape if the enemy should come; frequently concealed in caves and glens exposed to the storms of winter, while the people were forbidden under the severest penalties to give him a morsel of bread or a cup of water, or even to

speak to him or afford him any kind of shelter. In his letters he refers in touching terms to his labours and sufferings, and the condition to which they had reduced him. He felt most keenly of all the treatment he received from the "Indulged" Presbyterians, who not only stood aloof from him, but denounced him as "the enemy of the brethren," the "intruder," the "white devil going through the land carrying the enemy's flag." And yet this man, who was treated as an outcast from society, as unworthy even to live, was no rebel or preacher of sedition, no narrow-minded, bigoted fanatic. As regards the soundness and liberality both of his political and religious opinions, he was greatly in advance of the men of his day. Though of necessity strict in the terms on which members were admitted into the "Societies," he advocated free communion among all Christian churches, and, lamenting the divisions which existed among the followers of the Prince of Peace, he exclaimed, "Oh, when shall those be agreed on earth that shall be agreed in heaven! Methinks if my blood were a means to procure that end, I could willingly offer it."

In 1687 the dark cloud that had rested over the persecuted Hillmen grew more dense, and the search after Renwick became keener than ever. In less than five months special searches were made for him, no less than fifteen times, by parties of dragoons scouring the country and tracking his footsteps. He made so many hairbreadth escapes that he seemed to bear a charmed life. In January, 1688, he held a number of field meetings in Fife, and crossed the

Firth of Forth to Edinburgh on the last day of that month. The house of his entertainer on the Castle Hill was searched for contraband goods, and one of the officers recognised Renwick, and cried out for help to seize and carry him a prisoner to the guard-house. Renwick, however, succeeded in reaching the street, but some person in the crowd struck him on the breast with a long staff, and weakened him so much that he fell several times in running, and was overtaken by his pursuers at the head of the Cowgate. He was immediately committed to prison and laid in irons. In the critical state of the country at this period, while the King was eagerly courting the Nonconformists in both kingdoms, in order to induce them to support his dispensing power, the capture of Renwick appears not to have given much satisfaction to the Government. His demeanour before the Privy Council seems to have produced a favourable impression on the members, and Viscount Tarbet, the Lord Clerk Registrar, who had repeated discussions with him, says "he was the stiffest maintainer of his principles that ever came before us. We could never make him yield or vary in the least. He was of old Knox's principles."

Renwick was brought to trial on the 8th of February, charged with disowning the King's authority, teaching that it was unlawful to pay the cess-tax, and recommending his followers to come armed to the field meetings. He admitted and defended these views. The tax he contended was unlawful, both because it was oppressive and because it was

imposed for the suppression of the gospel. "Would it have been thought lawful," he said, "for the Jews in the days of Nebuchadnezzar each to bring a coal to augment the flame of the furnace to devour the three children, if they had been so required by the tyrant? And how can it be lawful either to oppress people for not bowing down to the idols which the King sets up, or for their brethren to contribute what may help forward their oppression?"

He was, of course, found guilty, and sentenced to be executed within three days. He was asked by the Justice-General if he would like longer time. He seemed, however, to be wearied of life, and was anxious to be gone. "It is all one to me," he said. "If protracted it is welcome; if shortened it is welcome. My Master's time is the best." The execution of his sentence, however, was delayed for a few days, during which the most earnest efforts were made to induce him to retract his opinions. His ability and winning eloquence, his gentle demeanour, together with his youth and beauty, produced an unwonted effect on the hardened members of the Privy Council. Men who had sentenced Hackston to be hacked to pieces by a coarse and clumsy hangman, and had approved of the shocking barbarities perpetrated on the aged Donald Cargill, shrank from putting to death his disciple, so young and amiable, and yet so courageous and firm, and entreated him to save his life by acknowledging the royal authority. The King's Advocate, Sir John Dalrymple, also used his influence with him, but in vain. The Bishop of

Edinburgh, when his importunities had failed, said compassionately, "It was a pity he was of such principles, for he was a pretty lad." Even the Roman Catholic priests shewed their anxiety that the interesting youth should ask for pardon, which they assured him would be immediately granted, but he continued firm in his refusal. It is probable that his incessant and wearing-out labours, his wanderings and watchings, his sickness and solitude, had somewhat affected his mind, and made him long for the rest of the grave. On the morning of his execution he wrote to a friend, "Death to me is as a bed to the weary." His feelings might have been different if he had known that deliverance for the Church and the country was close at hand. On the 17th of February he was brought to the scaffold, in the presence of a multitude greater than had ever before thronged the Grassmarket. He first sang the hundred-and-third Psalm, and read the nineteenth chapter of the Book of Revelations, which describes the advent and conquering career of Him who is called "Faithful and True," the avenger of the blood of his saints upon the false prophet, and the wild beast, and the kings of the earth and their armies. He then prayed. His address to the spectators was, as usual, drowned by the beating of drums. But once, when there was a momentary pause, looking up at the clouds gathering on a lowering February sky, he was heard to say, "I shall soon be above those clouds; then shall I enjoy Thee and glorify Thee, O my Father! without interruption and without intermission for ever." Renwick was only

twenty-six years of age when he was put to death. He was the last who suffered martyrdom in Scotland for Christ's "CROWN AND COVENANT." A few months later, the principles for which he had laid down his life were recognised as the foundation of the revolution settlement. What was capitally punished in February as treason, was adopted by the legislature of both countries in November as the palladium of their liberties.

James had now filled up the cup of his tyranny and oppression to the brim, and the hour of retribution was at hand. On the 5th of November the Prince of Orange landed at Torbay. Six weeks after, James was a discrowned fugitive. The Scottish Estates solemnly declared that "King James VII., being a professed Papist, did assume the regal power and acted as King without taking the oath required by law; and hath by the advice of evil and wicked councillors invaded the fundamental constitution of this kingdom, and altered it from a legal limited monarchy to an arbitrary despotic power, and hath exercised the same to the subversion of the Protestant religion, and the violation of the laws and liberties of the nation, inverting all the ends of government, whereby he hath FOREFAULTED the right to the Crown, and the throne has become VACANT."

The persecution of the Covenanters lasted twenty-eight years, and inflicted almost unheard-of suffering upon a large body of the people of Scotland. At a time when the whole public revenue of the country did not exceed £50,000 a year, upwards of £300,000

sterling was extorted from the gentry, farmers and burgesses, in the shape of fines for nonconformity, and the greater part of this enormous sum went into the pockets of the privy councillors and minions of the Court. The lawless and unrestrained extortions of the soldiers were an infliction even more harassing and severe. Defoe calculates that upwards of eighteen thousand persons perished on the scaffold or the battle field, by imprisonment or shipwreck, or cruel treatment, or were put to death in cold blood by the soldiers, or died through cold and hunger and privations, while wandering on the mountains and moors, or hiding among the morasses, or in dens and caves. But, as he has beautifully remarked, "it would be endless to enumerate the names of the sufferers, and it has not been possible to come at the certain number of those ministers or others who died in prison and banishment, there being no record preserved of their persecution in any court of justice. Nor could any roll of their names be preserved in those times of confusion anywhere, but under the altar, and about the throne of the Lamb, where their heads are crowned and their white robes are seen, and where an exact account of their number will at last be found."

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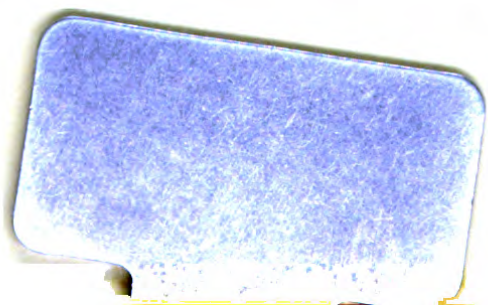
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