

[TG43-1, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 43, p. 1]

(43-1)It was about the middle of December that
(43-1)Argyle was residing at his castle of Inverary, in the
(43-1)most perfect confidence that the enemy could not
(43-1)approach him; for he used to say, he would not
(43-1)for a hundred thousand crowns that any one knew
(43-1)the passes from the eastward into the country of
(43-1)the Campbells. While the powerful Marquis
(43-1)was enjoying the fancied security of his feudal
(43-1)dominions, he was astounded with the intelligence
(43-1)that Montrose, with an army of Highlanders,
(43-1)wading through drifts of snow, scaling precipices,
(43-1)and traversing the mountain-paths, know to none

[TG43-2, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 43, p. 2]

(43-2)save the solitary shepherd or huntsman, had forced
(43-2)an entry into Argyleshire, which he was laying
(43-2)waste with all the vindictive severity of deadly
(43-2)feud. There was neither time nor presence of
(43-2)mind for defence. The able-bodied men were
(43-2)slaughtered, the cattle driven off, the houses burnt;
(43-2)and the invaders had divided themselves into three
(43-2)bands, to make the devastation more complete.
(43-2)Alarmed by this fierce and unexpected invasion,
(43-2)Argyle embarked on board a fishing-boat, and left
(43-2)his friends and followers to their fate. Montrose
(43-2)continued the work of revenge for nearly a month,
(43-2)and then concluding he had destroyed the influence
(43-2)which Argyle, by the extent of his power, and the
(43-2)supposed strength of his country, had possessed
(43-2)over the minds of the Highlanders, he withdrew
(43-2)towards Inverness, with the purpose of organizing
(43-2)a general gathering of the clans. But he had
(43-2)scarce made this movement, when he learned that

(43-2)his rival, Argyle, had returned into the Western
(43-2)Highlands with some Lowland forces; that he
(43-2)had called around him his numerous clan, burning
(43-2)to revenge the wrongs which they had sustained,
(43-2)and was lying with a strong force near the old
(43-2)castle of Inverlochy, situated at the western
(43-2)extremity of the chain of lakes through which the
(43-2)Caledonian Canal is now conducted.
(43-2) The news at once altered Montrose's plans.
(43-2)He returned upon Argyle by a succession of the
(43-2)most difficult mountain-passes covered with snow;

[TG43-3, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 43, p. 3]

(43-3)and the vanguard of the Campbells saw themselves
(43-3)suddenly engaged with that of their implacable
(43-3)enemy. Both parties lay all night on
(43-3)their arms; by, by break of day, Argyle
(43-3)betook himself to his galley, and rowing
(43-3)off shore, remained a spectator of the combat,
(43-3)when, by all the rules of duty and gratitude, he
(43-3)ought to have been at the head of his devoted
(43-3)followers.(2nd Feb. 1645) His unfortunate clansmen supported the
(43-3)honour of the name with the greatest courage, and
(43-3)many of the most distinguished fell on the field of
(43-3)battle. Montrose gained a complete victory, which
(43-3)greatly extended his influence over the Highlands,
(43-3)and in proportion diminished that of his discomfited
(43-3)rival.
(43-3) Having collected what force he could, Montrose
(43-3)now marched triumphantly to the north-east; and
(43-3)in the present successful posture of his affairs, at
(43-3)length engaged the Gordons to join him with a
(43-3)good body of cavalry, commanded by their young
(43-3)chief, Lord Gordon. The Convention of Estates
(43-3)were now most seriously alarmed. While

(43-3)Montrose had roamed through the Highlands, retreating
(43-3)before a superior enemy, and every moment
(43-3)apparently on the point of being overwhelmed, his
(43-3)progress was regarded as a distant danger. But he
(43-3)was now threatening the low country, and the
(43-3)ruling party were not so confident of their strength
(43-3)there as to set so bold an adventurer at defiance.
(43-3)They called from the army in England General
(43-3)Baillie, an officer of skill and character, and Sir
(43-3)John Urry, or, as the English called him, Hurry,

[TG43-4, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 43, p. 4]

(43-4)a brave and good partisan, but a mere soldier of
(43-4)fortune, who had changed sides more than once
(43-4)during the civil war.
(43-4) These generals commanded a body of veteran
(43-4)troops, with which they manoeuvred to exclude
(43-4)Montrose from the southern districts, and prevent
(43-4)his crossing the Tay, or Forth. At the same time,
(43-4)the mandate of the Marquis of Huntly, or the
(43-4)intrigues of Lord Lewis Gordon, again recalled
(43-4)most of the Gordons from Montrose's standard,
(43-4)and his cavalry was reduced to one hundred and
(43-4)fifty. He was compelled once more to retire to
(43-4)the mountains, but desirous to dignify his retreat
(43-4)by some distinguished action, he resolved to punish
(43-4)the town of Dundee for their steady adherence to
(43-4)the cause of the Covenant. Accordingly, suddenly
(43-4)appearing before it was a chosen body
(43-4)selected for the service, he stormed the
(43-4)place on three points at once.(4th April) The Highlanders
(43-4)and Irish, with incredible fury, broke open the
(43-4)gates, and forced an entrance. They were dispersing
(43-4)in quest of liquor and plunder, when at the
(43-4)very moment that Montrose threatened to set the

(43-4)town on fire, he received intelligence that Baillie
(43-4)and Urry, with four thousand men, were within a
(43-4)mile of the place. The crisis required all the activity

[TG43-5, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 43, p. 5]

(43-5)of Montrose; and probably no other authority
(43-5)than his would have been able to withdraw the
(43-5)men from their revelling and plundering, to get
(43-5)his army into order, and to effect a retreat to the
(43-5)mountains, which he safely accomplished in the
(43-5)face of his numerous enemies, and with a degree
(43-5)of skill which established his military character as
(43-5)firmly as any of his victories.

(43-5) Montrose was well seconded in this difficulty, by
(43-5)the hardihood and resolution of his men, who are
(43-5)said to have marched about sixty miles, and to
(43-5)have passed three days and two nights in manoeuvring
(43-5)and fighting, without either food or refreshment.

(43-5)In this manner that leader repeatedly
(43-5)baffled the numerous forces and able generals who
(43-5)were employed against him. The great check upon
(43-5)his enterprise was the restlessness of the
(43-5)Highlanders, and the caprice of the gentlemen who
(43-5)formed his cavalry, who all went and came at their
(43-5)own pleasure.

(43-5) I have told you that the Gordons had been
(43-5)withdrawn from Montrose's standard, contrary to their
(43-5)own inclinations, by the command of Huntly, or

[TG43-6, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 43, p. 6]

(43-6)the address of Lord Lewis Gordon. By employing
(43-6)his followers in enterprises in which the plunder
(43-6)was certain and the danger small, this young
(43-6)nobleman collected under his standard all those

(43-6)who were reluctant to share the toilsome marches,
(43-6)military hardships, and bloody fights to which they
(43-6)were led under that of Montrose. Hence a rhyme,
(43-6)not yet forgotten in Aberdeenshire,
(43-6) "If you with Lord Lewis go,
(43-6) You'll get reif and prey enough;
(43-6) If you with Montrose go,
(43-6) You'll get grief and wae enough."
(43-6) But the Lord Gordon, Lewis's elder brother,
(43-6)continuing attached in the warmest manner to
(43-6)Montrose, was despatched by him to bring back
(43-6)the gentlemen of his warlike family, and his
(43-6)influence soon assembled considerable forces. General
(43-6)Baillie, learning this, detached Urry, his
(43-6)colleague, with a force which he thought sufficient to
(43-6)destroy Lord Gordon, while he himself proposed
(43-6)to engage the attention of Montrose till that point
(43-6)was gained.
(43-6) But Montrose, penetrating the intention of the
(43-6)Covenanting generals, eluded Baillie's attempts to
(43-6)bring him to action, and traversed the mountains
(43-6)of the North like a whirlwind, to support Lord
(43-6)Gordon, and crush Urry. He accomplished his
(43-6)first object; the second appeared more difficult.
(43-6)Urry had been joined by the Covenanters of the
(43-6)shire of Moray, with the Earls of Seaforth, Sutherland,
(43-6)and others who maintained the same cause,
(43-6)and had thus collected an army more numerous

[TG43-7, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 43, p. 7]

(43-7)than that of Montrose, even when united to Lord
(43-7)Gordon.
(43-7) Montrose prepared, nevertheless, to give battle
(43-7)at the village of Auldern, and drew up his men
(43-7)in an unusual manner, to conceal his

(43-7)inequality of force.(4th May, 1645) The village, which is
(43-7)situated on an eminence, with high ground
(43-7)behind, was surrounded by enclosures on each side
(43-7)and in front. He stationed on the right of the
(43-7)hamlet Alexander MacDonald, called Colkitto,
(43-7)with four hundred Irishmen and Highlanders,
(43-7)commanding them to maintain a defensive combat
(43-7)only, and giving them strict orders not to sally
(43-7)from some strong sheepfolds and enclosures, which
(43-7)afforded the advantages of a fortified position. As
(43-7)he wished to draw the attention of the enemy
(43-7)towards that point, he gave this wing charge of the
(43-7)royal standard, which was usually displayed where
(43-7)he commanded in person. On the left side of the
(43-7)village of Alderne, he drew up the principal part
(43-7)of his force, he himself commanding the infantry,
(43-7)and Lord Gordon the cavalry. His two wings
(43-7)being thus formed, Montrose had in reality no

[TG43-8, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 43, p. 8]

(43-8)centre force whatever; but a few resolute men
(43-8)were posted in front of the village, and his cannons
(43-8)being placed in the same line, made it appear as if
(43-8)the houses covered a body of infantry.
(43-8) Urry, deceived by these dispositions, attacked
(43-8)with a preponderating force the position of
(43-8)MacDonald on the right. Colkitto beat the assailants
(43-8)back with the Irish musketeers, and the bows and
(43-8)arrows of the Highlanders, who still used these
(43-8)ancient missile weapons. But when the enemy,
(43-8)renewing their attack, taunted MacDonald with
(43-8)cowardice for remaining under shelter of the sheep-
(43-8)folds, that leader, whose bravery greatly excelled
(43-8)his discretion, sallied forth from his fastness,
(43-8)contrary to Montrose's positive command, to show he

(43-8)was not averse to fight on equal ground. The
(43-8)superiority of numbers, and particularly of cavalry,
(43-8)which was instantly opposed to him soon threw
(43-8)his men into great disorder, and they could with
(43-8)difficulty be rallied by the desperate exertions of
(43-8)Colkitto, who strove to make amends for his error,
(43-8)by displaying the utmost personal valour.
(43-8) A trusty officer was despatched to Montrose to
(43-8)let him know the state of affairs. The messenger
(43-8)found him on the point of joining battle, and whispered
(43-8)in his ear that Colkitto was defeated. This
(43-8)only determined Montrose to pursue with the
(43-8)greater audacity the plan of battle which he had
(43-8)adopted. "What are we doing?" he called out
(43-8)to Lord Gordon; "Macdonald has been victorious
(43-8)on the right, and if we do not make haste, he will
(43-8)carry off all the honours of the day." Lord Gordon

[TG43-9, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 43, p. 9]

(43-9)instantly charged with the gentlemen of his name,
(43-9)and beat the Covenanters' horse off the field; but
(43-9)the foot, though deserted by the horse, stood firm
(43-9)for some time, for they were veteran troops. At
(43-9)length they were routed on every point, and
(43-9)compelled to fly with great loss.
(43-9) Montrose failed not instantly to lead succours to
(43-9)the relief of his right wing, which was in great peril.
(43-9)Colkitto had got his men again secured in the
(43-9)enclosures; he himself, having been all along the last
(43-9)to retreat, was now defending the entrance sword
(43-9)in hand, and with a target on his left arm. The
(43-9)pikemen pressed him so hard as to fix their spears
(43-9)in his target, while he repeatedly freed himself of
(43-9)them by cutting the heads from the shafts, in threes
(43-9)and fours at a time, by the unerring sweep of his

(43-9)broadsword.

(43-9) While Colkitto and his followers were thus hard
(43-9)pressed, Montrose and his victorious troops appeared,
(43-9)and the face of affairs was suddenly changed.
(43-9)Urry's horse fled, but the foot, which were the
(43-9)strength of his army, fought bravely, and fell in
(43-9)the ranks which they occupied. To thousand
(43-9)men, about a third of Urry's army, were slain in
(43-9)the battle of Aulder, and, completely disabled by

[TG43-10, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 43, p. 10]

(43-10)the overthrow, that commander was compelled once
(43-10)more to unite his scattered forces with those of
(43-10)Baillie.

(43-10) After some marching and counter-marching, the
(43-10)armies again found themselves in the neighbourhood
(43-10)of each other, near to the village of Alford.

(43-10) Montrose occupied a strong position on a hill,
(43-10)and it was said that the cautious Baillie would have
(43-10)avoided the encounter, had it not been that, having
(43-10)crossed the river Don, in the belief that Montrose
(43-10)was in full retreat, he only discovered his purpose
(43-10)of giving battle when it was too late to decline it.
(43-10)The number of infantry was about two thousand
(43-10)in each army. But Baillie had more than double
(43-10)his opponent's number of cavalry. Montrose's
(43-10)indeed, were gentlemen, and therefore in the day
(43-10)of battle were more to be relied on than mere
(43-10)hirelings. The Gordons dispersed the Covenanting
(43-10)horse, on the first shock; and the musketeers,
(43-10)throwing down their muskets, and mingling in the
(43-10)tumult with their swords drawn, prevented the
(43-10)scattered cavalry from rallying. But as Lord
(43-10)Gordon threw himself, for the second time, into
(43-10)the heat of the fight, he fell from his horse,

[TG43-11, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 43, p. 11]

(43-11)mortally wounded by a shot from one of the fugitives.
(43-11)This accident, which gave the greatest distress to
(43-11)Montrose, suspended the exertions of the cavalry,
(43-11)who, chiefly friends, kinsmen, and vassals of the
(43-11)deceased, flocked around him to lament the general
(43-11)loss. But the veterans of Montrose, charging in
(43-11)separate columns of six and ten men deep, along a
(43-11)line of three men only, broke the battle array of
(43-11)the Covenanters on various points, and utterly
(43-11)destroyed the remnant of Baillie's array, though they
(43-11)defended themselves bravely. This battle was
(43-11)fought 2d July, 1645.

(43-11) These repeated victories gave such lustre to
(43-11)Montrose's arms, that he was now joined by the
(43-11)Highland clans in great numbers, and by many of
(43-11)the Lowland anti-covenanters, who had before
(43-11)held back, from doubt of his success in so unequal
(43-11)a contest.

(43-11) On the other hand, the Convention of estates,
(43-11)supported by the counsels of Argyle, who was
(43-11)bold in council though timid in battle, persevered
(43-11)in raising new troops, notwithstanding their repeated
(43-11)misfortunes and defeats. It seemed, indeed, as
(43-11)if Heaven had at this disastrous period an especial
(43-11)controversy with the kingdom of Scotland. To
(43-11)the efforts necessary to keep up and supply their
(43-11)auxiliary army in England, was added the desolation
(43-11)occasioned by a destructive civil war,
(43-11)maintained in the north with the utmost fury, and
(43-11)conducted on both sides with deplorable devastation.
(43-11)To these evils, as if not sufficient to exhaust the
(43-11)resources of a poor country, were not added those

[TG43-12, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 43, p. 12]

(43-12)of a wide-wasting plague, or pestilence, which raged
(43-12)through all the kingdom, but especially in
(43-12)Edinburgh, the metropolis. The Convention of Estates
(43-12)were driven from the capital by this dreadful
(43-12)infliction, and retreated to Perth, where they assembled
(43-12)a large force under General Baillie, while they
(43-12)ordered a new levy of ten thousand men generally
(43-12)throughout the kingdom. While Lanark, Cassilis,
(43-12)Eglinton, and other lords of the western shires,
(43-12)went to their respective counties to expedite the
(43-12)measure, Montrose, with his usual activity, descended
(43-12)from the mountains at the head of an army,
(43-12)augmented in numbers, and flushed with success.
(43-12) He first approached the shores of the Forth, by
(43-12)occupying the shire of Kinross. And here I cannot
(43-12)help mentioning the destruction of a noble
(43-12)castle belonging to the House of Argyle. Its
(43-12)majestic ruins are situated on an eminence occupying
(43-12)a narrow glen of the Ochil chain of hills. In
(43-12)former days, it was called, from the character of
(43-12)its situation perhaps, the castle of Gloom; and the
(43-12)names of the parish, and the stream by which its
(43-12)banks are washed, had also an ominous sound. The
(43-12)castle of Gloom was situated on the brook of Grief
(43-12)or Gryfe, and in the parish of DouLOUR or Dollar.
(43-12)In the sixteenth century, the Earl of Argyle, the
(43-12)owner of this noble fortress, obtained an act of
(43-12)parliament for changing its name to Castle Campbell.
(43-12)The feudal hatred of Montrose, and of the clans
(43-12)composing the strength of his army, the vindictive
(43-12)resentment also of the Ogilvies, for the destruction
(43-12)of "the Bonnie House of Airlie," and that of the

[TG43-13, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 43, p. 13]

(43-13)Stirlingshire cavaliers for that of Menstrie, doomed
(43-13)this magnificent pile to flames and ruin. The
(43-13)destruction of many a meaner habitation by the same
(43-13)unscrupulous and unsparing spirit of vengeance
(43-13)has been long forgotten, but the majestic remains
(43-13)of Castle Campbell still excite a sigh in those that
(43-13)view them, over the miseries of civil war.
(43-13) After similar acts of ravage, not to be justified,
(43-13)though not unprovoked, Montrose marched westward
(43-13)along the northern margin of the Forth,
(43-13)insulting Perth, where the army of the covenanters
(43-13)remained in their intrenchments, and even menacing
(43-13)the castle of Stirling, which, well garrisoned
(43-13)and strongly situated, defied his means of attack.
(43-13>About six miles above Stirling, Montrose crossed
(43-13)the Forth, by the deep and precarious ford which
(43-13)the river presents before its junction with the Teith.
(43-13)Having attained the southern bank, he directed his
(43-13)course westward, with the purpose of dispersing
(43-13)the levies which the western lords were collecting,
(43-13)and doubtless with the view of plundering the
(43-13)country, which had attached itself chiefly to the
(43-13)Covenant. Montrose had, however, scarcely reached
(43-13)Kilsyth, when he received the news that Baillie's
(43-13)army, departing from Perth, had also crossed the
(43-13)Forth, at the bridge of Stirling, and was close at
(43-13)hand. With his usual alacrity, Montrose prepared

[TG43-14, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 43, p. 14]

(43-14)for battle, which Baillie, had he been left to his
(43-14)own judgment, would have avoided; for that skilful
(43-14)though unfortunate general knew by experience
(43-14)the talents of Montrose, and that the character of
(43-14)his troops was admirably qualified for a day of

(43-14)combat; he also considered that an army so
(43-14)composed might be tired out by cautious operations,
(43-14)and entertained the rational hope that the
(43-14)Highlanders and Lowland Cavaliers would alike desert
(43-14)their leader in the course of a protracted and
(43-14)indecisive warfare. But Baillie was no longer the sole
(43-14)commander of the Covenanting army. A
(43-14)Committee of the Estates, consisting of Argyle, Lanark,
(43-14)and Crawford-Lindsay, had been nominated to
(43-14)attend his army, and control his motions; and
(43-14)these, especially the Earl of Lindsay, insisted that
(43-14)the veteran general should risk the last regular
(43-14)army which the Covenanters possessed in Scotland,
(43-14)in the perils of a decisive battle. They marched
(43-14)against Montrose, accordingly, at break of day on
(43-14)the 15th August, 1645.

(43-14) When Montrose beheld them advance, he
(43-14)exclaimed that it was what he had most earnestly
(43-14)desired. He caused his men to strip to their
(43-14)shirts, in token of their resolution to fight to the
(43-14)death. Mean time the Covenanters approached.
(43-14)Their vanguard attacked an advanced post of

[TG43-15, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 43, p. 15]

(43-15)Montrose, which occupied a strong position among
(43-15)cottages and enclosures. They were beaten off
(43-15)with loss. A thousand Highlanders, with their
(43-15)natural impetuosity, rushed, without orders, to
(43-15)pursue the fugitives, and to assault the troops who
(43-15)were advancing to support them. Two regiments
(43-15)of horse, against whom this mountain-torrent
(43-15)directed its fury, became disordered and fell back.
(43-15)Montrose saw the decisive moment, and ordered
(43-15)first a troop of horse, under command of Lord
(43-15)Airly, and afterwards his whole army, to attack

(43-15)the enemy, who had not yet got into line, their
(43-15)rearguard and centre coming up too slowly to the
(43-15)support of their vanguard. The hideous shout with
(43-15)which the Highlanders charged, their wild appearance,
(43-15)and the extraordinary speed with which they
(43-15)advanced, nearly naked, with broadsword in hand,
(43-15)struck a panic into their opponents, who dispersed
(43-15)without any spirited effort to get into line of
(43-15)battle, or maintain their ground. The Covenanters
(43-15)were beaten off the field, and pursued with
(43-15)indiscriminate slaughter for more than ten miles.

[TG43-16, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 43, p. 16]

(43-16)Four or five thousand men were slain in the field
(43-16)and in the flight; and the force of the Convention
(43-16)was for the time entirely broken.
(43-16) Montrose was now master, for the moment, of
(43-16)the kingdom of Scotland. Edinburgh surrendered;
(43-16)Glasgow paid a heavy contribution; the noblemen
(43-16)and other individuals of distinction who had
(43-16)been imprisoned as royalists in Edinburgh, and
(43-16)elsewhere throughout the kingdom, were set at
(43-16)liberty; and so many persons of quality now
(43-16)declared for Montrose, either from attachment to the
(43-16)royal cause, which they had hitherto concealed, or
(43-16)from the probability of its being ultimately
(43-16)successful, that he felt himself in force sufficient to
(43-16)call a Parliament at Glasgow in the King's name.
(43-16) Still, however, the success of this heroic leader
(43-16)had only given him possession of the open country;
(43-16)all the strong fortresses were still in possession of
(43-16)the Covenanters; and it would have required a
(43-16)length of time, and the services of an army regularly

[TG43-17, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 43, p. 17]

(43-17)disciplined and supplied with heavy artillery,
(43-17)to have reduced the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling,
(43-17)Dunbarton, and other places of great strength.
(43-17)But if Montrose had possessed the forces necessary
(43-17)for such a work, he had neither leisure nor
(43-17)inclination to undertake it. From the beginning
(43-17)of his extraordinary, and hitherto successful
(43-17)career, he had secretly entertained the dazzling ;hope
(43-17)of leading a victorious army into England, and
(43-17)replacing King Charles in possession of his
(43-17)disputed authority. It was a daring scheme, and
(43-17)liable to many hazards; yet if the King's affairs in
(43-17)England had remained in any tolerable condition,
(43-17)especially if there had been any considerable army
(43-17)of royalists in the north of England to join or
(43-17)co-operate with Montrose, there no calculating
(43-17)what the talents and genius of such an enterprising
(43-17)leader might have ultimately done in support
(43-17)of the Royal cause.

(43-17) But Charles, as I will presently tell you more
(43-17)particularly, had suffered so many and such fatal
(43-17)losses, that it may be justly doubted whether the
(43-17)assistance of Montrose, unless at the head of much
(43-17)larger forces than he could be expected to gather,
(43-17)would have afforded any material assistance against
(43-17)the numerous and well-disciplined army of the
(43-17)Parliament. The result of a contest which was
(43-17)never tried can only be guessed at. Montrose's
(43-17)own hopes and confidence were as lofty as his
(43-17)ambition; and he did not permit himself to doubt
(43-17)the predictions of those who assured him, that he

[TG43-18, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 43, p. 18]

(43-18)was doomed to support the tottering throne, and

(43-18)reinstate in safety the falling monarch.
(43-18) Impressed with such proud anticipations, he
(43-18)wrote to the King, urging him to advance to the
(43-18)northern border, and form a junction with his
(43-18)victorious army, and concluding his request with
(43-18)the words which Joab, the lieutenant of King
(43-18)David, is recorded in Scripture to have used to
(43-18)the King of Israel, -- "I have fought against Rabbah,
(43-18)and have taken the city of waters. Now
(43-18)therefore gather the rest of the people together,
(43-18)and encamp against the city, and take it; lest I
(43-18)take the city, and it be called after my name."
(43-18) While Montrose was thus urging King Charles,
(43-18)by the brilliant prospects which he held out, to
(43-18)throw himself on his protection, his own army
(43-18)mouldered away and dispersed, even in a greater
(43-18)degree than had been the case after his less
(43-18)distinguished successes. The Highland clans went
(43-18)home to get in their harvest, and place their spoil
(43-18)in safety. It was needless and useless to refuse
(43-18)them leave, for they were determined to take it.
(43-18)The north-country gentlemen also, wearied of the
(43-18)toils of the campaign, left his army in numbers;
(43-18)so that when Montrose received, by the hands of
(43-18)Sir Robert Spottiswood, the King's commission
(43-18)under the Great Seal, naming him captain-general
(43-18)and lieutenant-governor of Scotland, he
(43-18)commanded a force scarcely more effective than when
(43-18)he was wandering through Athole and Badenoch.

[TG43-19, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 43, p. 19]

(43-19)The King's orders, however, and his own indomitable
(43-19)spirit of enterprise, determined his march
(43-19)towards the Borders.
(43-19) About fifty years before, these districts would

(43-19)have supplied him, even upon the lighting of their
(43-19)beacons, with ten thousand cavalry, as fond of
(43-19)fighting and plunder as any Highlander in his
(43-19)army. But that period, as I have told you, had
(43-19)passed away. The inhabitants of the Border-land
(43-19)had become peaceful, and the chiefs and lords,
(43-19)whose influence might still have called them out
(43-19)to arms, were hostile to the Crown, or, at best,
(43-19)lukewarm in its cause. The Earl of Buccleuch,
(43-19)and his friends of the name of Scott, who had never
(43-19)forgotten the offence given by the revocation of
(43-19)James's donations to their chief, were violent
(43-19)Covenanters, and had sent a strong clan-regiment
(43-19)with Earl of Leven and the Scottish auxiliaries.
(43-19)Traquair, Roxburghe, and Hume, all
(43-19)entertained, or affected, regard to the King, but made
(43-19)no effectual effort in raising men. The once
(43-19)formidable name of Douglas, and the exertions of the
(43-19)Earl of Annandale, could only assemble some
(43-19)few troops of horse, whom the historian, Bishop
(43-19)Guthrie, describes as truthless trained bands.
(43-19)Montrose expected to meet a body of more regular
(43-19)cavalry, who were to be despatched from England;
(43-19)but the King's continued misfortunes
(43-19)prevented him from making such a diversion.
(43-19) Mean while the Scottish army in England
(43-19)received an account of the despair to which the battle
(43-19)of Kilsyth had reduced the Convention of Estates,

[TG43-20, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 43, p. 20]

(43-20)and learned that several of its most distinguished
(43-20)members were already exiles, having fled to Berwick
(43-20)and other strong places on the Border, which
(43-20)were garrisoned by the Parliamentary forces. The
(43-20)importance of the crisis was felt, and David Lesley

(43-20)was despatched, at the head of five or six thousand
(43-20)men, chiefly cavalry, and the flower of the Scottish
(43-20)auxiliary army, with the charge of checking the
(43-20)triumphs of Montrose.

(43-20) Lesley crossed the Border at Berwick, and
(43-20)proceeded on his march towards the metropolis, as if
(43-20)it had been his view to get between Montrose and
(43-20)the Highlands, and to prevent his again receiving
(43-20)assistance from his faithful mountaineers. But
(43-20)that sagacious general's intentions were of a more
(43-20)decisive character; for, learning that Montrose,
(43-20)with his little army, lay quartered in profound
(43-20)security near Selkirk, he suddenly altered his march,
(43-20)left the Edinburgh road when he came to
(43-20)Edgebucklingbrae, above Musselburgh, crossed the
(43-20)country to Middleton, and then turning southward,
(43-20)descended the vale of the Gala to Melrose, in which
(43-20)place, and the adjacent hamlets, he quartered his
(43-20)army for the night.

(43-20) Montrose's infantry, mean while, lay encamped
(43-20)on an elevated ascent, called Philiphaugh, on the

[TG43-21, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 43, p. 21]

(43-21)left bank of the Ettrick, while his cavalry, with
(43-21)their distinguished general in person, were
(43-21)quartered in the town of Selkirk; a considerable stream
(43-21)being thus interposed betwixt the two parts of his
(43-21)army, which should have been so stationed as to
(43-21)be ready to support each other on a sudden alarm.
(43-21)But Montrose had no information of the vicinity
(43-21)of Lesley, though the Covenanters had passed the
(43-21)night within four miles of his camp. This indicates
(43-21)that he must have been very ill served by his
(43-21)own patrols, and that his cause must have been
(43-21)unpopular in that part of the country, since a single

(43-21)horseman, at the expense of half an hour's gallop,
(43-21)might have put him fully in on his guard.
(43-21) On the morning of the 13th September, 1645,
(43-21)Lesley, under cover of a thick mist, approached
(43-21)Montrose's camp, and had the merit, by his
(43-21)dexterity and vigilance, of surprising him, whom his
(43-21)enemies had never before found unprepared. The
(43-21)Covenanting general divided his troops into two
(43-21)divisions, and attacked both flanks of the enemy at
(43-21)the same time. Those on the left made but a
(43-21)tumultuary and imperfect resistance; the right wing,

[TG43-22, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 43, p. 22]

(43-22)supported by a wood, fought in a manner worthy
(43-22)of their general's fame. Montrose himself, roused
(43-22)by the firing and noise of the action, hastily assembled
(43-22)his cavalry, crossed the Ettrick, and made a
(43-22)desperate attempt to recover the victory, omitting
(43-22)nothing which courage or skill could achieve, to
(43-22)rally his followers. But when at length left with
(43-22)only thirty horse, he was compelled to fly, and
(43-22)retreating up the Yarrow, crossed into the vale of
(43-22)Tweed, and reached Peebles, where some of his
(43-22)followers joined him.

(43-22) The defeated army suffered severely. The prisoners
(43-22)taken by the Covenanters were massacred
(43-22)without mercy, and in cold blood. They were shot
(43-22)in the court-yard of Newark castle, upon Yarrow,
(43-22)and their bodies hastily interred at a place, called,
(43-22)from that circumstance, Slain-men's-lee. The
(43-22)ground being, about twenty years since, opened
(43-22)for the foundation of a school-house, the bones and
(43-22)skulls, which were dug up in great quantities, plainly
(43-22)showed the truth of the country tradition.
(43-22)Many cavaliers, both officers and others, men of

(43-22)birth and character, the companions of Montrose's
(43-22)many triumphs, fell into the hands of the victors,
(43-22)and were, as we shall afterwards see, put to an
(43-22)ignominious death. The prisoners, both of high
(43-22)and low degree, would have been more numerous,
(43-22)but for the neighbourhood of the Harehead-wood,
(43-22)into which the fugitives escaped. Such were the
(43-22)immediate consequences of this battle; concerning
(43-22)which, the country people often quote the following
(43-22)lines: --

[TG43-23, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 43, p. 23]

(43-23) "At Philiphaugh the fray began;
(43-23) At Harehead-wood it ended.
(43-23) The Scots out owre the Grahams they ran,
(43-23) Sae merrily they bended."
(43-23) Montrose, after this disastrous action, retreated
(43-23)again into the Highlands, where he once more
(43-23)assembled an army of mountaineers. But his motions
(43-23)ceased to be of the consequence which they had
(43-23)acquired before he had experienced defeat.
(43-23)General Middleton, a man of military talents, but a
(43-23)soldier of fortune, was despatched against him by
(43-23)the Convention of estates, which was eager to
(43-23)recover the same power in the Highlands, which
(43-23)David Lesley's victory had re-established throughout
(43-23)the Lowlands.
(43-23) While Montrose was thus engaged in a obscure
(43-23)mountain warfare, the King having already
(43-23)surrendered himself to the Scottish auxiliaries, in
(43-23)total despair of the ultimate success, and anxious for
(43-23)the safety of his adventurous general, sent orders
(43-23)to him to dissolve his army, and to provide for his
(43-23)personal security, by leaving the kingdom. Montrose
(43-23)would not obey the first order, concluding it

(43-23)had been extorted from the monarch. To a second,
(43-23)and more peremptory injunction, he yielded
(43-23)obedience, and disbanding his army,(3d Sept. 1646)
(43-23)embarked in a brig bound for Bergen in
(43-23)Norway, with a few adherents, who were
(43-23)too obnoxious to the Covenanters, to permit of their

[TG43-24, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 43, p. 24]

(43-24)remaining in Scotland. Lest their little vessel
(43-24)should be searched by an English ship of war,
(43-24)Montrose wore the disguise of a domestic, and
(43-24)passed for the servant of his chaplain and biographer,
(43-24)Dr George Wishart. You may remember
(43-24)that he wore a similar disguise on entering Scotland,
(43-24)in order to commence his undertaking.
(43-24) This, and the preceding chapter, give an account
(43-24)of the brief, but brilliant period of Montrose's
(43-24)success. A future one will contain the melancholy
(43-24)conclusion of his exertions, and of his life.

[TG44-25, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 44, p. 25]

(44-25) I must now tell you the fate of the unfortunate
(44-25)cavaliers who had been made prisoners at Philiphaugh.
(44-25)The barbarous treatment of the common
(44-25)soldiers you are already acquainted with.
(44-25) Argyle, the leader of the Convention of Estates,
(44-25)had to resent the devastation of his country, and
(44-25)the destruction of his castles; and his desire of
(44-25)vengeance was so common to the age, that it would
(44-25)have been accounted neglect of his duty to his slain
(44-25)kinsmen and plundered clan, if he had let slip the
(44-25)favourable opportunity of exacting blood for blood.
(44-25)Other noblemen of the Convention had similar
(44-25)motives; and, besides, they had all been greatly

(44-25)alarmed at Montrose's success; and nothing makes
(44-25)men more pitiless than the recollection of recent
(44-25)fears. It ought partly to have assuaged these

[TG44-26, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 44, p. 26]

(44-26)vindictive feeling, that Montrose's ravages,
(44-26)although they were sufficiently wasting, were less
(44-26)encouraged by the officers, than arising from the
(44-26)uncontrollable license of an unpaid soldiery. The
(44-26)prisoners had always been treated with honour and
(44-26)humanity, and frequently dismissed on parole. So
(44-26)that, if the fate of Montrose's companions had
(44-26)depended on the Convention alone, it is possible, that
(44-26)almost all might have been set at liberty upon
(44-26)moderate conditions. But unfortunately the
(44-26)Presbyterian clergy thought proper to interfere strenuously
(44-26)between the prisoners, and the mercy which they
(44-26)might otherwise have experienced.

(44-26) And there it must be owned, that the Presbyterian
(44-26)ministers of that period were in some respects a
(44-26)different kind of men from their predecessors, in
(44-26)the reign of James VI. Malice cannot, indeed,
(44-26)accuse them of abusing the power which they had
(44-26)acquired since their success in 1640, for the
(44-26)purpose of increasing either their own individual
(44-26)revenues, or those of the church; nor had the system
(44-26)of strict morality, by which they were distinguished,
(44-26)been in any degree slackened. They remained in
(44-26)triumph, as they had been in suffering, honourably
(44-26)poor and rigidly moral. But yet, though inaccessible
(44-26)to the temptations of avarice or worldly pleasure,
(44-26)the Presbyterian clergy of this period cannot
(44-26)be said to have been superior to ambition and the
(44-26)desire of power; and as they were naturally apt to
(44-26)think that the advancement of religion was best

(44-26)secured by the influence of the church to which
(44-26)they belonged, they were disposed to extend that

[TG44-27, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 44, p. 27]

(44-27)influence by the strictest exertion of domestic
(44-27)discipline. Enquiry into the conduct of individuals
(44-27)was carried on by the Church-courts with indecent
(44-27)eagerness; and faults or follies, much fitter for
(44-27)private censure and admonition, were brought
(44-27)forward in the face of the public congregation. The
(44-27)hearers were charged every Sabbath-day, that each
(44-27)individual should communicate to the Kirk Session
(44-27)(a court composed of the clergyman and certain
(44-27)selected laymen of the parish) whatever matter of
(44-27)scandal or offence against religion and morality
(44-27)should come to their ears; and thus an inquisitorial
(44-27)power was exercised by one half of the parish over
(44-27)the other. This was well meant, but had bad
(44-27)consequences. Every idle story being made the
(44-27)subject of anxious investigation, the private happiness
(44-27)of families was disturbed, and discord and suspicion
(44-27)were sown where mutual confidence is most
(44-27)necessary.

(44-27) This love of exercising authority in families, was
(44-27)naturally connected with a desire to maintain that
(44-27)high influence in the state, which the Presbyterian
(44-27)church had acquired since the downfall of prelacy.
(44-27)The Scottish clergy had of late become used to
(44-27)consider their peculiar form of church government,
(44-27)which unquestionably has many excellences, as
(44-27)something almost as essential as religion itself; and
(44-27)it was but one step farther, to censure every one
(44-27)who manifested a design to destroy the system, or
(44-27)limit the power, of the Presbyterian discipline, as
(44-27)an enemy to religion of every kind, nay, even to

(44-27)the Deity himself. Such opinions were particularly

[TG44-28, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 44, p. 28]

(44-28)strong amongst those of the clergy who attended
(44-28)the armies in the field, seconded them by encouragement
(44-28)from the pulpits, or aided them by actually
(44-28)assuming arms themselves. The ardour of such
(44-28)men grew naturally more enthusiastic in proportion
(44-28)to the opposition they met with, and the dangers
(44-28)they encountered. The sights and sentiments which
(44-28)attend civil conflict, are of a kind to reconcile the
(44-28)human heart, however generous and humane by
(44-28)nature, to severe language and cruel actions.

(44-28)Accordingly, we cannot be surprised to find that some
(44-28)of the clergy forgot that a malignant, for so they
(44-28)called a Royalist, was still countryman and fellow
(44-28)Christian, born under the same government, speaking
(44-28)the same language, and hoping to be saved by
(44-28)the power of the same creed, with themselves; or
(44-28)that they directed against such Cavaliers and
(44-28)Episcopalians those texts of Scripture, in which the
(44-28)Jews were, by especial commission, commanded to
(44-28)extirpate the heathen inhabitants of the Promised
(44-28)Land.

(44-28) On of these preachers enlarged on such a topic
(44-28)after Lesley's victory, and chose his text from the
(44-28)15th chapter of 1st Samuel, where the prophet
(44-28)rebukes Saul for sparing the king of the Amalekites,
(44-28)and for having saved some part of the flocks and
(44-28)herds of that people, which Heaven had devoted
(44-28)to utter destruction, -- "What meaneth then this
(44-28)bleating of the sheep in mine ears?" In his sermon,
(44-28)he said that Heaven demanded the blood of
(44-28)the prisoners taken at Philiphaugh, as devoted by
(44-28)the Divine command to destroy; nor could the

[TG44-29, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 44, p. 29]

(44-29)sins of the people be otherwise atoned for, or the
(44-29)wrath of Heaven averted from the land. It is
(44-29)probable, that the preacher was himself satisfied
(44-29)with the doctrine which he promulgated; for it is
(44-29)wonderful how people's judgment is blinded by
(44-29)their passions, and how apt we are to find plausible,
(44-29)and even satisfactory reasons, for doing what our
(44-29)interest, or that of the party we have embraced,
(44-29)strongly recommends.

(44-29) The Parliament, consisting entirely of
(44-29)Covenanters, instigated by the importunity of the clergy,
(44-29)condemned eight of the most distinguished cavaliers
(44-29)to execution. Four were appointed to suffer at
(44-29)St Andrews, that their blood might be an atonement,
(44-29)as the phrase went, for the number of men
(44-29)(said to exceed five thousand) whom the county of
(44-29)Fife had lost during Montrose's wars. Lord
(44-29)Ogilvy was the first of these; but that young
(44-29)nobleman escaped from prison and death in his
(44-29)sister's clothes. Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, one
(44-29)of the bravest men and best soldiers in Europe,
(44-29)and six other cavaliers of the first distinction, were
(44-29)actually executed.

(44-29) We may particularly distinguish the fate of Sir
(44-29)Robert Spottiswood, who, when the wars broke
(44-29)out, was Secretary Lord President of the Court
(44-29)of Session, and accounted a judge of great talent
(44-29)and learning. He had never born arms; but the
(44-29)crime of having brought to Montrose his commission
(44-29)as Captain-General of Scotland, and of having
(44-29)accepted the office of secretary, which the
(44-29)Parliament had formerly conferred on Lanark, was

[TG44-30, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 44, p. 30]

(44-30)thought quite worthy of death, without any further
(44-30)act of treason against the Estates. When on the
(44-30)scaffold, he vindicated his conduct with the dignity
(44-30)of a judge, and the talents of a lawyer. He was
(44-30)rudely enjoined to silence by the Provost of St
(44-30)Andrews, who had formerly been a servant of his
(44-30)father's, when prelate of that city. The victim
(44-30)submitted to this indignity with calmness, and
(44-30)betook himself to his private devotions. He was
(44-30)even in this task interrupted by the Presbyterian
(44-30)minister in attendance, who demanded of him
(44-30)whether he desired the benefit of his prayers, and
(44-30)those of the assembled people. Sir Robert replied,
(44-30)that he earnestly demanded the prayers of the
(44-30)people, but rejected those of the preacher; for
(44-30)that, in his opinion, God had expressed his
(44-30)displeasure against Scotland, by sending a lying spirit
(44-30)into the mouth of the prophets, -- a far greater
(44-30)curse, he said, than those of sword, fire, and
(44-30)pestilence. An old servant of his family took care of
(44-30)Spottiswood's body, and buried him privately. It
(44-30)is said that this faithful domestic, passing through
(44-30)the market-place a day or two afterwards, and seeing
(44-30)the scaffold on which his master had suffered
(44-30)still unremoved, and stained with his blood, was so
(44-30)greatly affected, that he sunk down in a swoon, and
(44-30)died as they were lifting him over his own threshold.
(44-30)Such are the terrible scenes which civil
(44-30)discord gives occasion to; and, my dear child, you
(44-30)will judge very wrong if you suppose them peculiar
(44-30)to one side or other of the contending parties
(44-30)in the present case. You will learn hereafter, that

[TG44-31, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 44, p. 31]

(44-31)the same disposition to abuse power, which is common,
(44-31)I fear, to all who possess it in an unlimited
(44-31)degree, was exercised with cruel retaliation by the
(44-31)Episcopalian party over the Presbyterians, when
(44-31)their hour of authority revived.

(44-31) We must now turn our thoughts to England,
(44-31)the stage on which the most important scenes were
(44-31)acting, to which these in Scotland can only be
(44-31)termed very subordinate. And here I may
(44-31)remark, that, greatly to the honour of the English
(44-31)nation, -- owing, perhaps, to the natural generosity
(44-31)and good-humour of the people, or to the superior
(44-31)influence of civilisation, -- the civil war in that
(44-31)country, though contested with the utmost fury in
(44-31)the open field, was not marked by any thing approaching
(44-31)to the violent atrocities of the Irish, or the fierce
(44-31)and ruthless devastation exercised by the Scottish
(44-31)combatants. The days of deadly feud had been long
(44-31)past, if the English ever followed that savage custom,
(44-31)and the spirit of malice and hatred which it
(44-31)fostered had no existence in that country. The
(44-31)English parties contended manfully in battle, but,
(44-31)unless in the storming of towns, when all evil
(44-31)passions are afloat, they seem seldom to have been guilty
(44-31)of cruelty or wasteful ravage. They combated like
(44-31)men who have quarrelled on some special point,
(44-31)but, having had no ill-will against each other
(44-31)before, are resolved to fight it out fairly, without
(44-31)bearing malice. On the contrary, the cause of
(44-31)Prelacy or Presbytery, King or Parliament, was
(44-31)often what was least in the thoughts of the
(44-31)Scottish barons, who made such phrases indeed the

(44-32)pretext for the war, but in fact looked forward to
(44-32)indulging, at the expense of some rival family, the
(44-32)treasured vengeance of a hundred years.
(44-32) But though the English spirit did not introduce
(44-32)into their civil war the savage aspect of the Scottish
(44-32)feuds, they were not free from the religious
(44-32)dissensions, which formed another curse of the age.
(44-32)I have already said, that the party which opposed
(44-32)itself to the King and the Church of England, was,
(44-32)with the followers of the Parliament, and the
(44-32)Parliament itself, divided into two factions, that of the
(44-32)Presbyterians and that of the Independents. I
(44-32)have also generally mentioned the points on which
(44-32)these two parties differed. I must now notice
(44-32)them more particularly.
(44-32) The Presbyterian establishment, as I have often
(44-32)states, differs from that of the Church of England,
(44-32)in the same manner as a republic, all the members
(44-32)of which are on a footing of equality, differs from
(44-32)a monarchical constitution. In the Kirk of Scotland,
(44-32)all the ministers are on an equality; in the
(44-32)Church of England, there is a gradation of ranks,
(44-32)ascending from the lowest order of clergymen to
(44-32)the rank of bishop. But each system is alike
(44-32)founded upon the institution of a body of men,
(44-32)qualified by studies of a peculiar nature to become
(44-32)preachers of the gospel, and obliged to show they
(44-32)are so qualified, by undergoing trials and
(44-32)examinations of their learning and capacity, before they
(44-32)can take holy orders, that is to say, become clergymen.
(44-32)Both Churches also agree in secluding from
(44-32)ordinary professions and avocations, the persons

[TG44-33, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 44, p. 33]

(44-33)engaged in the ministry, and in considering them

(44-33)as a class of men set apart for teaching religious
(44-33)duties and solemnizing religious rites. It is also
(44-33)the rule alike of Episcopalians and Presbyterians,
(44-33)that the National Church, as existing in its courts
(44-33)and judicatories, has power to censure, suspend
(44-33)from their functions, and depose from their clerical
(44-33)character and clerical charge, such of its members
(44-33)as, either by immoral and wicked conduct, or by
(44-33)preaching and teaching doctrines inconsistent with
(44-33)the public creed, shall render themselves unfit to
(44-33)execute the trust reposed in them. And further,
(44-33)both these national churches maintain, that such
(44-33)courts and judicatories have power over their lay
(44-33)hearers, and those who live in communion with
(44-33)them, to rebuke transgressors of every kind, and to
(44-33)admonish them to repentance; and if such
(44-33)admonitions are neglected, to expel them from the
(44-33)congregation by the sentence of excommunication.
(44-33) Thus far most Christian Churches agree; and
(44-33)thus far the claims and rights of a national church
(44-33)are highly favourable to the existence of a regular
(44-33)government; since reason, as well as the general
(44-33)usage of the religious world, sanctions the
(44-33)establishment of the clergy as a body of men separated
(44-33)from the general class of society, that they may set
(44-33)an example of regularity of life by the purity of
(44-33)their morals. Thus set apart from the rest of the
(44-33)community, they are supported at the expense of
(44-33)the state, in order that the reverence due to them
(44-33)may not be lessened by their being compelled, for

[TG44-34, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 44, p. 34]

(44-34)the sake of subsistence, to mingle in the ordinary
(44-34)business of life, and share the cares and solitudes
(44-34)incidental to those who must labour for their daily

(44-34)bread.

(44-34) How far the civil magistrate can be wisely
(44-34)intrusted with the power of enforcing spiritual
(44-34)censures, or seconding the efforts of the church to
(44-34)obtain general conformity, by inflicting the penalties
(44-34)of fines, imprisonment, bodily punishment, and
(44-34)death itself, upon those who differ in doctrinal
(44-34)points from the established religion, is a very
(44-34)different question. It is no doubt true, that wild
(44-34)sects have sometimes started up, whose tenets have
(44-34)involved direct danger to the state. But such
(44-34)offenders ought to be punished, not as offenders
(44-34)against the church, but as transgressors against the
(44-34)laws of the kingdom. While their opinions remain
(44-34)merely speculative, the persons entertaining them
(44-34)may deserve expulsion from the national church,
(44-34)with which indeed they could consistently desire
(44-34)no communion; but while they do not carry these
(44-34)erroneous tenets into execution, by any treasonable
(44-34)act, it does not appear the province of the civil
(44-34)magistrate to punish them for opinions only. And
(44-34)if the zeal of such sectaries should drive them into
(44-34)action, they deserve punishment, not for holding
(44-34)unchristian doctrines, but for transgressing the
(44-34)civil laws of the realm. This distinction was little
(44-34)understood in the days we write of, and neither
(44-34)the English nor the Scottish church can be vindicated
(44-34)from the charge of attempting to force men's

[TG44-35, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 44, p. 35]

(44-35)consciences, by criminal persecutions for acts of
(44-35)non-conformity, though not accompanied by any
(44-35)civil trespass.

(44-35) Experience and increasing knowledge have
(44-35)taught the present generation, that such severities

(44-35)have always increased the evil they were intended
(44-35)to cure; and that mild admonition, patient instruction,
(44-35)and a good example, may gain many a
(44-35)convert to the established churches, whom persecution
(44-35)and violence would have only confirmed in his
(44-35)peculiar opinions. You have read the fable of the
(44-35)traveller, who wrapped his cloak the faster about
(44-35)him when the storm blew loud, but threw it aside
(44-35)in the serene beams of the sunshine. It applies to
(44-35)the subject I have been speaking of, as much as to
(44-35)the advantages of gentleness and mild persuasion
(44-35)in social life.

(44-35) I return to the distinction between the Independents
(44-35)and Presbyterians during the civil wars of
(44-35)the reign of Charles I. The latter, as you already
(44-35)know, stood strongly out for a national church and
(44-35)an established clergy, with full powers to bind and
(44-35)loose, and maintained by the support of the civil
(44-35)government. Such a Church had been fully
(44-35)established in Scotland, and it was the ardent wish of
(44-35)its professors that the English should adopt the
(44-35)same system. Indeed, it was in the hope of attaining
(44-35)this grand object that the consent of the Scottish
(44-35)Convention of Estates was given, to sending
(44-35)an auxiliary army to assist the Parliament of
(44-35)England; and they had never suffered themselves to
(44-35)doubt that the adoption of the Presbyterian discipline

[TG44-36, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 44, p. 36]

(44-36)in that country was secured by the terms of
(44-36)the Solemn League and Covenant. But the
(44-36)Independents had, from the beginning, entertained
(44-36)the secret resolution of opposing the establishment
(44-36)of a national church of any kind in England.
(44-36)The opinions of these sectaries stood thus on

(44-36)matters of church government. Every one, they
(44-36)said, had a right to read the Scriptures, and draw
(44-36)such conclusions respecting the doctrines which
(44-36)are there inculcated, as his own private judgment
(44-36)should hold most conformable to them. They
(44-36)went farther, and argued, that every man who felt
(44-36)himself called upon to communicate to others the
(44-36)conclusions which he had derived from reading the
(44-36)Bible, and meditating on its contents, had a right,
(44-36)and a call from Heaven, to preach and teach the
(44-36)peculiar belief which he had thus adopted. It was
(44-36)no matter how obscure had been the individual's
(44-36)condition in life, or how limited the course of his
(44-36)education; he was equally entitled, in their opinion,
(44-36)to act as a minister, as if he had studied with
(44-36)success for twenty years, and taken orders from a
(44-36)bishop, or from a presbytery. It such a gifted
(44-36)preacher could prevail on six persons to admit his
(44-36)doctrines, these six persons, according to the
(44-36)doctrine of the Independents, made a Christian
(44-36)congregation; and, as far as religious instruction was
(44-36)concerned, the orator became their spiritual head
(44-36)and teacher. Be his hearers many or few, they
(44-36)were thenceforward his sheep, and he their spiritual
(44-36)shepherd. But to all the rest of the world,
(44-36)except his own congregation, the Independents

[TG44-37, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 44, p. 37]

(44-37)held, that every preacher remained an ordinary
(44-37)layman, having no claim on the state for revenue
(44-37)or subsistence. If he could persuade his congregation
(44-37)to contribute to his support, he was the more
(44-37)fortunate. If not, he lived by his ordinary calling,
(44-37)of a baker, a tailor, or a shoemaker, and consoled
(44-37)himself that he resembled St Paul, who wrought

(44-37)with his hands for his livelihood.
(44-37) Of the congregations or sects thus formed, there
(44-37)were in England hundreds, perhaps thousands,
(44-37)most of them disagreeing from each other in
(44-37)doctrine, and only united by the common opinion
(44-37)peculiar to them all as Independents, that each
(44-37)private Christian had a right to teach or to listen to
(44-37)whatever doctrines he thought fit; that there ought
(44-37)to exist no church courts of any kind; that the
(44-37)character of a preacher was only to be recognised
(44-37)by those disciples who chose to be taught by him;
(44-37)and that, in any more extensive point of view, there
(44-37)ought not to exist any body of priests or clergymen
(44-37)by profession, any church government, or church
(44-37)judicatories, or any other mode of enforcing religious
(44-37)doctrine, save by teaching it from the pulpit,
(44-37)and admonishing the sinner, or, if necessary,
(44-37)expelling him from the congregation. This last,
(44-37)indeed, could be no great infliction where there were
(44-37)so many churches ready to receive him, or there,
(44-37)if he pleased, he might set up a church for himself.
(44-37) The Sectaries, as the Independents were termed,
(44-37)entertained, as may be supposed, very wild
(44-37)doctrines. Men of an enthusiastic spirit, and
(44-37)sometimes a crazed imagination, as opinionative as they

[TG44-38, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 44, p. 38]

(44-38)ignorant, and many of them as ignorant as
(44-38)the lowest vulgar, broached an endless variety of
(44-38)heresies, some of them scandalous, some even
(44-38)blasphemous; others, except on account of the
(44-38)serious subject they referred to, extremely
(44-38)ludicrous.
(44-38) But the preachers and hearers of these strange
(44-38)doctrines were not confined to the vulgar and

(44-38)ignorant. Too much learning made some men
(44-38)mad. Sir Henry Vane, one of the subtlest
(44-38)politicians in England, and Milton, one of the greatest
(44-38)poets ever born, caught the spirit of the times, and
(44-38)became Independents. But above all, Oliver
(44-38)Cromwell, destined to rise to the supreme power
(44-38)in England, was of that form of religion.
(44-38) This remarkable person was of honourable
(44-38)descent, but, inheriting a small fortune, had
(44-38)practised at one time the occupation of a brewer.
(44-38)After a course of gaiety and profligacy during
(44-38)early youth, he caught a strong taint of the
(44-38)enthusiasm of the times, and made himself conspicuous
(44-38)by his aversion to Prelacy, and his zealous
(44-38)opposition to the arbitrary measures of the King.
(44-38)He became a member of Parliament, but, as he
(44-38)spoke indifferently, made no figure in that body,
(44-38)being only prominent for his obstinacy and
(44-38)uncompromising zeal. When, however, the parliament
(44-38)raised their army, the military talents of Cromwell
(44-38)made him early distinguished. It was remarked
(44-38)that he was uniformly successful in every contest
(44-38)in which he was personally engaged, and that he
(44-38)was the first officer who could train and bring to

[TG44-39, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 44, p. 39]

(44-39)the field a body of cavalry capable of meeting the
(44-39)shock of the Cavaliers, whose high birth, lofty
(44-39)courage, and chivalrous bravery, made them
(44-39)formidable opponents of the Parliamentary forces.
(44-39)His regiment of Ironsides, as they were called,
(44-39)from the cuirasses which the men wore, were
(44-39)carefully exercised, and accustomed to strict
(44-39)military discipline, while their courage was exalted by
(44-39)the enthusiasm which their commander contrived

(44-39)to inspire. He preached to them himself, prayed
(44-39)for them and with them, and attended with an air
(44-39)of edification to any who chose to preach or pray
(44-39)in return. The attention of these military fanatics
(44-39)was so fixed upon the mysteries of the next
(44-39)world, that death was no terror to them; and the
(44-39)fiery valour of the Cavaliers was encountered and
(44-39)repelled, by men who fought for their own ideas
(44-39)of religion as determinedly as their enemies did
(44-39)for honour and loyalty. The spirit of the
(44-39)Independent sectaries spread generally through the
(44-39)army, and the Parliament possessed no troops so
(44-39)excellent as those who followed these doctrines.
(44-39) The great difference betwixt the Presbyterians
(44-39)and Independents consisted, as I have told you, in
(44-39)the desire of the former to establish their form of
(44-39)religion and church government as the national
(44-39)church establishment of England, and of course to
(44-39)compel a general acquiescence in their articles of
(44-39)faith. For this, a convention of the most learned and
(44-39)able divines was assembled at Westminster, who
(44-39)settled the religious creed of the intended church
(44-39)according to the utmost rigour of the Presbyterian

[TG44-40, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 44, p. 40]

(44-40)creed. This assumption of exclusive power over
(44-40)the conscience alarmed the Independents, and in
(44-40)the dispute which ensued, the consciousness of their
(44-40)own interest with the army gave the sectaries new
(44-40)courage and new pretensions.
(44-40) At first the Independents had been contented to
(44-40)let the Presbyterians of England, a numerous and
(44-40)wealthy body, take the lead in public measures.
(44-40)But as their own numbers increased, and their
(44-40)leaders became formidable from their interest with

(44-40)the army, they resisted the intention which the
(44-40)Presbyterians showed of establishing their own
(44-40)faith in England as well as Scotland. Sir Henry
(44-40)Vane persuaded them to temporize a little longer,
(44-40)since to oppose Presbytery was to disgust the
(44-40)Scottish auxiliaries, enamoured as they were of
(44-40)their national system. "We cannot yet dispense
(44-40)with the assistance of the Scots," he said; "the
(44-40)sons of Zeruah are still too many for us." But
(44-40)the progress of the war, while it totally ruined
(44-40)the King's party, gradually diminished the strength
(44-40)of the Presbyterians, and increased that of the
(44-40)Independents. The Earls of Essex and
(44-40)Manchester, generals chosen from the former party,
(44-40)had sustained many losses, which were attributed
(44-40)to incapacity; and they were accused of having
(44-40)let slip advantages, from which it was supposed
(44-40)they had no wish to drive the King to extremity.
(44-40)People began to murmur against the various high
(44-40)offices in the army and state being exclusively
(44-40)occupied by members of Parliament, chiefly
(44-40)Presbyterians; and the protracted length of the civil

[TG44-41, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 44, p. 41]

(44-41)hostilities was imputed to the desire of such
(44-41)persons to hold in their possession as long as possible
(44-41)the authority which the war placed in their hands.
(44-41) The Parliament felt that their popularity was
(44-41)in danger of being lost, and looked about for
(44-41)means of recovering it. While their minds were
(44-41)thus troubled, Cromwell suggested a very artful
(44-41)proposal. To recover the confidence of the
(44-41)nation, the members of Parliament, he said, ought
(44-41)to resign all situations of trust or power which
(44-41)they possessed, and confine themselves exclusively

(44-41)to the discharge of their legislative duty. The
(44-41)Parliament fell into the snare. They enacted
(44-41)what was called the self-denying ordinance; by
(44-41)which, in order to show their disinterested
(44-41)patriotism, the members laid down all their offices,
(44-41)civil and military, and rendered themselves
(44-41)incapable of resuming them. This act of self-deprivation
(44-41)proved in the event a death-blow to the
(44-41)power of the Presbyterians; the places which
(44-41)were thus simply resigned being instantly filled
(44-41)up by the ablest men in the Independent party.
(44-41) Two members of Parliament, however, were
(44-41)allowed to retain command. The one was Sir
(44-41)Thomas Fairfax, a Presbyterian, whose military
(44-41)talents had been highly distinguished during the
(44-41)war, but who was much under the guidance of
(44-41)Oliver Cromwell. The other was Cromwell
(44-41)himself, who had the title of lieutenant-general only,
(44-41)but in fact enjoyed, through his influence over the
(44-41)soldiers, and even over Fairfax himself, all the
(44-41)advantage of supreme command.

[TG44-42, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 44, p. 42]

(44-42) The success of Cromwell in this grand measure
(44-42)let to remodelling the army after his won plan, in
(44-42)which he took care their numbers should be
(44-42)recruited, their discipline improved, and, above all,
(44-42)their ranks filled up with Independents. The
(44-42)influence of these dangers was soon felt in the progress
(44-42)of the war. The troops of the King sustained
(44-42)various checks, and at length a total defeat in the
(44-42)battle of Naseby, from the effect of which the
(44-42)affairs of Charles could never recover. Loss after
(44-42)loss succeeded; the strong places which the Royalists
(44-42)possessed were taken one after another; and

(44-42)the King's cause was totally ruined. The
(44-42)successes of Montrose had excited a gleam of hope,
(44-42)which disappeared after his defeat at Philiphaugh.
(44-42)Finally, King Charles was shut up in the city of
(44-42)Oxford, which had adhered to his cause with the
(44-42)most devoted loyalty; the last army which he had
(44-42)in the field was destroyed; and he had no alternative
(44-42)save to remain in Oxford till he should be
(44-42)taken prisoner, to surrender himself to his enemies,
(44-42)or to escape abroad.

(44-42) In circumstances so desperate, it was difficult
(44-42)to make a choice. A frank surrender to the
(44-42)Parliament, or an escape abroad, would have perhaps
(44-42)been the most advisable conduct. But the
(44-42)Parliament and their own Independent army were now
(44-42)on the brink of quarrelling. The establishment of
(44-42)the Presbyterian Church was resolved upon, though
(44-42)only for a time and in a limited form, and both
(44-42)parties were alike dissatisfied; the zealous
(44-42)Presbyterians, because it gave the church courts too

[TG44-43, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 44, p. 43]

(44-43)little power; the Independents, because it invested
(44-43)them with any control, however slight, over
(44-43)persons of a different communion. Amidst the
(44-43)disputes of his opponents, the King hoped to find
(44-43)his way back to the throne.

(44-43) For this purpose, and to place himself in a situation,
(44-43)as he hoped, from whence to negotiate with
(44-43)safety, Charles determined to surrender himself to
(44-43)that Scottish army which had been sent into
(44-43)England, under the Earl of Leven, as auxiliaries of
(44-43)the English Parliament. The King concluded that
(44-43)he might expect personal protection, if not assistance,
(44-43)from an army composed of his own countrymen.

(44-43) Besides, the Scottish army had lately been
(44-43) on indifferent terms with the English. The
(44-43) Independent troops, who now equalled, or even excelled
(44-43) them in discipline, and were actuated by an
(44-43) enthusiasm which the Scots did not possess, looked with
(44-43) an evil eye on any army composed of foreigners
(44-43) and Presbyterians. The English in general, as
(44-43) soon as their assistance was no longer necessary,
(44-43) began to regard their Scottish brethren as an
(44-43) incumbrance; and the Parliament, while they
(44-43) supplied the Independent forces liberally with money
(44-43) and provisions, neglected the Scots in both these
(44-43) essentials, whose honour and interest were affected
(44-43) in proportion. A perfect acquaintance with the
(44-43) discontent of the Scottish army, induced Charles to
(44-43) throw himself upon their protection in his
(44-43) misfortunes.
(44-43) He left Oxford in disguise, on 27th April, 1646,
(44-43) having only two attendants. Nine days after his

[TG44-44, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 44, p. 44]

(44-44) departure, he surprised the old Earl of Leven and
(44-44) the Scottish camp, who were then forming the
(44-44) siege of Newark, by delivering himself into their
(44-44) hands. The Scots received the unfortunate
(44-44) monarch with great outward respect, but guarded his
(44-44) person with vigilance. They immediately broke
(44-44) up the siege, and marched with great speed to the
(44-44) north, carrying the person of the King along with
(44-44) them, and observing the strictest discipline on their
(44-44) retreat. When their army arrived at Newcastle,
(44-44) a strong town which they themselves had taken,
(44-44) and where they had a garrison, they halted to
(44-44) await the progress of negotiations at this singular
(44-44) crisis.

(44-44) Upon surrendering himself to the Scottish army,
(44-44)King Charles had despatched a message to the
(44-44)Parliament, expressing his having done so, desiring
(44-44)that they would send him such articles of pacification
(44-44)as they should agree upon, and offering to
(44-44)surrender Oxford, Newark, and whatever other
(44-44)garrisons or strong places he might still possess,
(44-44)and order the troops he had on foot to lay down
(44-44)their arms. The places were surrendered accordingly,
(44-44)honourable terms being allowed; and the
(44-44)army of Montrose in the Highlands, and such other
(44-44)forces as the Royalists still maintained throughout
(44-44)England, were disbanded, as I have already told
(44-44)you, by the King's command.
(44-44) The Parliament showed great moderation, and
(44-44)the civil war seemed to be ended. The articles of
(44-44)pacification which they offered were not more rigorous
(44-44)than the desperate condition of the King must

[TG44-45, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 44, p. 45]

(44-45)have taught him to expect. But questions of
(44-45)religion interfered to prevent the conclusion of the
(44-45)treaty.
(44-45) In proportion as the great majority of the
(44-45)Parliament were attached to the Presbyterian forms,
(44-45)Charles was devoted to the system of Episcopacy.
(44-45)He deemed himself bound by his coronation oath
(44-45)to support the Church of England, and he would
(44-45)not purchase his own restoration to the throne by
(44-45)consenting to its being set aside. Here, therefore,
(44-45)the negotiation betwixt the King and his Parliament
(44-45)was broken off; but another was opened
(44-45)between the English Parliament and the Scottish
(44-45)army, concerning the disposal of the King's person.
(44-45) If Charles could have brought his mind to

(44-45)consent to the acceptance of the Solemn League and
(44-45)Covenant, it is probable that he would have gained
(44-45)all Scotland to his side. This, however, would
(44-45)have been granting to the Scots what he had refused
(44-45)to the Parliament; for the support of Presbytery
(44-45)was the essential object of the Scottish invasion.
(44-45)On the other hand, it could hardly be
(44-45)expected that the Scottish Convention of Estates
(44-45)should resign the very point on which it had begun
(44-45)and continued the war. The Church of Scotland
(44-45)sent forth a solemn warning, that all engagement
(44-45)with the King was unlawful. The question, therefore,
(44-45)was, what should be done with the person of
(44-45)Charles.
(44-45) The generous course would have been, to have
(44-45)suffered the King to leave the Scottish army as
(44-45)freely as he came there. In that case he might

[TG44-46, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 44, p. 46]

(44-46)have embarked at Tynemouth, and found refuge in
(44-46)foreign countries. And even if the Scots had
(44-46)determined that the exigencies of the times, and the
(44-46)necessity of preserving the peace betwixt England
(44-46)and Scotland, together with their engagements with
(44-46)the Parliament of England, demanded that they
(44-46)should surrender the person of their King to that
(44-46)body, the honour of Scotland was intimately
(44-46)concerned in so concluding the transaction, that there
(44-46)should be no room for alleging that any selfish
(44-46)advantage was stipulated by the Scots as a
(44-46)consequence of giving him up. I am almost ashamed to
(44-46)write, that this honourable consideration had no
(44-46)weight.
(44-46) The Scottish army had a long arrear of pay due
(44-46)to them from the English Parliament, which the

(44-46)latter had refused, or at least delayed, to make
(44-46)forthcoming. A treaty for the settlement of these
(44-46)arrears had been set on foot; and it had been agreed
(44-46)that the Scottish forces should retreat into their
(44-46)own country, upon payment of two hundred thousand
(44-46)pounds, which was one-half of the debt finally
(44-46)admitted. Now, it is true that these two treaties,
(44-46)concerning the delivery of the King's person to
(44-46)England, and the payment by Parliament of their
(44-46)pecuniary arrears to Scotland, were kept separate,
(44-46)for the sake of decency; but it is certain, that they
(44-46)not only coincided in point of time, but bore upon
(44-46)and influenced each other. No man of candour
(44-46)will pretend to believe that the Parliament of England
(44-46)would ever have paid this considerable sum,
(44-46)unless to facilitate their obtaining possession of the

[TG44-47, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 44, p. 47]

(44-47)King's person; and this sordid and base transaction,
(44-47)though the work exclusively of a mercenary
(44-47)army, stamped the whole nation of Scotland with
(44-47)infamy. In foreign countries they were upbraided
(44-47)with the shame of having made their unfortunate
(44-47)and confiding Sovereign a hostage, whose liberty
(44-47)or surrender was to depend on their obtaining
(44-47)payment of a paltry sum of arrears; and the English
(44-47)nation reproached them with their greed and treachery,
(44-47)in the popular rhyme, --
(44-47) "Traitor Scot
(44-47) Sold his King for a groat."
(44-47) The Scottish army surrendered the person of
(44-47)Charles to the Commissioners for the
(44-47)English Parliament, (28th Jan. 1647) on receiving
(44-47)security for their arrears of pay, and immediately
(44-47)evacuated Newcastle and marched for their

(44-47)own country. I am sorry to conclude the chapter
(44-47)with this mercenary and dishonourable transaction;
(44-47)but the limits of the work require me to bring it
(44-47)thus to a close.

[TG45-48, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 45, p. 48]

(45-48) Our last chapter concluded with the dishonourable
(45-48)transaction by which the Scottish army
(45-48)surrendered Charles I into the hands of the Parliament
(45-48)of England, on receiving security for a sum
(45-48)of arrears due to them by that body.

(45-48) The Commissioners of Parliament, thus possessed
(45-48)of the King's person, conducted him as a state
(45-48)prisoner to Holmby House, in Northamptonshire,
(45-48)which had been assigned as his temporary residence;
(45-48)but from which a power different from theirs was
(45-48)soon about to withdraw him.

(45-48) The Independents, as I have said, highly resented
(45-48)as a tyranny over their consciences the establishment
(45-48)Presbytery, however temporary, or however
(45-48)mitigated, in the form of a national church;
(45-48)and were no less displeased, that the army, whose

[TG45-49, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 45, p. 49]

(45-49)ranks were chiefly filled with these military saints,
(45-49)as they called themselves, who were principally of
(45-49)the Independent persuasion, was, in the event of
(45-49)peace, which seemed close at hand, threatened
(45-49)either to be sent to Ireland, or disbanded. The
(45-49)discontent among the English soldiery became
(45-49)general; they saw that the use made of the victories,
(45-49)which their valour had mainly contributed to gain,
(45-49)would be to reduce and disarm them, and send out
(45-49)of the kingdom such regiments as might be suffered

(45-49)to retain their arms and military character. And
(45-49)besides the loss of pay, profession, and importance,
(45-49)the sectaries had every reason to apprehend the
(45-49)imposition of the Presbyterian yoke, as they termed
(45-49)the discipline of that church. These mutinous
(45-49)dispositions were secretly encouraged by Cromwell,
(45-49)Ireton, and Fleetwood, officers of high rank and
(45-49)influence, to whom the Parliament had intrusted
(45-49)the charge of pacifying them. At length the army
(45-49)assumed the ominous appearance of a separate body
(45-49)in the state, whose affairs were managed by a
(45-49)committee of persons, called Agitators, being two
(45-49)privates chosen from each company. These bold and
(45-49)unscrupulous men determined to gain possession of
(45-49)the person of the King, and to withdraw him from
(45-49)the power of the Parliament.
(45-49) In pursuance of this resolution, Joyce, originally
(45-49)a tailor, now a cornet, and a furious agitator for
(45-49)the cause of the army, on the 4th of June, 1647,
(45-49)appeared suddenly at midnight before Holmby
(45-49)House. The troops employed by the Commissioners

[TG45-50, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 45, p. 50]

(45-50)to guard the King's person, being infected,
(45-50)it may be supposed, with the general feeling of the
(45-50)army, offered no resistance. Joyce, with little
(45-50)ceremony, intruded himself, armed with his pistols,
(45-50)into the King's sleeping apartment, and informed
(45-50)his Majesty that he must please to attend him.
(45-50)"Where is your commission?" said the unfortunate
(45-50)King. "Yonder it is," answered the rude
(45-50)soldier, pointing to his troop of fifty horse, which,
(45-50)by the early dawning, was seen drawn up in the
(45-50)courtyard of the place. -- "It is written in legible
(45-50)characters," replied Charles; and without further

(45-50)remonstrance, he prepared to attend the escort.
(45-50) The King was conducted to Newmarket, and
(45-50)from thence to the palace of Hampton Court; and
(45-50)though in the hands of a body which had no lawful
(45-50)authority or responsible character, he was at first
(45-50)treated with more respect, and even kindness, than
(45-50)he had experienced either from the Scottish army,
(45-50)or from the English Commissioners. The officers
(45-50)distrusted, perhaps, the security of their own power,
(45-50)for they offered a pacification on easy terms. They
(45-50)asked an equal national representation, freely chosen;
(45-50)stipulated that the two Houses of Parliament
(45-50)should enjoy the command of the militia for four-teen
(45-50)years; and even agreed that the order of
(45-50)Bishops should be re-established, but without any
(45-50)temporal power or coercive jurisdiction. So far
(45-50)the terms were more moderate than, from such
(45-50)men and in such a moment, the King could have
(45-50)expected. But on one point the council of officers
(45-50)were rigidly determined; they insisted that seven

[TG45-51, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 45, p. 51]

(45-51)of the adherents of Charles, chosen from those who
(45-51)had, with wisdom or with valour, best supported
(45-51)the sinking cause of royalty, should be declared
(45-51)incapable of pardon. Charles was equally resolute
(45-51)in resisting this point; his conscience had suffered
(45-51)too deeply on the occasion of Strafford's execution,
(45-51)to which he had yielded in the beginning of these
(45-51)troubles, to permit him ever to be tempted again
(45-51)to abandon a friend.
(45-51) In the mean time the Parliament was preparing
(45-51)to exert its authority in opposing and checking the
(45-51)unconstitutional power assumed by the army; and
(45-51)the city of London, chiefly composed of Presbyterians,

(45-51)showed a general disposition to stand by
(45-51)the Houses of Legislature. But when that formidable
(45-51)army drew near to London, both Parliament
(45-51)and citizens became intimidated; and the former
(45-51)expelled from their seats the leading Presbyterian
(45-51)members, and suffered the Independents to dictate
(45-51)to the dispirited remainder what measures they
(45-51)judged necessary. Prudence would, as this
(45-51)moment, have strongly recommended to Charles an
(45-51)instant agreement with the army. But the
(45-51)Presbyterians of England had not resigned hopes; and
(45-51)the whole kingdom of Scotland, incensed at the
(45-51)triumph of the Sectaries, and the contumely offered
(45-51)to the Solemn League and Covenant, which had
(45-51)been stigmatized, in the House of Commons, as
(45-51)an almanack out of date, their commissioners made,
(45-51)in private, liberal offers to restore the King by
(45-51)force of arms. In listening to these proposals,
(45-51)Charles flattered himself that he should be able to

[TG45-52, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 45, p. 52]

(45-52)hold the balance betwixt the Presbyterians and
(45-52)Independents; but he mistook the spirit of the
(45-52)latter party, from whom this private negotiation
(45-52)did not long remain a secret, and who were highly
(45-52)incensed by the discovery.
(45-52) The Presbyterians had undertaken the war with
(45-52)professions of profound respect towards the King's
(45-52)person and dignity. They had always protested
(45-52)that they made war against the evil counsellors of
(45-52)the King, but not against his person; and their
(45-52)ordinances, while they were directed against the
(45-52)Malignants, as they termed the Royalists, ran in
(45-52)the King's own name, as well as in that of the two
(45-52)Houses of Parliament, by whose sole authority they

(45-52)were sent forth. To Independents, on the
(45-52)contrary, boldly declared themselves at war with the
(45-52)Man Charles, as the abuser of the regal power, and
(45-52)the oppressor of the saints. Cromwell himself
(45-52)avouched such doctrines in open Parliament. He
(45-52)said it was childish to talk of there being no war
(45-52)with the King's person, when Charles appeared in
(45-52)armour, and at the head of his troops in open battle;
(45-52)and that he himself was so far from feeling
(45-52)any scruple on the subject, that he would fire his
(45-52)pistol at the King as readily as at any of his
(45-52)adherents, should he meet him in the fight.
(45-52) After the discovery of the King's treaty with
(45-52)the Scottish Commissioners, Cromwell, admitting
(45-52)Charles's powers of understanding and reasoning,
(45-52)denounced him as a man of the deepest dissimulation,
(45-52)who had broken faith, by professing an entire
(45-52)reliance on the wisdom of the Parliament, while

[TG45-53, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 45, p. 53]

(45-53)by a separate negotiation with the Scottish
(45-53)Commissioners, he was endeavouring to rekindle the
(45-53)flames of civil war between the sister kingdoms.
(45-53)After speaking to this purpose, Cromwell required,
(45-53)and by the now irresistible interest of the
(45-53)Independents he obtained, a declaration from the House,
(45-53)that the Parliament would received no further
(45-53)applications from Charles, and make no addresses to
(45-53)him in future.
(45-53) The unfortunate King, while in the power of
(45-53)this uncompromising faction, by whom his authority
(45-53)seemed to be suspended, if not abolished,
(45-53)ought to have been aware, that if he was to
(45-53)succeed in any accommodation with them at all, it
(45-53)could only be by accepting, without delay or

(45-53)hesitation, such terms as they were disposed to allow
(45-53)him. If he could have succeeded in gratifying
(45-53)the principal officers by promises of wealth, rank,
(45-53)and distinction, which were liberally tendered to
(45-53)them, it is probable that their influence might have
(45-53)induced their followers to acquiesce in his restoration,
(45-53)especially if it afforded the means of disconcerting
(45-53)the plans of the Presbyterians. But Charles
(45-53)ought, as the same time, to have reflected, that any
(45-53)appearance of procrastination on his part must give
(45-53)rise to suspicions of his sincerity on the part of the
(45-53)military leaders; and that the Independents,

[TG45-54, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 45, p. 54]

(45-54)having once adopted an idea that he was trifling with
(45-54)or deceiving them, had none of that sanctimonious
(45-54)respect for his title, or person, that could prevent
(45-54)his experiencing the utmost rigour.
(45-54) The Independents and their military council,
(45-54)accordingly, distrusting the sincerity of Charles,
(45-54)and feeling every day the increase of their own
(45-54)power, began to think of establishing it on an
(45-54)entirely different basis from that of monarchy. They
(45-54)withdrew from the King the solemn marks of
(45-54)respect with which he had been hitherto indulged,
(45-54)treated him with neglect and incivility, deprived
(45-54)him of his chaplains, confined his person more closely,
(45-54)doubled the guards upon him, and permitted
(45-54)none to have access to him, but such as possessed
(45-54)their confidence.
(45-54) Alarmed at these ominous severities, Charles
(45-54)now resolved to escape by flight, and left Hampton
(45-54)Court accordingly.(11th No.) Unhappily, either
(45-54)misled by his attendant or by his own
(45-54)indiscretion, he took refuge in the Isle of Wight,

(45-54)where the governor of Carisbrook castle [Colonel
(45-54)Hammond] was the friend of Cromwell, and a
(45-54)fierce Independent. Here the unfortunate

[TG45-55, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 45, p. 55]

(45-55)monarch only fell into a captivity more solitary, more
(45-55)severe, and more comfortless, than any which he
(45-55)had yet experienced. He himself from his window
(45-55)pointed out to Sir Philip Warwick an old
(45-55)grey-headed domestic on the street, who brought in
(45-55)wood to the fire, and observed to him, that the
(45-55)conversation of that menial was the best that he had
(45-55)been suffered to enjoy for months. There is even
(45-55)reason to think his life was aimed at, and that the
(45-55)King was privately encouraged to make an effort
(45-55)to escape from a window in the castle, while a
(45-55)person was placed in readiness to shoot him in the
(45-55)attempt.

(45-55) The council of war renounced all further
(45-55)communication with Charles; the Parliament, now
(45-55)under the Independent influence, sent down
(45-55)Commissioners to treat, but with preliminary conditions
(45-55)harder than any yet offered to him. Two
(45-55)resources remained to him -- the services of the
(45-55)disbanded loyalists, whom his faithful adherents might
(45-55)again summon to arms -- but they were dispersed,
(45-55)disarmed, and heart-broken; or the assistance of
(45-55)the Scots -- but they were distant and disunited.
(45-55)Yet Charles resolved to try his fortunes on this
(45-55)perilous cast, rather than treat with the Parliament,
(45-55)influenced as it was by the army.
(45-55) The presence of two Scottish Commissioners,

[TG45-56, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 45, p. 56]

(45-56)who had accompanied those of the Parliament to
(45-56)Carisbrook, enabled Charles to execute a secret
(45-56)treaty with them, by which he agreed to confirm
(45-56)the Solemn League and Covenant, establish
(45-56)Presbytery, at least for a season, and concur in the
(45-56)extirpation of the Sectaries. These articles, if
(45-56)they had been granted while Charles was at
(45-56)Newcastle, would have been sufficient to have prevented
(45-56)the surrender of his person by the Scottish
(45-56)army; but it was the King's unfortunate lot, on
(45-56)this, as on all former occasions, to delay his concessions
(45-56)until they came too late, and were liable to
(45-56)be considered insincere.

(45-56) When this treaty (which was called the Engagement,
(45-56)because the Commissioners engaged to
(45-56)restore the King by force of arms) was presented to
(45-56)the Scottish Parliament, it was approved by the
(45-56)more moderate part of the Presbyterians, who were
(45-56)led by the Duke of Hamilton, together with his
(45-56)brother the Earl of Lanark, the Lord Chancellor
(45-56)Loudoun, and the Earl of Lauderdale; this last
(45-56)being destined to make a remarkable figure in the
(45-56)next reign. But the majority of the Presbyterian
(45-56)clergy, supported by the more zealous among their
(45-56)hearers, declared that the concessions of the King
(45-56)were totally insufficient to engage Scotland in a
(45-56)new war, as affording no adequate cause for a quarrel
(45-56)with England. This party was headed by the
(45-56)Marquis of Argyle.

(45-56) I may here mention respecting this nobleman,
(45-56)that after Montrose's army was disbanded, he had
(45-56)taken severe vengeance on the MacDonalds, and

[TG45-57, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 45, p. 57]

(45-57)other clans who had assisted in the desolation of

(45-57)Argyleshire. Having the aid of David Lesley,
(45-57)with a body of regular troops, he reduced successively
(45-57)some forts into which Alaster MacDonald
(45-57)(Colkitto) had thrown garrisons, and uniformly put
(45-57)the prisoners to the sword. The MacDougals
(45-57)were almost exterminated in one indiscriminate
(45-57)slaughter, and the Lamonts were put to death in
(45-57)another act of massacre. Sir James Turner, an
(45-57)officer who served under Lesley, lays the blame of
(45-57)these inhumanities on a hard-hearted clergyman
(45-57)called Neaves. David Lesley was disgusted at it,
(45-57)and when, after some such sanguinary execution, he
(45-57)saw his chaplain with his shoes stained with blood,
(45-57)he asked him reproachfully, "Have you enough of
(45-57)it now, Master John?"
(45-57) These atrocities, by whomever committed, must
(45-57)have been perpetrated in revenge of the sufferings
(45-57)of Argyle and his clan; and to these must
(45-57)be added the death of old Colkitto, the father of
(45-57)Alaster MacDonald, likewise so called, who, being
(45-57)taken in one of these Highland forts, was tried by
(45-57)a jury convened by authority of George Campbell,
(45-57)the Sheriff Substitute of Argyle, from whose
(45-57)sentence was are told very few escaped, and was
(45-57)executed of course.
(45-57) All these grounds of offence having been given
(45-57)to the Royalists, in a corner of the country where
(45-57)revenge was considered as a duty and a virtue, it
(45-57)is not extraordinary that Argyle should have
(45-57)objected most earnestly to the engagement, which was
(45-57)an enterprise in which the King's interest was to

[TG45-58, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 45, p. 58]

(45-58)be defended, with more slender precautions against
(45-58)the influence of the Malignants, or pure Royalists,

(45-58)than seemed consistent with the safety of those
(45-58)who had been most violent against them. Many
(45-58)of the best officers of the late army declined to
(45-58)serve with the new levies, until the Church of
(45-58)Scotland should approve the cause of quarrel.
(45-58)The parliament, however, moved by compassion
(45-58)for their native monarch, and willing to obliterate
(45-58)the disgrace which attached to the surrender of
(45-58)the King at Newcastle, appointed an army to be
(45-58)levied, to act in his behalf. The kingdom was
(45-58)thus thrown into the utmost confusion between the
(45-58)various factions of the Engagers and their opponents.
(45-58)The civil magistrates, obeying the commands
(45-58)of the Parliament, ordered the subjects to
(45-58)assume arms under pain of temporal punishment;
(45-58)while the clergy, from the pulpit, denounced the
(45-58)vengeance of Heaven against those who obeyed
(45-58)the summons.
(45-58) The Engagers prevailed so far as to raise a
(45-58)tumultuary and ill-disciplined army of about fifteen
(45-58)thousand men, which was commanded by the Duke
(45-58)of Hamilton. This ill-fated nobleman deserved
(45-58)the praise of being a moderate man during all the
(45-58)previous struggles; and, though loving his King,
(45-58)seems uniformly to have endeavoured to reconcile
(45-58)his administration with the rights, and even the
(45-58)prejudices, of his countrymen. But he had little
(45-58)decision of character, and less military skill. While
(45-58)the Scotch were preparing their succours slowly
(45-58)and with hesitation, the English cavaliers,

[TG45-59, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 45, p. 59]

(45-59)impatient at the danger and captivity of the King, took
(45-59)arms. But their insurrections were so ill connected
(45-59)with each other, that they were crushed successively,

(45-59)save in two cases, where the insurgents
(45-59)made themselves masters of Colchester and
(45-59)Pembroke, in which towns they were instantly
(45-59)besieged.
(45-59) Hamilton ought to have advanced with all speed
(45-59)to raise the siege of these places; abut instead of
(45-59)this, he loitered away more than forty days in
(45-59)Lancashire, until Cromwell came upon him near
(45-59)Warrington, where head and heart seem alike to
(45-59)have failed the unfortunate Duke. Without even
(45-59)an attempt at resistance, he abandoned his enterprise,
(45-59)and made a disorderly retreat, leaving his
(45-59)artillery and baggage. Baillie, with the infantry,
(45-59)being deserted by his general, surrendered to the
(45-59)enemy at Uttoxeter; and Hamilton himself, with
(45-59)the cavalry, took the same deplorable course. None
(45-59)escaped save a resolute body of men under the
(45-59)Earl of Callender, who broke through the enemy,
(45-59)and forced their way back to their own country.
(45-59) The news of this disaster flew to Scotland. The
(45-59)refractory clergy took the merit of hiving
(45-59)prophesied the downfall of the Engagers, and stirred
(45-59)up the more zealous Presbyterians to take
(45-59)possession of the government. Argyle drew to arms
(45-59)in the Highlands, whilst the western peasantry
(45-59)assembling, and headed by their divines, repaired
(45-59)to Edinburgh. This insurrection was called the
(45-59)Whigamore's Raid, from the word, whig, whig,
(45-59)that is, get on, get on, which is used by the western

[TG45-60, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 45, p. 60]

(45-60)peasants in driving their horses, -- a name destined
(45-60)to become the distinction of a powerful party in
(45-60)British history.
(45-60) The Earl of Lanark was at the head of some

(45-60)troops on the side of the Engagement, but, afraid
(45-60)of provoking the English, in whose hands his
(45-60)brother Hamilton was a prisoner, he made no
(45-60)material opposition to the Whigamores. Argyle
(45-60)became once more the head of the government. It
(45-60)was during this revolution that Cromwell advanced
(45-60)to the Borders, when, instead of finding any
(45-60)enemies to fight with, he was received by the
(45-60)victorious Whigamores as a friend and brother.
(45-60)Their horror at an army of Sectaries had been
(45-60)entirely overpowered by their far more violent
(45-60)repugnance to unite with Cavaliers and Malignants
(45-60)in behalf of the King. Cromwell, on that occasion,
(45-60)held much intimate correspondence with Argyle;
(45-60)which made it generally believed that the Marquis,
(45-60)in their private conferences, acquiesced in the
(45-60)violent measures which were to be adopted by the
(45-60)successful general against the captive King, whose
(45-60)fate was now decide upon. The unfortunate
(45-60)Marquis always denied this, nor was the charge
(45-60)ever supported by any tangible evidence.
(45-60) During these military and political transactions,
(45-60)Charles had been engaged in a new treaty with the
(45-60)English Parliament, which was conducted at Newport
(45-60)in the isle of Wight. It was set on foot in
(45-60)consequence of Cromwell's absence with his army,
(45-60)which restored the Parliament to some freedom of
(45-60)debate, and the Presbyterian members to a portion

[TG45-61, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 45, p. 61]

(45-61)of their influence. If any thing could have saved
(45-61)that unfortunate Prince, it might have been by
(45-61)accomplishing an agreement with the House of
(45-61)Commons, which Hamilton's army was yet entire,
(45-61)and before the insurrections of the Royalists had

(45-61)been entirely suppressed. But he delayed closing
(45-61)the treaty until the army returned, flushed with
(45-61)victory over the English Cavaliers and Scottish
(45-61)Engagers, and denouncing vengeance on the head
(45-61)of the King, whom they accused of being the sole
(45-61)author of the civil war, and liable to punishment as
(45-61)such. This became the language of the whole party.
(45-61)The pulpits rung with the exhortations of the military
(45-61)preachers, demanding that the King should be
(45-61)given over, as a public enemy, to a public trial.
(45-61) It was in vain that Charles had at length, with
(45-61)lingering reluctance, yielded every request which
(45-61)the Parliament could demand of him. It was
(45-61)equally in vain that the Parliament had publicly
(45-61)declared that the concessions made by the King
(45-61)were sufficient to form the basis of a satisfactory
(45-61)peace. The army, stirred up by their ambitious
(45-61)officers and fanatic preachers, were resolved that
(45-61)Charles should be put to an open and ignominious
(45-61)death; and a sufficient force of soldiery was
(45-61)stationed in and around London to make resistance
(45-61)impossible, either on the part of the Presbyterians
(45-61)or the Royalists.
(45-61) In order to secure a majority in the House of
(45-61)Commons, Colonel Pride, a man who had been a
(45-61)brewer, drew up his regiment at the doors of the
(45-61)House of Parliament, and in the streets adjacent,

[TG45-62, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 45, p. 62]

(45-62)and secured the persons of upwards of forty members,
(45-62)who, being supposed favourable to reconciliation
(45-62)with the King, were arrested and thrown
(45-62)into prison; above one hundred more were next
(45-62)day excluded. This act of violence was called
(45-62)Pride's Purge. At the same time the House of

(45-62)Lords was shut up. The remainder of the House
(45-62)of Commons, who alone were permitted to sit and
(45-62)vote, were all of the Independent party, and ready
(45-62)to do whatever should be required by the soldiers.
(45-62)This remnant of a Parliament, under the influence
(45-62)of the swords of their own soldiers, proceeded to
(45-62)nominate what was called a High Court of Justice
(45-62)for the trial of King Charles, charged with treason,
(45-62)as they termed it, against the people of England.
(45-62)The Court consisted of one hundred and thirty-three
(45-62)persons, chosen from the army, the Parliament,
(45-62)and from such of the citizens of London as
(45-62)were well affected to the proposed change of
(45-62)government from a kingdom to a commonwealth.
(45-62)Many of the judges so nominated refused,
(45-62)notwithstanding, to act upon such a commission.
(45-62)Mean time, the great body of the English people
(45-62)beheld these strange preparations with grief and

[TG45-63, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 45, p. 63]

(45-63)terror. The Scots, broken by the defeat of Hamilton
(45-63)and success of the Whigamores' Raid, had
(45-63)no means of giving assistance.
(45-63) Those who drove this procedure forward were
(45-63)of different classes, urged by different motives.
(45-63) The higher officers of the army, Cromwell, Ireton,
(45-63)and others, seeing they could not retain their
(45-63)influence by concluding a treaty with Charles, had
(45-63)resolved to dethrone and put him to death, in order
(45-63)to establish a military government in their own
(45-63)persons. These men had a distinct aim, and they
(45-63)in some degree attained it. There were others
(45-63)among the Independent party, who thought they
(45-63)had offended the King so far beyond forgiveness,
(45-63)that his deposition and death were necessary for

(45-63)their own safety. The motives of these persons
(45-63)are also within the grasp of common apprehension.
(45-63) But there were also among the Independent
(45-63)members of Parliament men of a nobler character.
(45-63)There were statesmen who had bewildered themselves
(45-63)with meditating upon theoretical schemes, till
(45-63)they had fancied the possibility of erecting a system
(45-63)of republican government on the foundation
(45-63)of the ancient monarchy of England. Such men,
(45-63)imposed on by a splendid dream of unattainable
(45-63)freedom, imagined that the violence put upon the
(45-63)Parliament by the soldiery, and the death of the
(45-63)King, when it should take place, were but necessary
(45-63)steps to the establishment of this visionary
(45-63)fabric of perfect liberty, like the pulling down of
(45-63)an old edifice to make room for a new building.
(45-63)After this fanciful class of politicians, came enthusiasts

[TG45-64, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 45, p. 64]

(45-64)of another and coarser description, influenced
(45-64)by the wild harangues of their crack-brained
(45-64)preachers, who saw in Charles not only the head
(45-64)of the enemies with whom they had been contending
(45-64)for four years with various fortune, but also a
(45-64)wicked King of Amalekites, delivered up to them
(45-64)to be hewn in pieces in the name of Heaven. Such
(45-64)were the various motives which urged the actors
(45-64)in this extraordinary scene.
(45-64) The pretext by which they coloured these
(45-64)proceedings was, that the King had levied war against
(45-64)his people, to extend over them an unlawful
(45-64)authority. If this had been true in point of fact, it
(45-64)was no ground of charge against Charles in point
(45-64)of law; for the constitution of England declares
(45-64)that the King can do no wrong, that is, cannot be

(45-64)made responsible for any wrong which he does. The
(45-64)vengeance of the laws, when such wrong is
(45-64)committed, is most justly directed against those wicked
(45-64)ministers by whom the culpable measure is
(45-64)contrived, and the agents by whom it is executed.
(45-64)The constitution of England wisely rests on the
(45-64)principle, that if the counsellors had instruments
(45-64)of a prince's pleasure are kept under wholesome
(45-64)terror of the laws, there is no risk of the monarch,
(45-64)in his own unassisted person, transgressing the
(45-64)limits of his authority.

[TG45-65, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 45, p. 65]

(45-65) But in fact the King had not taken arms against
(45-65)the Parliament to gain any new and extraordinary
(45-65)extent of power. It is no doubt true, that the
(45-65)Parliament, when summoned together, had many
(45-65)just grievances to complain of; but these were
(45-65)not, in general, innovations of Charles, but such
(45-65)exertions of power as had been customary in the
(45-65)four last reigns, when the crown of England had
(45-65)been freed from the restraint of the barons, without
(45-65)being sufficiently subjected to the control of
(45-65)the House of Commons, representing the people
(45-65)at large. They were, however, very bad precedents;
(45-65)and, since the King had shown a desire
(45-65)to follow them, the Parliament were most justly
(45-65)called upon to resist the repetition of the old encroachments
(45-65)upon their liberty. But before the war
(45-65)broke out, the King had relinquished in favour of
(45-65)the Commons all they had demanded. The ultimate
(45-65)cause of quarrel was, which party should
(45-65)have the command of the militia or public force
(45-65)of the kingdom. This was a constitutional part
(45-65)of the King's prerogative; for the executive power

(45-65)cannot be said to exist unless united with the
(45-65)power of the swords. Violence on each side
(45-65)heightened the general want of confidence. The
(45-65)Parliament, as has been before stated, garrisoned,

[TG45-66, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 45, p. 66]

(45-66)and held out the town of Hull against Charles;
(45-66)and the King infringed the privileges of the Commons,
(45-66)by coming with an armed train to arrest
(45-66)five of their members during the sitting of Parliament.
(45-66)So that the war must be justly imputed to
(45-66)a train of long-protracted quarrels, in which neither
(45-66)party could be termed wholly right, and still less
(45-66)entirely wrong, but which created so much
(45-66)jealousy on both sides as could scarcely terminate
(45-66)otherwise than in civil war.
(45-66) The High Court of Justice, nevertheless, was
(45-66)opened, and the King was brought to the bar on
(45-66)19th January, 1649. The soldiers, who crowded
(45-66)the avenues, were taught to cry out for justice
(45-66)upon the royal prisoner. When a bystander,
(45-66)affected by the contrast betwixt the King's present
(45-66)and former condition, could not refrain from saying
(45-66)aloud, "God save your Majesty," he was struck
(45-66)and beaten by the guards around him. -- "A rude
(45-66)chastisement," said the King, "for so slight an
(45-66)offence." Charles behaved throughout the whole
(45-66)of the trying scene with the utmost dignity. He
(45-66)bore, without complaining, the reproaches of
(45-66)murderer and tyrant, which were showered on him by
(45-66)the riotous soldiery; and when a ruffian spit in
(45-66)his face, the captive monarch wiped it off with his
(45-66)handkerchief, and only said, "Poor creatures! for
(45-66)half a crown they would do the same to their
(45-66)father."

(45-66) When the deed of accusation, stated to be in
(45-66)the name of the people of England, was read, a
(45-66)voice from one of the galleries exclaimed, "not

[TG45-67, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 45, p. 67]

(45-67)the tenth part of them!" Again, as the names of
(45-67)the judges were called over, when that of General
(45-67)Fairfax occurred, the same voice replied, "He has
(45-67)more sense than to be here." Upon the officer
(45-67)who commanded the guard ordering the musketeers
(45-67)to fire into the gallery from which the interruption
(45-67)came, the speaker was discovered to be Lady
(45-67)Fairfax, wife of Sir Thomas, the general of the
(45-67)forces, and a daughter of the noble house of Vere,
(45-67)who in this manner declared her resentment at
(45-67)the extraordinary scene.

(45-67) The King, when placed at the bar, looked
(45-67)around on the awful preparations for trial, on the
(45-67)bench, crowded with avowed enemies, and displaying,
(45-67)what was still more painful, the faces of one or
(45-67)two ungrateful friends, without losing his steady
(45-67)composure. When the public accuser began to
(45-67)speak, he touched him with his staff, and sternly
(45-67)admonished him to forbear. He afterwards
(45-67)displayed both talent and boldness in his own
(45-67)defence. He disowned the authority of the novel
(45-67)and incompetent court before which he was placed;

[TG45-68, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 45, p. 68]

(45-68)reminded those who sat as his judges, that he was
(45-68)their lawful king, answerable indeed to God for
(45-68)the use of his power, but declared by the constitution
(45-68)incapable of doing wrong. Even if the authority
(45-68)of the people were sufficient to place him

(45-68)before the bar, he denied that such authority had
(45-68)been obtained. The act of violence, he justly
(45-68)stated, was the deed, not of the English nation,
(45-68)but of a hew daring men, who had violated, by
(45-68)military force, the freedom of the House of Commons,
(45-68)and altogether destroyed and abolished the
(45-68)House of Peers. He declared that he spoke not
(45-68)for himself, but for the sake of the laws and liberties
(45-68)of England.

(45-68) Though repeatedly interrupted by Bradshaw, a
(45-68)lawyer, president of the pretended High Court of
(45-68)Justice, Charles pronounced his defence in a manly,
(45-68)yet temperate manner. Being then three times
(45-68)called on to answer to the charge, he as often
(45-68)declined the jurisdiction of the court. Sentence of
(45-68)death was then pronounced, to be executed in
(45-68)front of the royal palace, lately his own.

(45-68) On the 30th January, 1649, Charles I was
(45-68)brought forth through one of the windows in front
(45-68)of the banqueting house at Whitehall, upon a
(45-68)large scaffold hung with black, and closely
(45-68)surrounded with guards. Two executioners in masks
(45-68)attended (one wearing a long grey beard), beside
(45-68)a block and cushion. Juxon, a bishop of the
(45-68)Church of England, assisted the King's devotions.
(45-68)As Charles laid his head on the block, he addressed

[TG45-69, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 45, p. 69]

(45-69)to the bishop, emphatically, the word remember,
(45-69)and then gave the signal for the fatal stroke. One
(45-69)executioner struck the head from the shoulders at
(45-69)a single blow; the other held it up, and proclaimed
(45-69)it the head of a traitor. The soldiers shouted in
(45-69)triumph, but the multitude generally burst out into
(45-69)tears and lamentations.

(45-69) This tragic spectacle was far from accomplishing
(45-69)the purpose intended by those who had designed
(45-69)it. On the contrary, the King's serene and
(45-69)religious behaviour at his trial and execution excited
(45-69)the sympathy and sorrow of many who had been
(45-69)his enemies when in power; the injustice and
(45-69)brutality which he bore with so much dignity,
(45-69)overpowered the remembrance of the errors of
(45-69)which he had been guilty; and the almost universal
(45-69)sense of the iniquity of his sentence, was a
(45-69)principal cause of the subsequent restoration of
(45-69)his family to the throne.

[TG46-71, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 71]

(46-71) The death of Charles I was nowhere more
(46-71)deeply resented than in his native country of Scotland;
(46-71)and the national pride of the Scots was the
(46-71)more hurt, that they could not but be conscious that
(46-71)the surrender of his person by their army at
(46-71)Newcastle, was the event which contributed immediately
(46-71)to place him in the hands of his enemies.
(46-71) The government, since the Whigamores' Raid,
(46-71)had continued in the hands of Argyle and the more
(46-71)rigid Presbyterians; but even they, no friends to
(46-71)the House of Stewart, were bound by the Covenant,
(46-71)which was their rule in all things, to acknowledge
(46-71)the hereditary descent of their ancient Kings, and

[TG46-72, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 72]

(46-72)call to the throne Charles, the eldest son of the
(46-72)deceased monarch, providing he would consent to
(46-72)unite with his subjects in taking the Solemn League
(46-72)and Covenant, for the support of Presbytery, and
(46-72)the putting down of all other forms of religion.

(46-72)The Scottish Parliament met, and resolved accordingly
(46-72)to proclaim Charles II their lawful sovereign;
(46-72)but, at the same time, not to admit him to the
(46-72)actual power as such, until he should give security for
(46-72)the religion, unity, and peace of the kingdoms.
(46-72)Commissioners were sent to wait upon Charles,
(46-72)who had retreated to the Continent, in order to
(46-72)offer him the throne of Scotland on these terms.
(46-72) The young Prince had already around him
(46-72)counsellors of a different character. The celebrated
(46-72)Marquis of Montrose, and other Scottish nobles,
(46-72)few in number, but animated by their leader's
(46-72)courage and zeal, advised him to reject the proposal
(46-72)of the Presbyterians to recall him to the regal
(46-72)dignity on such conditions, and offered their swords
(46-72)and lives to place him on the throne by force of
(46-72)arms.
(46-72) It appears that Charles II, who never had any
(46-72)deep sense of integrity, was willing to treat with
(46-72)both of these parties at one and the same time; and
(46-72)that he granted a commission to the Marquis to
(46-72)attempt a descent on Scotland, taking the chance of
(46-72)what might be accomplished by his far-famed
(46-72)fortune and dauntless enterprise, while he kept a
(46-72)negotiation afloat with the Presbyterian commissioners,
(46-72)in case of Montrose's failure.

[TG46-73, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 73]

(46-73) The intrepid but rash enthusiast embarked at
(46-73)Hamburgh, with some arms and treasure, supplied
(46-73)by the northern courts of Europe. His fame drew
(46-73)around him a few of the emigrant Royalists, chiefly
(46-73)Scottish, and he recruited about six hundred
(46-73)German mercenaries. His first descent was on the
(46-73)Orkney islands, where he forced to arms a few

(46-73)hundreds of unwarlike fishermen. He next disembarked
(46-73)on the mainland; but the natives fled from
(46-73)him, remembering the former excesses of his army.
(46-73)Strachan, an officer under Lesley, came
(46-73)upon the Marquis by surprise, near a pass
(46-73)called Invercharron, (April, 1650) on the confines of
(46-73)Ross-shire. The Orkney men made but little
(46-73)resistance; the Germans retired to a wood, and there
(46-73)surrendered; the few Scottish companions of
(46-73)Montrose fought bravely, but in vain. Many gallant
(46-73)cavaliers were made prisoners. Montrose, when

[TG46-74, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 74]

(46-74)the day was irretrievably lost, threw off his cloak
(46-74)bearing the star, and afterwards changed clothes
(46-74)with an ordinary Highland kern, that he might
(46-74)endeavour to effect his escape, and swam across the
(46-74)river Kyle. Exhausted with fatigue and hunger,
(46-74)he was at length taken by a Ross-shire chief, MacLeod
(46-74)of Assint, who happened to be out with a
(46-74)party of his men in arms. The Marquis discovered
(46-74)himself to this man, thinking himself secure of
(46-74)favour, since Assint had been once his own follower.
(46-74)But tempted by a reward of four hundred bolls of
(46-74)meal, this wretched chief delivered his old
(46-74)commander into the unfriendly hands of David Lesley.
(46-74) The Covenanters, when he who had so often
(46-74)made them tremble was at length delivered into
(46-74)their hands, celebrated their victory with all the
(46-74)exultation of mean, timid, and sullen spirits,
(46-74)suddenly released from apprehension of imminent
(46-74)danger. Montrose was dragged in a sort of triumph
(46-74)from town to town, in the mean garb in which he
(46-74)had disguised himself for flight. To the honour of
(46-74)the town of Dundee, which, you will recollect, had

(46-74)been partly plundered, and partly burnt by
(46-74)Montrose's forces, during his eventful progress in 1645,
(46-74)the citizens of that town were the first who supplied
(46-74)their fallen foe with clothes befitting his rank, with
(46-74)money, and with necessaries. The Marquis himself
(46-74)must have felt this as a severe rebuke for the
(46-74)wasteful mode in which he had carried on his warfare;

[TG46-75, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 75]

(46-75)and it was a still more piercing reproach to
(46-75)the unworthy victors, who now triumphed over a
(46-75)heroic enemy in the same manner as they would
(46-75)have done over a detected felon.
(46-75) While Montrose was confined in the house of the
(46-75)Laird of Grange, in Fifeshire, he had almost made
(46-75)his escape through the bold stratagem of the laird's
(46-75)wife, a descendant of the house of Somerville. This
(46-75)lady's address had drenched the guards with liquor;
(46-75)and the Marquis, disguised in female attire, with
(46-75)which she had furnished him, had already passed
(46-75)the sleeping sentinels, when he was challenged and
(46-75)stopped by a half-drunken soldier, who had been
(46-75)rambling about without any duty or purpose. The
(46-75)alarm being given, he was again secured, and the
(46-75)lady's plot was of no avail. She escaped punishment
(46-75)only by her husband's connexion with the
(46-75)ruling party.
(46-75) Before Montrose reached Edinburgh, he had
(46-75)been condemned by the Parliament to the death of
(46-75)a traitor. The sentence was pronounced, without
(46-75)further trial, upon an act of attainder passed whilst
(46-75)he was plundering Argyle in the winter of 1644;
(46-75)and it was studiously aggravated by every species
(46-75)of infamy.
(46-75) The Marquis was, according to the special order

(46-75)of Parliament, met at the gates by the magistrates,
(46-75)attended by the common hangman, who was clad
(46-75)for the time in his own livery. He was appointed,
(46-75)as the most infamous mode of execution, to be
(46-75)hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high, his head to be
(46-75)fixed on the tolbooth, or prison of Edinburgh, his

[TG46-76, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 76]

(46-76)body to be quartered, and his limbs to be placed
(46-76)over the gates of the principal towns of Scotland.
(46-76)According to the sentence, he was conducted to
(46-76)jail on a cart, whereon was fixed a high bench on
(46-76)which he was placed, bound and bareheaded, the
(46-76)horse led by the executioner, wearing his bonnet,
(46-76)and the noble prisoner exposed to the scorn of the
(46-76)people, who were expected to hoot and revile
(46-76)him. But the rabble, who came out with the
(46-76)rudest purposes, relented when they saw the
(46-76)dignity of his bearing; and silence, accompanied by
(46-76)the sighs and tears of the crowd, attended the
(46-76)progress, which his enemies had designed should
(46-76)excite other emotions. The only observation he made
(46-76)was, that "the ceremonial of his entrance had been
(46-76)somewhat fatiguing and tedious."

(46-76) He was next brought before the Parliament to
(46-76)hear the terms of his sentence, where he appeared
(46-76)with the same manly indifference. He gazed
(46-76)around on his assembled enemies with as much
(46-76)composure as the most unconcerned spectator;
(46-76)heard Loudoun, the chancellor, upbraid him, in a
(46-76)long and violent declamation, with the breach of
(46-76)both the first and second Covenant; with his cruel
(46-76)wars at the head of the savage Irish and Highland-men;
(46-76)and with the murders, treasons, and conflagrations,
(46-76)which they had occasioned. When the

[TG46-77, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 77]

(46-77)chancellor had finished, Montrose with difficulty
(46-77)obtained permission to reply.
(46-77) He told the Parliament, with his usual boldness,
(46-77)that if he appeared before them uncovered, and
(46-77)addressed them with respect, it was only because
(46-77)the King had acknowledged their assembly, by
(46-77)entering into a treaty with them. He admitted he
(46-77)had taken the first, or National Covenant, and had
(46-77)acted upon it so long as it was confined to its proper
(46-77)purposes, but had dissented from and opposed
(46-77)those who had used it as a pretext for assailing the
(46-77)royal authority. "The second, or Solemn League
(46-77)and Covenant," he said, "he had never taken, and
(46-77)was therefore in no respect bound by it. He had
(46-77)made war by the King's express commission; and
(46-77)although it was impossible, in the course of hostilities,
(46-77)absolutely to prevent acts of military violence,
(46-77)he had always disowned and punished such irregularities.
(46-77)He had never" he said, "spilt the blood
(46-77)of a prisoner, even in retaliation of the cold-blooded
(46-77)murder of his officers and friends -- nay, he had
(46-77)spared the lives of thousands in the very shock of
(46-77)battle. His last undertaking," he continued, "was
(46-77)carried on at the express command of Charles II,
(46-77)whom they had proclaimed their sovereign, and
(46-77)with whom they were treating as such. Therefore,
(46-77)he desired to be used by them as a man and a
(46-77)Christian, to whom many of them had been
(46-77)indebted for life and property, when the fate of war
(46-77)had placed both in his power. He required them,
(46-77)in conclusion, to proceed with him according to
(46-77)the laws of nature and nations, but especially

[TG46-78, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 78]

(46-78)according to those of Scotland, as they themselves
(46-78)would expect to be judged when they stood at the
(46-78)bar of Almighty God."

(46-78) The sentence already mentioned was then read
(46-78)to the undaunted prisoner, on which he observed,
(46-78)he was more honoured in having his head set on
(46-78)the prison, for the cause in which he died, than he
(46-78)would have been had they decreed a golden statue to
(46-78)be erected to him in the market-place, or in having
(46-78)his picture in the King's bedchamber. As to the
(46-78)distribution of his limbs, he said he wished he had
(46-78)flesh enough to send some to each city of Europe
(46-78)in memory of the cause in which he died. He
(46-78)spent the night in reducing these ideas into poetry.

(46-78) Early on the morning of the next day he was
(46-78)awakened by the drums and trumpets calling out
(46-78)the guards, by orders of Parliament, to attend on
(46-78)his execution. "Alas!" he said, "I have given
(46-78)these good folks much trouble while alive, and do
(46-78)I continue to be a terror to them on the day I am
(46-78)to die?"

(46-78) The clergy importuned him urging repentance
(46-78)of his sins, and offering, on his expressing such

[TG46-79, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 79]

(46-79)compunction, to relieve him from the sentence of
(46-79)excommunication, under which he laboured. He
(46-79)calmly replied, that though the excommunication
(46-79)had been rashly pronounced, yet it gave him pain,
(46-79)and he desired to be freed from it, if a relaxation
(46-79)could be obtained, by expressing penitence for his
(46-79)offences as a man; but that he had committed none
(46-79)in his duty to his prince and country, and, therefore,

(46-79)had none to acknowledge or repent of.
(46-79) Johnstone of Warriston, an eminent Covenanter,
(46-79)intruded himself on the noble prisoner, while he
(46-79)was combing the long curled hair, which he wore
(46-79)as a cavalier. Warriston, a gloomy fanatic, hinted
(46-79)as if it were but an idle employment at so solemn
(46-79)a time. "I will arrange my head as I please
(46-79)today, while it is still my own," answered Montrose;
(46-79)"tomorrow it will be yours, and you may deal
(46-79)with it as you list."

(46-79) The marquis walked on foot, from the prison
(46-79)to the Grassmarket, the common place of execution
(46-79)for the basest felons, where a gibbet of
(46-79)extraordinary height, with a scaffold covered with black
(46-79)cloth, were erected. Here he was again pressed
(46-79)by the Presbyterian clergy to own his guilt. Their

[TG46-80, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 80]

(46-80)cruel and illiberal officiousness could not disturb the
(46-80)serenity of his temper. To exaggerate the infamy
(46-80)of his punishment, or rather to show the mean spite
(46-80)of his enemies, a book, containing the printed
(46-80)history of his exploits, was hung around his neck by
(46-80)the hangman. This insult, likewise, he treated with
(46-80)contempt, saying, he accounted such a record of
(46-80)his service to his prince as a symbol equally
(46-80)honourable with the badge of the Garter, which the
(46-80)King had bestowed on him. In all other particulars,
(46-80)Montrose bore himself with the same calm
(46-80)dignity, and finally submitted to execution with
(46-80)such resolved courage, that many, even of his
(46-80)bitterest enemies, wept on the occasion. He suffered
(46-80)on the 21st of May, 1650.

(46-80) Argyle, the mortal foe of Montrose, exulted in
(46-80)private over the death of his enemy, but abstained

(46-80)from appearing in Parliament when he was
(46-80)contemned, and from witnessing his execution. He
(46-80)is even said to have shed tears when he heard the
(46-80)scene rehearsed. His son, Lord Lorn, was less
(46-80)scrupulous; he looked on his feudal enemy's last
(46-80)moments, and even watched the blows of the
(46-80)executioner's axe, while he dissevered the head from
(46-80)the body. His cruelty was requited in the subsequent
(46-80)reign; and indeed Heaven soon after made
(46-80)manifest the folly, as well as guilt, which destroyed
(46-80)this celebrated commander, at a time when
(46-80)approaching war might have rendered his talents
(46-80)invaluable to his country.
(46-80) Other noble Scottish blood was spilt at the same
(46-80)time, both at home and in England. The Marquis

[TG46-81, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 81]

(46-81)of Huntly, who had always acted for the King,
(46-81)though he had injured his affairs by his hesitation
(46-81)to co-operate with Montrose, was beheaded at
(46-81)Edinburgh; and Urry, who had been sometimes
(46-81)the enemy, sometimes the follower of Montrose,
(46-81)was executed with others of the Marquis's principal
(46-81)followers.
(46-81) The unfortunate Duke of Hamilton, a man of a
(46-81)gentle but indecisive character, was taken, as I have
(46-81)told you, in his attempt to invade England and
(46-81)deliver the King, whom he seems to have served
(46-81)with fidelity, though he fell under his suspicion, and
(46-81)even suffered a long imprisonment by the royal
(46-81)order. While he was confined at Windsor, Charles,
(46-81)previous to his trial, was brought there by the
(46-81)soldiers. The dethroned King was permitted a
(46-81)momentary interview with the subject, who had lost
(46-81)fortune and liberty in his cause. Hamilton burst

(46-81)into tears, and flung himself at the King's feet,
(46-81)exclaiming, "My dear master!" -- "I have been a
(46-81)dear master to you indeed," said Charles, kindly
(46-81)raising him. After the execution of the King,
(46-81)Hamilton, with the Earl of Holland, Lord Capel,
(46-81)and others, who had promoted the rising of the
(46-81)royalists on different points, were condemned to be
(46-81)beheaded. A stout old cavalier, Sir John Owen,
(46-81)was one of the number. When the sentence was
(46-81)pronounced, he exclaimed it was a great honour to
(46-81)a poor Welsh knight to be beheaded with so many

[TG46-82, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 82]

(46-82)nobles, adding, with an oath, "I thought they
(46-82)would have hanged me." The gallant old man's
(46-82)life was spared, when his companions in misfortune
(46-82)were executed.
(46-82) While these bloody scenes were proceeding, the
(46-82)Commissioners of the Scottish Parliament continued
(46-82)to carry on the treaty with Charles II. He
(46-82)had nearly broken it off, when Montrose's execution
(46-82)was reported to him; but a sense of his own
(46-82)duplicity in maintaining a treaty with the Parliament,
(46-82)while he gave Montrose a commission to
(46-82)invade and make war on them, smothered his
(46-82)complaints on the subject. At length Charles, seeing
(46-82)no other resource, agreed to accept the crown of
(46-82)Scotland on the terms offered, which were those of
(46-82)the most absolute compliance with the will of the
(46-82)Scottish Parliament in civil affairs, and with the

[TG46-83, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 83]

(46-83)pleasure of the General Assembly of the Kirk in
(46-83)ecclesiastical concerns. Above all, the young King

(46-83)promised to take upon him the obligations of the
(46-83)Solemn League and Covenant, and to further them
(46-83)by every means in his power. On these conditions
(46-83)the treaty was concluded; Charles sailed
(46-83)from Holland, and arriving on the coast
(46-83)of Scotland, landed near the mouth of the
(46-83)river Spey, and advanced to Stirling. (16th June, 1650)
(46-83) Scotland was at this time divided into three
(46-83)parties, highly inimical to each other. There was,
(46-83)first, the rigid Presbyterians, of whom Argyle
(46-83)was the leader. This was the faction which had,
(46-83)since the Whigamore's Raid, been in possession of
(46-83)the supreme power of government, and with its
(46-83)leaders the King had made the treaty in Holland.
(46-83)Secondly, the moderate Presbyterians, called the
(46-83)Engagers, who had joined with Hamilton in his
(46-83)incursion into England. These were headed by
(46-83)Lauderdale, a man of very considerable talents;
(46-83)Dunfermline and others. Thirdly, there was the
(46-83)party of the Absolute Loyalists, friends and
(46-83)followers of Montrose; such as the Marquis of
(46-83)Huntly, Lord Ogilvy, a few other nobles and
(46-83)gentlemen, and some Highland chiefs, too ignorant and
(46-83)too remotely situated to have nay influence in state
(46-83)affairs.
(46-83) As all these three parties acknowledged, with
(46-83)more or less warmth, the sovereignty of King
(46-83)Charles, it might have seemed no very difficult

[TG46-84, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 84]

(46-84)matter to have united them in the same patriotic
(46-84)purpose of maintaining the national independence
(46-84)of the kingdom. But successful resistance to the
(46-84)English was a task to which the high Presbyterians,
(46-84)being the ruling party, thought themselves

(46-84)perfectly competent. Indeed they entertained the
(46-84)most presumptuous confidence in their own strength,
(46-84)and their clergy assured them, that so far from the
(46-84)aid of either Engagers or Malignants being
(46-84)profitable to them in the common defence, the presence
(46-84)of any such profane assistants would draw down
(46-84)the curse of Heaven on the cause, which, if trusted
(46-84)to the hands of true Covenanters only, could not
(46-84)fail to prosper.

(46-84) Argyle, therefore, and his friends, received the
(46-84)young King with all the outward marks of
(46-84)profound respect. But they took care to give him his
(46-84)own will in no one particular. They excluded
(46-84)from attendance on his person all his English
(46-84)adherents, suspicious of their attachment to Prelacy
(46-84)and malignant opinions. The ministers beset him
(46-84)with exhortations and sermons of immoderate
(46-84)length, introduced on all occasions, and exhausting
(46-84)the patience of a young prince, whose strong sense
(46-84)of the ridiculous, and impatience of serious
(46-84)subjects, led him to receive with heartfelt contempt
(46-84)and disgust the homely eloquence of the long-winded
(46-84)orators. The preachers also gave him
(46-84)offence, by choosing frequently for their themes the
(46-84)sins of his father, the idolatry of his mother, who
(46-84)was a Catholic, and what they frankly termed his
(46-84)own ill-disguised disposition to malignity. They

[TG46-85, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 85]

(46-85)numbered up the judgments which, they affirmed,
(46-85)these sins had brought on his father's house, and
(46-85)they prayed that they might not be followed by
(46-85)similar punishments upon Charles himself. These
(46-85)ill-timed and ill-judged admonitions were so often
(46-85)repeated, as to impress on the young King's mind

(46-85)a feeling of dislike and disgust, with which he
(46-85)remembered the Presbyterian preachers and their
(46-85)doctrines as long as he lived.
(46-85) Sometimes their fanaticism and want of judgment
(46-85)led to ridiculous scenes. It is said, that on
(46-85)one occasion a devout lady, who lived opposite to
(46-85)the royal lodgings, saw from her window the young
(46-85)King engaged in a game at cards, or some other
(46-85)frivolous amusement, which the rigour of the
(46-85)Covenanters denounced as sinful. The lady
(46-85)communicated this important discovery to her minister,

[TG46-86, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 86]

(46-86)and it reached the ears of the Commission of the
(46-86)Kirk, who named a venerable member of their body
(46-86)to rebuke the monarch personally for this act of
(46-86)backsliding. The clergyman to whom this delicate
(46-86)commission was intrusted, was a shred old man,
(46-86)who saw no great wisdom in the proceedings of his
(46-86)brethren, but executed their commands with courtly
(46-86)dexterity, and summed up his ghostly admonition
(46-86)with a request, that when his Majesty indulged
(46-86)in similar recreations, he would be pleased to take
(46-86)the precaution of shutting the windows. The
(46-86)King laughed, and was glad to escape so well from
(46-86)the apprehended lecture. But events were fast
(46-86)approaching which had no jesting aspect.
(46-86) England, to which you must now turn your
(46-86)attention, had totally changed its outward constitution
(46-86)since the death of the King. Cromwell, who,
(46-86)using the victorious army as his tools, was already
(46-86)in the real possession of the supreme power, had still
(46-86)more tasks than one to accomplish, before he dared
(46-86)venture to assume the external appearance of it.
(46-86)He suffered, therefore, the diminished and mutilated

(46-86)House of Commons to exist for a season, during
(46-86)which the philosophical Republicans of the party
(46-86)passed resolutions that monarchy should never be
(46-86)again established in England; that the power of
(46-86)the Executive Government should be lodged in a
(46-86)Council of State; and that the House of Lords
(46-86)should be abolished.

(46-86) Meantime, Cromwell led in person a part of his
(46-86)victorious army to Ireland, which had been the
(46-86)scene of more frightful disorders than England, or

[TG46-87, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 87]

(46-87)even Scotland. These had begun by the Catholic
(46-87)inhabitants rising upon the Protestants, and
(46-87)murdering many thousands of them in what is termed
(46-87)the Irish Massacre. This had been followed by a
(46-87)general war between the opposite parties in religion,
(46-87)but at length the address of the Duke of Ormond,
(46-87)as devoted a loyalist as Montrose, contrived to
(46-87)engage a large portion of the Catholics on the side
(46-87)of Charles; and Ireland became the place of refuge
(46-87)to all the Cavaliers, or remains of the royal party,
(46-87)who began to assume a formidable appearance in
(46-87)that island. The arrival of Cromwell suddenly
(46-87)changed this gleam of fortune into cloud and storm.
(46-87)Wherever this fated general appeared he was
(46-87)victorious; and in Ireland, in order perhaps to strike
(46-87)terror into a fierce people (for Oliver Cromwell
(46-87)was not bloodthirsty by disposition), he made dreadful
(46-87)execution among the vanquished, particularly at
(46-87)the storming of the town of Drogheda, where his
(46-87)troops spared neither sex nor age. He now
(46-87)returned to England, with even greater terror
(46-87)attached to his name than before.
(46-87) The new Commonwealth of England had not

(46-87)intention that the son of the King whom they had
(46-87)put to death, should be suffered to establish himself
(46-87)quietly in the sister kingdom of Scotland, and
(46-87)enjoy the power, when opportunity offered, of
(46-87)again calling to arms his numerous adherents in
(46-87)England, and disturbing, or perhaps destroying,
(46-87)their new-modelled republic. They were resolved
(46-87)to prevent this danger by making war on Scotland,
(46-87)while still weakened by her domestic dissensions;

[TG46-88, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 88]

(46-88)and compelling her to adopt the constitution of a
(46-88)republic, and to become confederated with their
(46-88)own. This proposal was of course haughtily
(46-88)rejected by the Scots, as it implied a renunciation at
(46-88)once of king and kirk, and a total alteration of the
(46-88)Scottish constitution in civil and ecclesiastical
(46-88)government. The ruling parties of both nations,
(46-88)therefore, prepared for the contest.

(46-88) The rigid Presbyterians in Scotland showed now
(46-88)a double anxiety to exclude from their army all,
(46-88)however otherwise well qualified to assist in such
(46-88)a crisis, whom they regarded as suspicious, whether
(46-88)as absolute malignants, or as approaching nearer to
(46-88)their own doctrines, by professing only a moderate
(46-88)and tolerant attachment to Presbytery.

(46-88) Yet even without the assistance of these excluded
(46-88)parties, the Convention of Estates assembled
(46-88)a fine army, full of men enthusiastic in the cause in
(46-88)which they were about to fight; and feeling all
(46-88)the impulse which could be given by the rude
(46-88)eloquence of their favourite ministers. Unfortunately
(46-88)the preachers were not disposed to limit
(46-88)themselves to the task of animating the courage of
(46-88)the soldiers; but were so presumptuous as to

(46-88)interfere with and control the plans of the general,
(46-88)and movements of the army.

(46-88) The army of England, consisting almost entirely
(46-88)of Independents, amongst whom any man who
(46-88)chose might exert the office of a clergyman,
(46-88)resembled the Presbyterian troops of Scotland; for
(46-88)both armies professed to appeal to Heaven for the
(46-88)justice of their cause, and both resounded with

[TG46-89, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 89]

(46-89)psalms, prayers, exhortations, and religious exercises,
(46-89)to confirm the faith, and animate the zeal of
(46-89)the soldiers. Both likewise used the same
(46-89)language in their proclamations against each other,
(46-89)and it was such as implied a war rather on account
(46-89)of religion than of temporal interests. The Scottish
(46-89)proclamations declared the army commanded
(46-89)by Cromwell to be a union of the most perverse
(46-89)heretical sectaries, of every different persuasion,
(46-89)agreeing in nothing, saving their desire to effect
(46-89)the ruin of the unity and discipline of the Christian
(46-89)Church, and the destruction of the Covenant, to
(46-89)which most of their leaders had sworn fidelity. The
(46-89)army of Cromwell replied to them in the same
(46-89)style. They declared that they valued the Christian
(46-89)Church ten thousand times more than their
(46-89)own lives. They protested that they were not
(46-89)only a rod of iron to dash asunder the common
(46-89)enemies, but a hedge (though unworthy) about the
(46-89)divine vineyard. As for the Covenant, they
(46-89)protested that, were it not for making it an object of
(46-89)idolatry, they would be content, if called upon to
(46-89)encounter the Scots in this quarrel, to place that
(46-89)national engagement on the point of their pikes,
(46-89)and let God himself judge whether they or their

(46-89)opponents had best observed its obligations.
(46-89) Although the contending nations thus nearly
(46-89)resembled each other in their ideas and language,
(46-89)there was betwixt the Scottish and English soldiers
(46-89)one difference, and it proved a material one. In
(46-89)the English army the officers insisted upon being
(46-89)preachers, and though their doctrine was wild

[TG46-90, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 90]

(46-90)enough, their ignorance of theology had no effect
(46-90)on military events. But with the Scots, the
(46-90)Presbyterian clergy were unhappily seized with the
(46-90)opposite rage of acting as officers and generals, and
(46-90)their skill in their own profession of divinity could
(46-90)not redeem the errors which they committed in
(46-90)the art of war.

(46-90) Fairfax having declined the command of the
(46-90)English army, his conscience (for he was a
(46-90)Presbyterian) not permitting him to engage in the war,
(46-90)Cromwell accepted with joy the supreme military
(46-90)authority, and prepared for the invasion of
(46-90)Scotland.

(46-90) The wars between the sister kingdoms seemed
(46-90)now about to be rekindled, after the interval of
(46-90)two-thirds of a century; and notwithstanding the
(46-90)greatly superior power of England, there was no
(46-90)room for absolute confidence in her ultimate
(46-90)success. The Scots, though divided into parties, so
(46-90)unanimous in acknowledging the right of King
(46-90)Charles, whereas the English were far from
(46-90)making common cause against his claims. On the
(46-90)contrary, if the stern army of Sectaries, now about
(46-90)to take the field, should sustain any great disaster,
(46-90)the Cavaliers of England, with great part of the
(46-90)Presbyterians in that country, were alike disposed

(46-90)to put the King once more at the head of the
(46-90)government; so that the fate not of Scotland alone,
(46-90)but of England also, was committed to the event
(46-90)of the present war.
(46-90) Neither were the armies and generals opposed to

[TG46-91, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 91]

(46-91)each other unworthy of the struggle. If the army
(46-91)of Cromwell consisted of veteran soldiers, inured
(46-91)to constant victory, that of Scotland was fresh,
(46-91)numerous, and masters of their own strong country,
(46-91)which was the destined scene of action. If
(46-91)Cromwell had defeated the most celebrated generals
(46-91)of the Cavaliers, David Lesley, the effective
(46-91)commander-in-chief in Scotland, had been victor over
(46-91)Montrose, more renowned perhaps than any of them.
(46-91)If Cromwell was a general of the most decisive
(46-91)character, celebrated for the battles which he had
(46-91)won, Lesley was, by early education, a trained
(46-91)soldier, more skilful than his antagonist in taking
(46-91)positions, defending passes, and all the previous
(46-91)arrangements of a campaign. With these advantages
(46-91)on the different sides, the eventful struggle
(46-91)commenced.
(46-91) Early in the summer of 1650, Cromwell invaded
(46-91)Scotland at the head of his veteran and well-disciplined
(46-91)troops. Bu, on marching through
(46-91)Berwickshire and East Lothian, he found that the
(46-91)country was abandoned by the population, and
(46-91)stripped of every thing which could supply the
(46-91)hostile army. Nothing was to be seen save old spectre-
(46-91)looking women, clothed in white flannel, who told
(46-91)the English officers that all the men had taken
(46-91)arms, under command of the barons.
(46-91) Subsisting chiefly on the provisions supplied by

(46-91)a fleet, which, sailing along the coast, accompanied
(46-91)his movements, the English general
(46-91)approached the capital, where Lesley had settled his
(46-91)headquarters. The right wing of the Scottish

[TG46-92, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 92]

(46-92)army rested upon the high grounds at the rise of
(46-92)the mountain called Arthur's Seat, and the left
(46-92)wing was posted at Leith; while the high bank,
(46-92)formerly called Leith Walk, made a part of his
(46-92)lines, which defended by a numerous artillery,
(46-92)completely protected the metropolis. Cromwell
(46-92)skirmished with the Scottish advanced posts near
(46-92)to Restalrig, but his curassiers were so warmly
(46-92)encountered that they gained no advantage, and
(46-92)their general was obliged to withdraw to
(46-92)Musselburgh. His next effort was made from the
(46-92)west-ward.

(46-92) The English army made a circuit from the coast,
(46-92)proceeding inland to Colinton, Redhall, and other
(46-92)places near to the eastern extremity of the Pentland
(46-92)hills, from which Cromwell hoped to advance
(46-92)on Edinburgh. But Lesley was immediately on
(46-92)his guard. He left his position betwixt Edinburgh
(46-92)and Leith, and took one which covered the city to
(46-92)the westward, and was protected by the Water of
(46-92)Leith, and the several cuts, drains, and mill-leads,
(46-92)at Saughton, Coltbridge, and the houses and
(46-92)villages in that quarter. Here Cromwell again found
(46-92)the Scots in order of battle, and again was obliged
(46-92)to withdraw after a distant cannonade.

(46-92) The necessity of returning to the neighbourhood
(46-92)of his fleet, obliged Cromwell to march back to
(46-92)his encampment at Musselburgh. Nor was he
(46-92)permitted to remain there in quiet. At the dead

(46-92)of night, a strong body of cavalry, called the regiment
(46-92)of the Kirk, well armed at all points, broke
(46-92)into the English lines, with loud cries of "God

[TG46-93, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 93]

(46-93)and the Kirk! all is ours!" It was with some
(46-93)difficulty that Cromwell rallied his soldiers upon
(46-93)this sudden alarm, in which he sustained considerable
(46-93)loss, though the assailants were finally
(46-93)compelled to retreat.

(46-93) The situation of the English army now became
(46-93)critical; their provisions were nearly exhausted,
(46-93)the communication with the fleet grew daily more
(46-93)precarious, while Lesley, with the same prudence
(46-93)which had hitherto guided his defence, baffled all
(46-93)the schemes of the English leader, without exposing
(46-93)his army to the risk of a general action; until
(46-93)Cromwell, fairly outgeneralled by the address of
(46-93)his enemy, was compelled to retire towards
(46-93)England.

(46-93) Lesley, on his part, left his encampment without
(46-93)delay, for the purpose of intercepting the retreat
(46-93)of the English, Moving by a shorter line than
(46-93)Cromwell, who was obliged to keep the coast, he
(46-93)took possession with his army of the skirts of
(46-93)Lammermoor, a ridge of hills terminating on the
(46-93)sea near the town of Dunbar, abounding with
(46-93)difficult passes, all of which he occupied strongly.
(46-93)Here he proposed to await the attack of the English,
(46-93)with every chance, nay, almost with the
(46-93)certainty, of gaining a great and decisive victory.
(46-93) Cromwell was reduced to much perplexity. To
(46-93)force his way, it was necessary to attack a tremendous
(46-93)pass called Cockburn's path, where, according

[TG46-94, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 94]

(46-94)to Cromwell's own description, one man might do
(46-94)more to defend than twelve to make way. And if
(46-94)he engaged in this desperate enterprise, he was
(46-94)liable to be assaulted by the numerous forces of
(46-94)Lesley in flank and rear. He saw all the danger,
(46-94)and entertained thoughts of embarking his foot on
(46-94)board of his ships, and cutting his own way to
(46-94)England as he best could, at the head of his
(46-94)cavalry.

(46-94) At this moment, the interference of the Presbyterian
(46-94)preachers, and the influence which they
(46-94)possessed over the Scottish army and its general,
(46-94)ruined this fair promise of success. In spite of
(46-94)all the prudent remonstrances of Lesley, they
(46-94)insisted that the Scottish army should be led from
(46-94)their strong position, to attack the English upon
(46-94)equal ground. This, in the language of scripture,
(46-94)they called going down against the Philistines at
(46-94)Gilgal.

(46-94) Cromwell had slept at the Duke of Roxburghe's
(46-94)house, called Broxmouth, within half a mile east
(46-94)of Dunbar, and his army was stationed in the
(46-94)park there, when he received news that the Scots
(46-94)were leaving their fastnesses, and about to hazard
(46-94)a battle on the level plain. He exclaimed, "that

[TG46-95, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 95]

(46-95)God had delivered them into his hands;" and
(46-95)calling for his horse, placed himself at the head
(46-95)of his troops. Coming to the head of a regiment
(46-95)of Lancashire men, he found one of their
(46-95)officers, while they were in the act of marching
(46-95)to battle, in a fit of sudden enthusiasm holding

(46-95)forth or preaching to the men. Cromwell also
(46-95)listened, and seemed affected by his discourse. At
(46-95)this moment the sun showed his broad orb on the
(46-95)level surface of the sea, which is close to the scene
(46-95)of action. "Let the Lord arise," he said, "and
(46-95)let his enemies be scattered;" and presently after,
(46-95)looking upon the field where the battle had now
(46-95)commenced, he added, "I profess they flee."
(46-95) Cromwell's hopes did not deceived him. The
(46-95)hastily raised Scottish levies, (3d Sept.) thus
(46-95)presumptuously opposed to the veteran
(46-95)soldiers of the English commander, proved unequal
(46-95)to stand the shock. Two regiments fought bravely,
(46-95)and were almost all cut off; but the greater
(46-95)part of Lesley's army fell into confusion without
(46-95)much resistance. Great slaughter ensued, and
(46-95)many prisoners were made, whom the cruelty of
(46-95)the English government destined to a fate hitherto
(46-95)unknown in Christian warfare. They transported
(46-95)to the English settlements in America those
(46-95)unfortunate captives, subjects of an independent
(46-95)kingdom, who bore arms by order of their own lawful
(46-95)government, and there sold them for slaves.
(46-95) The decisive defeat at Dunbar opened the whole
(46-95)of the south of Scotland to Cromwell. The
(46-95)Independents found a few friends and brother sectaries

[TG46-96, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 96]

(46-96)among the gentry, who had been hitherto deterred,
(46-96)by the fear of the Presbyterians, from making their
(46-96)opinions public. Almost all the strong places on
(46-96)the south side of the Forth were won by the arms
(46-96)of the English, or yielded by the timidity of their
(46-96)defenders. Edinburgh Castle was surrendered,
(46-96)not without suspicion of gross treachery; and

(46-96)Tantallon, Hume, Roslin, and Borthwick, with other
(46-96)fortresses, fell into their hands.

(46-96) Internal dissension added to the calamitous state
(46-96)of Scotland. The Committee of Estates, with the
(46-96)King, and the remainder of Lesley's army,
(46-96)retreated to Stirling, where they still hoped to make
(46-96)a stand, by defending the passes of the Forth. A
(46-96)Parliament, held at Perth, was in this extremity
(46-96)disposed to relax in the extreme rigour of its
(46-96)exclusive doctrines, and to admit into the army,
(46-96)which it laboured to reinforce, such of the moderate
(46-96)Presbyterians, or Engagers, and even of the
(46-96)Royalists and Malignants, as were inclined to
(46-96)make a formal confession of their former errors.
(46-96)The Royalists readily enough complied with this
(46-96)requisition; but as their pretended repentance was
(46-96)generally regarded as a mere farce, submitted to
(46-96)to that they might obtain leave to bear arms for the
(46-96)King, the stricter Presbyterians looked upon this
(46-96)compromise with Malignants as a sinful seeking
(46-96)for help from Egypt. The Presbyterians of the
(46-96)western counties, in particular, carried this
(46-96)opinion so far, as to think this period of national
(46-96)distress an suspicious time for disclaiming the
(46-96)King's interest and title. Refusing to allow that

[TG46-97, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 97]

(46-97)the victory of Dunbar was owing to the military
(46-97)skill of Cromwell and the disciplined valour of
(46-97)his troops, they set it down as a chastisement
(46-97)justly inflicted on the Scottish nation for espousing
(46-97)the royal cause. Under this separate banner there
(46-97)assembled an army of about four thousand men,
(46-97)commanded by Kerr and Strachan. They were
(46-97)resolved, at the same time, to oppose the English

(46-97)invasion, and fight with the King's forces, and
(46-97)thus embroil the kingdom in a threefold war. The
(46-97)leaders of this third party, who were called
(46-97)Remonstrators, made a smart attack on a large body
(46-97)of English troops, stationed in Hamilton under
(46-97)General Lambert, and were at first successful; but
(46-97)falling into disorder, owing to their very success,
(46-97)they were ultimately defeated. Kerr, one of their
(46-97)leaders, was wounded, and made prisoner; and
(46-97)Strachan soon afterwards revolted, and joined the
(46-97)English army.

(46-97) Cromwell, in the mean while, made the fairest
(46-97)promises to all who would listen to him, and
(46-97)laboured, not altogether in vain, to impress the rigid
(46-97)Presbyterian party with a belief, that they had
(46-97)better join with the Independents, although
(46-97)disallowing of church-government, and thus obtain
(46-97)peace and a close alliance with England, than
(46-97)adhere to the cause of the King, who, with his father's
(46-97)house, had, he said, been so long the troublers of
(46-97)Israel. And here I may interrupt the course of
(46-97)public events, to tell you an anecdote not generally
(46-97)known, but curious as illustrating the character of
(46-97)Cromwell.

[TG46-98, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 98]

(46-98) Shortly after the battle of Dunbar, Cromwell
(46-98)visited Glasgow; and on Sunday attended the
(46-98)Presbyterian service in the principal church of that
(46-98)city. The preacher, a rigid Presbyterian, was
(46-98)nothing intimidated by the presence of the English
(46-98)general; but entering freely upon state affairs,
(46-98)which were then a common topic in the pulpit, he
(46-98)preached boldly on the errors and heresies of the
(46-98)Independent sectaries, insisted on the duty of

(46-98)resisting their doctrines, and even spoke with little
(46-98)respect of the person of Cromwell himself. An
(46-98)officer who sat behind Cromwell, whispered
(46-98)something in his ear more than once, and the general as
(46-98)often seemed to impose silence upon him. The
(46-98)curiosity of the congregation was strongly excited.
(46-98)At length the service was ended, and Cromwell
(46-98)was in the act of leaving the church, when he cast
(46-98)his eyes on one Wilson, a mechanic, who had long
(46-98)resided at Glasgow, and called on him by name.
(46-98)The man no sooner saw the general take notice of
(46-98)him than he ran away. Cromwell directed that he
(46-98)should be followed and brought before him, but
(46-98)without injury. At the same time he sent a civil
(46-98)message to the clergyman who had preached,
(46-98)desiring to see him at his quarters. These things
(46-98)augmented the curiosity of the town's people; and
(46-98)when they saw Wilson led as prisoner to the
(46-98)general's apartments, many remained about the door,
(46-98)watching the result. Wilson soon returned, and
(46-98)joyfully showed his acquaintances some money
(46-98)which the English general had given him to drink
(46-98)his health. His business with Cromwell was easily

[TG46-99, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 99]

(46-99)explained. This man had been son of a footman
(46-99)who had attended James VI to England. By
(46-99)some accident Wilson had served his apprenticeship
(46-99)to a shoemaker in the same town where
(46-99)Cromwell's father lived, had often played with
(46-99)Master Oliver while they were both children, and
(46-99)had obliged him by making balls and other playthings
(46-99)for him. When Wilson saw that his old
(46-99)companion recognised him, he ran away, because,
(46-99)recollecting his father had been a servant of the

(46-99)royal family, he thought the general, who was
(46-99)known to have brought the late King to the block,
(46-99)might nourish ill-will against all who were
(46-99)connected with him. But Cromwell had received him
(46-99)kindly, spoken of their childish acquaintance, and
(46-99)gave him some money. The familiarity with which
(46-99)he seemed to treat him, encouraged Wilson to ask
(46-99)his former friend what it was that passed betwixt
(46-99)the officer and him, when the preacher was
(46-99)thundering from the pulpit against the sectaries and
(46-99)their general. "He called the clergyman an insolent
(46-99)rascal," said Cromwell, not unwilling, perhaps,
(46-99)that his forbearance should be made public, "and
(46-99)asked my leave to pull him out of the pulpit by the
(46-99)ears; and I commanded him to sit still, telling him
(46-99)the minister was one fool, and he another." This
(46-99)anecdote serves to show Cromwell's recollection of
(46-99)persons and faces. He next gave audience to the
(46-99)preacher, and used arguments with him which did
(46-99)not reach the public; but were so convincing, that
(46-99)the minister pronounced a second discourse in the

[TG46-100, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 100]

(46-100)evening, in a tone much mitigated towards
(46-100)Independency and its professors.
(46-100) While the south of Scotland was overawed, and
(46-100)the Western Remonstrators were dispersed by
(46-100)Cromwell, the Scottish Parliament, though retired
(46-100)beyond the Forth, still maintained a show of decided
(46-100)opposition. They resolved upon the coronation
(46-100)of Charles, a ceremony hitherto deferred, but
(46-100)which they determined now to perform, as a solemn
(46-100)pledge of their resolution to support the constitution
(46-100)and religion of Scotland to the last.
(46-100) But the melancholy solemnity had been nearly

(46-100)prevented by the absence of the principal
(46-100)personage. Charles, disgusted with the invectives of
(46-100)the Presbyterian clergy, and perhaps remembering
(46-100)the fate of his father at Newcastle, formed
(46-100)a hasty purpose of flying from the Presbyterian
(46-100)camp. He had not been sufficiently aware of the
(46-100)weakness of the Royalists, who recommended this
(46-100)wild step, and he actually went off to the hills.
(46-100)But he found only a few Highlanders at Clova,
(46-100)without the appearance of an army, which he had
(46-100)promised himself, and was easily induced to return
(46-100)to the camp with a party who had been despatched
(46-100)in pursuit of him.
(46-100) This excursion, which was called the Start, did

[TG46-101, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 101]

(46-101)not greatly tend to increase confidence betwixt the
(46-101)young King and his Presbyterian counsellors. The
(46-101)ceremony of the coronation was performed (1st January, 1651)
(46-101)with such solemnities as the time
(46-101)admitted, but mingled with circumstances
(46-101)which must have been highly disgusting to Charles.
(46-101)The confirmation of the Covenant was introduced
(46-101)as an essential part of the solemnity; and the
(46-101)coronation was preceded by a national fast and
(46-101)humiliation, expressly held on account of the sins
(46-101)of the Royal Family. A suspected hand, that of
(46-101)the Marquis of Argyle, placed an insecure crown
(46-101)on the head of the son, whose father he had been
(46-101)one of the principal instruments in dethroning.
(46-101) These were bad omens. But, on the other
(46-101)hand, the King enjoyed more liberty than before;
(46-101)most of the Engagers had resumed their seats in
(46-101)Parliament; and many Royalist officers were
(46-101)received into the army.

(46-101) Determined at this time not to be tempted to a
(46-101)disadvantageous battle, the King, who assumed the
(46-101)command of the army in person, took up a line in
(46-101)front of Stirling, having in his front the river of

[TG46-102, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 102]

(46-102)Carron. Cromwell approached, but could neither
(46-102)with prudence attack the Scots in their lines, nor
(46-102)find means of inducing them to hazard a battle,
(46-102)unless on great advantage. After the armies had
(46-102)confronted each other for more than a month,
(46-102)Cromwell despatched Colonel Overton into fife,
(46-102)to turn the left flank of the Scottish army, and
(46-102)intercept their supplies. He was encountered near
(46-102)the town of Inverkeithing by the Scots, commanded
(46-102)by Holborn and Brown. The first of these officers
(46-102)behaved basely, and perhaps treacherously. Brown
(46-102)fought well and bravely, but finally sustaining a
(46-102)total defeat, was made prisoner, and afterwards
(46-102)died of grief.

(46-102) The situation of the main Scottish army, under
(46-102)Charles in person, became hazardous after this
(46-102)defeat, for their position was rendered precarious
(46-102)by the footing which the English obtained in the
(46-102)counties of Fife and Kinross, which enabled them
(46-102)to intercept the King's supplies and communications
(46-102)from the north. In this distressed situation Charles
(46-102)adopted a bold and decisive measure. He resolved
(46-102)to transfer the war from Scotland to England,
(46-102)and, suddenly raising his camp, he moved to the
(46-102)south-westward by rapid marches, hoping to rouse
(46-102)his friends in England to arms, before Cromwell
(46-102)could overtake him. But the Cavaliers of England
(46-102)were now broken and dispirited, and were,
(46-102)besides, altogether unprepared for this hasty invasion,

(46-102)which seemed rather the effect of despair than the
(46-102)result of deliberate and settled resolution. The
(46-102)Presbyterians, though rather inclined to the Royal

[TG46-103, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 103]

(46-103)cause, were still less disposed to hazard a junction
(46-103)with him, until terms of mutual accommodation
(46-103)could be settled. They were divided and uncertain,
(46-103)while the republicans were resolved and
(46-103)active.

(46-103) The English militia assembled under Lambert
(46-103)to oppose Charles in front, and Cromwell followed
(46-103)close in his rear, to take every advantage that could
(46-103)offer. The Scots reached without much opposition
(46-103)the city of Worcester, (3d Sept. 1651) where the
(46-103)militia, commanded by Lambert, and the
(46-103)regular forces under Cromwell, attacked
(46-103)the Royalists with doubled the number of their
(46-103)forces. Clarendon and other English authors
(46-103)represent the Scottish army as making little resistance.
(46-103)Cromwell, on the contrary, talks of the battle
(46-103)of Worcester, in his peculiar phraseology, as "a
(46-103)stiff business -- a very glorious mercy -- as stiff a
(46-103)contest as he had ever beheld." But, well or ill
(46-103)disputed, the day was totally lost. Three thousand
(46-103)men were slain in the field, ten thousand were
(46-103)taken, and such of them as survived their wounds,
(46-103)and the horrors of overcrowded jails, were shipped
(46-103)off to the plantations as slaves.

(46-103) Charles, after beholding the ruin of his cause, and
(46-103)having given sufficient proofs of personal valour,
(46-103)escaped from the field, and concealed himself in
(46-103)obscure retreats, under various disguises. At one
(46-103)time he was obliged to hide himself in the boughs
(46-103)of a spreading oak-tree; hence called the Royal

(46-103)Oak. At another time he rode before a lady, Mrs
(46-103)Lane, in the quality of a groom; and in this disguise

[TG46-104, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 104]

(46-104)passed through a part of the Parliament forces.
(46-104)After infinite fatigue, many romantic adventures,
(46-104)and the most imminent risk of discovery, he at length
(46-104)escaped by sea, and for eight years continued to
(46-104)wander from one foreign court to another, a poor,
(46-104)neglected, and insulted adventurer, the claimant
(46-104)of thrones which he seemed destined never to
(46-104)possess.

(46-104) The defeat at Worcester was a deathblow to the
(46-104)resistance of the King's party in Scotland. The
(46-104)Parliament, driven from Stirling to the Highlands,
(46-104)endeavoured in vain to assemble new forces. The
(46-104)English troops, after Cromwell's departure, were
(46-104)placed under the command of General Monk, who
(46-104)now began to make a remarkable figure in those

[TG46-105, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 105]

(46-105)times. He was a gentleman of good birth, had
(46-105)been in arms for the King's service, but being made
(46-105)prisoner, had finally embraced the party of the
(46-105)Parliament, and fought for them in Ireland. He
(46-105)was accounted a brave and skilful commander,
(46-105)totally free from the spirit of fanaticism so general
(46-105)in the army of Cromwell, and a man of deep sagacity,
(46-105)and a cold reserved temper. Under Monk's
(46-105)conduct, seconded by that of Oveton, Alured, and
(46-105)other parliamentary officers, the cities, castles, and
(46-105)fortresses of Scotland were reduced one after
(46-105)another. The partial resistance of the wealthy
(46-105)seaport of Dundee, in particular (1st Sept. 1651) was

(46-105)punished with the extremities of fire and
(46-105)sword, so that Montrose, Aberdeen, and
(46-105)St Andres became terrified, and surrendered
(46-105)without opposition.

[TG46-106, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 106]

(46-106) The castle of Dunottar, in Kincardineshire, the
(46-106)hereditary fortress of the Earls Marischal, made
(46-106)an honourable defence under George Ogilvy of
(46-106)Barras. It is situated upon a rock, almost separated
(46-106)from the land by a deep ravine on the one
(46-106)side, and overhanging the ocean on the other. In
(46-106)this strong fortress the Honours of Scotland, as
(46-106)they were called, had been deposited after the
(46-106)battle of Dunbar. These were the crown, sceptre,
(46-106)and sword of state, the symbols of Scottish
(46-106)sovereignty, which were regarded by the nation with
(46-106)peculiar veneration. The terror was great lest
(46-106)pledges, with which the national honour was so
(46-106)intimately connected, should fall into the hands of
(46-106)foreign schismatics and republicans. On the other
(46-106)hand, the English, ardently desirous to possess
(46-106)themselves of these trophies (the rather that they
(46-106)had formed a disproportioned idea of their intrinsic
(46-106)value), besieged the castle closely, and blockaded
(46-106)it by sea and land. As their provisions began to
(46-106)fail, the governor foresaw that further defence
(46-106)must speedily become impossible; and, with the
(46-106)assistance of Mr Granger, minister of Kinneff, he
(46-106)formed a stratagem for securing the ancient and
(46-106)venerable regalia from the dishonour which threatened
(46-106)them. The first preparation was to spread a

[TG46-107, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 107]

(46-107)report, that these national treasures had been carried
(46-107)abroad by Sir John Keith, a younger son
(46-107)of the Earl Marischal, ancestor of the family
(46-107)of Kintore. Mrs Granger, the minister's wife, was
(46-107)the principal agent in the subsequent part of the
(46-107)scheme. Having obtained of the English general
(46-107)the permission to bring out of the castle,
(46-107)some hards (or bundles) of lint, which she said
(46-107)was her property, she had the courage and
(46-107)address to conceal the regalia within the hards of
(46-107)lint, and carried them boldly through the English
(46-107)camp, at the risk of much ill usage, had she been
(46-107)discovered in an attempt to deprive the greedy
(46-107)soldiery of their prey. Mrs Granger played her
(46-107)part so boldly, that she imposed on the general
(46-107)himself, who courteously saluted her, and helped
(46-107)her to mount on horseback as she left the encampment,
(46-107)little guessing with what a valuable part of
(46-107)his expected booty she was loaded. Arriving with
(46-107)her precious charge at Kinneff, the minister buried
(46-107)the relics of royalty under the pulpit of his church,
(46-107)and visited them from time to time, in order to
(46-107)wrap them in fresh packages, and preserve them
(46-107)from injury. Suspicion attached to the Governor
(46-107)of Dunottar; and when the castle was finally
(46-107)surrendered, for want of provisions, he was rigorously
(46-107)dealt with, imprisoned, and even tortured, to
(46-107)make his discover where the regalia were
(46-107)concealed. His lady, who had been active in the
(46-107)stratagem, was subjected to similar severities, as
(46-107)were also the minister of Kinneff and his
(46-107)courageous spouse. All, however, persisted in keeping
(46-107)the secret. Rewards were distributed, after the

[TG46-108, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 108]

(46-108)Restoration, to those who had been concerned in
(46-108)saving the Honours, but they do not appear to have
(46-108)been very accurately accommodated to the merits
(46-108)of the parties. Sir John Keith, whose name had
(46-108)only been used in the transaction as a blind, to
(46-108)put the English on a wrong scent, was created Earl
(46-108)of Kintore, and Ogilvy was made a baronet; but
(46-108)the courageous minister, with his heroic wife, were
(46-108)only rewarded with a pension in money.
(46-108) The towns and castles of Scotland being thus
(46-108)reduced, the national resistance was confined to a
(46-108)petty warfare, carried on by small bands, who
(46-108)lurked among the mountains and morasses, and
(46-108)took every advantage which these afforded to
(46-108)annoy the English troops, and cut off small parties,
(46-108)or straggling soldiers. These were called Moss-
(46-108)troopers, from a word formerly appropriated to the
(46-108)freebooters of the Border. But the English, who
(46-108)observed a most rigid discipline, were not much in
(46-108)danger of suffering from such desultory efforts;
(46-108)and as they seldom spared the prisoners taken in
(46-108)the skirmishes, the Scots found themselves obliged
(46-108)to submit, for the first time, to an invader more
(46-108)fortunate than all the preceding rulers of England.
(46-108)Their resistance ceased, but their hatred watched
(46-108)for a safer opportunity of vengeance. The Highlanders,
(46-108)however, being strong in the character of
(46-108)the country and its inhabitants, continued refractory
(46-108)to the English authority, and if the soldiery
(46-108)ventured to go through the country alone, or in
(46-108)small parties, they were sure to be surprised and

[TG46-109, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 109]

(46-109)slain, without its being possible to discover the
(46-109)actors. The English officers endeavoured to

(46-109)obtain from the neighbouring chiefs, who pretended
(46-109)complete ignorance of these transactions, such
(46-109)redress as the case admitted of, but their endeavours
(46-109)were in general ingeniously eluded.
(46-109) For example, an English garrison had lost
(46-109)cattle, horses, and even men, by the incursion of
(46-109)a Highland clan who had their residence in the
(46-109)neighbouring mountains, so that the incensed
(46-109)governor demanded peremptorily, that the actors of
(46-109)these depredations should be delivered up to his
(46-109)to suffer punishment. The chief was in no condition
(46-109)to resist, but was not the less unwilling to
(46-109)deliver up the men actually concerned in the
(46-109)creagh, who were probably the boldest, or, as it
(46-109)was then termed, the prettiest, men of his name.
(46-109)To get easily out of the dilemma, he is said to
(46-109)have selected two or three old creatures, past all
(46-109)military service, whom he sent down to the English
(46-109)commandant, as if they had been the caterans,
(46-109)or plunderers, who he wanted. The English
(46-109)officer caused them instantly to be hanged in
(46-109)terrorem, which was done accordingly, no protestations
(46-109)which they might make of their innocence
(46-109)being understood or attended to. It is to be
(46-109)hoped that other refractory chiefs found more
(46-109)justifiable means of preserving their authority.
(46-109) In the mean time, Oliver Cromwell accomplished
(46-109)an extraordinary revolution in England, which I
(46-109)can here but barely touch upon. He and his
(46-109)council of officers, who had so often offered violence

[TG46-110, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 110]

(46-110)to the Parliament, by excluding from the
(46-110)sittings such members as were obnoxious to them,
(46-110)now resolved altogether to destroy the very remnant

(46-110)of this body. For this purpose Cromwell
(46-110)came to the house while it was sitting, told them,
(46-110)in a violent manner, that they were no longer a
(46-110)Parliament, and, upbraiding several individuals
(46-110)with injurious names, he called in a body of
(46-110)soldiers, and commanded one of them to "take away
(46-110)that bauble," meaning the silver mace, which is
(46-110)an emblem of the authority of the House. Then
(46-110)turning the members forcibly out of the hall, he
(46-110)locked the doors, and thus dissolved that memorable
(46-110)body, which had made war against the King,
(46-110)defeated, dethroned, and beheaded him, yet sunk
(46-110)at once under the authority of one of their own
(46-110)members, and an officer of their own naming, who
(46-110)had, in the beginning of these struggles, been
(46-110)regarded as a man of very mean consideration.
(46-110)Oliver Cromwell now seized the supreme power
(46-110)into his hands, with the title of Protector of the
(46-110)Republics of Great Britain and Ireland, under
(46-110)which he governed these islands till his death, with
(46-110)authority more ample than was ever possessed by
(46-110)any of their lawful monarchs.
(46-110) The confusion which the usurpation of Cromwell
(46-110)was expected to have occasioned in England,
(46-110)determined the Royalists to attempt a general rising,
(46-110)in which it was expected that great part of the
(46-110)Highland chieftains would join. The successes of
(46-110)Montrose were remembered, although it seems to
(46-110)have been forgotten that it was more his own

[TG46-111, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 111]

(46-111)genius, than his means, that enabled him to attain
(46-111)them. The Earl of Glencairn was placed by the
(46-111)King's commission at the head of the insurrection;
(46-111)he was joined by the Earl of Athole, by the son of

(46-111)the heroic Montrose, by Lord Lorn, the son of the
(46-111)Marquis of Argyle, and other nobles. A romantic
(46-111)young English cavalier, named Wogan, joined this
(46-111)insurgent army at the head of a body of eighty
(46-111)horse, whom he brought by a toilsome and dangerous
(46-111)march through England and the Lowlands of
(46-111)Scotland. This gallant troop was frequently
(46-111)engaged with the Republican forces, and particularly
(46-111)with a horse regiment, called "the Brazen Wall,"
(46-111)from their never having been broken. Wogan
(46-111)defeated, however, a party of these invincibles, but
(46-111)received several wounds, which, though not at first
(46-111)mortal, became so for want of good surgeons; and
(46-111)thus, in an obscure skirmish, ended the singular
(46-111)career of an enthusiastic Royalist.

(46-111) The army under Glencairn increased to five
(46-111)thousand men, numbers much greater than
(46-111)Montrose usually commanded. Their leader, however,
(46-111)though a brave and accomplished nobleman, seems
(46-111)to have been deficient in military skill, or, at any
(46-111)rate, in the art of securing the good-will and
(46-111)obedience of the various chiefs and nobles who acted
(46-111)under him. It was in vain that Charles, to reconcile
(46-111)their feuds, sent over, as their commander-in-
(46-111)chief, General Middleton, who, after having fought
(46-111)against Montrose in the cause of the Covenant, had
(46-111)at length become an entire Royalist, and was trusted
(46-111)as such. But his military talents were not adequate

[TG46-112, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 112]

(46-112)to surmount the objections which were made to his
(46-112)obscure origin, and the difficulties annexed to his
(46-112)situation.

(46-112) General Middleton met with but an indifferent
(46-112)welcome from the Highland army, as the following

(46-112)scene, which took place at an entertainment given
(46-112)by him on taking the command, will show.
(46-112)Glencairn had spoken something in praise of the men
(46-112)he had assembled for the King's service, especially
(46-112)the Highlanders. In reply, up started Sir George
(46-112)Munro, an officer of some reputation, but of a
(46-112)haughty and brutal temper, and who, trained in the
(46-112)wars of Germany, despised all irregular troops, and
(46-112)flatly swore that the men of whom the Earl thus
(46-112)boasted, were a pack of thieves and robbers, whose
(46-112)place he hoped to supply with very different
(46-112)soldiers. Glengarry, a Highland chief, who was
(46-112)present, arose to resent this insolent language; but
(46-112)Glencairn, preventing him, replied to Munro, "You
(46-112)are a base liar! -- these men are neither thieves nor
(46-112)robbers, but gallant gentlemen, and brave soldiers."
(46-112) In spite of Middleton's attempts to preserve
(46-112)peace, this altercation led to a duel. They fought
(46-112)on horseback, first with pistols, and then with broad-
(46-112)swords. Sir George Munro, having received a
(46-112)wound on the bridle hand, called to the Earl that
(46-112)he was unable to command his horse, and therefore
(46-112)desired to continue the contest on foot. "You
(46-112)base churl," answered Glencairn, "I will match you
(46-112)either on foot or on horseback." Both dismounted,
(46-112)and encountered fiercely on foot, with the broadswords,
(46-112)when Munro received a wound across his

[TG46-113, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 113]

(46-113)forehead, from which the blood flowed so fast into
(46-113)his eyes, that he could not see to continue the
(46-113)combat. Glencairn was about to thrust his enemy
(46-113)through the body, when the Earl's servant struck
(46-113)up the point of his master's sword, saying, "You
(46-113)have enough of him, my Lord -- you have gained

(46-113)the day." Glencairn, still in great anger, struck
(46-113)the intrusive peace-maker across the shoulders, but
(46-113)returned to his quarters, where he was shortly after
(46-113)laid under arrest, by order of the General.
(46-113) Ere this quarrel was composed, one Captain
(46-113)Livingstone, a friend of Munro's, debated the
(46-113)justice of the question betwixt the leaders so keenly
(46-113)with a gentleman, named Lindsay, that they must
(46-113)needs fight a duel also, in which Lindsay killed
(46-113)Livingstone on the spot. General Middleton, in
(46-113)spite of Glencairn's intercessions, ordered Lindsay
(46-113)to be executed by martial law, on which Glencairn
(46-113)left the army with his own immediate followers,
(46-113)and soon after returning to the Lowlands, made
(46-113)peace with the English. His example was followed
(46-113)by most of the Lowland nobles, who grew impatient
(46-113)of long marches, Highland quarters, and
(46-113)obscure skirmishes, which were followed by no
(46-113)important result.
(46-113) Middleton still endeavoured to keep the war
(46-113)alive, although Cromwell had sent additional forces
(46-113)into the Highlands. At length he sustained a
(46-113)defeat at Loch-Gary, 26th July, 1654, after which
(46-113)his army dispersed, and he himself retired abroad.
(46-113)The English forces then marched through the
(46-113)Highlands, and compelled the principal clans to

[TG46-114, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 114]

(46-114)submit to the authority of the Protector. And
(46-114)here I may give you an account of one individual
(46-114)chieftain, of great celebrity at that time, since you
(46-114)will learn better the character of that primitive
(46-114)race of men from personal anecdotes, than from
(46-114)details of obscure and petty contests, fought at
(46-114)places with unpronounceable names.

(46-114) Evan Cameron of Lochiel, chief of the numerous
(46-114)and powerful clan of Cameron, was born in 1629.
(46-114)He was called MacConnuill Dhu (the son of Black
(46-114)Donald), from the patronymic that marked his
(46-114)descent, and Evan Dhu, or Black Evan, a personal
(46-114)epithet derived from his own complexion. Young
(46-114)Lochiel was bred up under the directions of the
(46-114)Marquis of Argyle, and was in attendance on that
(46-114)nobleman, who regarded him as a hostage for the
(46-114)peaceable behaviour of his clan. It is said, that in
(46-114)the civil war the young chief was converted to the
(46-114)side of the King by the exhortations of Sir Robert
(46-114)Spottiswood, then in prison at St Andres, and
(46-114)shortly afterwards executed, as we have elsewhere
(46-114)noticed, for his adherence to Montrose.

(46-114) Evan Dhu, having embraced these principles,
(46-114)was one of the first to join in the insurrection of
(46-114)1652, of which I have just given a short account.
(46-114)During the best part of two years he was always
(46-114)with his clan, in the very front of battle, and
(46-114)behaved gallantly in the various skirmishes which
(46-114)took place. He was compelled, however, on one
(46-114)occasion, to withdraw from the main body, on learning
(46-114)that the English were approaching Lochaber,
(46-114)with the purpose of laying waste the country of

[TG46-115, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 115]

(46-115)Lochiel. He hastened thither to protect his own
(46-115)possessions, and those of his clan.

(46-115) On returning to his estates, Lochiel had the
(46-115)mortification to find that the English had
(46-115)established a garrison at Inverlochry, with the purpose
(46-115)of reducing to submission the Royalist clans in the
(46-115)neighbourhood, particularly his own, and the
(46-115)MacDonalds of Glengarry and Keppoch. He resolved

(46-115)to keep a strict watch on their proceedings, and
(46-115)dismissing the rest of his followers, whom hi had
(46-115)not the means of maintaining without attracting
(46-115)attention to his motions, he lay in the woods with
(46-115)about fifty chosen men, within a few miles of
(46-115)Inverlochy.

(46-115) It was the constant policy of Cromwell and his
(46-115)officers, both in Ireland and Scotland, to cut down
(46-115)and destroy the forests in which the insurgent
(46-115)natives found places of defence and concealment. In
(46-115)conformity with this general rule, the commandant
(46-115)of Inverlochy embarked three hundred men in two
(46-115)light armed vessels, with directions to disembark
(46-115)at a place called Achdalew, for the purpose of
(46-115)destroying Lochiel's cattle and felling his woods.
(46-115)Lochiel, who watched their motions closely, saw
(46-115)the English soldiers come ashore, one-half having
(46-115)hatchets and other tools as a working party, the
(46-115)other half under arms, to protect their operations.
(46-115)Though the difference of numbers was so great,
(46-115)the chieftain vowed that he would make the red
(46-115)soldier (so the English were called from their
(46-115)uniform) pay dear for every bullock or tree which he
(46-115)should destroy on the black soldier's property

[TG46-116, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 116]

(46-116)(alluding to the dark colour of the tartan, and
(46-116)perhaps to his own complexion). He then demanded of
(46-116)some of his followers who had served under
(46-116)Montrose, whether they had ever seen the Great
(46-116)Marquis encounter with such unequal numbers. They
(46-116)answered, they could recollect no instance of such
(46-116)temerity. "We will fight, nevertheless," said
(46-116)Evan Dhu, "and if each of us kill a man, which
(46-116)is no might matter, I will answer for the event."

(46-116)That his family might not be destroyed in so
(46-116)doubtful an enterprise, he ordered his brother Allan
(46-116)to be bound to a tree, meaning to prevent his
(46-116)interference in the conflict. Abut Allan prevailed on
(46-116)a little boy, who was left to attend him, to unloose
(46-116)the cords, and was soon as deep in the fight as
(46-116)Evan himself.
(46-116) The Camerons, concealed by the trees, advanced
(46-116)so close on the enemy as to pour on them an
(46-116)unexpected and destructive shower of shot and arrows,
(46-116)which slew thirty men; and ere they could recover
(46-116)from their surprise, the Highlanders were in
(46-116)the midst of them, laying about them with incredible
(46-116)fury with their ponderous swords and axes.
(46-116)After a gallant resistance, the mass of the English
(46-116)began to retire towards their vessels, when Evan
(46-116)Dhu commanded a piper and a small party to go
(46-116)betwixt the enemy and their barks, and then sound
(46-116)his pibroch and war-cry, till their clamour made it
(46-116)seem that there was another body of Highlanders
(46-116)in ambush to cut off their retreat. The English,
(46-116)driven to fury and despair by this new alarm,
(46-116)turned back, like brave men, upon the first assailants,

[TG46-117, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 117]

(46-117)and, if the working party had possessed military
(46-117)weapons, Lochiel might have had little reason
(46-117)to congratulate himself on the result of this
(46-117)audacious stratagem.
(46-117) He himself had a personal rencontre, strongly
(46-117)characteristic of the ferocity of the times. The
(46-117)chief was singled out by an English officer of great
(46-117)personal strength, and, as they were separated from
(46-117)the general strife, they fought in single combat for
(46-117)some time. Lochiel wad dexterous enough to

(46-117)disarm the Englishman; but his gigantic adversary
(46-117)suddenly closed on him, and in the struggle which
(46-117)ensued both fell to the ground, the officer upper-
(46-117)most. He was in the act of grasping at his sword,
(46-117)which had fallen near the place where they lay in
(46-117)deadly struggle, and was naturally extending his
(46-117)neck in the same direction, when the Highland chief,
(46-117)making a desperate effort, grasped his enemy by the
(46-117)collar, and snatching with his teeth at the bare and
(46-117)out-stretched throat, he seized it as a wild-cat
(46-117)might have done, and kept his hold so fast as to
(46-117)tear out the windpipe. The officer died in this
(46-117)singular manner. Lochiel was so far from disowning,
(46-117)or being ashamed of this extraordinary mode
(46-117)of defence, that he was afterwards heard to say, it
(46-117)was the sweetest morsel he had ever tasted.
(46-117) When Lochiel, thus extricated from the most
(46-117)imminent danger, was able to rejoin his men, he
(46-117)found they had not only pursued the English to
(46-117)the beach, but even into the sea, cutting and stabbing
(46-117)whomever they could overtake. He himself
(46-117)advanced till he was chin-deep, and observing

[TG46-118, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 118]

(46-118)a man on board one of the armed vessels take
(46-118)aim at him with a musket, he dived under the
(46-118)water, escaping so narrowly that the bullet grazed
(46-118)his head. Another marksman was foiled by the
(46-118)affection of the chief's foster-brother, who threw
(46-118)himself betwixt the Englishman and the object of
(46-118)his aim, and was killed by the ball designed for his
(46-118)lord.
(46-118) Having cut off a second party, who ventured to
(46-118)sally from the fort, and thus, as he thought,
(46-118)sufficiently chastised the garrison of Inverlochy, Lochiel

(46-118)again joined Middleton, but was soon recalled
(46-118)to Lochaber, by new acts of devastation. Leaving
(46-118)most of his men with the Royalist general, Evan
(46-118)Dhu returned with such speed and secrecy, that he
(46-118)again surprised a strong party when in the act of
(46-118)felling his woods, and assaulting them suddenly,
(46-118)Killed on the spot a hundred men, and all the officers,
(46-118)driving the rest up to the very walls of the
(46-118)garrison.

(46-118) Middleton's army being disbanded, it was long
(46-118)ere Lochiel could bring himself to accept of peace
(46-118)from the hands of the English. He continued to
(46-118)harass them by attacks on detached parties who
(46-118)straggled from the fort, -- on the officers who went
(46-118)out into the woods in hunting-parties, -- on the
(46-118)engineer officers who were sent to survey the Highlands,
(46-118)of whom he made a large party prisoners,
(46-118)and confined them in a desolate island, on a small
(46-118)lake called Loch Ortuigg. By such exploits he
(46-118)rendered himself so troublesome, that the English
(46-118)were desirous to have peace with him on any

[TG46-119, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 119]

(46-119)moderate terms. Their overtures were at first
(46-119)rejected, Evan Dhu returning for answer, that he
(46-119)would not abjure the King's authority, even though
(46-119)the alternative was to be his living and dying in the
(46-119)condition of an exile and outlaw. But when it was
(46-119)hinted to him that no express renunciation of the
(46-119)King's authority would be required, and that he
(46-119)was only desired to live in peace under the existing
(46-119)government, the chief made his submission to the
(46-119)existing powers with much solemnity.

(46-119) Lochiel came down on this occasion at the head
(46-119)of his whole clan in arms, to the garrison of

(46-119)Inverlochy. The English forces being drawn up in a
(46-119)line opposite to them the Camerons laid down
(46-119)their arms in the name of King Charles, and took
(46-119)them up again in that of the States, without any
(46-119)mention of Cromwell, or any disowning of the
(46-119)King's authority. In consequence of this honourable
(46-119)treaty, the last Scotsman who maintained the
(46-119)cause of Charles Stuart submitted to the authority
(46-119)of the republic.

(46-119) It is related of this remarkable chieftain, that
(46-119)he slew with his own hand the last wolf that was
(46-119)ever seen in the Highlands of Scotland. Tradition
(46-119)records another anecdote of him. Being
(46-119)benighted, on some party for the battle or the chase,
(46-119)Evan Dhu laid himself down with his followers to
(46-119)sleep in the snow. As he composed himself to rest,
(46-119)he observed that one of his sons, or nephews, had
(46-119)rolled together a great snow-ball, on which he
(46-119)deposited his head. Indignant at what he considered
(46-119)as a mark of effeminacy, he started up and kicked
(46-119)the snow-ball from under the sleeper's head,

[TG46-120, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 46, p. 120]

(46-120)exclaiming, -- "Are you become so luxurious that you
(46-120)cannot sleep without a pillow?"

(46-120) After the accession of James II, Lochiel came
(46-120)to court to obtain pardon for one of his clan, who,
(46-120)being in command of a party of Camerons, had
(46-120)fired by mistake on a body of Athole men, and
(46-120)killed several. He was received with the most
(46-120)honourable distinction, and his request granted.
(46-120)The King desiring to make him a knight, asked
(46-120)the chieftain for his own sword, in order to render
(46-120)the ceremony still more peculiar. Lochiel had
(46-120)ridden up from Scotland, being then the only mode

(46-120)of travelling, and a constant rain had so rusted his
(46-120)trusty broadsword, that at the moment no man
(46-120)could have unsheathed it. Lochiel, affronted at the
(46-120)idea which the courtiers might conceive from his
(46-120)not being able to draw his own sword, burst into
(46-120)tears.

(46-120) "Do not regard it, my faithful friend," said
(46-120)King James, with ready courtesy -- "your sword
(46-120)would have left the scabbard of itself, had the royal
(46-120)cause required it."

(46-120) With that he bestowed the intended honour with
(46-120)his own sword, which he presented to the new
(46-120)knight as soon as the ceremony was performed.

(46-120) Sir Evan Dhu supported the cause of the Stewart
(46-120)family, for the last time, and with distinguished
(46-120)heroism, in the battle of Killiecrankie. After that
(46-120)civil strife was ended, he grew old in peace, and
(46-120)survived until 1719, aged about ninety, and so
(46-120)much deprived of his strength and faculties, that
(46-120)this once formidable warrior was fed like an infant,
(46-120)and like an infant rocked in a cradle.

[TG47-121, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 47, p. 121]

(47-121) We will now take a general glance of Scotland,
(47-121)reduced as the country was to temporary submission
(47-121)under Cromwell, whose power there and
(47-121)elsewhere was founded upon military usurpation only.
(47-121)He built strong citadels at Leith, Ayr, Inverness,
(47-121)and Glasgow. Eighteen garrisons were maintained
(47-121)throughout the kingdom, and a standing army of
(47-121)ten thousand men kept the country in subjection.
(47-121)Monk, so often mentioned, commanded this army,
(47-121)and was, besides, member of a Council of State, to
(47-121)whom the executive government was committed.
(47-121)Lord Broghill was President of this body, and out

(47-121)of nine members, two only, Swinton and Lockhart,
(47-121)were natives of Scotland.

(47-121) To regulate the administration of public justice,
(47-121)four English, and three Scottish judges, were
(47-121)appointed to hear causes, and to make circuits for
(47-121)that purpose. The English judges, it may be
(47-121)supposed, were indifferently versed in the law of
(47-121)Scotland; but they distributed justice with an

[TG47-122, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 47, p. 122]

(47-122)impartiality to which the Scottish nation had been
(47-122)entirely a stranger, and which ceased to be
(47-122)experienced from the native judges after the Restoration.

(47-122)The peculiar rectitude of the men employed by
(47-122)Cromwell being pointed out to a learned judge,
(47-122)in the beginning of the next century, his lordship
(47-122)composedly answered, "Devil thank them for
(47-122)their impartiality! a pack of kinless loons -- for my
(47-122)part, I can never see cousin or friend in the
(47-122)wrong."

(47-122) This shameful partiality in the Scottish courts of
(47-122)justice revived, as just noticed, with the Restoration,
(47-122)when the Judges were to be gained, not only
(47-122)by the solicitation of private friends, and by the
(47-122)influence of kinsfolk, but by the interference of
(47-122)persons in power, and the application of downright
(47-122)bribery.

(47-122) In point of taxation, Oliver Cromwell's Scottish
(47-122)government was intolerably oppressive, since he
(47-122)appears to have screwed out of that miserable country
(47-122)an assessment of 10,000 per month, which, even
(47-122)when gradually diminished to 72,000 yearly,
(47-122)was paid with the utmost difficulty. Some alleviation
(47-122)was indeed introduced by the circulation of the
(47-122)money with which England paid her soldiers and

[TG47-123, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 47, p. 123]

(47-123)civil establishment, which was at one time calculated
(47-123)at half a million yearly, and was never beneath the
(47-123)moiety of that sum.

(47-123) With regard to the Presbyterian Church, Cromwell
(47-123)prudently foresaw, that the importance of the
(47-123)preachers would gradually diminish if they were
(47-123)permitted to abuse each other, but prevented from
(47-123)stirring up their congregations to arms. They
(47-123)continued to be rent asunder by the recent discord,
(47-123)which had followed upon the King's death. The
(47-123)majority were Resolutionists, who owned the King's
(47-123)title, and would not be prohibited from praying for
(47-123)him at any risk. The Remonstrants, who had
(47-123)never been able to see any sufficient reason for
(47-123)embracing the cause, or acknowledging the right, of
(47-123)Charles the Second, yielded obedience to the English
(47-123)government, and disowned all notice of the
(47-123)King in their public devotions. The Independents
(47-123)treated both with contemptuous indifference, and
(47-123)only imposed on them the necessity of observing
(47-123)toleration towards each other.

(47-123) But though divided into different classes,
(47-123)Presbyterianism continued on the whole predominant.
(47-123)The temper of the Scottish nation seemed altogether
(47-123)indisposed to receive any of the various sects
(47-123)which had proved so prolific in England. The
(47-123)quiet and harmless Quakers were the only sectaries
(47-123)who gained some proselytes of distinction.
(47-123)Independents of other denominations made small
(47-123)progress, owing to the vigilance with which the
(47-123)Presbyterian clergy maintained the unity of the Church.
(47-123) Even Cromwell was compelled to show deference

[TG47-124, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 47, p. 124]

(47-124)to the prevailing opinions in favour of Presbytery
(47-124)in Scotland, though contrary to his principles as an
(47-124)Independent. He named a commission of about
(47-124)thirty ministers from the class of Remonstrators,
(47-124)and declared that, without certificates from three
(47-124)or four of these select person, no minister, though
(47-124)he might be called to a church, should enjoy a
(47-124)stipend. This put the keys of the Church (so far as
(47-124)emolument was concerned) entirely into the hands
(47-124)of the Presbyterians; and it many be presumed,
(47-124)that such of the Commissioners as acted (for many
(47-124)declined the office, thinking the duties of the
(47-124)Ecclesiastical Commission too much resembled to
(47-124)domination of Episcopacy) took care to admit no
(47-124)minister whose opinions did not coincide with their
(47-124)own. The sectaries who were concerned in civil
(47-124)affairs were also thwarted and contemned; and on
(47-124)the whole, in spite of the victories of the Independents
(47-124)in the field, their doctrines made little progress
(47-124)in Scotland.

(47-124) During the four years which ensued betwixt the
(47-124)final cessation of the Civil War, by the dispersion
(47-124)of the royalist army, and the Restoration of
(47-124)Monarchy, there occurred no public event worthy
(47-124)of notice. The spirit of the country was depressed
(47-124)and broken. The nobles, who hitherto had yielded
(47-124)but imperfect obedience to their native monarchs,
(47-124)were now compelled to crouch under the rod of an
(47-124)English usurper. Most of them retired to their

[TG47-125, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 47, p. 125]

(47-125)country seats, or castles, and lived in obscurity,
(47-125)enjoying such limited dominion over their vassals as

(47-125)the neighbourhood of the English garrisons
(47-125)permitted them to retain. These, of course, precluded
(47-125)all calling of the people at arms, and exercise of
(47-125)the privilege, on the part of the barons, of making
(47-125)open war on each other.
(47-125) Thus far the subjection of the country was of
(47-125)advantage to the tenantry and lower classes, who
(47-125)enjoyed more peace and tranquillity during this
(47-125)period of national subjugation, than had been their
(47-125)lot during the civil wars. But the weight of
(47-125)oppressive taxes, collected by means of a foreign
(47-125)soldiery, and the general sense of degradation,
(47-125)arising from the rule of a foreign power, counterbalanced
(47-125)for the time the diminution of feudal
(47-125)oppression.
(47-125) In the absence of other matter, I may here mention
(47-125)a subject which is interesting, as peculiarly
(47-125)characteristic of the manners of Scotland. I mean
(47-125)the frequent recurrence of prosecutions for witchcraft,
(47-125)which distinguishes this period.
(47-125) Scripture refers more than once to the existence
(47-125)of witches; and though divines have doubted

[TG47-126, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 47, p. 126]

(47-126)concerning their nature and character, yet most
(47-126)European nations have, during the darker periods of
(47-126)their history, retained in their statutes laws founded
(47-126)upon the text of Exodus, "Thou shalt not suffer
(47-126)a witch to live." The Reformers, although
(47-126)rejecting the miracles of the Catholic Church,
(47-126)retained with tenacity the belief of the existence of
(47-126)such sorceresses, and zealously enforced the penalties
(47-126)against all unfortunate creatures whom they
(47-126)believed to fall under the description of witches,
(47-126)wizards, or the like. The increase of general

(47-126)information and common sense, has, at a later period, (47-126)occasioned the annulling of those cruel laws in most (47-126)countries of Europe. It has been judiciously thought, (47-126)that, since the Almighty has ceased to manifest his (47-126)own power, by direct and miraculous suspension of (47-126)the ordinary laws of nature, it is inconsistent to (47-126)suppose that evil spirits should be left at liberty in (47-126)the present day to form a league with wretched (47-126)mortals, and impart to them supernatural powers of (47-126)injuring or tormenting others. And the truth of (47-126)this reasoning has been proved by the general fact, (47-126)that where the laws against witchcraft have been (47-126)abolished, witches are rarely heard of, or thought (47-126)of, even amongst the lowest vulgar.

[TG47-127, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 47, p. 127]

(47-127) But in the seventeenth century, the belief in this (47-127)imaginary crime was general, and the prosecutions, (47-127)especially in Scotland, were very frequent. James (47-127)VI, who often turned the learning he had acquired (47-127)to a very idle use, was at the trouble to write a (47-127)treatise against witchcraft, as he composed another (47-127)against smoking tobacco; and the Presbyterian (47-127)clergy, however little apt to coincide with that (47-127)Monarch's sentiments, gave full acceptance to his (47-127)opinion on the first point of doctrine, and very (47-127)many persons were put to death as guilty of this (47-127)imaginary crime.

(47-127) I must, however, observe, that some of those (47-127)executed for witchcraft well deserved their fate. (47-127)Impostors of both sexes were found, who deluded (47-127)credulous persons, by pretending an intercourse (47-127)with supernatural powers, and furnished those who (47-127)consulted them with potions, for the purpose of (47-127)revenging themselves on their enemies, which were

(47-127)in fact poisonous compounds, sure to prove fatal to
(47-127)those who partook of them.

(47-127) Among many other instances, I may mention
(47-127)that of a lady of high rank, the second wife of a
(47-127)northern earl, who, being desirous of destroying
(47-127)her husband's eldest son by the former marriage,
(47-127)in order that her own son might succeed to the
(47-127)father's title and estate, procured drugs to effect
(47-127)her purpose from a Highland woman, who pretended
(47-127)to be a witch or sorceress. The fatal ingredients
(47-127)were mixed with ale, and set aside by the wicked
(47-127)countess, to be given to her victim on the first
(47-127)fitting opportunity. But Heaven disappointed her

[TG47-128, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 47, p. 128]

(47-128)purpose, and, at the same time, inflicted on her a
(47-128)dreadful punishment. Her own son, for whose
(47-128)advantage she meditated this horrible crime,
(47-128)returning fatigued and thirsty from hunting, lighted
(47-128)by chance on this fatal cup of liquor, drank it without
(47-128)hesitation, and died in consequence. The
(47-128)wretched mixer of the poison was tried and
(47-128)executed; but, although no one could be sorry that
(47-128)the agent in such a deed was brought to punishment,
(47-128)it is clear she deserved death, not as a witch,
(47-128)but as one who was an accomplice in murder by
(47-128)poison.

(47-128) But most of the poor creatures who suffered
(47-128)death for witchcraft were aged persons, usually
(47-128)unprotected females, living alone, in a poor and
(47-128)miserable condition, and disposed, from the
(47-128)peevishness of age and infirmity, to rail against or
(47-128)desire evil, in their froward humour, to neighbours
(47-128)by whom they were abused or slighted. When
(47-128)such unhappy persons had unwittingly given vent

(47-128)to impotent anger in bad wishes or imprecations,
(47-128)if a child fell sick, a horse became lame, a bullock
(47-128)died, or any other misfortune chanced in the family
(47-128)against which the ill-will had been expressed, it
(47-128)subjected the utterer instantly to the charge of
(47-128)witchcraft, and was received by judges and jury as
(47-128)a strong proof of guilt. If, in addition to this, the
(47-128)miserable creature had, by the oddity of her
(47-128)manners, the crossness of her temper, the habit of speaking
(47-128)to herself, or any other signs of the dotage
(47-128)which attends comfortless old age and poverty,
(47-128)attracted the suspicions of her credulous neighbours,

[TG47-129, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 47, p. 129]

(47-129)she was then said to have been held and reputed a
(47-129)witch, and was rarely permitted to escape being
(47-129)burnt to death at the stake.
(47-129) It was equally fatal for an aged person of the
(47-129)lower ranks, if, as was frequently the case, she
(47-129)conceived herself to possess by peculiar receipt or
(47-129)charm for curing diseases, either by the application
(47-129)of medicines, of which she had acquired the secret,
(47-129)or by repeating words, or using spells and charms,
(47-129)which the superstition of the time supposed to have
(47-129)the power of relieving maladies that were beyond
(47-129)the skill of medical practitioners.
(47-129) Such a person was accounted a while witch;
(47-129)one, that is, who employed her skill for the benefit,
(47-129)not the harm, of her fellow-creatures. But still
(47-129)she was a sorceress, and, as such, was liable to be
(47-129)brought to the stake. A doctress of this kind was
(47-129)equally exposed to a like charge, whether he
(47-129)patient died or recovered; and she was, according
(47-129)to circumstances, condemned for using sorcery
(47-129)whether to cure or to kill. Her allegation that she

(47-129)had received the secret from family tradition, or
(47-129)from any other source, was not admitted as a
(47-129)defence; and she was doomed to death with as little
(47-129)hesitation for having attempted to cure by mysterious
(47-129)and unlawful means, as if she had been
(47-129)charged, as in the instance already given, with
(47-129)having assisted to commit murder.
(47-129) The following example of such a case is worthy
(47-129)of notice. It rests on tradition, but is very likely
(47-129)to be true. An eminent English judge was
(47-129)traveling the circuit, when an old woman was brought

[TG47-130, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 47, p. 130]

(47-130)before him for using a spell to cure dimness of
(47-130)sight, by hanging a clew of yarn round the neck of
(47-130)the patient. Marvellous things were told by the
(47-130)witnesses, of the cures which this spell had
(47-130)performed on patients far beyond the reach of
(47-130)ordinary medicine. The poor woman made no other
(47-130)defence than by protesting, that if there was any
(47-130)witchcraft in the ball of yarn, she knew nothing of
(47-130)it. It had been given her, she said, thirty years
(47-130)before, by a young Oxford student, for the cure
(47-130)of one of her own family, who having used it with
(47-130)advantage for a disorder in her eyes, she had seen
(47-130)no harm in lending it for the relief of others who
(47-130)laboured under similar infirmity, or in accepting a
(47-130)small gratuity for doing so. Her defence was
(47-130)little attended to by the jury; but the judge was
(47-130)much agitated. He asked the woman where she
(47-130)resided when she obtained possession of this valuable
(47-130)relic. She gave the name of a village, in which
(47-130)she had in former times kept a petty alehouse.
(47-130)He then looked at the clew very earnestly, and at
(47-130)length addressed the jury. "Gentlemen," he said,

(47-130)"we are on the point of committing a great injustice
(47-130)to this poor old woman; and to prevent it, I
(47-130)must publicly confess a piece of early folly, which
(47-130)does me no honour. At the time this poor creature
(47-130)speaks of, I was at college, leading an idle
(47-130)and careless life, which, had I not been given grace
(47-130)to correct it, must have made it highly improbable
(47-130)that ever I should have attained my present situation.
(47-130)I chanced to remain for a day and night in
(47-130)this woman's alehouse, without having money to

[TG47-131, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 47, p. 131]

(47-131)discharge my reckoning. Not knowing what to
(47-131)do, and seeing her much occupied with a child who
(47-131)had weak eyes, I had the meanness to pretend that
(47-131)I could write out a spell that would mend her
(47-131)daughter's sight, if she would accept it instead of
(47-131)her bill. The ignorant woman readily agreed;
(47-131)and I scrawled some figures on a piece of parchment,
(47-131)and added two lines of nonsensical doggerel,
(47-131)in ridicule of her credulity, and caused her to
(47-131)make it up in that clew which has so nearly cost
(47-131)her her life. To prove the truth of this, let the
(47-131)yearn be unwound, and you may judge of the efficacy
(47-131)of the spell." The clew was unwound accordingly;
(47-131)and the following pithy couplet was found
(47-131)on the enclosed bit of parchment --
(47-131) "The devil scratch out both thine eyes,
(47-131) And spit into the holes likewise."
(47-131) It was evident that those who were cured by
(47-131)such a spell, must have been indebted to nature,
(47-131)with some assistance, perhaps, from imagination.
(47-131)But the users of such charms were not always so
(47-131)lucky as to light upon the person who drew them
(47-131)up; and doubtless many innocent and unfortunate

(47-131)creatures were executed, as the poor alewife would
(47-131)have been, had she not lighted upon her former
(47-131)customer in the unexpected character of her
(47-131)judge.

(47-131) Another old woman is said to have cured many
(47-131)cattle of the murrain, by a repetition of a certain
(47-131)verse. The fee which she required, was a loaf of
(47-131)bread and a silver penny; and when she was

[TG47-132, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 47, p. 132]

(47-132)commanded to reveal the magical verses which
(47-132)wrought such wonders, they were found to be
(47-132)the following jest on the credulity of her
(47-132)customers: --

(47-132) "My leaf in may lap, and my penny in my purse,

(47-132) Thou art never the better, and I never the worse."

(47-132) It was not medicine only which witchery was
(47-132)supposed to mingle with; but any remarkable degree
(47-132)of dexterity in an art of craft, whether attained by
(47-132)skill or industry, subjected those who possessed it
(47-132)to similar suspicion. Thus it was a dangerous
(47-132)thing to possess more thriving cows than those of
(47-132)the neighbourhood, though their superiority was
(47-132)attained merely by paying greater attention to feeding
(47-132)and cleaning the animals. It was often an
(47-132)article of suspicion, that a woman had spun
(47-132)considerably more thread than her less laborious neighbours
(47-132)chose to think could be accomplished by
(47-132)ordinary industry; and, to crown these absurdities,
(47-132)a yeoman of the town of Malling, in Kent, was
(47-132)accused before a justice of peace as a sorcerer,
(47-132)because he used more frequently than his companions
(47-132)to hit the mark which he aimed at. This
(47-132)dexterity, and some idle story of the archer's amusing
(47-132)himself with letting a fly hum and buzz around

(47-132)him, convinced the judge, that the poor man's skill
(47-132)in his art was owing to the assistance of some imp
(47-132)of Satan. So he punished the marksman severely,
(47-132)to the great encouragement of archery, and as a
(47-132)wise example to all justices of the peace.
(47-132) Other charges, the most ridiculous and improbable,

[TG47-133, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 47, p. 133]

(47-133)were brought against those suspected of
(47-133)witchcraft. They were supposed to have power,
(47-133)by going through some absurd and impious
(47-133)ceremony, to summon to their presence the Author of
(47-133)Evil, who appeared in some mean or absurd shape,
(47-133)and, in return for the invokers renouncing their
(47-133)redemption, gave them the power of avenging
(47-133)themselves on their enemies; which privilege, with
(47-133)that of injuring and teasing their fellow-creatures,
(47-133)was almost all they gained from their new master.
(47-133)Sometimes, indeed, they were said to obtain from
(47-133)him the power of flying through the air on broom-
(47-133)sticks, when the Foul Fiend gave public parties;
(47-133)and the accounts given of the ceremonies practised
(47-133)on such occasions are equally disgusting and vulgar,
(47-133)totally foreign to any idea we can have of a
(47-133)spiritual nature, and only fit to be invented and
(47-133)believed by the most ignorant and brutal of the
(47-133)human species.

(47-133) Another of these absurdities was, the belief that
(47-133)the evil spirits would attend if they were invoked
(47-133)with certain profane and blasphemous ceremonies,
(47-133)such as reading the Lord's Prayer backwards, or
(47-133)the like; and would then tell the future fortunes
(47-133)of those who had raised them, as it was called, or
(47-133)inform them what was become of articles which
(47-133)had been lost or stolen. Stories are told of such

(47-133)exploits by grave authors, which are to the full
(47-133)as ridiculous, and indeed more so, than any thing
(47-133)that is to be found in fairy tales, invented for the
(47-133)amusement of children. And for all this incredible
(47-133)nonsense, unfortunate creatures were imprisoned,

[TG47-134, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 47, p. 134]

(47-134)tortured, and finally burnt alive, by the sentence of
(47-134)their judges.

(47-134) It is strange to find, that the persons accused of
(47-134)this imaginary crime in most cases paved the way
(47-134)for their own condemnation, by confessing and
(47-134)admitting the truth of all the monstrous absurdities
(47-134)which were charged against them by their accusers.
(47-134)This may surprise you; but yet it can be accounted
(47-134)for.

(47-134) Many of these poor creatures were crazy, and
(47-134)infirm in mind as well as body; and, hearing themselves
(47-134)charged with such monstrous enormities by
(47-134)those whom they accounted wise and learned,
(47-134)became half persuaded of their own guilt, and assented
(47-134)to all the nonsensical questions which were put
(47-134)to them. But this was not all. Very many made
(47-134)these confessions under the influence of torture,
(47-134)which was applied to them with cruel severity.

(47-134) It is true, the ordinary courts of justice in Scotland
(47-134)had not the power of examining criminals
(47-134)under torture, a privilege which was reserved for the
(47-134)Privy Council. But this was a slight protection;
(47-134)for witches were seldom tried before the ordinary
(47-134)Criminal Courts, because the Judges and lawyers,
(47-134)though they could not deny the existence of a
(47-134)crime for which the law had assigned a punishment,
(47-134)yet showed a degree of incredulity respecting
(47-134)witchcraft, which was supposed frequently to lead

(47-134)to the escape of those accused of this unpopular
(47-134)crime, when in the management of professional
(47-134)persons. To avoid the ordinary jurisdiction of the
(47-134)Justiciary, and other regular criminal jurisdictions,

[TG47-135, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 47, p. 135]

(47-135)the trial of witchcraft in the provinces was usually
(47-135)brought before commissioners appointed by the
(47-135)Privy Council. These commissioners were commonly
(47-135)country-gentlemen and clergymen, who,
(47-135)from ignorance on the one side, misdirected learning
(47-135)on the other, and bigotry on both, were as
(47-135)eager in the prosecution as the vulgar could desire.
(47-135)By their commission they had the power of torture,
(47-135)and employed it unscrupulously, usually calling
(47-135)in to their assistance a witch-finder; a fellow,
(47-135)that is, who made money by pretending to have
(47-135)peculiar art and excellence in discovering these
(47-135)offenders, and who sometimes undertook to rid a
(47-135)parish or township of witches at so much a-head,
(47-135)as if they had been foxes, wild-cats, or other vermin.
(47-135)These detestable impostors directed the
(47-135)process of the torture, which frequently consisted
(47-135)in keeping the aged and weary beings from sleep,
(47-135)and compelling them to walk up and down their
(47-135)prison, whenever they began to close their eyes,
(47-135)and in running needles into their flesh, under
(47-135)pretence of discovering a mark, which the

[TG47-136, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 47, p. 136]

(47-136)witch-finders affirmed the devil had impressed on their
(47-136)skin, in token that they were his property and
(47-136)subjects. It is no wonder that wretched creatures,
(47-136)driven mad by pain, and want of sleep, confessed

(47-136)any thing whatever to obtain a moment's relief,
(47-136)though they were afterwards to die for it.
(47-136) But besides the imbecility of such victims, and
(47-136)the torture to which they were subjected, shame
(47-136)and weariness of life often caused their pleading
(47-136)guilty to accusations in themselves absurd and
(47-136)impossible. You must consider, that the persons
(47-136)accused of witchcraft were almost always held
(47-136)guilty by the public and by their neighbours, and
(47-136)that if the court scrupled to condemn them, it was
(47-136)a common thing for the mob to take the execution
(47-136)into their own hands, and duck the unhappy
(47-136)witches to death, or otherwise destroy them. The
(47-136)fear of such a fate might determine many of the
(47-136)accused, even though they were in their sound
(47-136)mind, and unconstrained by bodily torture, to plead
(47-136)guilty at once, and rather lose their wretched life
(47-136)by the sentence of the law, than expose themselves
(47-136)to the fury of the prejudiced multitude. A singular
(47-136)story is told to this effect.

[TG47-137, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 47, p. 137]

(47-137) An old woman and her daughter were tried as
(47-137)witches at Haddington. The principal evidence
(47-137)of the crime was, that though miserably poor, the
(47-137)two females had contrived to look "fresh and fair,"
(47-137)during the progress of a terrible famine, which
(47-137)reduced even the better classes to straits, and
(47-137)brought all indigent people to the point of starving;
(47-137)while, during the universal distress, these
(47-137)two women lived on in their usually way, and never
(47-137)either begged for assistance, or seemed to suffer by
(47-137)the general calamity. The jury were perfectly
(47-137)satisfied that this could not take place by any
(47-137)natural means; and, as the accused persons, on

(47-137)undergoing the discipline of one Kincaid, a witch-finder,
(47-137)readily admitted all that was asked about their
(47-137)intercourse with the devil, the jury, on their
(47-137)confession, brought them in guilty of witchcraft without
(47-137)hesitation.

(47-137) The King's Advocate for the time (I believe
(47-137)Sir George Mackenzie is named) was sceptical on
(47-137)the subject of witchcraft. He visited the women
(47-137)in private, and urged them to tell the real truth.
(47-137)They continued at first to maintain the story they
(47-137)had given in their confession. But the Advocate,
(47-137)perceiving them to be women of more sense than
(47-137)ordinary, urged upon them the crime of being
(47-137)accessary to their own death, by persisting in accusing
(47-137)themselves of impossibilities, and promised
(47-137)them life and protection, providing they would
(47-137)unfold the true secret which they used for their
(47-137)subsistence. The poor women looked wistfully on
(47-137)each other, like people that were in perplexity. At

[TG47-138, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 47, p. 138]

(47-138)length, the mother said, "You are very good, my
(47-138)lord, and I dare say your power is very great, but
(47-138)you cannot be of use to my daughter and me. If
(47-138)you were to set us at liberty from the bar, you
(47-138)could not free us from the suspicion of being witches.
(47-138)As soon as we return to our hut, we shall be
(47-138)welcomed by the violence and abuse of all our
(47-138)neighbours, who, if they do not beat our brains out, or
(47-138)drown us on the spot, will retain hatred and malice
(47-138)against us, which will be shown on every occasion,
(47-138)and make our life so miserable, that we have made
(47-138)up our minds to prefer death at once."
(47-138) "Do not be afraid of your neighbours," said the
(47-138)Advocate. "If you will trust your secret with

(47-138)me, I will take care of you for the rest of your
(47-138)lives, and send you to an estate of mine in the
(47-138)north, where nobody can know any thing of your
(47-138)history, and where, indeed, the people's ideas are
(47-138)such, that, if they even thought you witches, they
(47-138)would rather regard you with fear and respect than
(47-138)hatred."

(47-138) The women, moved by his promises, told him,
(47-138)that, if he would cause to be removed an old empty
(47-138)trunk which stood in the corner of their hut, and
(47-138)dig the earth where he saw it had been stirred, he
(47-138)would find the secret by means of which they had
(47-138)been supported through the famine; protesting to
(47-138)Heaven, at the same time, that they were totally
(47-138)innocent of any unlawful arts, such as had been
(47-138)imputed to them, and which they had confessed in
(47-138)their despair. Sir George Mackenzie hastened to
(47-138)examine the spot, and found concealed in the earth

[TG47-139, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 47, p. 139]

(47-139)two firkins of salted snails, one of them nearly
(47-139)empty. On this strange food the poor women had
(47-139)been nourished during the famine. The Advocate
(47-139)was as good as his word; and the story shows how
(47-139)little weight is to be laid on the frequent confessions
(47-139)of the party in cases of witchcraft.

(47-139) As this story is only traditional, I will mention
(47-139)two others of the same kind, to which I can give a
(47-139)precise date.

(47-139) The first of these instances regards a woman of
(47-139)rank, much superior to those who were usually
(47-139)accused of this imaginary crime. She was sister
(47-139)of Sir John Henderson of Fordel, and wife to the
(47-139)Laird of Pittardo, in Fife. Notwithstanding her
(47-139)honourable birth and connexions, this unfortunate

(47-139)matron was, in the year 1649, imprisoned in the
(47-139)common jail of Edinburgh, from the month of July
(47-139)till the middle of the month of December, when she
(47-139)was found dead, with every symptom of poison.
(47-139)Undoubtedly the infamy of the charge, and the
(47-139)sense that it must destroy her character and disgrace
(47-139)her family, was the cause which instigated her to
(47-139)commit suicide.

(47-139) The same sentiment which drive this poor lady
(47-139)to her death, was expressed by a female, young and
(47-139)handsome, executed at Paisley in 1697, in the
(47-139)following short answer to some of her friends, who
(47-139)were blaming her for not being sufficiently active
(47-139)in defending herself upon her trial. "They have
(47-139)taken away my character," she said, "and my life
(47-139)is not worth preserving."

(47-139) But the most affecting instance of such a

[TG47-140, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 47, p. 140]

(47-140)confession being made, and persisted in to the last, by
(47-140)an innocent person, ins recorded by one who was a
(47-140)diligent collector of witch stories, and a faithful
(47-140)believer in them. He says, that in the village of
(47-140)Lauder, there was a certain woman accused of
(47-140)witchcraft, who for a long time denied her guilt.
(47-140)At length, when all her companions in prison had
(47-140)been removed, and were appointed for execution,
(47-140)and she herself about to be left to total solitude, the
(47-140)poor creature became weary of life, and made a
(47-140>false confession, avowing that she was guilty of
(47-140)certain facts, which, in the opinion of the times,
(47-140)amounted to witchcraft. She, therefore, made it
(47-140)her petition that she should be put to death with
(47-140)the others on the day appointed for their execution.
(47-140)Her clergyman and others, on considering

(47-140)this young woman's particular case, entertained,
(47-140)for once, some doubts that her confession was not
(47-140)sincere, and remonstrated strongly with her upon
(47-140)the wickedness of causing her own death by a false
(47-140)avowal of guilt. But as she stubbornly adhered
(47-140)to her confession, she was condemned, and
(47-140)appointed to be executed with the rest, as she had so
(47-140)earnestly desired. Being carried forth to the place
(47-140)of execution, she remained silent during the first,
(47-140)second, and third prayer, and then perceiving that
(47-140)there remained no more but to rise and go to the
(47-140)stake, she lift up her body, and with a loud voice
(47-140)cried out, "Now, all you that see me this day,
(47-140)know that I am now to die as a witch, by my own
(47-140)confession; and I free all men, especially the ministers
(47-140)and magistrates, of the guilt of my blood. I

[TG47-141, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 47, p. 141]

(47-141)take it wholly upon myself -- my blood be upon
(47-141)my own head; and, as I must make answer to the
(47-141)God of Heaven presently, I declare I am as free
(47-141)of witchcraft as any child; but being delated by a
(47-141)malicious woman, and put in prison under the name
(47-141)of a witch, -- disowned by my husband and friends, --
(47-141)and seeing no ground of hope of my coming out of
(47-141)prison, or ever coming in credit again, through the
(47-141)temptation of the devil I made up that confession,
(47-141)on purpose to destroy my own life, being weary of
(47-141)it, and choosing rather to die than live." -- And so
(47-141)died.

(47-141) It was remarkable that the number of supposed
(47-141)witches seemed to increase in proportion to the
(47-141)increase of punishment. On the 22d of May, 1650,
(47-141)the Scottish Parliament named a committee for
(47-141)enquiry into the depositions of no less than fifty-four

(47-141)witches, with power to grant such commissions as
(47-141)we have already described, to proceed with their
(47-141)trial, condemnation, and execution. Supposing
(47-141)these dreaded sorceresses to exist in such numbers,
(47-141)and to possess the powers of injury imputed to

[TG47-142, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 47, p. 142]

(47-142)them, it was to be expected, as Reginald Scot
(47-142)expresses himself, that "there would neither be
(47-142)butter in the churn, nor cow in the close, nor corn
(47-142)in the field, nor fair weather without, nor health
(47-142)within doors." Indeed the extent to which people
(47-142)indulged their horrors and suspicions, was in itself
(47-142)the proof of their being fanciful. If, in a small
(47-142)province, or even a petty town, there had existed
(47-142)scores of people possessed of supernatural power,
(47-142)the result would be, that the laws of nature would
(47-142)have been liable to constant interruption.

(47-142) The English judges appointed for Scotland in
(47-142)Cromwell's time saw the cruelty and absurdity of
(47-142)witch-trials, and endeavoured to put a stop to
(47-142)them; but the thanks which they received were
(47-142)only reflections on their principles of toleration,
(47-142)the benefit of which, in the opinion of the Scots,
(47-142)was extended, by this lenity, not only to heretics
(47-142)of every denomination, but even to those who
(47-142)worshipped the devil. Some were still farther,
(47-142)and accused the Sectaries of holding intercourse
(47-142)with evil spirits in their devotions. This was
(47-142)particularly reported and believed of the Quakers,
(47-142)the most simple and moral of all dissenters from
(47-142)the church.

(47-142) Wiser and better views on the subject began
(47-142)to prevail in the end of the seventeenth century,
(47-142)and capital prosecutions for this imaginary crime

(47-142)were seen to decrease. The last instance of
(47-142)execution for witchcraft took place in the remote
(47-142)province of Sutherland, in 1722, under the direction
(47-142)of an ignorant provincial judge, who was censured

[TG47-143, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 47, p. 143]

(47-143)by his superiors for the proceeding. The
(47-143)victim was an old woman in her last dotage, so
(47-143)silly that she was delighted to warm her wrinkled
(47-143)hands at the fire which was to consume her; and
(47-143)who, while they were preparing for her execution,
(47-143)repeatedly said, that so good a blaze, and so many
(47-143)neighbours gathered round it, made the most
(47-143)cheerful sight she had seen for many years!
(47-143) The laws against witchcraft, both in England
(47-143)and Scotland, were abolished; and persons who
(47-143)pretend to fortune-telling, the use of spells, or
(47-143)similar mysterious feats of skill, are now punished
(47-143)as common knaves and impostors. Since this has
(47-143)been the case, no one has ever heard of witches or
(47-143)witchcraft, even among the most ignorant of the
(47-143)vulgar; so that the crime must have been entirely
(47-143)imaginary, since it ceased to exist so soon as men
(47-143)ceased to hunt it out for punishment.

[TG48-144, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 48, p. 144]

(48-144) Oliver Cromwell, who, in the extraordinary
(48-144)manner I have told you, raised himself to the
(48-144)supreme sovereignty of England, Scotland, and
(48-144)Ireland, was a man of great talents, and, as has
(48-144)been already said, not naturally of a severe or
(48-144)revengeful disposition. He made the kingdoms
(48-144)which he ruled formidable to foreign powers; and
(48-144)perhaps no governments was ever more respected

(48-144)abroad than that of the Lord Protector.
(48-144) At home Cromwell had a very difficult task to
(48-144)perform, in order to maintain his usurped authority.
(48-144)He was obliged on several occasions, as has
(48-144)been successfully done in other countries by usurpers
(48-144)of his class, to convoke some kind of senate
(48-144)or parliament, consisting of his own creatures,
(48-144)who might appear to divide with him the power,

[TG48-145, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 48, p. 145]

(48-145)and save him, in appearance at least, the odium
(48-145)of governing by his sole authority. But such was
(48-145)the spirit of the English nation, that whenever
(48-145)Cromwell convoked a Parliament, though in a
(48-145)great measure consisting of his own partisans, and
(48-145)though the rest were studiously chosen as mean
(48-145)and ignorant persons, the instant that they met
(48-145)they began to inquire into the ground of the
(48-145)protector's authority, and proposed measures which
(48-145)interfered with his assumption of supreme power.
(48-145) In addition to this, the various factions into
(48-145)which the country was divided, all agreed in bating
(48-145)the usurped power of the Protector, and were
(48-145)frequently engaged in conspiracies against him,
(48-145)which were conceived and carried on not only by
(48-145)Cavaliers and Presbyterians, but by Republicans,
(48-145)and even by soldiers among his own ranks.
(48-145) Thus hard pressed on every side, the Protector
(48-145)displayed the utmost sagacity in his mode of
(48-145)defending himself. On two or three occasions,
(48-145)indeed, he held what he called High Courts of
(48-145)Justice, by whose doom both Cavaliers and
(48-145)Presbyterians suffered capital punishment for plots
(48-145)against his government. But it was with reluctance
(48-145)Cromwell resorted to such severe measures.

(48-145)His general policy was to balance parties against
(48-145)each other, and make each of them desirous of the
(48-145)subsistence of his authority, rather than run the
(48-145)risk of seeing it changed for some other than their
(48-145)own. At great expense and by constant assiduity,
(48-145)he maintained spies in the councils of every faction
(48-145)of the state, and often the least suspected, and

[TG48-146, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 48, p. 146]

(48-146)apparently most vehement, among the hostile
(48-146)parties, were, in private, the mercenary tools of
(48-146)Cromwell.
(48-146) In the wandering court of Charles II, in particular,
(48-146)one of the most noted cavaliers was Sir
(48-146)Richard Willis, who had fought bravely, and
(48-146)suffered much, in the cause both of the late King
(48-146)and of his son. There was no man among the
(48-146)Royalists who attended on Charles's person so
(48-146)much trusted and honoured as this gentleman,
(48-146)who, nevertheless, enjoyed a large pension from
(48-146)Cromwell, and betrayed to him whatever schemes
(48-146)were proposed for the restoration of the exiled
(48-146)monarch. Bu this and similar intercourse, the
(48-146)Protector had the means of preventing the numerous
(48-146)conspiracies against him from coming to a
(48-146)head, and also of opposing the machinations of one
(48-146)discontented party by means of the others.
(48-146) It is believed, however, that, with all his art,
(48-146)the Protector would not have been able to maintain
(48-146)his power for many years. A people long
(48-146)accustomed to a free government were generally
(48-146)incensed at being subjected to the unlimited
(48-146)authority of one man, and the discontent became
(48-146)universal. It seemed that, towards the conclusion
(48-146)of his life, Cromwell was nearly at the end of his

(48-146)expedients; and it is certain, that his own conduct
(48-146)then displayed an apprehension of danger which
(48-146)he had never before exhibited. He became morose
(48-146)and melancholy, always wore secret armour under
(48-146)his ordinary dress, never stirred abroad unless
(48-146)surrounded with guards, never returned by the

[TG48-147, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 48, p. 147]

(48-147)same road, nor slept above thrice in the same
(48-147)apartment, from the dread of assassination. His
(48-147)health broke down under these gloomy apprehensions;
(48-147)and on the 3d of September, 1658, he died
(48-147)at the age of sixty. His death was accompanied
(48-147)by a general and fearful tempest; and by another
(48-147)circumstance equally striking in those superstitious
(48-147)times, namely, that he died on the day and month
(48-147)in which he had gained his decisive victories at
(48-147)Dunbar and Worcester.

(48-147) The sceptre, which Oliver had held with so firm
(48-147)a grasp, was transferred to that of his son, Richard
(48-147)Cromwell; which the funeral of the deceased
(48-147)Protector was solemnized at an expense superior far
(48-147)to what England had bestowed on the obsequies of
(48-147)any of her kings. But this apparent transmission
(48-147)of Oliver's authority to his son was only nominal.
(48-147)A Parliament, which Richard assembled that they
(48-147)might vote him supplies, commenced an enquiry
(48-147)into the nature of the new Lord Protector's title;
(48-147)and a council of officers whom he convoked, became
(48-147)refractory, and assumed an authority which he
(48-147)dared not dispute with them. These military
(48-147)despots compelled Richard to dissolve the Parliament,

[TG48-148, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 48, p. 148]

(48-148)and subsequently obliged him to resign the
(48-148)office of Protector. (22d April, 1659) He descended quietly
(48-148)into humble life, burdened not only by
(48-148)many personal debts, but also by the
(48-148)demands of those who had supplied the exorbitant
(48-148)expenses of his father's funeral, which the State
(48-148)unworthily and meanly suffered to descend upon
(48-148)him.

(48-148) Richard Cromwell, removed from the dangers
(48-148)and the guilt of power, lived a long and peaceable
(48-148)life, and died in 1712, at the age of eighty-six.
(48-148)Two anecdotes respecting him are worth mentioning.
(48-148)When he was obliged to retire abroad on
(48-148)account of his debts, Richard Cromwell, travelling
(48-148)under a borrowed name, was led, from curiosity, to
(48-148)visit Pezenas, a pleasant town and castle in
(48-148)Languedoc. The proprietor was the Prince of Conti,
(48-148)a French prince of the blood royal, who, hearing
(48-148)an English traveller was in the palace, had the
(48-148)curiosity to receive him that he might learn the
(48-148)latest news from England, which at this time
(48-148)astonished Europe by its frequent changes of government.
(48-148)The French prince spoke to the stranger
(48-148)of Oliver Cromwell as a wicked man, and a lawless
(48-148)usurper of the government: but then he
(48-148)acknowledged his deep sagacity, high talents, and
(48-148)courage in danger, and admired the art and force
(48-148)with which he had subjected three kingdoms to his
(48-148)own individual authority. "He knew how to
(48-148)command," continued the prince, "and deserved to be
(48-148)obeyed. But what has become of the poor poltroon,

[TG48-149, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 48, p. 149]

(48-149)Richard -- the coward, the dastard, who gave up,
(48-149)without a blow or struggle, all that his father has

(48-149)gained? Have you any idea how the man could
(48-149)be such a foot, and mean-spirited caitiff?" Poor
(48-149)Richard, glad to remain unknown where he was
(48-149)so little esteemed, only replied, "that the abdicated
(48-149)Protector had been deceived by those in whom
(48-149)he most trusted, and to whom his father had shown
(48-149)most kindness." He then took leave of the prince,
(48-149)who did not learn till two days afterwards, that he
(48-149)had addressed so unpleasing a discourse to the person
(48-149)whom it principally regarded.

(48-149) The other anecdote is of a later date, being
(48-149)subsequent to 1705. Some lawsuit of importance
(48-149)required that Richard Cromwell should appear in
(48-149)the King's Bench Court. The judge who presided
(48-149)showed a generous deference to fallen greatness,
(48-149)and to the mutability of human affairs. He
(48-149)received with respect the man who had been once
(48-149)Sovereign of England, caused a chair to be placed
(48-149)for him within the bar, and requested him to be
(48-149)covered. When the counsel on the opposite side
(48-149)began his speech, as if about to allude to Richard's
(48-149)descent from the obnoxious Oliver, the judge
(48-149)checked him with generous independence. "I will
(48-149)hear nothing on that topic, sir," he said; "speak to
(48-149)the merits of the cause before us." After his
(48-149)appearance in court, Richard Cromwell's curiosity
(48-149)carried him to the House of Peers, where he stood
(48-149)below the bar, looking around him and making
(48-149)observations on the alterations which he saw. A
(48-149)person who heard a decent-looking old man speaking

[TG48-150, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 48, p. 150]

(48-150)in this way, said to him, civilly, "It is probably
(48-150)a long while, sir, since you have been in this house?"
(48-150)-- "Not since I sat in that chair," answered the old

(48-150)gentleman, pointing to the throne, on which he had
(48-150)been, indeed, seated as sovereign, when, more than
(48-150)fifty years before, he received the addresses of both
(48-150)Houses of Parliament, on his succeeding to his
(48-150)father in the supreme power.

(48-150) To return to public affairs in London, where,
(48-150)after the abdication of Richard, changes succeeded
(48-150)with as little permanence as the reflection of faces
(48-150)presented to a mirror, -- the attempt of the officers
(48-150)of the army to establish a purely military government,
(48-150)was combated by the return to Parliament
(48-150)of those republican members whom Oliver Cromwell
(48-150)had expelled, and whom the common people,
(48-150)by a vulgar but expressive nickname, now called
(48-150)the Rump Parliament. This assembly, so called
(48-150)because it was the sitting part of what which
(48-150)commenced the civil war, was again subjected to military
(48-150)violence, and dissolved by General Lambert,
(48-150)who unquestionably designed in his own person to

[TG48-151, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 48, p. 151]

(48-151)act the part of Oliver Cromwell, though without
(48-151)either the talents or high reputation of the original
(48-151)performer. But a general change had taken place
(48-151)in the sentiments of the nation.

(48-151) The public had been to a certain degree
(48-151)patient under the government of Oliver, to whom it
(48-151)was impossible to deny all the praise which belongs
(48-151)to firmness and energy; but they saw with disgust
(48-151)these feeble usurpers, by whom his vigorous
(48-151)government was succeeded, bustle amongst themselves,
(48-151)and push each other from the rudder of the
(48-151)state, without consulting the people at large.
(48-151)Remembering the quiet and peaceful condition of the
(48-151)kingdom before the civil wars, when its kings

(48-151)succeeded by hereditary right to a limited power, and
(48-151)when the popular and monarchical branches of the
(48-151)constitution so judiciously balanced each other,
(48-151)that the whole British nation looked back to the
(48-151)period as one of liberty, peace, and lawful order;
(48-151)and comparing this happy and settled state of
(48-151)public affairs with the recent manner in which
(48-151)every successive faction seized upon power when
(48-151)they could snatch it, and again yielded it up to the
(48-151)grasp of another and stronger party, all men were
(48-151)filled with dissatisfaction.

(48-151) Upon the whole, the thoughts of all the
(48-151)judicious part of the nation were turned towards the
(48-151)exiled prince, and there was a general desire to
(48-151)call him back to the exercise of the government, an
(48-151)inclination which was only suppressed by the strong
(48-151)hand of the armed fanatics. It was absolutely
(48-151)necessary that some military force should be on foot,

[TG48-152, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 48, p. 152]

(48-152)in order to cope with these warlike saints, as they
(48-152)called themselves, before the general disposition of
(48-152)the kingdom could have room or freedom to express
(48-152)itself.

(48-152) As it was the disturbances in Scotland which
(48-152)first shook the throne of Charles the First, so it
(48-152)was from the same country that the movement
(48-152)took place which eventually replaced on the throne
(48-152)his son and heir. We have already noticed that
(48-152)the kingdom of Scotland had been finally subdued
(48-152)by the efforts of General Monk, who afterwards
(48-152)governed it during the protectorate of Cromwell,
(48-152)and in obedience to his authority.

(48-152) Monk was a man of a grave, reserved, and sagacious
(48-152)character, who had gained general esteem by

(48-152)the manner in which he managed Scottish affairs.
(48-152)He had taken care to model the veteran troops under
(48-152)his command in that kingdom, so as to subject them
(48-152)to his own separate control, and to detach from their
(48-152)command such officers as were violent
(48-152)enthusiasts, or peculiarly attached to Lambert and
(48-152)his council of officers. Thus having under his
(48-152)immediate command a movable force of between
(48-152)seven and eight thousand men, besides those necessary
(48-152)to garrison Scotland, Monk eagerly watched
(48-152)the contest of the factions in London, in order to
(48-152)perceive and seize on the fit opportunity for action.
(48-152) This seemed to arrive when the army under
(48-152)Lambert again thrust the Rump Parliament out of
(48-152)doors, and commenced a new military government,
(48-152)by means of a committee of officers, called the
(48-152)Council of Safety. Monk then threw aside the

[TG48-153, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 48, p. 153]

(48-153)mask of indifference which he had long worn,
(48-153)assembled his forces on the Borders, and declared
(48-153)for the freedom of Parliament, and against the
(48-153)military faction by which they had been suppressed.
(48-153)The persuasion was universal throughout Britain,
(48-153)that Monk, by these general expressions, meant
(48-153)something more effectual than merely restoring
(48-153)the authority of the Rump, which had fallen into
(48-153)the common contempt of all men, by the repeated
(48-153)acts of violence to which they had tamely submitted.
(48-153)But General Monk, allowing all parties to
(48-153)suppose what they thought most probable,
(48-153)proceeded to make his preparations for marching
(48-153)towards England with the greatest deliberation,
(48-153)without suffering even a whisper to escape concerning
(48-153)the ultimate objects of the expedition. He

(48-153)assembled the Scottish Convention of Estates, and
(48-153)asked and received from it a supply of six months'
(48-153)pay, for the maintenance of his troops. The
(48-153)confidence entertained of his intentions was such, that
(48-153)the Convention offered him the support of a Scottish
(48-153)army of twenty-four thousand men; but Monk
(48-153)declined assistance which would have been
(48-153)unpopular in England. He then proceeded in his plan
(48-153)of new-modelling his army, with more boldness
(48-153)than before, dismissing many of the Independent
(48-153)officers whom he had not before ventured to
(48-153)cashier, and supplying their places with Presbyterians,
(48-153)and even with secret Royalists.
(48-153) The news of these proceedings spread through
(48-153)England, and were generally received with joy.
(48-153)Universal resistance was made to the payment of

[TG48-154, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 48, p. 154]

(48-154)taxes; for the Rump Parliament had, on the eve
(48-154)of its expulsion by Lambert, declared it high treason
(48-154)to levy money without consent of Parliament,
(48-154)and the provinces, where Lambert and his military
(48-154)council had no power of enforcing their illegal
(48-154)exactions, refused to obey them. The Council of
(48-154)Safety wanted money therefore, even for the payment
(48-154)of their troops, and were reduced to extreme
(48-154)perplexity.
(48-154) Lambert himself, a brave man, and good officer,
(48-154)saw the necessity of acting with promptitude;
(48-154)and placing himself at the head of a considerable
(48-154)force of veteran soldiers, marched towards Scotland.
(48-154)His numbers were enhanced by the report
(48-154)of the various spies and agents whom he sent into
(48-154)Monk's army under the guise of envoys. "What
(48-154)will you do?" said one of these persons, addressing

(48-154)a party of Monk's soldiers; "Lambert is coming
(48-154)down against you with such numerous forces, that
(48-154)your army will not be a breakfast for him."
(48-154) "The north must have given Lambert a good
(48-154)appetite," answered one of Monk's veterans, "if
(48-154)he be willing to chew bullets, and feet upon pikes
(48-154)and musket barrels."
(48-154) In this tone of defiance the two armies moved
(48-154)against each other. Lambert took up his headquarters
(48-154)at Newcastle. Monk, on the other hand,
(48-154)placed his at Coldstream, on the Tweed, a place
(48-154)which commanded the second best passage over
(48-154)the river, Berwick being already in his hands.
(48-154)Coldstream, now a thriving town, was then so
(48-154)miserable, that Monk could get no supper, even for

[TG48-155, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 48, p. 155]

(48-155)his won table, but was fain to have recourse to
(48-155)chewing tobacco to appease his hunger. Next
(48-155)day provisions were sent from Berwick; and the
(48-155)camp at Coldstream is still kept in memory in the
(48-155)English army, by the second regiment of guards,
(48-155)which was one of those that composed Monk's
(48-155)vanguard, being called to this day the Coldstream
(48-155)regiment.
(48-155) The rival generals at first engaged in a treat,
(48-155)which Monk, perceiving Lambert's forces to be
(48-155)more numerous than his own, for some time
(48-155)encouraged, aware that want of pay, and of the luxuries
(48-155)to which they were accustomed in London,
(48-155)would soon induce his rival's troops to desert him.
(48-155) Disaffection and weariness accordingly began to
(48-155)diminish Lambert's forces, when at length they
(48-155)heard news from the capital by which they were
(48-155)totally dispirited. During Lambert's absence, the

(48-155)presidency in the Military Committee, and the
(48-155)command of such of the army as remained to overawe
(48-155)London, devolved on General Fleetwood, a
(48-155)weak man, who really was overcome by the feelings
(48-155)of fanaticism, which others only affected.

[TG48-156, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 48, p. 156]

(48-156)Incapable of any exertion, this person suffered the
(48-156)troops under his command to be seduced from his
(48-156)interest to that of the Rump Parliament, which
(48-156)thus came again, and for the last time, into power.
(48-156)With these tidings came to Newcastle others of a
(48-156)nature scarce less alarming. The celebrated
(48-156)General Fairfax had taken arms in Yorkshire, and
(48-156)was at the head of considerable forces, both Cavaliers
(48-156)and Presbyterians, who declared for calling a
(48-156)free parliament, that the national will might be
(48-156)consulted in the most constitutional manner, for
(48-156)once more regaining the blessing of a settled
(48-156)government. The soldiers of Lambert, disconcerted
(48-156)by these events, and receiving no pay, began to
(48-156)break up; and when Lambert himself attempted
(48-156)to lead them back to London, they left him in such
(48-156)numbers, that his army seemed actually to melt
(48-156)away, and leave the road to the capital open to
(48-156)Monk and the forces from Scotland.
(48-156) That general moved on accordingly, without
(48-156)opposition, carefully concealing his own intentions,
(48-156)receiving favourably all the numerous applications
(48-156)which were made to him for calling a new and free
(48-156)parliament, in order to regenerate the national
(48-156)constitution, but returning no reply which could
(48-156)give the slightest intimation of his ultimate
(48-156)purpose. Monk observed this mystery, in order,
(48-156)perhaps, that he might reserve to himself the power

(48-156)of being guided by circumstances -- at all events,

[TG48-157, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 48, p. 157]

(48-157)knowing well, that if he were to declare in favour
(48-157)of any one party, or set of principles, among the
(48-157)various factious opinions which divided the state,
(48-157)the others would at once unite against him a course
(48-157)which they would be loath to adopt, while each as
(48-157)yet entertained hopes that he might turn to their
(48-157)side.

(48-157) With the eyes of all the nation fixed upon him
(48-157)and his forces, Monk advanced to Barnet, within
(48-157)ten miles of London, and from thence caused the
(48-157)Parliament to understand that they would do well
(48-157)to send from the city the remains of the army of
(48-157)Fleetwood, in case of discord between his troops
(48-157)and those which at present occupied the capital.
(48-157)The Rump Parliament had no alternative but to
(48-157)take the hint, unless they had resolved to try the
(48-157)fate of battle at the head of those insubordinate
(48-157)troops, who had more than once changed sides
(48-157)between Lanmbert and Fleetwood on one side, and
(48-157)themselves on the other, against the steady veterans
(48-157)of the Scottish wars. The late army of Fleetwood,
(48-157)excepting two regiments commanded by
(48-157)men whom Monk could perfectly trust, were
(48-157)ordered to leave the city, and the general of the
(48-157)army of Scotland entered at the head of his troops,
(48-157)who, rough from a toilsome march, and bearing
(48-157)other marks of severe service, made a far more
(48-157)hardy and serviceable, though a less showy appearance,
(48-157)than those who had so long bridled the people
(48-157)of London.

(48-157) General Monk, and the remnant of the Parliament,
(48-157)met each other with external civility, but

[TG48-158, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 48, p. 158]

(48-158)with great distrust on both sides. They
(48-158)propounded to him the oath of abjuration, as it was
(48-158)called, by which he was to renounce and abjure all
(48-158)allegiance to the House of Stewart, and all
(48-158)attempts to restore Charles II. But the general
(48-158)declined taking the oath; too many oaths, he said,
(48-158)had been already imposed on the public, unless
(48-158)they had been better kept. This circumstance
(48-158)seemed to throw light on Monk's intentions, and
(48-158)the citizens of London, now as anxious for the
(48-158)King's restoration as ever they had been for the
(48-158)expulsion of his father, passed a vote in Common
(48-158)Council, by which they declared they would pay
(48-158)no taxes or contributions to this shadow of a
(48-158)Parliament, until the vacant seats in it should be filled
(48-158)up to the full extent of a genuine House of
(48-158)Commons.

(48-158) The Rump Parliament had now, they conceived,
(48-158)an opportunity of ascertaining Monk's real purpose,
(48-158)and forcing him to a decisive measure. They
(48-158)laid their express commands on him to march into
(48-158)the city, seize upon the gates, break down the
(48-158)portcullises, destroy the ports, chains, and other means
(48-158)of defending the streets, and take from the contumacious
(48-158)citizens all means of protecting in future
(48-158)the entrance into the capital.

(48-158) Monk, to the astonishment of most of his own
(48-158)officers, obeyed the commands thus imposed on
(48-158)him. He was probably desirous of ascertaining
(48-158)whether the disposition of his troops would induce
(48-158)them to consider the task as a harsh and unworthy
(48-158)one. Accordingly, he no sooner heard his soldiers

[TG48-159, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 48, p. 159]

(48-159)exclaiming at the disgrace of becoming the tools
(48-159)of the vengeance of the rump members against
(48-159)the city of London, than he seemed to adopt their
(48-159)feelings and passions as his own, and like them
(48-159)complained, and complained aloud, of having been
(48-159)employed in an unjust and unpopular task, for the
(48-159)express purpose of rendering him odious to the
(48-159)citizens.

(48-159) At this crisis, the rashness of the ruling junto,
(48-159)for it would be absurd to term them a Parliament,
(48-159)gave the general, whom it was their business to
(48-159)propitiate if possible, a new subject of complaint.
(48-159)They encouraged a body of the most fanatical sectaries,
(48-159)headed by a ridiculous personage called
(48-159)Praise-God Barebone, to present a violent
(48-159)petition to the House, demanding that no one should

[TG48-160, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 48, p. 160]

(48-160)be admitted to any office of public trust, or so much
(48-160)as to teach a school, without his having taken the
(48-160)abjuration oath; and proposing, that any motion
(48-160)made in Parliament for the restoration of the King
(48-160)should be visited with the pains of high treason.
(48-160) The tenor of this petition, and the honour and
(48-160)favour which it received when presented, gave
(48-160)Monk the further cause of complaint against the
(48-160)Rump, or Remnant of the Parliament, which perhaps
(48-160)was what he chiefly desired. He refused to
(48-160)return to Whitehall, where he had formerly lodged,
(48-160)and took up his abode in the city, where he found
(48-160)it easy to excuse his late violent upon their
(48-160)defences, and to atone for it by declaring himself the
(48-160)protector and ally of the magistrates and community.

(48-160)From his quarters in the heart of London,
(48-160)the general wrote to the Parliament an angry
(48-160)expostulation, charging them with a design to arm
(48-160)the more violent fanatics, and call in the assistance
(48-160)of Fleetwood and Lambert against the army he
(48-160)had marched from Scotland; and recommending
(48-160)to them, in a tone of authority, forthwith to
(48-160)dissolve themselves, and call a new Parliament, which
(48-160)should be open to all parties. The Parliament,
(48-160)greatly alarmed at this intimation, sent two of their
(48-160)members to communicate with the general; but
(48-160)they could only extract from him, that if writs went
(48-160)instantly forth for the new elections, it would be
(48-160)very well, otherwise, he and they were likely to
(48-160)disagree.

[TG48-161, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 48, p. 161]

(48-161) The assurance that General Monk had openly
(48-161)quarrelled with the present rulers, and was
(48-161)disposed to insist for a free and full Parliament, was
(48-161)made public by the printing and dispersing of the
(48-161)general's letter, and the tidings filled the city with
(48-161)most extravagant rejoicings. The Royalists and
(48-161)Presbyterians, forgetting past animosities, mingled
(48-161)in common joy, and vowed never more to gratify
(48-161)the ambition of factious tyrants by their calamitous
(48-161)divisions. The rabble rung all the bells, lighted
(48-161)immense bonfires in every street, and danced around
(48-161)them, while they drank healths to the general, the
(48-161)secluded members, and even to the King. But
(48-161)the principal part of their amusement was roasting
(48-161)rumps of poultry, or fragments of butcher-meat
(48-161)cut into that form, in ridicule of their late rulers,
(48-161)whose power they foresaw would cease, whenever
(48-161)a full Parliament should be convened. The revelry

(48-161)lasted the whole night, which was that of 11th
(48-161)February, 1660.
(48-161) Mon, supported at once by military strength
(48-161)and the consciousness of general popularity, did
(48-161)not wait until the new Parliament should be
(48-161)assembled, or the present dissolved, to take measures
(48-161)for destroying the influence of the junto now
(48-161)sitting at Westminster. He compelled them to open
(48-161)their doors, and admit to their deliberations and
(48-161)votes all the secluded members of their body, who
(48-161)had been expelled from their seats by military
(48-161)violence, since it was first practised on the occasion
(48-161)called Colonel Pride's Purge. These members,
(48-161)returning to Parliament accordingly, made by their

[TG48-162, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 48, p. 162]

(48-162)numbers such a predominant majority in the House,
(48-162)that the fifty or sixty persons who had lately been
(48-162)at the head of the Government, were instantly
(48-162)reduced to the insignificance, as a party, from which
(48-162)they had only emerged by dint of the force which
(48-162)had been exercised to exclude the large body who
(48-162)were now restored to their seats.
(48-162) The first acts of the House thus renovated were
(48-162)to disband the refractory part of the army, to
(48-162)dispossess the disaffected officers, of whom there were
(48-162)very many, and to reduce the country to a state
(48-162)of tranquillity; after which they dissolved
(48-162)themselves, 16th March, having first issued writs to
(48-162)summon a new Parliament, to meet on the 25th of
(48-162)April. Thus then finally ended the Long Parliament,
(48-162)as it is called, which had sat for nearly
(48-162)twenty years; the most eventful period, perhaps,
(48-162)in British History.
(48-162) While this important revolution was on the eve

(48-162)of taking place, Charles the Second's affairs seemed
(48-162)to be at a lower ebb than they had almost ever
(48-162)been before. A general insurrection of the Cavaliers
(48-162)had been defeated by Lambert a few months
(48-162)before, and the severe measures which followed
(48-162)had, for the time, totally subdued the spirit, and
(48-162)almost crushed the party of the Royalists. It was
(48-162)in vain that Charles had made advances to Monk
(48-162)while in Scotland, both through the general's own
(48-162)brother, and by means of Sir John Grenville, one
(48-162)of his nearest and most valued relatives and
(48-162)friends. If Monk's mind was then made up
(48-162)concerning the part which he designed to perform, he

[TG48-163, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 48, p. 163]

(48-163)at least, was determined to keep his purpose secret
(48-163)in his own bosom, and declined, therefore, though
(48-163)civilly, to hear any proposition on the part of the
(48-163)banished family. The accounts which the little
(48-163)exiled court received concerning Monk's advance
(48-163)into England were equally disconsolate. All intercourse
(48-163)with the Cavaliers had been carefully avoided
(48-163)by the cloudy and mysterious soldier, in whose
(48-163)hands Fortunes seemed to place the fate of the British
(48-163)kingdoms. The general belief was, that Monk
(48-163)would renew, in his own person, the attempt in
(48-163)which Cromwell had succeeded and Lambert had
(48-163)failed, and again place a military commander at the
(48-163)head of the Government; and this opinion seemed
(48-163)confirmed by his harsh treatment of the City.
(48-163) While Charles and his attendants were in this
(48-163)state of despondence, they were suddenly astonished
(48-163)by the arrival from England of a partisan,
(48-163)named Baillie, an Irish Royalist, who had travelled
(48-163)with extreme rapidity to bring the exiled

(48-163)Prince the news of Monk's decided breach with
(48-163)the remnant of the Long Parliament, and the
(48-163)temper which had been displayed by the City of
(48-163)London when his letter became public. The King
(48-163)and his small Council listened to the messenger as
(48-163)they would have done to one speaking in a dream.
(48-163)Overweared and fatigued by the journey, and
(48-163)strongly excited by the importance of the intelligence
(48-163)which he brought them, the officer seemed
(48-163)rather like one under the influence of temporary
(48-163)derangement or intoxication, than the deliberate
(48-163)bearer of great tidings. His character was, however

[TG48-164, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 48, p. 164]

(48-164)ever, known as a gentleman of fidelity and firmness,
(48-164)and they heard him with wonder again and
(48-164)again affirm, that London was blazing with bonfires,
(48-164)that the universal wish of the people of all
(48-164)sorts, boldly and freely expressed, demanded the
(48-164)restoration of the King to his authority, and that
(48-164)Monk had insisted upon the summoning of a free
(48-164)Parliament, which the junto called the Rump, had
(48-164)no longer the power of opposing. He produced
(48-164)also a copy of Monk's letter to the Parliament, to
(48-164)show that the general had completely broken with
(48-164)that body.

(48-164) Other messengers soon confirmed the joyful
(48-164)tidings, and Sir John Grenville was despatched to
(48-164)London in all haste, with full powers to offer the
(48-164)general every thing which could gratify ambition
(48-164)of love of wealth, on condition of his proving the
(48-164)friend of Charles at this crisis.

(48-164) This faithful and active Royalist reached the
(48-164)metropolis, and cautiously refusing to open his
(48-164)commission to any one, obtained a private interview

(48-164)with the mysterious and reserved general.
(48-164)He boldly communicated his credentials, and
(48-164)remained unappalled, when Monk, stepping back in
(48-164)surprise, and asked him, with some emotion, how he
(48-164)dared become the bearer of such proposals. Sir
(48-164)John replied firmly, that all danger which might
(48-164)be incurred in obedience to his Sovereign's command
(48-164)had become familiar to him from frequent
(48-164)practice, and that the King, from the course which
(48-164)Monk had hitherto pursued, entertained the most
(48-164)confident hope of his loyal service. On this

[TG48-165, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 48, p. 165]

(48-165)General Monk either laid aside the mask which
(48-165)he had always worn, or only now formed his
(48-165)determination upon a line of conduct that had hitherto
(48-165)been undecided in his own mind. He accepted of
(48-165)the high offers tendered to him by the young
(48-165)Prince; and, from that moment, if not earlier,
(48-165)made the interest of Charles the principal object
(48-165)of his thoughts. It has been indeed stated, that
(48-165)he had expressed his ultimate purpose of serving
(48-165)Charles before leaving Scotland; but whatever
(48-165)may have been his secret intentions, it seems
(48-165)improbable that he made any one his confident.
(48-165) At the meeting of the new Parliament, the
(48-165)House of Peers, which regained under this new
(48-165)aspect of things the privileges which Cromwell had
(48-165)suspended, again assumed their rank as a branch
(48-165)of the legislature. As the royalists and Presbyterians
(48-165)concurred in the same purpose of restoring
(48-165)the King, and possessed the most triumphant
(48-165)majority, if not the whole votes, in the new House
(48-165)of Commons, the Parliament had only to be
(48-165)informed that Grenville awaited without, bearing

(48-165)letters from King Charles, when he was welcomed
(48-165)into the House with shouts and rejoicings; and the
(48-165)British Constitution, by King, Lords, and Commons,
(48-165)after having been suspended for twenty
(48-165)years, was restored at once and by acclamation.
(48-165) Charles Stewart, instead of being a banished
(48-165)pretender, whose name it was dangerous to
(48-165)pronounce, and whose cause it was death to espouse,
(48-165)became at once a lawful, beloved, almost adored
(48-165)prince, whose absence was mourned by the people,

[TG48-166, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 48, p. 166]

(48-166)as they might have bemoaned that of the sun itself;
(48-166)and numbers of the great or ambitious hurried to
(48-166)Holland, where Charles now was, some to plead
(48-166)former services, some to excuse ancient delinquencies,
(48-166)some to allege the merit of having staked
(48-166)their lives in the King's cause, others to enrich the
(48-166)Monarch, by sharing with him the spoils which
(48-166)they had gained by fighting against him.
(48-166) It has been said by historians, that this precipitate
(48-166)and general haste in restoring Charles to the
(48-166)throne, without any conditions for the future, was
(48-166)throwing away all the advantage which the nation
(48-166)might have derived from the Civil Wars, and that
(48-166)it would have been much better to have readmitted
(48-166)the King upon a solemn treaty, which should have
(48-166)adjusted the prerogative of the Crown, and the
(48-166)rights of the subject, and settled for ever those
(48-166)great national questions which had been disputed
(48-166)between Charles the First and his Parliament.
(48-166)This sounds all well in theory; but in practice
(48-166)there are many things, and perhaps the Restoration
(48-166)is one of them, which may be executed easily and
(48-166)safely, if the work is commenced and carried

(48-166)through in the enthusiasm of a favourable moment,
(48-166)but which is likely enough to miscarry, if
(48-166)protracted beyond that happy conjuncture. The ardour
(48-166)in favour of monarchy, with which the mass of the
(48-166)English nation was at this time agitated, might
(48-166)probably have abated during such a lengthened
(48-166)treaty, providing for all the delicate questions
(48-166)respecting the settlement of the Church and State,
(48-166)and necessarily involving a renewal of all the

[TG48-167, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 48, p. 167]

(48-167)discussions which had occasioned the Civil War. And
(48-167)supposing that the old discord was not rekindled
(48-167)by raking among its ashes, still it should be
(48-167)remembered that great part of Cromwell's army was
(48-167)not yet dissolved, and that even Monk's troops
(48-167)were not altogether to be confided in. So that the
(48-167)least appearance of disunion, such as the discussions
(48-167)of the proposed treaty were certain to give
(48-167)rise to, might have afforded these warlike
(48-167)enthusiasts a pretext for again assembling together, and
(48-167)reinstating the military despotism, which they were
(48-167)pleased to term the Reign of the Saints.
(48-167) A circumstance occurred which showed how
(48-167)very pressing this danger was, and how little wisdom
(48-167)there would have been in postponing the
(48-167)restoration of a legal government to the even of a
(48-167)treaty. Lambert, who had been lodged in the
(48-167)Tower as a dangerous person, made his escape from
(48-167)that state prison, fled to Daventry, and began to
(48-167)assemble forces. The activity of Colonel Ingoldsby,
(48-167)who had been, like Lambert himself,
(48-167)an officer under Cromwell, but who was
(48-167)now firmly attached to Monk, stifled a spark which
(48-167)might have raised a mighty conflagration. (23rd April)

(48-167)He succeeded in gaining over and dispersing the
(48-167)troops who had assembled under Lambert, and
(48-167)making his former commander prisoner with his
(48-167)own hand, brought him back in safety to his old
(48-167)quarters in the Tower of London. But as the
(48-167)roads were filled with soldiers of the old Cromwellian
(48-167)army, hastening to join Lambert, it was
(48-167)clear that only the immediate suppression of his

[TG48-168, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 48, p. 168]

(48-168)force, and the capture of his person, prevented the
(48-168)renewal of general hostilities.
(48-168) In so delicate a state of affairs, it was of importance
(48-168)that the Restoration, being the measure to
(48-168)which all wise men looked as the only radical cure
(48-168)for the distresses and disorders of the kingdom,
(48-168)should be executed hastily, leaving it in future to
(48-168)the mutual prudence of the King and his subjects
(48-168)to avoid the renewal of those points of quarrel
(48-168)which had given rise to the Civil War of 1641;
(48-168)since which time, both Royalists and Parliamentarians
(48-168)had suffered such extreme misery as was
(48-168)likely to make them very cautious how the one made
(48-168)unjust attempts to extend the power of the Crown,
(48-168)or the other to resist it while within its constitutional
(48-168)limits.
(48-168) The King landed at Dover on 26th May, 1660,
(48-168)and was received by general Monk, now gratified
(48-168)and honoured with the dukedom of Albemarle,
(48-168)the Order of the Garter, and the command of the
(48-168)army. He entered London on the 29th, which was
(48-168)also his birth-day; and with him came his two
(48-168)brothers, James Duke of York, of whom we shall
(48-168)have much to say, and the Duke of Gloucester, who
(48-168)died early. They were received with such extravagant

(48-168)shouts of welcome, that the King said to
(48-168)those around him, "It must surely have been our
(48-168)own fault, that we have been so long absent from a
(48-168)country where every one seems so glad to see us."

[TG49-170, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 49, p. 170]

(49-170) Of Charles the Second, who thus unexpectedly,
(49-170)and as it were by miracle, was replaced on his
(49-170)father's throne, in spite of so many obstacles as
(49-170)within even a week or two of the event seemed to
(49-170)render it incredible, I have not much that is
(49-170)advantageous to tell you. He was a prince of an
(49-170)excellent understanding, of which he made less use
(49-170)than he ought to have done; a graceful address,
(49-170)much ready wit, and no deficiency of courage.
(49-170)Unfortunately, he was very fond of pleasure, and,
(49-170)in his zeal to pursue it, habitually neglected the
(49-170)interests of his kingdom. He was very selfish too,
(49-170)like all whose own gratification is their sole pursuit;
(49-170)and he seems to have cared little what
(49-170)became of friends or enemies, providing he could
(49-170)maintain himself on the throne, get money to supply

[TG49-171, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 49, p. 171]

(49-171)the expenses of a luxurious and dissolute court, and
(49-171)enjoy a life of easy and dishonourable pleasure.
(49-171)He was good-natured in general; but any apprehension
(49-171)of his own safety easily induced him to be
(49-171)severe and even cruel, for his love of self predominated
(49-171)above both his sense of justice and his
(49-171)natural clemency of temper. He was always willing
(49-171)to sacrifice sincerity to convenience, and perhaps
(49-171)the satirical epitaph, written upon him at his
(49-171)own request, by his witty favourite, the Earl of

(49-171)Rochester, in not more severe than just --
(49-171) "Here lies our Sovereign Lord the King,
(49-171) Whose word no man relies on;
(49-171) Who never said a foolish thing,
(49-171) And never did a wise one."
(49-171)After this sketch of the King's character, we must
(49-171)return to Scotland, from which we have been
(49-171)absent since Monk's march from Coldstream, to
(49-171)accomplish the Restoration.
(49-171) This great event was celebrated with the same
(49-171)general and joyful assent in Scotland which had
(49-171)hailed it in the sister country. Indeed the Scots,
(49-171)during the whole war, can hardly be said to have
(49-171)quitted their sentiments of loyalty to the monarchy.
(49-171)They had fought against Charles I, first to establish
(49-171)Presbytery in their own country, and then to
(49-171)extend it into England; but then even the most
(49-171)rigid of the Presbyterians had united in the resistance
(49-171)to the English invasion, had owned the right
(49-171)of Charles the Second, and asserted it to their
(49-171)severe national loss at the battle of Dunbar. Since
(49-171)the eventful overthrow, the influence of the Church

[TG49-172, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 49, p. 172]

(49-172)of Scotland over the people at large had been
(49-172)considerably diminished, by disputes among the
(49-172)ministers themselves, as they espoused more rigid or
(49-172)more moderate doctrines, and by the various modes
(49-172)in which it had been Cromwell's policy to injure
(49-172)their respectability, and curb their power. But
(49-172)the Presbyterian interest was still very strong in
(49-172)Scotland. It entirely engrossed the western counties,
(49-172)had a large share of influence in the south and
(49-172)midland provinces, and was only less predominant
(49-172)in the northern shires, where the Episcopal interest

(49-172)prevailed.

(49-172) The Presbyterian church was sufficiently alive
(49-172)to their own interest and that of their body, for
(49-172)they had sent to Monk's army, ere it had reached
(49-172)London, an agent or commissioner to take care of
(49-172)the affairs of the Scottish Church in any revolution
(49-172)which should take place in consequence of the
(49-172)General's expedition.

(49-172) This agent was James Sharpe, famous during his
(49-172)life, and still more in his deplorable death. At
(49-172)this time he was a man competently learned, bold,
(49-172)active, and ambitious, displaying much zeal for the
(49-172)interest of the Church, and certainly by no means
(49-172)negligent of his own. This Master James Sharpe
(49-172)quickly found, while in London, that there was
(49-172)little purpose of establishing the Presbyterian
(49-172)religion in Scotland. It is true, that King Charles
(49-172)had, on his former expedition into Scotland,
(49-172)deliberately accepted and sworn to the Solemn League
(49-172)and Covenant, the principal object of which was
(49-172)the establishment of Presbytery of the most rigid

[TG49-173, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 49, p. 173]

(49-173)kind. It was also true, that the Earl of Lauderdale,
(49-173)who, both from his high talents, and from the
(49-173)long imprisonment which he had sustained ever
(49-173)since the battle of Worcester, had a peculiar title
(49-173)to be consulted on Scottish affairs, strongly advised
(49-173)the King to suffer his northern subjects to retain
(49-173)possession of their darling form of worship; and
(49-173)though he endeavoured to give this advice in the
(49-173)manner most agreeable to the King, ridiculing
(49-173)bitterly the pedantry of the Scottish ministers, and
(49-173)reprobating the uses made of the Covenant, and in
(49-173)so far gratifying and amusing the King, still he

(49-173)returned to the point, that the Covenant and
(49-173)Presbyterian discipline ought not to be removed from
(49-173)Scotland, while the people continued to partial to
(49-173)them. They should be treated, he argued, like
(49-173)forward children, whom their keepers do not vex
(49-173)by struggling to wrest from them an unfitting plaything,
(49-173)but quietly wait to withdraw it when sleep
(49-173)or satiety makes it indifferent to them.
(49-173) But the respect due to the King's personal
(49-173)engagement, as well as the opinion thus delivered
(49-173)by this worldly-wise nobleman, were strongly
(49-173)contested by those Cavaliers who professed absolute
(49-173)loyalty and devotion to the King, and affected to
(49-173)form their political opinions on those of Montrose.
(49-173)They laid upon the Presbyterian Church the whole
(49-173)blame of the late rebellion, and contended that the
(49-173)infamous transaction of delivering up Charles the
(49-173)First to the Parliamentary forces, was the act of
(49-173)an army guided by Presbyterian counsels. In short,
(49-173)they imputed to the Church of Scotland the whole

[TG49-174, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 49, p. 174]

(49-174)original guilt of the war, and though it was allowed
(49-174)that they at length joined the royal cause, it
(49-174)was immediately added that their accession only
(49-174)took place when they were afraid of being deprived
(49-174)of their power over men's consciences, by Cromwell
(49-174)and his independent schismatics. The King
(49-174)was then reminded, that he had been received by the
(49-174)Presbyterians less as their prince than as a passive
(49-174)tool and engine, whom they determined to indulge
(49-174)in nothing save the name of a Sovereign; and that
(49-174)his taking the Covenant had been under a degree
(49-174)of moral restraint, which rendered it as little binding
(49-174)as if imposed by personal violence. Lastly, the

(49-174)King was assured that the whole people of Scotland
(49-174)were now so much delighted with his happy restoration,
(49-174)that the moment was highly favourable for
(49-174)any innovation either in church or state, which
(49-174)might place the crown firmer on his head; that no
(49-174)change could be so important as the substitution of
(49-174)Episcopacy for Presbytery; and that the opportunity,
(49-174)if lost, might never return.

(49-174) The King himself had personal reasons, though
(49-174)they ought not to have entered into such a discussion,
(49-174)for recollecting with disgust the affronts and
(49-174)rigorous treatment which he had received from the
(49-174)Presbyterian leaders, before the battle of Dunbar
(49-174)had diminished their power. He had then adopted
(49-174)a notion that Presbytery was not a religion "for
(49-174)a gentleman," and he now committed to Lord
(49-174) Middleton, who was to be his High Commissioner and
(49-174)representative in the Scottish Parliament, full
(49-174)powers to act in the matter of altering the national

[TG49-175, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 49, p. 175]

(49-175)religious establishment to the Episcopal model, as
(49-175)soon as he should think proper.

(49-175) This determination was signing the doom of
(49-175)Presbytery as far as Charles could do so; for
(49-175)Middleton, though once in the service of the
(49-175)Covenanting Parliament, and as such opposed to
(49-175)Montrose, by whom he was beaten at the Bridge of
(49-175)Dee, had afterwards been Major-General of the
(49-175)Duke of Hamilton's ill-fated army, which was
(49-175)destroyed at Uttoxeter in 1648, and ever since that
(49-175)period had fought bravely, though unsuccessfully,
(49-175)in the cause of Charles, maintaining at the same
(49-175)time the tenets of the most extravagant Royalism.
(49-175)He was a good soldier, but in other respects a man

(49-175)of inferior talents, who had lived the life of an
(49-175)adventurer, and who, in enjoying the height of
(49-175)fortune which he had attained, was determined to
(49-175)indulge without control all his favourite propensities.
(49-175)These were, unhappily, of a coarse and scandalous
(49-175)nature. The Covenanters had assumed an
(49-175)exterior of strict demeanor and precise morality,
(49-175)and the Cavaliers, in order to show themselves
(49-175)their opposites in every respect, gave into the most
(49-175)excessive indulgences in wine and revelry, and
(49-175)conceived that in doing so they showed their loyalty
(49-175)to the King, and their contempt of what they
(49-175)termed the formal hypocrisy of his enemies. When
(49-175)the Scottish Parliament met, the members were,
(49-175)in many instances, under the influence of wine, and
(49-175)they were more than once obliged to adjourn,
(49-175)because the Royal Commissioner was too intoxicated
(49-175)to behave properly in the chair.

[TG49-176, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 49, p. 176]

(49-176) While the Scottish Parliament was in this jovial
(49-176)humour, it failed not to drive forward the schemes
(49-176)of the Commissioner Middleton, and of the very
(49-176)violent Royalists, with a zeal which was equally
(49-176)imprudent and impolitic. At once, and by a single
(49-176)sweeping resolution, it annulled and rescinded
(49-176)every statute and ordinance which had been made
(49-176)by those holding the supreme authority in Scotland
(49-176)since the commencement of the civil wars; although
(49-176)in doing so, it set aside many laws useful to the
(49-176)subject, many which had received the personal
(49-176)assent of the Sovereign, and some that were entered
(49-176)into expressly for his defence, and the acknowledgment
(49-176)and protection of his right. By a statute
(49-176)subsequent to the Act Rescissory, as it was called,

(49-176)the whole Presbyterian church government was
(49-176)destroyed, and the Episcopal institutions, to which
(49-176)the nation had shown themselves so adverse, were
(49-176)rashly and precipitately established. James Sharpe,
(49-176)to whom allusion has already been made, who had
(49-176)yielded to the high temptations held out to him,
(49-176)was named Lord Bishop of Saint Andrews, and
(49-176)Primate of Scotland, and other persons, either

[TG49-177, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 49, p. 177]

(49-177)ancient members of the Episcopal Church, or new
(49-177)converts to the doctrines which seemed a sure road
(49-177)to preferment, were appointed Prelates, with seats
(49-177)in Parliament, and who afterwards attained great
(49-177)influence in the councils of the nation.

(49-177) It may seem wonderful that such great changes,
(49-177)and in a matter so essential, should have been made
(49-177)without more violent opposition. But the general
(49-177)joy at finding themselves delivered from the
(49-177)domination of England; the withdrawing the troops,
(49-177)and abandoning the citadels by which Cromwell
(49-177)had ruled them, as a foreign conqueror governs a
(49-177)subdued country; and the pleasure of enjoying once
(49-177)more their own Parliament under the authority of
(49-177)their native prince, had a great effect, amid the
(49-177)first tumult of joy, in reconciling the minds of the
(49-177)Scottish people to the change even of the form of
(49-177)religion, when proposed and carried through as the
(49-177)natural consequences (it was pretended)of the
(49-177)restoration of royal power.

(49-177) The Scottish nobility, and many of the gentry,
(49-177)especially the younger men, had long resented
(49-177)the interference of the Presbyterian preachers,
(49-177)in searching out scandals and improprieties within
(49-177)the bosoms of families; and this right, which the

(49-177)clergy claimed and exercised, became more and

[TG49-178, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 49, p. 178]

(49-178)more intolerable to those who were disposed to
(49-178)adopt the gay and dissolute manners which distinguished
(49-178)the Cavaliers of England, and who had for
(49-178)some time regarded with resentment the interference
(49-178)and rebukes with which the Presbyterian
(49-178)clergy claimed the right of checking their career of
(49-178)pleasure.

(49-178) The populace of the towns were amused with
(49-178)processions, largesses, free distribution of liquor,
(49-178)and such like marks of public rejoicing, by which
(49-178)they are generally attracted. And I cannot help
(49-178)mentioning as remarkable, that on 23d April, 1661,
(49-178)Jenny Geddes, the very woman who had given the
(49-178)first signal of civil broil, by throwing her stool at
(49-178)the Dean of Edinburgh's head, when he read the
(49-178)service-book on the memorable 23d July, 1637,
(49-178)showed her conversion to loyalty by contributing
(49-178)the materials of her green-stall, her baskets, shelves,
(49-178)forms, and even her own wicker-chair, to augment
(49-178)a bonfire kindled in honour of his Majesty's
(49-178)coronation, and the proceedings of his Parliament.
(49-178) There were many however, in Scotland, who
(49-178)were very differently affected by the hasty proceedings
(49-178)of Middleton and his jovial Parliament, of
(49-178)whose sentiments I shall have much to say
(49-178)hereafter.

(49-178) The greatest evil to be apprehended from the
(49-178)King's return, was the probability that he might be
(49-178)disposed to distinguish the more especial enemies
(49-178)of himself and his father, and perpetuate the
(49-178)memory of former injuries and quarrels, by taking
(49-178)vengeance for them. Charles had indeed published

[TG49-179, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 49, p. 179]

(49-179)a promise of indemnity and of oblivion, for all
(49-179)offences during the civil war, against his own or his
(49-179)father's person. But this proclamation bore an
(49-179)exception of such persons as Parliament should point
(49-179)out as especially deserving of punishment. Accordingly,
(49-179)those who had been actively concerned in the
(49-179)death, or, as it may well be termed, the murder of
(49-179)Charles I, were, with one or two others, who had
(49-179)been peculiarly violent during the late times,
(49-179)excepted from pardon; and although but few were
(49-179)actually executed, yet it had been better perhaps to
(49-179)have spared several even of the most obnoxious
(49-179)class. But that is a question belonging to English
(49-179)history. In order that Scotland might enjoy the
(49-179)benefit of similar examples of severity, it was
(49-179)resolved also to bring to trial some of the most active
(49-179)persons there.

(49-179) Among these, the Marquis of Argyle, whom we
(49-179)have so often mentioned, was by far the most
(49-179)considerable. He had repaired to London on the
(49-179)Restoration, hoping to make interest with the King,
(49-179)but was instantly arrested, and imprisoned in the
(49-179)Tower, and afterwards sent down to Scotland to
(49-179)try. There was a strong desire, on the part of the
(49-179)Cavalier party, that Argyle should be put to death,
(49-179)in revenge for the execution of Montrose, to whom,
(49-179)you must remember, he had been a deadly and
(49-179)persevering enemy. Undoubtedly this powerful
(49-179)nobleman had been guilty of much cruelty in
(49-179)suppressing the Royalist party in the Highlands; and
(49-179)had, probably, been privately accessory to Montrose's

[TG49-180, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 49, p. 180]

(49-180)tragic fate, though he seemed to hold
(49-180)aloof from the councils held on the subject. But
(49-180)it was then greatly too late to call him into judgment
(49-180)for these things. The King, when he came
(49-180)to Scotland, after Montrose's execution, had
(49-180)acknowledged all that was done against that illustrious
(49-180)loyalist as good service rendered to himself, had
(49-180)entered the gate of Edinburgh, over which the
(49-180)features of his faithful general were blackening in
(49-180)the sun, and had received, in such circumstances,
(49-180)the attendance and assistance of Argyle as of a
(49-180)faithful and deserving subject. Nay, besides all
(49-180)this, which in effect implied a pardon for Argyle's
(49-180)past offences, the Marquis was protected by the
(49-180)general Act of Remission, granted by Charles in
(49-180)1651, for all state offences committed before that
(49-180)period.
(49-180) Sensible of the weight of this defence, the
(49-180)Crown counsel and judges searched anxiously for
(49-180)some evidence of Argyle's having communicated
(49-180)with the English army subsequently to 1651.

[TG49-181, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 49, p. 181]

(49-181)The trial was long protracted, and the accused
(49-181)was about to be acquitted for want of testimony
(49-181)to acts of more importance than that compulsory
(49-181)submission which the conquering Englishmen
(49-181)demand from all, and which no one had the power
(49-181)to refuse. But just when the Marquis was about
(49-181)to be discharged, a knock was heard at the door
(49-181)of the court, and a despatch just arrived from
(49-181)London was handed to the Lord Advocate. As
(49-181)it was discovered that the name of the messenger
(49-181)was Campbell, it was concluded that he bore the

(49-181)pardon, or remission of the Marquis; but the
(49-181)contents were very different, being certain letters
(49-181)which had been written by Argyle to General
(49-181)Monk, when the latter was acting under Cromwell,
(49-181)in which he naturally endeavoured to gain
(49-181)the general's good opinion, by expressing a zeal
(49-181)for the English interest, then headed and managed
(49-181)by his correspondent. Monk, it seems, had not
(49-181)intended to produce these letters, if other matter
(49-181)had occurred to secure Argyle's condemnation,
(49-181)desirous, doubtless, to avoid the ignominy of so
(49-181)treacherous an action; yet he resolved to send
(49-181)them, that they might be produced in evidence,
(49-181)rather than that the accused should be acquitted.
(49-181)This transaction leaves a deep blot on the character
(49-181)of the restorer of the of the English monarchy.
(49-181) These letters, so faithlessly brought forward,
(49-181)were received as full evidence of the Marquis's
(49-181)ready compliance with the English enemy; and
(49-181)being found guilty, though only of doing that
(49-181)which no man in Scotland dared refuse to do at

[TG49-182, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 49, p. 182]

(49-182)the time, he received sentence of death by
(49-182)beheading.
(49-182) As Argyle rose from his knees, on which he had
(49-182)received the sentence, he offered to speak, but the
(49-182)trumpets sounding, he stopped till they ended;
(49-182)then he said, "This reminds me that I had the
(49-182)honour to set the crown upon the King's head"
(49-182)(meaning at the coronation at Scone), "and now
(49-182)he hastens me to a better crown than his own!"
(49-182)Then turning to the Commissioner and Parliament,
(49-182)he added, "You have the indemnity of an
(49-182)earthly king among your hands, and have denied

(49-182)me a share in that, but you cannot hinder me from
(49-182)the indemnity of the King of Kings; and shortly
(49-182)you must be before his tribunal. I pray he mete
(49-182)not out such measure to you as you have done to
(49-182)me, when you are called to account for all your
(49-182)actings, and this among the rest."

(49-182) He faced death with a courage which other
(49-182)passages of his life had not prepared men to
(49-182)expect, for he was generally esteemed to be of a
(49-182)timorous disposition. On the scaffold, he told a
(49-182)friend that he felt himself capable of braving
(49-182)death like a roman, but he preferred submitting
(49-182)to it with the patience of a Christian. The rest
(49-182)of his behaviour made his words good; and thus
(49-182)died the celebrated Marquis of Argyle, so important
(49-182)a person during this melancholy time. He
(49-182)was called by the Highlanders Gillespie Grumach,
(49-182)or the Grim, from a obliquity in his eyes, which
(49-182)gave a sinister expression to his countenance.
(49-182)The Marquis's head replaced on the tower of the

[TG49-183, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 49, p. 183]

(49-183)Tolbooth that of Montrose, his formidable enemy,
(49-183)whose scatted limbs were now assembled, and
(49-183)committed with much pomp to an honourable
(49-183)grave.

(49-183) John Swinton of Swinton, representative of a
(49-183)family which is repeatedly mentioned in the
(49-183)preceding series of these tales, was destined to share
(49-183)Argyle's fate. He had taken the side of Cromwell
(49-183)very early after the battle of Dunbar, and it
(49-183)was by his councils, and those of Lockhart of Lee,
(49-183)that the Usurper chiefly managed the affairs of
(49-183)Scotland. He was, therefore, far more deeply
(49-183)engaged in compliances with Cromwell than the

(49-183)Marquis of Argyle, though less obnoxious in
(49-183)other respects. Swinton was a man of acute and
(49-183)penetrating judgment, and great activity of mind;
(49-183)yet, finding himself beset with danger, and sent
(49-183)down to Scotland in the same ship with Argyle,
(49-183)he chose, from conviction, or to screen himself
(49-183)from danger, to turn Quaker. As he was determined
(49-183)that his family should embrace the same
(49-183)faith, his eldest son, when about to rise in the
(49-183)morning, was surprised to see that his laced scarlet
(49-183)coat, his rapier, and other parts of a fashionable

[TG49-184, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 49, p. 184]

(49-184)young gentleman's dress at the time, were removed,
(49-184)and that a plain suit of grey cloth, with a slouched
(49-184)hat, without loop or button, was laid down by his
(49-184)bedside. He could hardly be prevailed on to
(49-184)assume this simple habit.
(49-184) His father, on the contrary, seemed entirely to
(49-184)have humbled himself to the condition he had
(49-184)assumed; and when he appeared at the bar in the
(49-184)plain attire of his new sect, he declined to use any
(49-184)of the legal pleas afforded by the act of indemnity,
(49-184)or otherwise, but answered according to his new
(49-184)religious principles of non-resistance, that it was
(49-184>true he had been guilty of the crimes charged
(49-184)against him, and many more, but it was when he
(49-184)was in the gall of wickedness and bond of iniquity;
(49-184)and that now, being called to the light, he acknowledged
(49-184)his past errors, and did not refuse to atone
(49-184)for them with his life. The mode of his delivery
(49-184)was at once so dignified and so modest, and the
(49-184)sight of a person who had enjoyed great power,
(49-184)placed under such altered circumstances, appears
(49-184)to have so much affected the Parliament before

(49-184)whom he stood, that his life was spared, though he
(49-184)was impoverished by forfeiture and confiscation.
(49-184)The people in his own country said, that if Swinton
(49-184)had not trembled, he would not have quaked; but
(49-184)notwithstanding this pun, his conversion seems
(49-184)to have been perfectly sincere. It is said, that he
(49-184)had a principal share in converting to the opinions
(49-184)of the Friends, the celebrated Robert Barclay, who
(49-184)afterwards so well defended their cause in the
(49-184)"Apology for the people called, in scorn, Quakers."

[TG49-185, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 49, p. 185]

(49-185)Swinton remained a member of their congregation
(49-185)till his death, and was highly esteemed among them.
(49-185) The escape of Judge Swinton might be
(49-185)accounted almost miraculous, for those who followed
(49-185)him through the same reign, although persons
(49-185)chiefly of inferior note, experienced no clemency.
(49-185)Johnstone of Warriston, executed for high treason,
(49-185)was indeed a man of rank and a lawyer, who
(49-185)had complied with all the measures of Cromwell
(49-185)and of the following times. But it seemed petty
(49-185)vengeance which selected as subjects for capital
(49-185)punishment, Mr Guthrie, a clergyman, who had
(49-185)written a book imputing the wrath of Heaven
(49-185)against Scotland to the sins of Charles I and his
(49-185)house, and a man called Govan, merely because
(49-185)he had been the first to bring to Scotland the news
(49-185)of Charles's death, and had told it in terms of
(49-185)approbation.
(49-185) An act of oblivion was at length passed; but it
(49-185)contained a fatal clause, that those who might be
(49-185)entitled to plead the benefit of it, should be liable
(49-185)to certain fines, in proportion to their estates. The
(49-185)imposition of those fines was remitted to a

(49-185)committee of Parliament, who secretly accepted large
(49-185)bribes from those who were the most guilty, and
(49-185)inflicted severe penalties on such as were comparatively
(49-185)innocent, but who disdained to compound
(49-185)for their trespasses.

(49-185) A transaction of a description still more daring,
(49-185)shows the rapacious and reckless character of the
(49-185)commissioner Middleton, in the strongest light.

(49-185) The Marquis of Argyle, as I have already said,

[TG49-186, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 49, p. 186]

(49-186)had been executed, and his son succeeded to the
(49-186)title of Earl of Argyle only. He had repaired
(49-186)to London, in order to make some interest at court,
(49-186)and had been persuaded that some of the minions
(49-186)of Lord Clarendon, then at the head of affairs,
(49-186)would, for a thousand pounds, undertake to procure
(49-186)for him that minister's patronage and favour.

(49-186)Argyle upon this wrote a confidential letter to
(49-186)Lord Duffus, in which he told him, that providing
(49-186)he could raise a thousand pounds, he would be able
(49-186)to obtain the protection of the English minister;
(49-186)that in such case he trusted the present would
(49-186)prove but a gowk storm; and after some other
(49-186)depreciating expressions concerning the prevailing
(49-186)party in the Scottish Parliament, he added, that
(49-186)"then the King would see their tricks."

(49-186) This letter fell into the hands of Middleton, who
(49-186)determined, that for expression so innocent and
(49-186)simple, being in fact the natural language of a rival
(49-186)courtier, Argyle should be brought to trial for
(49-186)leasing-making; a crime, the essence of which
(49-186)consisted in spreading abroad falsehoods, tending
(49-186)to sow dissension between the King and the people.
(49-186)On this tyrannical law, which had been raked up

(49-186)on purpose, but which never could have been
(49-186)intended to apply to a private letter, Argyle was
(49-186)condemned to lose his head, and forfeit his estate.
(49-186)But the account of such a trial and sentence for a
(49-186)vague expression of ill-humour, struck Charles and
(49-186)his privy council with astonishment when it reached

[TG49-187, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 49, p. 187]

(49-187)England, and the Chancellor Clarendon was the
(49-187)first to exclaim in the King's presence, that did he
(49-187)think he lived in a country where such gross
(49-187)oppression could be permitted, he would get out of
(49-187)his Majesty's dominions as fast as the gout would
(49-187)permit him. An order was sent down, forbidding
(49-187)the execution of Argyle, who was nevertheless
(49-187)detained prisoner until the end of Middleton's
(49-187)government, -- a severe penalty for imputing tricks to
(49-187)the royal Ministry. He was afterwards restored to
(49-187)his liberty and estates, to become at a later period
(49-187)a victim to similar persecution.
(49-187) It was by driving on the alteration of church
(49-187)government in Scotland, that Middleton hoped to
(49-187)regain the place in Charles's favour, and Clarendon's
(49-187)good opinion, which he had lost by his
(49-187)excesses and severity. A general act of uniformity
(49-187)was passed for enforcing the observances of the
(49-187)Episcopal church, and it was followed up by an order
(49-187)of council of the most violent character,
(49-187)formed, it is said, during the heat of a
(49-187)drunken revel at Glasgow.(1st Oct. 1662) This furious

[TG49-188, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 49, p. 188]

(49-188)mandate commanded that all ministers who had
(49-188)not received a presentation from their lay patrons,

(49-188)and spiritual induction into their livings from the
(49-188)prelates, should be removed from them by military
(49-188)force, if necessary. All their parishioners were
(49-188)prohibited from attending upon the ministry of
(49-188)such nonconformists, or acknowledging them as
(49-188)clergymen. This was at one stroke displacing all
(49-188)Presbyterian ministers who might scruple at once
(49-188)to become Episcopalians.

(49-188) It appeared by this rash action, that Middleton
(49-188)entertained an opinion that the ministers, however
(49-188)attached to Presbyterianism, would submit to the
(49-188)Episcopal model rather than lose their livings,
(49-188)which were the only means most of them had for
(49-188)the support of themselves and families. But to
(49-188)the great astonishment of the commissioners, about
(49-188)three hundred and fifty ministers resigned their
(49-188)churches without hesitation, and determined to
(49-188)submit to the last extremity of poverty, rather than
(49-188)enjoy comfort at the price of renouncing the tenets
(49-188)of their church. In the north parts of Scotland, in
(49-188)the midland counties, and along the eastern side of
(49-188)the Borders, many or most of the clergy conformed.
(49-188)But the western shires, where Presbytery had been
(49-188)ever most flourishing, were almost entirely deprived

[TG49-189, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 49, p. 189]

(49-189)of their pastors; and the result was, that a
(49-189)number equal to one-third of the whole parish
(49-189)ministers of Scotland, were at once expelled from
(49-189)their livings, and the people deprived of their
(49-189)instructions.

(49-189) The congregations of the exiled preachers were
(49-189)strongly affected by this sweeping change, and by
(49-189)the fate of their clergymen. Many of the latter
(49-189)had, by birth or marriage, relations and connexions

(49-189)in the parishes from which they were summarily
(49-189)banished, and they had all been the zealous
(49-189)instructors of the people in religion, and often their
(49-189)advisers in secular matters also. It was not in
(49-189)nature that their congregations should have seen
(49-189)them with indifference suddenly reduced from
(49-189)decent comfort to indigence, and submitting to it
(49-189)with patience, rather than sacrifice their conscientious
(49-189)scruples to their interest. Accordingly, they
(49-189)showed, in almost every case, the deepest sympathy
(49-189)with the distresses of their pastors, and corresponding
(49-189)indignation against the proceedings of the
(49-189)Government.
(49-189) The causes also for which the clergy suffered, was
(49-189)not indifferent to the laity. It is true, the consequences

[TG49-190, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 49, p. 190]

(49-190)of the Solemn League and Covenant had
(49-190)been so fatal, that at the time of the Restoration
(49-190)none but a few high-flying and rigid Presbyterians
(49-190)would have desired the re-establishment of that
(49-190)celebrated engagement. It depended only on the
(49-190)temper and moderation of the Court, to have reduced
(49-190)what was once the idol of all true Presbyterians,
(49-190)to the insignificance of an old almanack, as it
(49-190)had been termed by the Independents. But there
(49-190)was great difference between suffering the Covenant
(49-190)to fall into neglect, as containing doctrines too
(49-190)highly pitched and readily susceptible of
(49-190)misrepresentation, and in complying with the Government
(49-190)by ridiculing as absurd, and renouncing as
(49-190)odious, a document, which had been once so much
(49-190)respected.
(49-190) The Parliament, however, commanded the
(49-190)Solemn League and Covenant to be burned at the

(49-190)Cross of Edinburgh, and elsewhere, with every
(49-190)mark of dishonour; while figures, dressed up to
(49-190)resemble Western whigamores, as they were called,
(49-190)were also committed to the flames, to represent a
(49-190)burning of Presbyterianism in effigy. But as those
(49-190)who witnessed these proceedings could not but
(49-190)recollect, at the same time, that upon its first being
(49-190)formed, the same Covenant had been solemnly
(49-190)sworn to by almost all Scotland, -- nobility, gentry,
(49-190)clergy, burgesses, and people, with weeping eyes,
(49-190)and uplifted hands, and had been solemnly taken
(49-190)by the King himself, and a very large proportion
(49-190)of the statesmen, including the present Ministers, --
(49-190)it was natural they should feel involuntary respect

[TG49-191, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 49, p. 191]

(49-191)for that which once appeared so sacred to themselves,
(49-191)or to their fathers, and feel the unnecessary
(49-191)insults directed against it as a species of sacrilege.
(49-191) The oaths, also, which imposed on every person
(49-191)in public office the duty of renouncing the
(49-191)Covenant, as an unlawful engagement, were distressing
(49-191)to the consciences of many, particularly of the lower
(49-191)class; and, in general, the efforts made to render
(49-191)the Covenant odious and contemptible, rather
(49-191)revived its decaying interest with the Scottish public.
(49-191) There was yet another aggravation of the evils
(49-191)consequent on the expulsion of the Presbyterian
(49-191)clergy. So many pulpits became vacant at once,
(49-191)that the prelates had no means of filling them up
(49-191)with suitable persons, whose talents and influence
(49-191)might have supplied the place of the exiled preachers.
(49-191)Numbers of half-educated youths were hastily
(49-191)sent for from the northern districts, in order that
(49-191)they might become curates, which was the term

(49-191)used in Scottish Episcopal Church for a parish
(49-191)priest, although commonly applied in England to
(49-191)signify a clergyman hired to discharge the duty of
(49-191)another. From the unavoidable haste in filling the
(49-191)vacancies in the church, these raw students, so
(49-191)hastily called into the spiritual vineyard, had,
(49-191)according to the historians of the period, as little
(49-191)morality as learning, and still less devotion than
(49-191)either. A northern country gentleman is said to
(49-191)have cursed the scruples of the Presbyterian clergy,
(49-191)because, he said, ever since they threw up their
(49-191)livings, it was impossible to find a boy to herd cows
(49-191)-- they had all gone away to be curates in the west.

[TG49-192, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 49, p. 192]

(49-192) The natural consequences of all these adverse
(49-192)circumstances were, that the Presbyterian congregations
(49-192)withdrew themselves in numbers from the
(49-192)parish churches, treated the curates with neglect
(49-192)and disrespect, and seeking out their ancient
(49-192)preachers in the obscurity to which they had
(49-192)retired, begged and received from them the religious
(49-192)instruction which the deprived clergymen still
(49-192)thought it their duty to impart to those who
(49-192)needed and desired it, in despite of the additional
(49-192)severities imposed by the government upon their
(49-192)doing so.

(49-192) The Episcopal Church Courts, or Commission
(49-192)Courts, as they were termed, took upon them to
(49-192)find a remedy for the defection occasioned by the
(49-192)scruples of the people. Nine prelates, and thirty-five
(49-192)commissioners from the laity, of whom a
(49-192)bishop, with four assistants, made a quorum, were

[TG49-193, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 49, p. 193]

(49-193)intrusted with the power of enforcing the acts for
(49-193)the preservation of the newly re-established Episcopal
(49-193)Church. These oppressive ecclesiastical
(49-193)courts were held wherever there was a complaint
(49-193)of nonconformity; and they employed all the
(49-193)rigours of long imprisonment, heavy fines, and
(49-193)corporal punishment, upon those who either abandoned
(49-193)the worship of their own parish church, or
(49-193)went to hear the doctrine of the Presbyterian
(49-193)clergy, whose private meetings for worship were
(49-193)termed conventicles.

(49-193) These conventicles were at first held in private
(49-193)houses, barns, or other buildings, as was the case
(49-193)in England, where (though in a much more
(49-193)moderate degree, and by milder measures) the
(49-193)general conformity of the church was also enforced.
(49-193)But as such meetings, especially if numerous
(49-193)attended, were liable to be discovered and intruded
(49-193)upon by peace-officers and soldiers, who dispersed
(49-193)them rudely, sometimes plundering the men of
(49-193)their purses, and the women of their cloaks and
(49-193)plaids, the Scottish Presbyterians had recourse to
(49-193)an expedient of safety, suggested by the wild
(49-193)character of their country, and held these forbidden
(49-193)meetings in the open air, remote alike from
(49-193)observation and interruption, in wild, solitary, and
(49-193)mountainous places, where it was neither easy to
(49-193)find them, nor safe to disturb them, unless the
(49-193)force which assailed the congregation was
(49-193)considerable.

[TG49-194, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 49, p. 194]

(49-194) On the other hand, the Privy Council doubled
(49-194)their exertions to suppress, or rather to destroy,

(49-194)the whole body of nonconformists. But the attention
(49-194)of the English ministers had been attracted
(49-194)by the violence of their proceedings. Middleton
(49-194)began to fall into disfavour with Charles, and was
(49-194)sent as governor to Tangier, in a kind of honourable
(49-194)banishment, where he lost the life which he had
(49-194)exposed to so many dangers in battle, by a fall
(49-194)down a staircase.

(49-194) Lauderdale, who succeeded to his power, had
(49-194)much more talent. He was ungainly in his
(49-194)personal appearance, being a big man, with shaggy
(49-194)red hair, coarse features, and a tongue which seemed
(49-194)too large for his mouth. But he possessed a
(49-194)great portion of sense, learning, and wit. He was
(49-194)originally zealous for the Covenant, and his
(49-194)enemies at court had pressed forward the oaths by
(49-194)which it was to be renounced with the more eagerness,
(49-194)that they hoped Lauderdale would scruple

[TG49-195, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 49, p. 195]

(49-195)to take them; but he only laughed at the idea of
(49-195)their supposing themselves capable of forming any
(49-195)oath which could obstruct the progress of his rise
(49-195)to political power.

(49-195) Being now in full authority, Lauderdale distinctly
(49-195)perceived that the violent courses adopted were
(49-195)more likely to ruin Scotland, than to establish
(49-195)Episcopacy. But he also knew, that he could not
(49-195)retain the power he had obtained, unless by keeping
(49-195)on terms with Sharpe, the Primate of Scotland, and
(49-195)the other bishops, at whose instigation these wild
(49-195)measures were adopted and carried on; and it is
(49-195)quite consistent with Lauderdale's selfish and crafty
(49-195)character, to suppose that he even urged them on
(49-195)to farther excesses, in order that, when the

(49-195)consequences had ruined their reputation, he might
(49-195)succeed to the whole of that power, of which, at
(49-195)present, the prelates had a large share. The severities
(49-195)against dissenters, therefore, were continued; and
(49-195)the ruinous pecuniary penalties which were imposed
(49-195)on nonconformists, were raised by quartering
(49-195)soldiers upon the delinquents, who were entitled to
(49-195)have lodging, meat, and drink, in their houses, and
(49-195)forage to their horses, without any payment, till
(49-195)the fine was discharged. These men, who knew
(49-195)they were placed for the purpose of a punishment
(49-195)in the families where they were quartered, took
(49-195)care to be so insolent and rapacious, that if selling
(49-195)the last article he had of any value could raise
(49-195)money, to rid him of these unwelcome guests, the
(49-195)unfortunate landlord was glad to part with them at
(49-195)whatever sacrifice.

[TG49-196, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 49, p. 196]

(49-196) The principal agents in this species of crusade
(49-196)against Calvinism, were the soldiers of the King's
(49-196)horse-guards, a body raised since the restoration,
(49-196)upon the plan of the French household troops, the
(49-196)privates of which were accounted gentlemen, being
(49-196)frequently the younger sons of men of some pretension
(49-196)to family; cavaliers by profession, accustomed
(49-196)to practise the debauchery common among the
(49-196)dissolute youth of the period, and likely, from habit
(49-196)and inclination, to be a complete pest and torment
(49-196)to any respectable house, in which they might be
(49-196)quartered. Other regiments of horse, upon the
(49-196)ordinary establishment, were raised for the same
(49-196)purpose.
(49-196) The west of Scotland, in particular Dumfriesshire,
(49-196)Ayrshire, and Galloway, were peculiarly

(49-196)harassed, as being more averse to the
(49-196)Episcopalian establishment, or, as the Council termed
(49-196)it, more refractory and obstinate than any others.
(49-196)For the purpose of punishing those nonconformists,
(49-196)Sir James Turner was sent thither with a considerable
(49-196)party of troops, and full commission from the
(49-196)Privy Council to impose and levy fines, and inflict
(49-196)all the other penalties, for enforcing general
(49-196)compliance with the Episcopal system. Sir James was
(49-196)a soldier of fortune, who had served under David
(49-196)Lesley, and afterwards in the army of Engagers,
(49-196)under the Duke of Hamilton. He was a man of
(49-196)some literature, having written a treatise on the
(49-196)Art of War, and some other works, besides his own
(49-196)Memoirs. Nevertheless, he appears, by the
(49-196)account he gives of himself in his Memoirs, to have

[TG49-197, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 49, p. 197]

(49-197)been an unscrupulous plunderer, and other
(49-197)authorities describe him as a fierce and dissolute character.
(49-197)In such hands the powers assigned by the
(49-197)Commission were not likely to slumber, although
(49-197)Sir James assures his readers that he never extorted
(49-197)above one-half of the fine imposed. But a number
(49-197)of co-operating circumstances had rendered the
(49-197)exercise of such a commission as was intrusted to
(49-197)him, less safe than it had hitherto been.

[TG50-198, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 50, p. 198]

(50-198) When the custom of holding field conventicles
(50-198)was adopted, it had the effect of raising the minds
(50-198)of those who frequented them to a higher and more
(50-198)exalted pitch of enthusiasm. The aged and more
(50-198)timid could hardly engaged on distant expeditions

(50-198)into the wild mountainous districts and the barren
(50-198)moors, and the greater part of those who attended
(50-198)divine worship on such occasions, were robust of
(50-198)body, and bold of spirit, or at least men whose
(50-198)deficiency of strength and courage were more than
(50-198)supplied by religious zeal. The view of the rocks
(50-198)and hills around them, while a sight so unusual gave
(50-198)solemnity to their acts of devotion, encouraged them
(50-198)in the natural thought of defending themselves
(50-198)against oppression, amidst the fortresses of nature's
(50-198)own construction, to which they had repaired to
(50-198)worship the God of nature, according to the mode
(50-198)their education dictated and their conscience

[TG50-199, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 50, p. 199]

(50-199)acknowledged. The recollection, that in these fastnesses
(50-199)their fathers had often found a safe retreat
(50-199)from foreign invaders, must have encouraged their
(50-199)natural confidence, and it was confirmed by the
(50-199)success with which a stand was sometimes made
(50-199)against small bodies of troops, who were occasionally
(50-199)repulsed by the sturdy Whigs whom they
(50-199)attempted to disperse. In most cases of this kind
(50-199)they behaved with moderation, inflicting no further
(50-199)penalty upon such prisoners as might fall into their
(50-199)hands, than detaining them to enjoy the benefit of
(50-199)a long sermon. Fanaticism added marvels to
(50-199)encourage this new-born spirit of resistance. They
(50-199)conceived themselves to be under the immediate

[TG50-200, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 50, p. 200]

(50-200)protection of the Power whom they worshipped,
(50-200)and in their heated state of mind expected even
(50-200)miraculous interposition. At a conventicle held

(50-200)on one of the Lomond hills in Fife, it was reported
(50-200)and believed that an angelic form appeared in
(50-200)the air, hovering above the assembled congregation,
(50-200)with his foot advanced, as if in the act of keeping
(50-200)watch for their safety.

(50-200)On the whole, the idea of repelling force by force,
(50-200)and defending themselves against the attacks of the
(50-200)soldiers, and others who assaulted them, when
(50-200)employed in divine worship, began to become more
(50-200)general among the harassed nonconformists. For
(50-200)this purpose many of the congregation assembled
(50-200)in arms, and I received the following description
(50-200)of such a scene from a lady whose mother had
(50-200)repeatedly been present on such occasions.

(50-200) The meeting was held on the Eildon hills, in the
(50-200)bosom betwixt two of the three conical tops which
(50-200)form the crest of the mountain. Trusty sentinels
(50-200)were placed on advanced posts all around, so as to
(50-200)command a view of the country below, and give
(50-200)the earliest notice of the approach of any unfriendly
(50-200)party. The clergyman occupied an elevated
(50-200)temporary pulpit, with his back to the wind. There
(50-200)were few or no males of any quality or distinction,
(50-200)for such persons could not escape detection, and
(50-200)were liable to ruin from the consequence. But
(50-200)many women of good condition, and holding the
(50-200)rank of ladies, ventured to attend the forbidden
(50-200)meeting, and were allowed to sit in front of the
(50-200)assembly. Their side-saddles were placed on the

[TG50-201, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 50, p. 201]

(50-201)ground to serve for seats, and their horses were
(50-201)tethered, or piqueted, as it is called, in the rear of
(50-201)the congregation. Before the females, and in the
(50-201)interval which divided them from the tent, or

(50-201)temporary pulpit, the arms of the men present, pikes,
(50-201)swords, and muskets, were regularly piled in such
(50-201)order as it used by soldiers, so that each man might
(50-201)in an instant assume his own weapons. When
(50-201)scenes of such a kind were repeatedly to be seen
(50-201)in different parts of the country, and while the
(50-201)Government relaxed none of that rigour which had
(50-201)thrown the nation into such a state, it was clear
(50-201)that a civil war could not be far distant.
(50-201) It was in the autumn of 1666 that the severities
(50-201)of Sir James Turner, already alluded to, seem to
(50-201)have driven the Presbyterians of the west into a
(50-201)species of despair, which broke out into insurrection.
(50-201)Some accounts say, that a party of peasants
(50-201)having used force to deliver an indigent old man,
(50-201)whom a guard of soldiers, having pinioned and
(50-201)stretched upon the ground, were dragging to prison,
(50-201)in order to compel payment of a church fine, they
(50-201)reflected upon the penalties they had incurred by
(50-201)such an exploit, and resolved to continue in arms,
(50-201)and to set the Government at defiance. Another
(50-201)account affirms, that the poor people were encouraged
(50-201)to take up arms by an unknown person, calling
(50-201)himself Captain Gray, and pretending to have
(50-201)orders to call them out from superior persons, whom
(50-201)he did not name. By what means soever they
(50-201)were first raised, they soon assembled a number of
(50-201)peasants, and marched to Dumfries with such

[TG50-202, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 50, p. 202]

(50-202)rapidity, that they surprised sir James Turner in
(50-202)his lodgings, and seized on his papers and his money.
(50-202)Captain Gray took possession of the money, and
(50-202)left the party, never to rejoin them; having, it is
(50-202)probable, discharged his task, when he had hurried

(50-202)these poor ignorant men into such a dangerous
(50-202)mutiny. Whether he was employed by some
(50-202)hot-headed Presbyterian, who thought the time favourable
(50-202)for a rising against the prelates, or whether
(50-202)by Government themselves, desirous of encouraging
(50-202)an insurrection which, when put down, might afford
(50-202)a crop of fines and forfeitures, cannot now be
(50-202)known.

(50-202) The country gentlemen stood on their guard,
(50-202)and none of them joined the insurgents; but a few
(50-202)of the most violent of the Presbyterian ministers
(50-202)took part with them. Two officers of low rank
(50-202)were chosen to command so great an undertaking;
(50-202)their names were Wallace and Learmont. They
(50-202)held council together, whether they should put Sir
(50-202)James Turner to death or not; but he represented
(50-202)to them that, severe as they might think him, he
(50-202)had been much less so than his commission and
(50-202)instructions required and authorized; and as, upon
(50-202)examining his papers, he was found to have spoken
(50-202)the truth, his life was spared, and he was carried
(50-202)with them as a prisoner or hostage. Being an
(50-202)experienced soldier, he wondered to see the accurate
(50-202)obedience of these poor countrymen, the excellent
(50-202)order in which they marched, and their attention to

[TG50-203, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 50, p. 203]

(50-203)the duties of outposts and sentinels. But, probably,
(50-203)no peasant of Europe is sooner able to adapt himself
(50-203)to military discipline than a native of Scotland,
(50-203)who is usually prudent enough to consider, that it
(50-203)is only mutual co-operation and compliance with
(50-203)orders which can make numbers effectual.
(50-203) When they had attained their greatest strength,
(50-203)and had assembled a Lanark, after two or three

(50-203)days' wondering, the insurgents might amount to
(50-203)three thousand men. They there issued a declaration,
(50-203)which bore that they acknowledged the
(50-203)King's authority, and that the arms which they had
(50-203)assumed were only to be used in self-defence. But
(50-203)as, at the same time, they renewed the Covenant,
(50-203)of which the principal object was, not to obtain for
(50-203)Presbytery a mere toleration, but a mere toleration, but a triumphant
(50-203)superiority, they would probably, as is usual in
(50-203)such cases, have extended or restricted their objects
(50-203)as success or disaster attended their enterprise.
(50-203) Mean time, General Dalziel, commonly called
(50-203)Tom Dalziel, a remarkable personage of those
(50-203)times, had marched from Edinburgh at the head of
(50-203)a small body of regular forces, summoning all the
(50-203)lieges to join him, on pain of being accounted traitors.
(50-203)Dalziel had been bred in the Russian wars,
(50-203)after having served under Montrose. He was an
(50-203)enthusiastic Royalist, and would never shave his
(50-203)beard after the King's death. His dress was otherwise
(50-203)so different from what was then the mode,
(50-203)that Charles the Second used to accuse him of a
(50-203)plan to draw crowds of children together, that they
(50-203)might squeeze each other to death while they gazed

[TG50-204, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 50, p. 204]

(50-204)on his singular countenance and attire. He was a
(50-204)man of a fierce and passionate temper, as appears
(50-204)from his once striking a prisoner on the face, with
(50-204)the hilt of his dagger, till the blood sprung; -- an
(50-204)unmanly action, though he was provoked by the
(50-204)language of the man, who called the General "a
(50-204)Muscovian beast, who used to roast men."
(50-204) This ferocious commander was advancing from
(50-204)Glasgow to Lanark, when he suddenly learned that

(50-204)the insurgents had given him the slip, and were in
(50-204)full march towards the capital. The poor men had
(50-204)been deceived into a belief that West Lothian was
(50-204)ready to rise in their favour, and that they had a
(50-204)large party of friends in the metropolis itself.

[TG50-205, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 50, p. 205]

(50-205)Under these false hopes, they approached as far as
(50-205)Colinton, within four miles of Edinburgh. Here
(50-205)they learned that the city was fortified, and cannon
(50-205)placed before the gates; that the College of Justice,
(50-205)which can always furnish a large body of serviceable
(50-205)men, was under arms, and, as their informer
(50-205)expressed it, every advocate in his bandaliers.
(50-205)They learned at the same time, that their own
(50-205)depressed party within the town had not the least
(50-205)opportunity or purpose of rising.
(50-205) Discouraged with these news, and with the
(50-205)defection of many of their army, -- for their numbers
(50-205)were reduced to eight or nine hundred, dispirited
(50-205)and exhausted by want, disappointment, and fatigue
(50-205)-- Learmont and Wallace drew back their diminished
(50-205)forced to the eastern shoulder of the Pentland
(50-205)Hills, and encamped on an eminence called Rullion
(50-205)Green. They had reposed themselves for some
(50-205)hours, when, towards evening, they observed a body
(50-205)of horse coming through the mountains, by a pass
(50-205)leading from the west. At first the Covenanters
(50-205)entertained the flattering dream that it was the
(50-205)expected reinforcement from West Lothian. But
(50-205)the standards and kettle-drums made it soon
(50-205)evident that it was the vanguard of Dalziel's troops,
(50-205)which, having kept the opposite skirts of the Pentland
(50-205)ridge till they passed the village of Currie, had
(50-205)there learned the situation of the insurgents, and

[TG50-206, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 50, p. 206]

(50-206)moved eastward in quest of them by a road through
(50-206)the hills.

(50-206) Dalziel instantly led his men to the assault. The
(50-206)insurgents behaved with courage. They twice repulsed
(50-206)the attack of the Royalists.(18th Nov. 1666) But
(50-206)it was renewed by a large force of cavalry
(50-206)on the insurgents' right wing, which bore
(50-206)down and scattered a handful of wearied horse who
(50-206)were there posted, and broke the ranks of the
(50-206)infantry. The slaughter in the field and in the chase
(50-206)was very small, not exceeding fifty men, and only
(50-206)a hundred and thirt were made prisoners. The
(50-206)King's cavalry, being composed chiefly of gentlemen,
(50-206)pities their unfortunate countrymen, and made
(50-206)little slaughter; but many were intercepted and
(50-206)slain by the country people in the neighbourhood,
(50-206)who were unfriendly to their cause, and had
(50-206)sustained some pillage from their detached parties.
(50-206) About twenty of the prisoners were executed at
(50-206)Edinburgh as rebels, many of them being put to
(50-206)the torture. This was practised in various ways
(50-206)-- sometimes by squeezing the fingers with screws
(50-206)called thumbikins, sometimes by the boot, a species
(50-206)of punishment peculiar to Scotland. It consisted
(50-206)in placing the leg of the unfortunate person in a
(50-206)very strong wooden case, called a Boot, and driving
(50-206)down wedges between his knee and the frame, by
(50-206)which the limb was often crushed and broken.
(50-206) But though these horrid cruelties could tear the
(50-206)flesh and crush the bones of the unfortunate victims,
(50-206)they could not abate their courage. Triumphant

[TG50-207, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 50, p. 207]

(50-207)in the cause for which they died, they were
(50-207)seen at the place of execution contending which
(50-207)should be the first victim, while he who obtained
(50-207)the sad preference actually shouted for joy. Most
(50-207)of the sufferers, though very ignorant, expressed
(50-207)themselves with such energy on the subject of the
(50-207)principle for which they died, as had a strong
(50-207)effect on the multitude. But a youth, named Hugh
(50-207)M'Kail, comely in person, well educated, and of an
(50-207)enthusiastic character, acted the part of a martyr in
(50-207)its fullest extent. He had taken but a small share
(50-207)in the insurrection, but was chiefly obnoxious for a
(50-207)sermon, in which he had said, that the people of
(50-207)God had been persecuted by a Pharoah or an
(50-207)Ahab on the throne, a Haman in the state, and a
(50-207)Judas in the church; words which were neither
(50-207)forgotten nor forgiven. He was subjected to
(50-207)extreme torture, in order to wring from him some
(50-207)information concerning the causes and purposes of
(50-207)the rising; but his leg was crushed most cruelly in
(50-207)the boot, without extracting from him a sigh or
(50-207)sound of impatience. Being then condemned to
(50-207)death, he spoke of his future state with a rapturous
(50-207)confidence, and took leave of the numerous spectators
(50-207)in the words of a dying saint, careless of his
(50-207)present suffering, and confident in his hopes of
(50-207)immortality.
(50-207) "I shall speak no more with earthly creatures,"
(50-207)he said, "but shall enjoy the aspect of the ineffable
(50-207)Creator himself. -- Farewell, father, mother, and
(50-207)friends -- farewell, sun, moon, and stars -- farewell,
(50-207)perishable earthly delights -- and welcome those

(50-208)which are everlasting -- welcome, glory -- welcome,
(50-208)eternal life, -- and welcome, death!" There was
(50-208)not a dry eye among the spectators of his execution,
(50-208)and it began to be perceived by the authors of these
(50-208)severities, that the last words and firm conduct of
(50-208)this dying man, made an impression on the populace
(50-208)the very reverse of what they desired. After
(50-208)this the superintendents of these executions resorted
(50-208)to the cruel expedient which had been practised
(50-208)when the Royalist followers of Montrose suffered,
(50-208)and caused trumpets to be sounded, and drums
(50-208)beaten, to drown the last words of these resolute
(50-208)men.

(50-208) The vengeance taken for the Pentland rising was
(50-208)not confined to these executions in the capital. The
(50-208)shires of Galloway, Ayr, and Dumfries, were
(50-208)subjected to military severities, and all who had the
(50-208)slightest connexion with the rebellion were rigorously
(50-208)harassed. A party of Ayrshire gentlemen
(50-208)had gathered together for the purpose of joining the
(50-208)insurgents, but had been prevented from doing so.
(50-208)They fled from the consequences of their rashness;
(50-208)yet they were not only arraigned, and doom of

[TG50-209, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 50, p. 209]

(50-209)forfeiture passed against them in their absence, but,
(50-209)contrary to all legal usage, the sentence was put
(50-209)in execution without their being heard in their defence;
(50-209)and their estates were conferred upon General
(50-209)Dalziel, and General Drummond, or retained
(50-209)by the officers of state to enrich themselves.
(50-209) But the period was now attained which Lauderdale
(50-209)aimed at. The violence of the government
(50-209)in Scotland at length attracted the notice of the
(50-209)English court; and, when enquired into, was found

(50-209)much too gross to be tolerated. The Primate
(50-209)Sharpe was ordered to withdraw from administration;
(50-209)Lauderdale, with Tweeddale, Sir Robert
(50-209)Murray, and the Earl of Kincardine, were placed
(50-209)at the head of affairs, and it was determined, by
(50-209)affording some relief to the oppressed Presbyterians,
(50-209)to try at least the experiment of lenity
(50-209)towards them.
(50-209) Such of the ejected clergy as had not give any
(50-209)particular offence, were permitted to preach in
(50-209)vacant parishes, and even received some
(50-209)pecuniary encouragement from Government. (July, 1669)
(50-209)This was termed the Indulgence. Had some
(50-209)such measure of toleration been adopted when
(50-209)Presbytery was first abolished, it might have been the
(50-209)means of preventing the frequency of conventicles;
(50-209)but, when resorted to in despair, as it were, of
(50-209)subduing them by violence, the mass of discontented
(50-209)Presbyterians regarded accession to the measure
(50-209)as a dishonourable accommodation with a government
(50-209)by whom they had been oppressed. It is
(50-209>true, the gentry, and those who at once preferred

[TG50-210, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 50, p. 210]

(50-210)Presbytery, and were unwilling to suffer in their
(50-210)worldly estate by that preference, embraced this
(50-210)opportunity to hear their favourite doctrines without
(50-210)risk of fine and imprisonment. The Indulged
(50-210)clergy were also men, for the most part, of wisdom
(50-210)and leaning, who, being unable to vindicate the
(50-210)freedom and sovereignty of their church, were
(50-210)contented to preach to and instruct their congregations,
(50-210)and discharge their duty as clergymen, if not to
(50-210)the utmost, at least as far as the evil times
(50-210)permitted.

(50-210) But this modified degree of zeal by no means
(50-210)gratified the more ardent and rigid Covenanters,
(50-210)by whom the stooping to act under the Indulgence
(50-210)was accounted a compromise with the Malignants
(50-210)-- a lukewarm and unacceptable species of worship,
(50-210)resembling salt which had lost its savour. Many,
(50-210)therefore, held the indulged clergy as a species of
(50-210)king's curates; and rather than listen to their doctrines,
(50-210)which they might have heard in safety, followed
(50-210)into the wilderness those bold and daring
(50-210)preachers, whose voices thundered forth avowed
(50-210)opposition and defiance against the mighty of the
(50-210)earth. The Indulged were accused of meanly
(50-210)adopting Erastian opinion, and acknowledging the
(50-210)dependence and subjection of the Church to the evil
(50-210)magistrate, -- a doctrine totally alien from the character
(50-210)of the Presbyterian religion. The elevated
(50-210)wish of following the religion of their choice, in
(50-210)defiance of danger and fear, and their animosity against
(50-210)a government by whom they had been persecuted,
(50-210)induced the more zealous Presbyterians to prefer

[TG50-211, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 50, p. 211]

(50-211)a conventicle to their parish church; and a
(50-211)congregation where the hearers attended in arms to
(50-211)defend themselves, to a more peaceful meeting,
(50-211)when, if surprised, they might save themselves by
(50-211)submission or flight. Hence these conventicles
(50-211)became frequent, at which the hearers attended
(50-211)with weapons. The romantic and dangerous
(50-211)character of this species of worship recommended it to
(50-211)such as were constitutionally bold and high-spirited;
(50-211)and there were others, who, from the idle spirit
(50-211)belonging to youth, liked better to ramble through
(50-211)the country as the life-guard to some outlawed

(50-211)preacher, than to spend the six days of the week
(50-211)in ordinary labour, and attend their own parish-
(50-211)church on the seventh, to listen to the lukewarm
(50-211)doctrine of an Indulged minister.

(50-211) From all these reasons, the number of armed
(50-211)conventicles increased; and Lauderdale, incensed
(50-211)at the failure of his experiment, increased his severity
(50-211)against them, while the Indulgence was withdrawn,
(50-211)as a measure inadequate to the intended
(50-211)purpose, though, perhaps, it chiefly failed for want
(50-211)of perseverance on the part of the Government.

(50-211) As if Satan himself had suggested means of
(50-211)oppression, Lauderdale raked up out of oblivion the
(50-211)old and barbarous laws which had been adopted in
(50-211)the fiercest times, and directed them against the
(50-211)nonconformists, especially those who attended the
(50-211)field conventicles. One of those laws inflicted the
(50-211)highest penalties upon persons who were intercommuned,
(50-211)as it was called -- that is, outlawed by
(50-211)legal sentence. The nearest relations were prohibited

[TG50-212, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 50, p. 212]

(50-212)from assisting each other, the wife the husband,
(50-212)the brother the brother, and the parent the
(50-212)son, if the sufferers had been intercommuned. The
(50-212)Government of this cruel time applied these ancient
(50-212)and barbarous statutes to the outlawed Presbyterians
(50-212)of the period, and thus drove them altogether
(50-212)from human society. In danger, want, and necessity,
(50-212)the inhabitants of the wilderness, and expelled
(50-212)from civil intercourse, it is no wonder that we find
(50-212)many of these wanderers avowing principles and
(50-212)doctrines hostile to the government which oppressed
(50-212)them, and carrying their resistance beyond the
(50-212)bounds of mere self-defence. There were instances,

(50-212)though less numerous than might have been
(50-212)expected, of their attacking the houses of the curates,
(50-212)or of others by whose information they had been
(50-212)accused of nonconformity; and several deaths
(50-212)ensued in those enterprises, as well as in skirmishes
(50-212)with the military.
(50-212) Superstitious notions also, the natural consequences
(50-212)of an uncertain, melancholy, and solitary
(50-212)life among the desolate glens and mountains,

[TG50-213, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 50, p. 213]

(50-213)mingled with the intense enthusiasm of this persecuted
(50-213)sect. Their occasional successes over their
(50-213)oppressors, and their frequent escapes from the pursuit
(50-213)of the soldiery, when the marksmen missed their
(50-213)aim, or when a sudden mist concealed the fugitives,
(50-213)were imputed, not to the operation of those natural
(50-213)causes by means of which the Deity is pleased to
(50-213)govern the world, and which are the engines of
(50-213)his power, but to the direct interposition of a
(50-213)miraculous agency, over-ruling and suspending the
(50-213)laws of nature, as in the period of Scripture history.
(50-213) Many of the preachers, led away by the strength
(50-213)of their devotional enthusiasm, conceived themselves
(50-213)sustained; and, as they imagined themselves
(50-213)to be occasionally under the miraculous protection
(50-213)of the heavenly powers, so they often thought
(50-213)themselves in a peculiar manner exposed to the
(50-213)envy and persecution of the spirits of darkness,
(50-213)who lamed their horses when they were pursued,
(50-213)betrayed their footsteps to the enemy, or terrified
(50-213)them by ghastly apparitions in the dreary caverns
(50-213)and recesses where they were compelled to hide
(50-213)themselves.
(50-213) But especially the scattered Covenanters believed

(50-213)firmly, that their chief persecutors received from
(50-213)the Evil Spirit a proof against leaden bullets -- a
(50-213)charm, that is, to prevent their being pierced or
(50-213)wounded by them. There were many supposed to
(50-213)be gifted with this necromantic privilege. In the

[TG50-214, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 50, p. 214]

(50-214)battle of Rullion Green, on the Pentland Hills,
(50-214)many of the Presbyterians were willing to believe
(50-214)that the balls were seen hopping like hailstones from
(50-214)Tom Dalziel's buff-coat and boots. Silver bullets
(50-214)were not supposed to be neutralized by the same
(50-214)spell; but that metal being scarce among the
(50-214)persecuted Covenanters, it did not afford them much
(50-214)relief.

(50-214) I have heard of an English officer, however,
(50-214)who fell by baser metal. He was attacking a small
(50-214)house in Ayrshire, which was defended by some
(50-214)of the Wanderers. They were firing on both
(50-214)sides, when one of the defenders, in scarcity of
(50-214)ammunition, loaded his piece with the iron ball
(50-214)which formed the top of the fire-tongs, and taking
(50-214)aim at the officer with that charge, mortally
(50-214)wounded him whom lead had been unable to
(50-214)injure. It is also said, that the dying man asked to
(50-214)know the name of the place where he fell; and
(50-214)being told it was Caldens, or Daldons, he exclaimed
(50-214)against the Evil Spirit, who, he said, had told him
(50-214)he was to be slain among the Chaldeans, but who,
(50-214)as it now appeared, had deceived him, by cutting
(50-214)him off when his death was totally unexpected.
(50-214) To John Graham of Claverhouse, a Scottish
(50-214)officer of high rank, who began to distinguish himself
(50-214)as a severe executer of the orders of the Privy
(50-214)Council against nonconformists, the Evil Spirit

(50-214)was supposed to have been still more liberal than
(50-214)to Dalziel, or to the Englishman who died at
(50-214)Caldons. He not only obtained proof against lead,
(50-214)but the devil is said to have presented him with a

[TG50-215, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 50, p. 215]

(50-215)black horse, which had not a single white hair
(50-215)upon its body. This horse, it was said, had been
(50-215)cut out of the belly of its dam, instead of being
(50-215)born in the usual manner. On this animal Claverhouse
(50-215)was supposed to perform the most unwonted
(50-215)feats of agility, flying almost like a bird along the
(50-215)sides of precipitous hills, and through pathless
(50-215)morasses, where an ordinary horse must have been
(50-215)smothered or dashed to pieces. It is even yet
(50-215)believed, that mounted on this steed, Claverhouse
(50-215)(or Clavers, as he is popularly called) once turned
(50-215)a hare on the mountain named the Brandlaw, at the
(50-215)head of Moffatdale, where no other horse could
(50-215)have kept its feet. But these exertions were
(50-215)usually made whilst he was in pursuit of the
(50-215)Wanderers, which was considered as Satan's own
(50-215)peculiar pleasing work.

(50-215) These superstitious notions were the natural
(50-215)consequences of the dreary and precarious existence
(50-215)to which these poor fugitives were condemned, and
(50-215)which induced them to view as miraculous whatever
(50-215)was extraordinary. The persons supposed to
(50-215)be proof against bullets, were only desperate and
(50-215)bold men, who had the good fortune to escape the
(50-215)dangers to which they fearlessly exposed themselves;
(50-215)and the equestrian exploits of Claverhouse,
(50-215)when stripped of exaggeration, were merely such
(50-215)as could be executed by any excellent horseman, and
(50-215)first-rate horse, to the amazement of those who

(50-215)were unaccustomed to witness feats of the kind.

[TG50-216, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 50, p. 216]

(50-216) The peculiar character and prejudices of the
(50-216)Covenanters are easily accounted for. Yet when
(50-216)it is considered that so many Scottish subjects were
(50-216)involved in the snares of these cruel laws, and liable
(50-216)to be prosecuted under them (the number is
(50-216)said to have reach eighteen or twenty thousand
(50-216)persons), it may seem wonderful that the Government
(50-216)could find a party in the kingdom to approve
(50-216)of and help forward measures as impolitic as they
(50-216)were cruel. But, besides the great command which
(50-216)the very worst government must always possess
(50-216)over those who look for advancement and employment
(50-216)under it, these things, it must be considered,
(50-216)took place shortly after the Royalists, the prevalent
(50-216)party at that time, had been themselves subjected
(50-216)to proscription, exile, judicial execution, and
(50-216)general massacre. The fate of Montrose and his
(50-216)followers, the massacres of Dunnavertie and Philiphaugh,
(50-216)above all, the murder of King Charles, had
(50-216)taken place during the predominance of the
(50-216)Presbyterians in Scotland, and were imputed, however
(50-216)unjustly, to their religious principles, which were
(50-216)believed by the Cavaliers to be inconsistent with
(50-216)law, loyalty, and good order. Under such mistaken
(50-216)sentiments, many of the late royalist party
(50-216)lent their arms eagerly to suppress the adherents
(50-216)of a sect, to the pre-eminence of which they traced
(50-216)the general misery of the civil wars, and their own
(50-216)peculiar misfortunes.

(50-216) Thus we find the Lady Methven of the day (a
(50-216)daughter of the house of Marischal, and wife of
(50-216)Patrick Smythe of Methven), interrupting a

[TG50-217, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 50, p. 217]

(50-217)conventicle in person. A large meeting of this kind
(50-217)had assembled on the grounds of her husband, then
(50-217)absent in London, when the lady approached them
(50-217)at the head of about sixty followers and allies, she
(50-217)herself leading them on with a light-horseman's
(50-217)carabine ready cocked over her arm, and drawn
(50-217)sword in the other hand. The congregation sent
(50-217)a part of a hundred armed men to demand her
(50-217)purpose, and the Amazonian lady protested, if they
(50-217)did not leave her husband's estate, it should be a
(50-217)bloody day. They replied, that they were determined
(50-217)to preach, whether she would or not; but
(50-217)Dame Anne Keith's unshaken determination
(50-217)overcame their enthusiasm, and at length compelled
(50-217)them to retreat. After this affair, she wrote to her
(50-217)husband that she was providing arms, and even two
(50-217)pieces of cannon, hearing that Whigs had sworn
(50-217)to be revenged for the insult she had put on them.
(50-217)"If the fanatics," she concludes, "chance to kill
(50-217)me, comfort yourself it shall not be for nought. I
(50-217)was once wounded for our gracious King, and
(50-217)now, in the strength of Heaven, I will hazard my
(50-217)person with the men I can command, before these
(50-217)rebels rest where you have power." No doubt
(50-217)Lady Methven acted against these "vagueing
(50-217)gipsies," as she terms them, with as much honesty
(50-217)and sincerity of purpose, as they themselves
(50-217)entertained in resisting her.
(50-217) But the principal agents of government, in the
(50-217)persecution of these oppressed people, were the

[TG50-218, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 50, p. 218]

(50-218)soldiery, to whom, contrary to the rule in all civilized
(50-218)countries, unless in actual warfare, power was
(50-218)given to arrest examine, detain, and imprison such
(50-218)persons as they should find in the wildernesses, which
(50-218)they daily ransacked to discover delinquents, whose
(50-218)persons might afford plunder, or their purses pay
(50-218)finer. One of these booted apostles, as the
(50-218)Presbyterians called the dragoons, Captain Creighton by
(50-218)name, has left his Memoirs, in which he rather
(50-218)exults in, than regrets, the scenes of rapine and
(50-218)violence he had witnessed, and the plunder which
(50-218)he collected. The following is one of his stories.
(50-218) Being then a Life-guardsman, and quartered at
(50-218)Bathgate, he went out one Sunday on the moors
(50-218)with his comrade Grant, to try if they could
(50-218)discover any of the Wanderers. They were
(50-218)disguised like countrymen, in grey coats and bonnets.
(50-218)After eight or ten miles' walking, they descried
(50-218)three men on the top of a hill, whom they judged
(50-218)to be placed there as sentinels. They were armed
(50-218)with long poles. Taking precautions to come
(50-218)suddenly upon this outpost, Creighton snatched one
(50-218)of the men's poles from him, and asking what he
(50-218)meant by carrying such a pole on the Lord's day,
(50-218)immediately knocked him down. Grant secured
(50-218)another -- the third fled to give the alarm, but
(50-218)Creighton over took and surprised him also, though
(50-218)armed with a pistol at his belt. They were then
(50-218)guided onward to the conventicle by the voice of
(50-218)the preacher, Master John King (afterwards
(50-218)executed), which was so powerful, that Creighton
(50-218)professes he heard him distinctly at a quarter of

[TG50-219, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 50, p. 219]

(50-219)a mile's distance, the wind favouring his force of

(50-219)lungs.

(50-219) The meeting was very numerously attended;
(50-219)nevertheless, the two troopers had the temerity to
(50-219)approach, and commanded them, in the King's
(50-219)name, to disperse. Immediately forty of the
(50-219)congregation arose in defence, and advanced upon the
(50-219)troopers, when Creichton, observing a handsome
(50-219)horse, with a lady's pillion on it, grazing near him,
(50-219)seized it, and leaping on its back, spurred through
(50-219)the morasses, allowing the animal to choose its
(50-219)own way. Grant, though on foot, kept up with
(50-219)his comrade for about a mile, and the whole
(50-219)conventicle followed in full hue and cry, in order to
(50-219)recover the palfrey, which belonged to a lady of
(50-219)distinction. When Grant was exhausted, Creichton
(50-219)gave him the horse in turn, and being both
(50-219)armed with sword and pistol, they forced their
(50-219)way through such of the conventiclors as attempted
(50-219)to intercept them, and gained the house of gentleman,
(50-219)whom Creichton calls Laird of Poddishaw.

[TG50-220, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 50, p. 220]

(50-220)Here they met another gentleman of fortune, the
(50-220)Laird of Polkemmet, who, greatly to his disturbance,
(50-220)recognised, in the horse which the troopers
(50-220)had brought off, his own lady's nag, on which
(50-220)without his knowledge as he affirmed, she had used
(50-220)the freedom to ride to the conventicle. He was
(50-220)now at the mercy of the Life-guardsmen, being
(50-220)liable to a heavy fine for his wife's delinquency,
(50-220)besides the forfeiture of the palfrey. In this
(50-220)dilemma, Mr Baillie of Polkemmet invited the
(50-220)Life-guardsmen to dine with him next day, and
(50-220)offered them the horse with its furniture, as a lawful
(50-220)prize. But Creichton, perceiving that the lady

(50-220)was weeping, very gallantly gave up his claim to
(50-220)the horse, on condition she would promise never
(50-220)to attend a conventicle again. The military gentlemen
(50-220)were no losers by this liberality; for as the
(50-220)lady mentioned the names of some wealthy persons
(50-220)who were present at the unlawful meeting, her
(50-220)husband gave the parties concerned to understand
(50-220)that they must make up a purse of hush-money,
(50-220)for the benefit of Creichton and his comrade, who
(50-220)lived plentifully for a twelvemonth afterwards on
(50-220)the sum thus obtained.

(50-220) This story, though it shows the power intrusted
(50-220)to the soldiers, to beat and plunder the persons
(50-220)assembled for religious worship, is rather of a
(50-220)comic than a serious cast. But far different were
(50-220)the ordinary rencounters which took place between
(50-220)the Covenanters and the military. About forty or
(50-220)fifty years ago, melancholy tales of the strange
(50-220)escapes, hard encounters, and cruel exactions of

[TG50-221, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 50, p. 221]

(50-221)this period, were the usual subject of conversation
(50-221)at every cottage fireside; and the peasants, while
(50-221)they showed the caverns and dens of the earth in
(50-221)which the Wanderers concealed themselves,
(50-221)recounted how many of them died in resisting with
(50-221)arms in their hands, how many others were
(50-221)executed by judicial forms, and how many were shot
(50-221)to death without even the least pretence of a trial.
(50-221)The country people retained a strong sense of the
(50-221)injustice with which their ancestors had been
(50-221)treated, which showed itself in a singular prejudice.
(50-221)They expressed great dislike of that beautiful
(50-221)bird the Green-plover, in Scottish called the
(50-221)Pease-weep. The reason alleged was, that these

(50-221)birds being, by some instinct, led to attend to and
(50-221)watch any human beings whom they see in their
(50-221)native wilds, the soldiers were often guided in
(50-221)pursuit of the Wanderers, when they might otherwise
(50-221)have escaped observation, by the plover being
(50-221)observed to hover over a particular spot. For this
(50-221)reason, the shepherds, within my own remembrance,
(50-221)often destroyed the nests of this bird when they
(50-221)met with them.

(50-221) A still sadder memorial of those calamitous days
(50-221)was the number of headstones and other simple
(50-221)monuments which, after the Revolution, were erected
(50-221)over the graves of the persons thus destroyed, and
(50-221)which usually bore, along with some lines of rude
(50-221)poetry, an account of the manner in which they
(50-221)had been slain.

(50-221) These mortal resting-places of the victims of
(50-221)persecution were held so sacred, that about forty

[TG50-222, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 50, p. 222]

(50-222)years since an aged man dedicated his life to travel
(50-222)through Scotland, for the purpose of repairing and
(50-222)clearing the tombs of the sufferers. He always
(50-222)rode upon a white pony, and from that circumstance,
(50-222)and the peculiarity of his appearance and
(50-222)occupation, acquired the nickname of Old Mortality.
(50-222)In later days, the events of our own time
(50-222)have been of such an engrossing character, that
(50-222)this species of traditional history is much forgotten,
(50-222)and moss and weeds are generally suffered to
(50-222)conceal the monuments of the martyrs.

[TG51-223]

(51-223)WE have said before, that Lauderdale, now the

(51-223)Chief Minister for Scotland, had not originally
(51-223)approved of the violent measures taken with the
(51-223)nonconformists, and had even recommended a more
(51-223)lenient mode of proceeding, by granting a toleration,
(51-223)or Indulgence, as it was called, for the free
(51-223)exercise of the Presbyterian religion. But being
(51-223)too impatient to wait the issue of his own experiment,
(51-223)and fearful of being represented as lukewarm
(51-223)in the King's service, he at length imitated and
(51-223)even exceeded Middleton, in his extreme severities
(51-223)against the nonconformists.
(51-223)The Duke of Lauderdale, for to that rank he
(51-223)was raised when the government was chiefly in-
(51-223)trusted to him, married Lady Dysart, a woman of

[TG51-224]

(51-224)considerable talent, but of inordinate ambition,
(51-224)boundless expense, and the most unscrupulous
(51-224)rapacity. Her influence over her husband was
(51-224)extreme, and, unhappily, was of a kind which
(51-224)encouraged him in his greatest errors. In order to
(51-224)supply her extravagance, he had recourse to the
(51-224)public fines for nonconformity, church penalties,
(51-224)and so forth, prosecutions for which, with the other
(51-224)violent proceedings we have noticed, were pushed
(51-224)on to such an extremity as to induce a general
(51-224)opinion, that Lauderdale really meant to drive the
(51-224)people of Scotland to a rebellion, in order that he
(51-224)himself might profit by the confiscations which
(51-224)must follow on its being subdued.¹

[TG51-225]

(51-225)The Scottish nobility and gentry were too wise
(51-225)to be caught in this snare ; but although they ex-

(51-225)pressed the utmost loyalty to the King, yet many,
(51-225)with the Duke of Hamilton, the premier peer of
(51-225)Scotland, at their head, remonstrated against courses
(51-225)which, while they beggared the tenantry, impoverished
(51-225)the gentry and ruined their estates. By way
(51-225)of answer to their expostulations, the western
(51-225)land-holders were required to enter into bonds, under
(51-225)the same penalties which were incurred by those
(51-225)who were actual delinquents, that neither they nor
(51-225)their families, nor their vassals, tenants, or other
(51-225)persons residing on their property, should withdraw
(51-225)from church, attend conventicles, or relieve inter-
(51-225)communed persons. The gentry refused to execute
(51-225)these bonds. They admitted that conventicles
(51-225)were become very frequent, and expressed their
(51-225)willingness to assist the officers of the law in
(51-225)suppressing them ; but, as they could exercise no
(51-225)forcible control over their tenants and servants, they
(51-225)declined to render themselves responsible for their
(51-225)conformity. Finally, they recommended a general
(51-225)indulgence, as the only measure which promised
(51-225)the restoration of tranquillity.

(51-225) Both parties, at that unhappy period (1678),
(51-225)were in the habit of imputing their enemies'
(51-225)measures to the suggestions of Satan ; but that adopted
(51-225)by Lauderdale, upon the western gentlemen's
(51-225)refusing the bond,¹ had really some appearance of

[TG51-226]

(51-226)being composed under the absolute dictation of an
(51-226)evil spirit. He determined to treat the whole west
(51-226)country as if in a state of actual revolt. He caused
(51-226)not only a body of the guards and militia, with field
(51-226)artillery, to march into the devoted districts, but
(51-226)invited, for the same purpose, from the Highland

(51-226)mountains, the clans by which they were inhabited.
(51-226)These wild mountaineers descended under their
(51-226)different chiefs, speaking an unknown language,
(51-226)and displaying to the inhabitants of the Lowlands,
(51-226)their strange attire, obsolete arms, and singular
(51-226)manners. The clans were surprised in their turn.
(51-226)They had come out expecting to right, when, to
(51-226)their astonishment, they found an innocent, peaceful,
(51-226)and unresisting country, in which they were to
(51-226)enjoy free quarters, and full license for plunder.
(51-226)It may be supposed, that such an invitation to men,
(51-226)to whom marauding habits were natural, offered
(51-226)opportunities not to be lost, and accordingly the
(51-226)western counties long had occasion to lament the
(51-226)inroad of the Highland Host. A committee of the
(51-226)Privy Council, most of whom were themselves
(51-226)chiefs of clans, or commanders in the army, attended
(51-226)to secure the submission of the gentry, and enforce
(51-226)the bonds. But the noblemen and gentry continuing
(51-226)obstinate in their refusal to come under obligations
(51-226)which they had no means of fulfilling, the
(51-226)Privy Council issued orders to disarm the whole

[TG51-227]

(51-227)inhabitants of the country, taking even the gentlemen's
(51-227)swords, riding horses, and furniture, and
(51-227)proceeding with such extreme rigour, that the Earl
(51-227)of Cassilis, among others, prayed they would either
(51-227)afford him the protection of soldiers, or return him
(51-227)some of his arms to defend his household, since
(51-227)otherwise he must be subject to the insolence and
(51-227)outrages of the most paltry of the rabble.
(51-227) To supply the place of the bonds, which were
(51-227)subscribed by few or none, this unhappy Privy
(51-227)Council fell upon a plan, by a new decree, of a

(51-227)nature equally oppressive. There was, and is, a
(51-227)writ in Scotland, called lawburrows, by which a
(51-227)man who is afraid of violence from his neighbour,
(51-227)upon making oath to the circumstances affording
(51-227)ground for such apprehension, may have the party
(51-227)bound over to keep the peace, under security. Of
(51-227)this useful law, a most oppressive application was
(51-227)now made. The King was made to apply for a
(51-227)lawburrows throughout a certain district of his
(51-227)dominions, against all the gentlemen who had refused
(51-227)to sign the bond ; and thus an attempt was made
(51-227)to extort security from every man so situated, as
(51-227)one of whom the King had a natural right to
(51-227)entertain well-founded apprehensions !
(51-227) These extraordinary provisions of law seem to

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(51-228)have driven, not the Presbyterians alone, but the
(51-228)whole country of the west, into absolute despair.
(51-228) No supplication or remonstrance had the least
(51-228)effect on the impenetrable Lauderdale. When he
(51-228)was told that the oppression of the Highlanders and
(51-228)of the soldiery would totally interrupt the produce
(51-228)of agriculture, he replied, " it were better that the
(51-228)west bore nothing but windle-straws and sandy-
(51-228)laverocks,' than that it should bear rebels to the
(51-228)King." In their despair, the suffering parties
(51-228)determined to lay their complaints against the
(51-228)Minister before the King in person. With this
(51-228)purpose, not less than fourteen peers, and fifteen
(51-228)gentlemen, of whom many were threatened with
(51-228)writs of lawburrows, repaired to London, to lay
(51-228)their complaints at the foot of the throne. This
(51-228)journey was taken in spite of an arbitrary order, by
(51-228)which the Scottish nobility had been forbidden, in

(51-228)the King's name, either to approach the King's
(51-228)person, or to leave their own kingdom ; as if it had

[TG51-229]

(51-229)been the purpose to chain them to the stake, like
(51-229)baited bears, without the power of applying for
(51-229)redress, or escaping from the general misery.
(51-229) Lauderdale had so much interest at court, as to
(51-229)support himself against this accusation, by
(51-229)representing to the King that it was his object to
(51-229)maintain a large army in Scotland, to afford assistance
(51-229)when his Majesty should see it time to extend his
(51-229)authority in England. He retained his place, therefore,
(51-229)and the supplicants were sent from court in
(51-229)disgrace.¹ But their mission had produced some
(51-229)beneficial effects, for the measures concerning the
(51-229)lawburrows and the enforced bonds were withdrawn,
(51-229)and orders given for removing the Highlanders
(51-229)from the west countries, and disbanding the
(51-229)militia.

(51-229) When the Highlanders went back to their hills,
(51-229)which was in February 1678, they appeared as if
(51-229)returning from the sack of some besieged town.
(51-229)They carried with them plate, merchant-goods,
(51-229)webs of linen and of cloth, quantities of wearing
(51-229)apparel, and household furniture, and a good number
(51-229)of horses to bear their plunder. It is, however,
(51-229)remarkable, and to the credit of this people, that
(51-229)they are not charged with any cruelty during three
(51-229)months' residence at free-quarters, although they
(51-229)were greedy of spoil, and rapacious in extorting

[TG51-230]

(51-230)money. Indeed, it seems probable, that, after all,

(51-230)the wild Highlanders had proved gentler than was
(51-230)expected, or wished, by those who employed
(51-230)them.

(51-230) An event now occurred, one of the most remarkable
(51-230)of the time, which had a great effect upon public
(51-230)affairs, and the general feeling of the nation.
(51-230)This was the murder of James Sharpe, Archbishop
(51-230)of St Andrews, and Primate of Scotland. This
(51-230)person, you must remember, having been the agent
(51-230)of the Presbyterians at the time of the Restoration,
(51-230)had, as was generally thought, betrayed his constituents ;
(51-230)at least he had certainly changed his principles,
(51-230)and accepted the highest office in the new
(51-230)Episcopal establishment. It may be well supposed
(51-230)that a person so much hated as he was, from his
(51-230)desertion of the old cause, and violence in the new,
(51-230)was the object of general hostility, and that amongst
(51-230)a sect so enthusiastic as the nonconformists, some
(51-230)one should be found to exercise judgment upon him
(51-230)-in other words, to take his life.

(51-230) The avenger, who first conceived himself called
(51-230)to this task, was one Mitchell, a fanatical preacher, of
(51-230)moderate talents and a heated imagination. He
(51-230)fired a pistol, loaded with three bullets, into the
(51-230)coach of the Archbishop, and missing the object of
(51-230)his aim, broke the arm of Honeyman, Bishop of the
(51-230)Orkneys, who sat with Sharpe in the carriage, of
(51-230)which wound he never entirely recovered, though
(51-230)he lingered for some years. The assassin escaped
(51-230)during the confusion. This was in 1668, and in
(51-230)1674 the Archbishop again observed a man who

[TG51-231]

(51-231)seemed to watch him, and whose face was imprinted
(51-231)upon his mind. The alarm was given, and

(51-231)Mitchell was seized. Being closely examined by
(51-231)the Lords of the Privy Council, he at first
(51-231)absolutely denied the act charged against him. But to
(51-231)the Chancellor he confessed in private-having
(51-231)at first received a solemn promise that his life should
(51-231)be safe-that he had fired the shot which wounded
(51-231)the Bishop of Orkney. After this compromise, the
(51-231)assassin's trial was put off from time to time, from
(51-231)the determined desire to take the life which had
(51-231)been promised to him. In order to find matter
(51-231)against Mitchell, he was examined concerning his
(51-231)accession to the insurrection of Pentland; and as
(51-231)he refused to confess any thing which should make
(51-231)against himself, he was appointed to undergo the
(51-231)torture of the boot.

(51-231) He behaved with great courage when the frightful
(51-231)apparatus was produced, and not knowing, as
(51-231)he said, that he could escape such torture with life,
(51-231)declared that he forgave from his heart those at
(51-231)whose command it was to be inflicted, the men
(51-231)appointed to be the agents of their cruelty, and those
(51-231)who satiated their malevolence by looking on as
(51-231)spectators. When the executioner demanded which
(51-231)leg should be enclosed in the dreadful boot, the prisoner,
(51-231)with the same confidence, stretched out his
(51-231)right leg, saying, " take the best; I willingly bestow
(51-231)it in this cause." He endured nine blows of the
(51-231)mallet with the utmost firmness, each more severely
(51-231)crushing the limb. At the ninth blow he fainted,
(51-231)and was remanded to prison. After this he was

[TG51-232]

(51-232)sent to the Bass, a desolate islet, or rather rock,
(51-232)in the Frith of Forth, where was a strong castle
(51-232)then occupied as a state prison.

(51-232) On the 7th January, 1678, ten years after the
(51-232) deed was committed, and four years after he was
(51-232) made prisoner, Mitchell was finally brought to his
(51-232) trial; and while his own confession was produced
(51-232) against him as evidence, he was not allowed to
(51-232) plead the promise of life upon which he had been
(51-232) induced to make the fatal avowal. It is shameful
(51-232) to be obliged to add, that the Duke of Lauderdale
(51-232) would not permit the records of the Privy Council
(51-232) to be produced, and that some of the privy
(51-232) counsellors swore, that no assurance of life had been
(51-232) granted, although it had been accurately entered,
(51-232) and is now to be seen on the record. The
(51-232) unfortunate man was therefore condemned.
(51-232) Lauderdale, it is said, would have saved his life; but
(51-232) the Archbishop demanding his execution as necessary
(51-232) to guard the lives of privy counsellors from
(51-232) such attempts in future, the Duke gave up the
(51-232) cause with a profane and brutal jest, (18th Jan. 1678)
(51-232) and the man was executed, with more
(51-232) disgrace to his judges than to himself
(51-232) the consideration of his guilt being lost in the
(51-232) infamous manoeuvres used in bringing him to
(51-232) punishment.

[TG51-233]

(51-233) I have already said, that in the commencement
(51-233) of Lauderdale's administration, Archbishop Sharpe
(51-233) was removed from public affairs. But this did
(51-233) not last long, as the Duke found that he could not
(51-233) maintain his interest at court without the support
(51-233) of the Episcopal party. The primate's violence of
(51-233) disposition was supposed to have greatly influenced
(51-233) the whole of Lauderdale's latter government.
(51-233) But in Fife, where he had his archiepiscopal

(51-233)residence, it was most severely felt; and as the
(51-233)nonconformists of that county were fierce and
(51-233)enthusiastic in proportion to the extremity of persecution
(51-233)which they underwent, there was soon found a
(51-233)band among them who sent abroad an anonymous
(51-233)placard, threatening that any person who might
(51-233)be accessory to the troubles inflicted upon the
(51-233)Whigs in that county, should be suitably punished
(51-233)by a party strong enough to set resistance at
(51-233)defiance.

(51-233) The chief person among these desperate men
(51-233)was David Hackston of Rathillet, a gentleman of
(51-233)family and fortune. He had been a free liver in
(51-233)his youth, but latterly had adopted strong and
(51-233)enthusiastic views of religion, which led him into
(51-233)the extreme opinions entertained by the fiercest
(51-233)of the Whig party.¹ John Balfour of Kinloch,
(51-233)called Burley, the brother-in-law of Hackston, is
(51-233)described, by a covenanting author, as a little man

[TG51-234]

(51-234)of stern aspect, and squint-eyed ; none of the most
(51-234)religious,¹ but very willing to engage in any
(51-234)battles or quarrels which his comrades found it
(51-234)necessary to sustain. He was at this time in
(51-234)danger from the law, on account of a late affray,
(51-234)in which he had severely wounded one of the
(51-234)life-guards. It is alleged that both these persons had
(51-234)private enmity at Archbishop Sharpe. Balfour
(51-234)had been his factor in the management of some
(51-234)property, and had failed to give account of the
(51-234)money he had received, and Hackston, being bail
(51-234)for his brother-in-law, was thrown into jail till the
(51-234)debt was made good. The remainder of the band
(51-234)were either small proprietors of land, or portioners,

(51-234)as they are called in Scotland, or mechanics, such
(51-234)as weavers and the like.

(51-234) These enthusiasts, to the number of nine, were
(51-234)out, and in arms, on 3d May, 1679, with the
(51-234)purpose of assaulting (in the terms of their
(51-234)proclamation) one Carmichael, who acted as a commissioner
(51-234)for receiving the fines of the nonconformists.
(51-234)This person had indeed been in the fields hunting
(51-234)that morning, but chancing to hear that there was
(51-234)such a party looking" out for him, he left his sport.
(51-234)and went home.

[TG51-235]

(51-235)When Rathillet and his friends were about to
(51-235)disperse, in sullen disappointment, the wife of a
(51-235)farmer at Baldinny sent a lad to tell them, that the
(51-235)Archbishop's coach was upon the road returning
(51-235)from Ceres towards St Andrews. The conspirators
(51-235)were in that mood when our own wishes and
(51-235)thoughts, strongly fostered and cherished, are apt
(51-235)to seem to us like inspiration from above-
(51-235)Balfour, or Burley, affirmed he had felt a preternatural
(51-235)impulse forcing him to return to Fife, when
(51-235)it was his purpose to have gone to the Highlands,
(51-235)and that on going to prayers, he had been
(51-235)confirmed by the Scripture text, " Go, have not I
(51-235)sent thee ? " Russell, another of the party, also.
(51-235)affirmed he had been long impressed with the idea
(51-235)that some great enemy to the church was to be
(51-235)cut off, and spoke of some text about Nero, which
(51-235)assuredly does not exist in Scripture.
(51-235) They all agreed, in short, that the opportunity
(51-235)offered was the work of Heaven ; that they should
(51-235)not draw back, but go on ; and that, instead of the
(51-235)inferior agent, for whom they had been seeking in

(51-235)vain, it was their duty to cut off the prime source
(51-235)of the persecution, whom heaven had delivered
(51-235)into their hands. This being determined upon,
(51-235)the band chose Hackston for their leader; but he
(51-235)declined the office, alleging, that the known quarrel
(51-235)betwixt him and the Archbishop would mar the
(51-235)glory of the action, and cause it to be imputed to
(51-235)private revenge. But he added, with nice distinction,
(51-235)that he would remain with them, and would
(51-235)not interfere to prevent what they felt themselves

[TG51-236]

(51-236)called upon to do. Upon this Balfour said, " Gentlemen,
(51-236)follow me."

(51-236) They then set off at speed in pursuit of the
(51-236)carriage, which was driving along a desolate heath,
(51-236)about three or four miles from St Andrews, called
(51-236)Magus-Moor.' Fleming and Russell, two of the
(51-236)assassins, rode into a farm-yard, and demanded of
(51-236)the tenant, If the equipage on the road before them
(51-236)was the Archbishop's coach ? Guessing their
(51-236)purpose, he was too much frightened to answer ; but
(51-236)one of the female servants came out and assured
(51-236)them with much appearance of joy, that they were
(51-236)on the right scent. The whole party then threw
(51-236)away their cloaks, and pursued as fast as they could
(51-236)gallop, firing their carabines on the carriage, and
(51-236)crying out " Judas, be taken !" The coachman drove
(51-236)rapidly, on seeing they were pursued by armed
(51-236)men; but a heavy coach on a rugged road could
(51-236)not outstrip horsemen. The servants who attended
(51-236)the carriage offered some resistance, but were
(51-236)dismounted and disarmed by the pursuers. Having
(51-236)come up with the carriage, they stopped it by
(51-236)cutting the traces, and wounding the postilion ; and

(51-236)then fired a volley of balls into the coach, where the
(51-236)archbishop was seated with his daughter. This
(51-236)proving ineffectual, they commanded the prelate to
(51-236)come forth, and prepare for death, judgment, and
(51-236)eternity. The old man came out of the coach, and
(51-236)creeping on his knees towards Hackston, said, " I
(51-236)know you are a gentleman-you will protect me ?"

[TG51-237]

(51-237)" I will never lay a hand upon you," said Hackston,
(51-237)turning away from the suppliant.

(51-237) One man of the party, touched with some
(51-237)compassion, said, " Spare his grey hairs."

(51-237) But the rest of the assassins were unmoved.
(51-237)One or two pistols were discharged at the prostrate
(51-237)Archbishop without effect; when conceiving,
(51-237)according to their superstitious notion, that their
(51-237)victim was possessed of a charm against gun-shot,
(51-237)they drew their swords, and killed him with many
(51-237)wounds, dashing even his skull to pieces, and
(51-237)scooping out his brains. The lady,¹ who made vain
(51-237)attempts to throw herself between her father and
(51-237)the swords of the assassins, received one or two
(51-237)wounds in the scuffle. They rifled the coach of
(51-237)such arms and papers as it contained. They found
(51-237)some trinkets, which they conceived were magical;
(51-237)and also, as they pretended, a bee in a box, which
(51-237)they concluded was a familiar spirit.

(51-237) Such was the progress and termination of a
(51-237)violent and wicked deed, committed by blinded and
(51-237)desperate men. It brought much scandal on the
(51-237)Presbyterians, though unjustly; for the moderate
(51-237)persons of that persuasion, comprehending the most
(51-237)numerous, and by far the most respectable of the
(51-237)body, disowned so cruel an action, although they

(51-237)might be at the same time of opinion, that the
(51-237)Archbishop, who had been the cause of violent death
(51-237)to many, merited some such termination to his own

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(51-238)existence. He had some virtues, being learned,
(51-238)temperate, and living a life becoming his station ;
(51-238)but his illiberal and intolerant principles, and the
(51-238)violences which he committed to enforce them,
(51-238)were the cause of great distress to Scotland, and
(51-238)of his own premature and bloody end.
(51-238) The Scottish Government, which the Archbishop's
(51-238)death had alarmed and irritated in the highest
(51-238)degree, used the utmost exertions to apprehend his
(51-238)murderers ; and failing that, to disperse and subdue,
(51-238)by an extremity of violence greater than what
(51-238)had been hitherto employed, every assembly of
(51-238)armed Covenanters. All attendance upon
(51-238)field-conventicles was declared treason ; new troops
(51-238)were raised, and the strictest orders sent to the
(51-238)commanding officers to act against nonconformists
(51-238)with the utmost rigour. On the other hand, the
(51-238)intercommuned persons, now grown desperate,
(51-238)assembled in more numerous and better armed
(51-238)parties, and many of them showed a general
(51-238)purpose of defiance and rebellion against the King's
(51-238)authority, which the moderate party continued to
(51-238)acknowledge, as being that of the supreme civil
(51-238)magistrate. These circumstances soon led to a
(51-238)crisis.
(51-238) Several of the murderers of the Archbishop of
(51-238)Saint Andrews found their way, through great
(51-238)dangers, to the west of Scotland ; and their own
(51-238)interest, doubtless, induced them to use such
(51-238)influence as they had acquired among the zealots of

(51-238)their sect by their late action, to bring matters to
(51-238)extremity.

[TG51-239]

(51-239)Hackston, Balfour, and others, seem to have held
(51-239)council with Donald Cargill, one of the roost noted
(51-239)of the preachers at conventicles, and particularly
(51-239)with Robert Hamilton, brother to the Laird of
(51-239)Prestonfield; in consequence of which they
(51-239)appeared at the head of eighty horse, in the little
(51-239)burgh of Rutherglen, on the 29th of May, appointed
(51-239)to be held as a holiday, as the anniversary
(51-239)of the Restoration of Charles II. They quenched
(51-239)the bonfires, which had been kindled on account of
(51-239)this solemnity, and, drawing up in order at the
(51-239)market-cross, after prayer, and singing part of a
(51-239)psalm, they formally entered their protest, or
(51-239)testimony, as they called it, against the acts abolishing
(51-239)Presbytery, and establishing Episcopacy, together
(51-239)with the other defections of the time, all of which
(51-239)they renounced and disclaimed. After this bravado,
(51-239)they affixed a copy of their testimony to the
(51-239)cross, closed their meeting with prayer, and then
(51-239)evacuated the town at their leisure, Hamilton
(51-239)harbouring the Fife gentlemen, that is, those who had
(51-239)killed the Archbishop.

(51-239) We have already mentioned John Graham of
(51-239)Claverhouse as a distinguished officer, who had
(51-239)been singularly active against the nonconformists.
(51-239)He was now lying in garrison at Glasgow, and on
(51-239)the first of June, drew out his own troop of

[TG-240]

(51-240)dragoons, with such other cavalry as he could hastily

(51-240)add to it, and set off in quest of the insurgents who
(51-240)had offered such a public affront to Government.
(51-240) In the town of Hamilton he made prisoner John
(51-240)King, a preacher, and with him seventeen countrymen
(51-240)who were attending on his ministry; and
(51-240)hearing of a larger assembly of insurgents who
(51-240)were at Loudon-hill, a short distance off, he pushed
(51-240)forward to that place. Here Claverhouse was
(51-240)opposed by a large body in point of numbers, but
(51-240)very indifferently armed, though there were about
(51-240)fifty horse tolerably appointed, as many infantry
(51-240)with guns, and a number of men armed with
(51-240)scythes, forks, pikes, and halberds. The immediate
(51-240)spot on which the parties met was called Drumclog.
(51-240)It is a boggy piece of ground, unfit for the
(51-240)acting of cavalry, and a broad drain, or ditch, seems
(51-240)also to have given the insurgents considerable
(51-240)advantage. A short but warm engagement ensued,
(51-240)during which Balfour, and William Cleland, to be
(51-240)afterwards mentioned, crossed the ditch boldly, and
(51-240)outflanking the dragoons, compelled them to fly.
(51-240>About thirty of the defeated party were slain, or
(51-240)died of their wounds. An officer of the name of
(51-240)Graham, a kinsman of Claverhouse, was among the
(51-240)slain. His body, mistaken, it is reported, for that
(51-240)of his namesake, was pitifully mangled. Claverhouse's
(51-240)own horse was laid open by the blow of a
(51-240)scythe, and was scarcely able to bear him off the
(51-240)field of battle. As he passed the place where he

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(51-241)had left his prisoners, King, the preacher, when he
(51-241)beheld his captor in this pitiful plight, hollo'd out
(51-241)to him to stay and take the afternoon sermon. Some
(51-241)Royalist prisoners were taken, to whom quarter

(51-241)was given, and they were dismissed. This clemency (51-241)on the part of his soldiers, greatly disgusted (51-241)Mr Hamilton, who now assumed the command of (51-241)the insurgents. To show a good example, he killed (51-241)one of the defenceless captives with his own hand, (51-241)lenity being, according to his exaggerated ideas, (51-241)the setting free the brats of Babel, after they had (51-241)been delivered into their hands, that they might (51-241)dash them to the stones. The insurgents lost only (51-241)five or six men ; one of whom, named Dingwall, (51-241)had assisted at the murder of the Archbishop. (51-241) After having gained this victory, the insurgents (51-241)resolved to keep the field, and take such future (51-241)fortune as Heaven should send them. They (51-241)marched to Hamilton after the action, and the (51-241)next day, strongly reinforced by the numbers (51-241)which joined them on all sides, they proceeded to (51-241)attack the town of Glasgow. (51-241) The city was defended by Lord Ross and Claverhouse, (51-241)with a small but regular force. The insurgents (51-241)penetrated into the town from two points, (51-241)one column advancing up the Gallowgate, the other (51-241)entering by the College and the Wynd Head. But (51-241)Claverhouse, who commanded the King's troops, (51-241)had formed a barricade about the cross, Townhouse, (51-241)and Tolbooth, so that the Whigs, in marching (51-241)to the attack, were received with a fire which (51-241)they could not sustain, from an enemy who lay

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(51-242)sheltered and in safety.¹ But although they were (51-242)beaten fur the present, the numbers of the insurgents (51-242)begun to increase so much, that Ross and (51-242)Claverhouse judged it necessary to evacuate Glasgow, (51-242)and march eastward, leaving all the west of

(51-242)Scotland at the mercy of the rebels, whose numbers
(51-242)speedily amounted to five or six thousand men.
(51-242)There were among them, however, very few gentlemen,
(51-242)or persons of influence, whose presence
(51-242)might have prevented them from falling into the
(51-242)state of disunion to which, owing to the following
(51-242)circumstances, they were speedily reduced. They
(51-242)erected a huge tall gallows in the centre of their
(51-242)camp for the execution of such enemies as they
(51-242)should make prisoners, and hanged upon it at least
(51-242)one citizen of Glasgow, who had joined in the defence
(51-242)of the town against their former attack. But
(51-242)this vindictive mode of proceeding did not meet
(51-242)with general approbation in their army.
(51-242) The discord was now at its height between the
(51-242)moderate Presbyterians, who were willing to own
(51-242)the King's government, under the condition of obtaining

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(51-243)freedom of conscience ; and the more hot-headed
(51-243)and furious partisans, who would entertain
(51-243)no friendship or fellowship with those who owned
(51-243)and supported prelacy, and who held the acknowledging
(51-243)the Government, or the listening to the
(51-243)preachers who ministered by their indulgence or
(51-243)connivance, as a foul compromising of the cause
(51-243)of Presbytery, and professed it their object to
(51-243)accomplish a complete revolution in Church and
(51-243)State, and render the kirk as triumphant as it had
(51-243)been in 1640.
(51-243) The preachers likewise differed amongst themselves.
(51-243)Mr John Welsh, much famed for his zeal
(51-243)for Presbytery, together with Mr David Hume,
(51-243)headed the Moderate, or, as it was called by their
(51-243)opponents, the Erastian party ; whilst Donald Cargill,

(51-243)Thomas Douglass, and John King, espoused
(51-243)with all ardour the more extravagant purposes,
(51-243)which nothing short of a miracle could have enabled
(51-243)them to accomplish. These champions of the
(51-243)two parties preached against each other from the
(51-243)pulpit, harangued and voted on different sides in
(51-243)councils of war, and had not the sense to agree, or
(51-243)even to adjourn their disputes, when they heard
(51-243)that the forces of both England and Scotland were
(51-243)collecting to march against their undisciplined
(51-243)army, ill-provided as it was with arms, and at
(51-243)variance concerning the causes which had brought
(51-243)them into the field.

(51-243) While the insurgents were thus quarrelling
(51-243)among themselves and incapable of taking any
(51-243)care of their common cause, the Privy Council

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(51-244)ordered out the militia, and summoned to arms
(51-244)the vassals of the Crown ; many of whom, being
(51-244)inclined to Presbytery, came forth with no small
(51-244)reluctance. The Highland chiefs who lay near
(51-244)the scene of action, were also ordered to attend the
(51-244)King's host with their followers.

(51-244) But when the news of the insurrection reached
(51-244)London, Charles II; employing for a season his
(51-244)own good judgment, which he too often yielded
(51-244)to the management of others, seems to have formed
(51-244)an idea of conciliating the rebels, as well as of
(51-244)subduing them. For this purpose, he sent to Scotland,
(51-244)as commander-in-chief, his natural son, James,
(51-244)Duke of Monmouth, at the head of a large body
(51-244)of the royal guards. This young nobleman was
(51-244)the King's favourite, both from the extreme beauty
(51-244)of his person, and the amiableness of his disposition.

(51-244)Charles had taken care of his fortune, by
(51-244)uniting him with the heiress of the great family of
(51-244)Buccleuch, whose large estates are still enjoyed by
(51-244)their descendants. Wealthy, popular, and his
(51-244)father's favourite, the Duke of Monmouth had
(51-244)been encouraged to oppose his own court influence
(51-244)to that of the King's brother, the Duke of York ;
(51-244)and as the latter had declared himself a Roman
(51-244)Catholic, so Monmouth, to mark the distinction
(51-244)betwixt them, was supposed to be favourable to
(51-244)Presbyterians, as well as dissenters of any sect,
(51-244)and was popularly called the Protestant Duke. It
(51-244)was naturally supposed that, having such
(51-244)inclinations, he was intrusted with some powers
(51-244)favourable to the insurgents.

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(51-245)These unfortunate persons having spent a great
(51-245)deal of time in debating on church polemics, lost
(51-245)sight of the necessity of disciplining their army, or
(51-245)supplying it with provisions, and were still lying in
(51-245)the vicinity of the town of Hamilton, while numbers,
(51-245)despairing of their success, were every day
(51-245)deserting them. On the 21st of June, they were
(51-245)alarmed by the intelligence that the Duke of
(51-245)Monmouth was advancing at the head of a
(51-245)well-disciplined army. This did not recall them to
(51-245)their senses ; they held a council, indeed, but it
(51-245)was only to engage in a furious debate, which
(51-245)lasted until Rathillet told them his sword was
(51-245)drawn, as well against those who accepted the
(51-245)Indulgence, as against the curates, and withdrew
(51-245)from the council after this defiance, followed by
(51-245)those who professed his principles.
(51-245) The moderate party, thus left to themselves,

(51-245)drew up a supplication to the Duke of Monmouth,
(51-245)and after describing their intolerable grievances,
(51-245)declared that they were willing to submit all controversies
(51-245)to a free Parliament, and a free assembly
(51-245)of the Church.

(51-245) The Duke, in reply, expressed compassion for
(51-245)their condition, and a wish to alleviate it by his
(51-245)intercession with the King, but declared, they must
(51-245)in the interim lay down their arms. When they
(51-245)received this message, the insurgent troops were
(51-245)in the greatest disorder, the violent party having
(51-245)chosen this unfortunate moment for cashiering the
(51-245)officers whom they had formerly appointed, and
(51-245)nominating others who had no taint of Erastianism or

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(51-246)Malignity; in other words, no disposition to acknowledge
(51-246)any allegiance to the King, or submission
(51-246)to the civil power. While they were thus
(51-246)employed, the troops of Monmouth appeared in
(51-246)sight.

(51-246) The insurgents were well posted for defence.
(51-246)They had in front the Clyde, a deep river, not
(51-246)easily fordable, and only to be crossed by
(51-246)Bothwell bridge, which gives name to
(51-246)the battle.(22nd June, 1679) This is (or rather was, for
(51-246)though it still exists, it is now much altered) a
(51-246)high, steep, and narrow bridge, having a portal, or
(51-246)gateway, in the centre, which the insurgents had
(51-246)shut and barricaded. About three hundred men
(51-246)were stationed to defend this important pass, under
(51-246)Rathillet, Balfour, and others. They behaved well,
(51-246)and made a stout defence, till the soldiers of Monmouth
(51-246)forced the pass at the point of the bayonet.
(51-246)The insurgents then gave way, and the royal army

(51-246)advanced towards the main body, who, according
(51-246)to the historian Burnet, seem neither to have had
(51-246)the grace to submit, the courage to fight, nor the
(51-246)sense to run away. They stood a few minutes in
(51-246)doubt and confusion, their native courage and
(51-246)enthusiasm frozen by the sense of discord amongst
(51-246)themselves, and the sudden approach of an army
(51-246)superior in discipline. At length, as the artillery
(51-246)began to play upon them, and the horse and Highlanders
(51-246)were about to charge, they gave way without
(51-246)resistance, and dispersed like a flock of sheep.
(51-246) The gentle-tempered Duke of Monmouth gave
(51-246)strict orders to afford quarter to all who asked it,

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(51-247)and to make prisoners, but spare lives. Considerable
(51-247)slaughter, it is said, took place, notwithstanding
(51-247)his orders, partly owing to the unrelenting
(51-247)temper of Claverhouse, who was burning to obtain
(51-247)vengeance for the defeat of Drumclog, and the
(51-247)death of his kinsman, who was slain there,¹ and
(51-247)partly to the fury of the English soldiers and the
(51-247)Scottish Highlanders, who distinguished themselves
(51-247)by their cruelty.

(51-247) Four hundred men were killed at the battle of
(51-247)Bothwell bridge, and about twelve hundred made
(51-247)prisoners. These last were marched to Edinburgh,
(51-247)and imprisoned in the Greyfriars' churchyard,
(51-247)like cattle in a pen-fold, while several ministers
(51-247)and others were selected for execution.
(51-247)The rest, after long confinement there, and without
(51-247)any shelter save two or three miserable sheds,
(51-247)and such as they found in the tombs, were dismissed,
(51-247)upon giving bonds for conformity in future ;
(51-247)the more obstinate were sent as slaves to

(51-247)the plantations. Many of the last were lost at
(51-247)sea. And yet, notwithstanding these disasters, the
(51-247)more remote consequences of the battle of Bothwell
(51-247)bridge were even more calamitous than those
(51-247)which were direct and immediate.

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(52-248)THE efforts made by Monmouth obtained an
(52-248)indemnity which was ill-observed, and a limited
(52-248)indulgence which was speedily recalled ; and
(52-248)instead of the healing measures which were expected,
(52-248)severe inquisition was made into the conduct of the
(52-248)western proprietors, accused of favouring the
(52-248)insurrection, and that of the gentlemen who had failed
(52-248)to give attendance in the King's host, when assembled
(52-248)to put it down. The excuses made for this
(52-248)desertion of duty were singular enough, being, in
(52-248)many cases, a frank confession of the defaulters'
(52-248)fear of disquiet from their wives, some of whom
(52-248)invoked bitter curses on their husbands, if they
(52-248)took either horse or man to do prejudice to the
(52-248)fanatics who were in arms. To these excuses the
(52-248)court paid no heed, but fined the absentees heavily,
(52-248)and even threatened forfeiture of their lands.
(52-248) The mild influence of Monmouth in the administration
(52-248)of Scotland lasted but a short while ; and
(52-248)that of Lauderdale, though he was now loaded with

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(52-249)age as well as obloquy, in a great measure revived,
(52-249)until it was superseded by the arrival in Scotland
(52-249)of James, Duke of York, the King's brother, and
(52-249)heir presumptive of the throne.
(52-249) We have already said that this prince was a

(52-249)Catholic, and indeed it was his religion which had
(52-249)occasioned his exile, first to Brussels, and now to
(52-249)Scotland. The King consented to his brother's
(52-249)banishment as an unavoidable measure, the utmost
(52-249)odium having been excited against all Catholics, by
(52-249)the alleged discovery of a plot amongst the Papists,
(52-249)to rise upon and massacre the Protestants, depose
(52-249)the King, and put his brother on the throne. The
(52-249)whole structure of this story is now allowed to have
(52-249)been gross lies and forgeries, but at this period, to
(52-249)doubt it was to be as bad as the Papists themselves.
(52-249)The first fury of national prejudice having begun
(52-249)to subside, James was recalled from Brussels to
(52-249)Scotland, in order to be nearer his brother, though
(52-249)still at such a distance as should not again arouse
(52-249)the jealousy of the irritable Protestants.
(52-249) The Duke of York was of a character very different
(52-249)from his brother Charles. He had neither
(52-249)that monarch's wit nor his levity, was fond of business,
(52-249)and capable of yielding strict attention to it,
(52-249)and, without being penurious, might be considered
(52-249)as an economist. He was attached to his religion
(52-249)with a sincerity honourable to him as a man, but
(52-249)unhappy for him as a prince destined to reign over
(52-249)a Protestant people. He was severe even to cruelty,
(52-249)and nourished the same high idea of the divine
(52-249)right of kings, and the duty of complete submission

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(52-250)on the part of subjects, which was the original cause
(52-250)of his father's misfortunes.
(52-250) On the Duke of York's arrival in Scotland, he
(52-250)was received with great marks of honour and welcome
(52-250)by the nobles and gentry, and occupied the
(52-250)palace of Holyrood, which had long been untenanted

(52-250)by royalty.(24th Nov. 1679) He exerted himself
(52-250)much to conciliate the affections of the
(52-250)Scottish persons of condition ; and his
(52-250)grave and lofty, yet courteous manners, suited well
(52-250)the character of a people, who, proud and reserved
(52-250)themselves, willingly pay much respect to the
(52-250)etiquette of rank, providing those entitled to such
(52-250)deference are contented to admit their claims to
(52-250)respect in return.

(52-250) The Duke of York, it is said, became aware of
(52-250)the punctilious character of the Scottish nation, from
(52-250)a speech of the well-known Tom Dalziel. The
(52-250)Duke had invited this old cavalier to dine in private
(52-250)with him, and with his Duchess, Mary of Este,
(52-250)daughter of the Duke of Modena. This princess
(52-250)chose to consider it as a derogation from her rank
(52-250)to admit a subject to her table, and refused to sit

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(52-251)down to dinner if Dalziel should remain as a visitor.
(52-251)" Madam," "aid thy undismayed veteran, " I
(52-251)have dined at a table where your father might have
(52-251)stood at my back." He alluded to that of the
(52-251)Emperor of Germany, whom the Duke of Modena
(52-251)must, if summoned, have attended as an officer of
(52-251)the household.

(52-251) The spirit of the answer is said to have determined
(52-251)James, while holding intercourse with the
(52-251)Scottish nobles and gentry, to exercise as much
(52-251)affability as he could command or affect, which,
(52-251)with the gravity and dignity of his manners, gave
(52-251)him great influence among all who approached his
(52-251)person. He paid particular attention to the chiefs
(52-251)of Highland clans, made himself acquainted with
(52-251)their different interests and characters, and exerted

(52-251)himself to adjust and reconcile their feuds. By
(52-251)such means, he acquired among this primitive race,
(52-251)alike sensible to kind treatment, and resentful of
(52-251)injury or neglect, so great an ascendancy, that it
(52-251)continued to be felt in the second generation of his
(52-251)family.

(52-251) The Duke of York, a Catholic and a prince, was
(52-251)in both capacities disposed to severity against fanatics
(52-251)and insurgents ; so that his presence and interference
(52-251)in Scottish affairs increased the disposition
(52-251)to severity against Presbyterians of every shade
(52-251)and modification. But it was on his return, after
(52-251)a short visit to London, during which he had ascertained
(52-251)that his brother's affection for him was undiminished,
(52-251)that he ventured to proceed to extremities
(52-251)in suppressing nonconformists.

(52-251) The doctrines promulgated by the more fierce

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(52-252)and unreasonable insurgents, in their camp at
(52-252)Hamilton, were now adopted by the numerous and
(52-252)increasing sect, who separated their cause entirely
(52-252)from that of the moderate Presbyterians. These
(52-252)men disowned altogether the King's authority and
(52-252)that of the Government, and renounced the title of
(52-252)all pretenders to the throne, who would not subscribe
(52-252)to the Solemn League and Covenant, and
(52-252)govern according to its principles. These doctrines
(52-252)were chiefly enforced by two preachers, named
(52-252)Cargill and Cameron, from the last of whom their
(52-252)followers assumed, or acquired, the title of
(52-252)Cameronians.

(52-252) Richard Cameron laboured and died in a manner
(52-252)not unworthy of his high pretensions, as the founder
(52-252)of a religious sect. He continued in open resistance

(52-252)after the battle of Bothwell bridge ; and on
(52-252)the 22d of June, 1680, occupied the little burgh of
(52-252)Sanquhar with a small party of armed horsemen,
(52-252)and published a paper, or Testimony, formally disowning
(52-252)the authority of the King, and proclaiming
(52-252)that, by injustice and tyranny, he had forfeited the
(52-252)throne. After this bold step, Cameron, being closely
(52-252)pursued, roamed through the more desolate places
(52-252)of the counties of Dumfries and Ayr, with a few
(52-252)friends in arms, of whom Hackston of Rathillet,
(52-252)famous for his share in the death of Archbishop
(52-252)Sharpe, was the principal.

(52-252) But, on 22d July, 1680. while lying at a desolate
(52-252)place, called Airs moss,¹ they were alarmed with

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(52-253)the news, that Bruce of Earlshall was coming upon
(52-253)them with a superior force of infantry and dragoons.
(52-253)The Wanderers resolved to stand their ground, and
(52-253)Cameron pronounced a prayer, in which he three
(52-253)times repeated the pathetic expression, " Lord,
(52-253)spare the green and take the ripe." He then addressed
(52-253)his followers with great firmness, exhorting
(52-253)them to fight to the very last, " For I see," he
(52-253)added, " heaven's gates open to receive all such as
(52-253)shall die this day."

(52-253) Rathillet divided their handful of twenty-three
(52-253)horse upon the two flanks of about forty half-armed
(52-253)infantry. The soldiers approached, and charged
(52-253)with fury. Cameron and eight others were killed
(52-253)on the spot.¹ Of the royalist party, twenty-eight
(52-253)were either there killed, or died of their wounds
(52-253)shortly after. Rathillet fought with great bravery,
(52-253)but was at length overpowered, struck down, and
(52-253)made prisoner.

(52-253) In the barbarous spirit of the age, the seizure of
(52-253)Hackston was celebrated as a kind of triumph, and
(52-253)all possible insult was heaped on the unhappy man.
(52-253)He was brought into Edinburgh, mounted on a
(52-253)horse without a saddle, and having his face to the

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(52-254)tail. The head and hands of Richard Cameron
(52-254)were borne before him on pikes. But such insults
(52-254)rather arouse than break the spirits of brave men.
(52-254)Hackston behaved with great courage before the
(52-254)Council. The Chancellor having upbraided him
(52-254)as a man of libertine habits, " While I was so," he
(52-254)replied, " I was acceptable to your lordship ; I only
(52-254)lost your favour when I renounced my vices." The
(52-254)Archbishop's death being alleged against him as a
(52-254)murder, he replied that Heaven would decide which
(52-254)were the greatest murderers, himself, or those who
(52-254)sat in judgment on him. He was executed with
(52-254)circumstances of protracted cruelty. Both Ills hands
(52-254)were cut off before execution, and his heart torn
(52-254)from his bosom before he was quite dead. His head,
(52-254)with that of Cameron, was fixed on the Netherbow
(52-254)port, the hands of the former being extended, as if
(52-254)in the act of prayer. One of the enemies of his
(52-254)party gave Cameron this testimony on the occasion :
(52-254)" Here are the relics of a man who lived praying
(52-254)and preaching, and died praying and fighting."
(52-254) Daniel, or Donald Cargill, took up the banner of
(52-254)the sect, which had fallen from Cameron's dying
(52-254)hand. He avouched its tenets as boldly as his predecessor,
(52-254)and at a large conventicle of Cameronians,
(52-254)held in the Torwood, September 1680, had the
(52-254)audacity to pronounce sentence of excommunication
(52-254)against the King, the Duke of York, the Dukes of

(52-254)Monmouth, Lauderdale, and Rothes, the Lord Advocate,
(52-254)and General Dalziel. This proceeding was
(52-254)entirely uncanonical, and contrary to the rules of
(52-254)the Scottish Presbyterian church; but it asserted

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(52-255)well with the uncompromising spirit of the Hill-men,
(52-255)or Cameronians, who desired neither to give
(52-255)favours to, nor receive favours from, those whom
(52-255)they termed God's enemies.
(52-255) A high reward being put upon Cargill's head, he
(52-255)was, not long afterwards, taken by a Dumfriesshire
(52-255)gentleman,¹ and executed, along with four others,
(52-255)all disowning the authority of the King.(27th July, 1681)
(52-255)The firmness with which these men met death,
(52-255)tended to confirm the good opinion of the
(52-255)spectators ;² and though the Cameronian
(52-255)doctrines were too wild to be adopted by men of
(52-255)sense and education, yet they spread among the
(52-255)inferior ranks, and were productive of much
(52-255)mischief.
(52-255) Thus, persecution, long and unsparingly exercised,
(52-255)drove a part of an oppressed peasantry into
(52-255)wild and perilous doctrines ; dangerous, if acted
(52-255)upon, not only to the existing tyranny, but to any
(52-255)other form of government, how moderate soever.
(52-255)It was, considering the frantic severity of the
(52-255)Privy Council, a much greater wonder that they
(52-255)had not sooner stirred up a spirit of determined and
(52-255)avowed opposition to their government, than that

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(52-256)such should now have arisen. Nevertheless, blind
(52-256)to experience, the Duke of York, who had now

(52-256)completely superseded Lauderdale in the management
(52-256)of Scottish affairs, continued to attempt the
(52-256)extirpation of the Cameronian sect, by the very
(52-256)same violent means which had occasioned its
(52-256)formation.

(52-256) All usual forms of law, all the bulwarks by which
(52-256)the subjects of a country are protected against the
(52-256)violence of armed power, were at once broken
(52-256)down, and officers and soldiers received commissions
(52-256)not only to apprehend, but to interrogate and
(52-256)punish, any persons whom they might suspect of
(52-256)fanatical principles ; and if they thought proper,
(52-256)they might put them to death upon the spot. All
(52-256)that was necessary to condemnation was, that the
(52-256)individuals seized upon should scruple to renounce
(52-256)the Covenant-or should hesitate to admit, that the
(52-256)death of Sharpe was an act of murder - or should
(52-256)refuse to pray for the King - or decline to answer
(52-256)any other ensnaring or captious questions concerning
(52-256)their religious principles.

(52-256) A scene of this kind is told with great simplicity
(52-256)and effect by one of the writers of the period ;1 and
(52-256)I am truly sorry that Claverhouse, whom, at the
(52-256)time of the Revolution, we shall find acting a heroic
(52-256)part, was a principal agent in this act of cruelty.
(52-256)Nor, considering the cold-blooded and savage barbarity
(52-256)of the deed, can we admit the excuse either

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(52-257)of the orders under which he acted, or of the party
(52-257)prejudices of the time, or of the condition of the
(52-257)sufferer as a rebel and outlaw, to diminish our
(52-257)unqualified detestation of it.

(52-257) There lived at this gloomy period, at a place
(52-257)called Preshill, or Priesthill, in Lanarkshire, a man

(52-257)named John Brown, a carrier by profession, and
(52-257)called, from Ins zealous religious principles, the
(52-257)Christian Carrier. This person had been out with
(52-257)the insurgents at Bothwell bridge, and was for
(52-257)other reasons amenable to the cruelty of the existing
(52-257)laws. On a morning of May, 1685, Peden,
(52-257)one of the Cameronian ministers, whom Brown had
(52-257)sheltered in his house, took his leave of his host and
(52-257)his wife, repeating twice,- " Poor woman ! a fearful
(52-257)morning-a dark and misty morning !" -words
(52-257)which were afterwards believed to be prophetic or
(52-257)calamity. When Peden was gone, Brown left his
(52-257)house with a spade in his hand for his ordinary
(52-257)labour, when he was suddenly surrounded and
(52-257)arrested by a band of horse, with Claverhouse at their
(52-257)head. Although the prisoner had a hesitation in
(52-257)his speech on ordinary occasions, he answered the
(52-257)questions which were put to him in this extremity
(52-257)with such composure and firmness, that Claverhouse
(52-257)asked whether he was a preacher. He was
(52-257)answered in the negative. " If he has not preached,"
(52-257)said Claverhouse, " mickle hath he prayed in
(52-257)his time.-But betake you now to your prayers for
(52-257)the last time" (addressing the sufferer), " for you
(52-257)shall presently die." The poor man kneeled down
(52-257)and prayed with zeal; and when he was touching on

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(52-258)the political state of the country, and praying that
(52-258)Heaven would spare a remnant, Claverhouse, interrupting
(52-258)him, said, " I gave yon leave to pray, and
(52-258)you are preaching." -(< Sir," answered the prisoner,
(52-258)turning towards his judge on his knees, " you know
(52-258)nothing either of preaching or praying, if you call
(52-258)what I now say preaching : "-then continued without

(52-258)confusion. When his devotions were ended,
(52-258)Claverhouse commanded him to bid good-night to
(52-258)his wife and children. Brown turned towards
(52-258)them, and, taking his wife by the hand, told her
(52-258)that the hour was come which he had spoken of,
(52-258)when he first asked her consent to marry him.
(52-258)The poor woman answered firmly,- "In this cause
(52-258)I am willing to resign you." - "Then have I nothing
(52-258)to do save to die," he replied; "and I thank
(52-258)God I have been in a frame to meet death for many
(52-258)years." He was shot dead by a party of soldiers
(52-258)at the end of his own house ; and although his wife
(52-258)was of a nervous habit, and used to become sick at
(52-258)the sight of blood, she had on this occasion strength
(52-258)enough to support the dreadful scene without fainting
(52-258)or confusion, only her eyes dazzled when the
(52-258)carabines were fired. While her husband's dead
(52-258)body lay stretched before him, Claverhouse asked
(52-258)her what she thought of her husband now. "I ever
(52-258)thought much of him," she replied, "and now more
(52-258)than ever." - "It were but justice," said Claverhouse, "
(52-258)to lay thee beside him." - "I doubt not,"
(52-258)she replied, "that if you were permitted, your
(52-258)cruelty would carry you that length. But how
(52-258)will yon answer for this morning's work ?" - "To

[TG52-259]

(52-259)man I can be answerable," said Claverhouse, "and
(52-259)Heaven I will take in my own hand." He then
(52-259)mounted his horse and marched, and left her with
(52-259)the corpse of her husband lying beside her, and her
(52-259)fatherless infant in her arms. "She placed the
(52-259)child on the ground," says the narrative with scriptural
(52-259)simplicity, "tied up the corpse's head, and
(52-259)straightened the limbs, and covered him with her

(52-259)plaid, and sat down and wept over him."
(52-259) The persecuted and oppressed fanatics showed
(52-259)on all occasions the same undaunted firmness, nor
(52-259)did the women fall short of the men in
(52-259)fortitude. (11th May, 1685) Two of them, of different
(52-259)ages, underwent the punishment of death
(52-259)by drowning ; for which purpose they were chained
(52-259)to posts within the flood mark, and exposed to
(52-259)the fury of the advancing tide ; while, at the same
(52-259)time, they were offered rescue from the approaching
(52-259)billows, the sound of which was roaring in their
(52-259)ears, if they would but condescend so far as to say,
(52-259)God save the King. " Consider," said the well-meaning
(52-259)friends around them, " it is your duty to
(52-259)pray even for the greatest sinner."-" But we are
(52-259)not to do so," said the elder female. " at the bidding
(52-259)of every profligate." Her place of execution being
(52-259)nearer the advancing" tide, she was first drowned ;
(52-259)and her younger companion having said something,
(52-259)as if she desired the King's salvation, the bystanders
(52-259)would have saved her;1 but when she was

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(52-260)dragged out of the waves, half strangled, she chose
(52-260)to be replunged into them, rather than abjure the
(52-260)Covenant. She died accordingly.
(52-260) But it was not the common people and the fanatics
(52-260)alone who were vexed and harassed with
(52-260)unreasonable oaths. Those of higher rank were
(52-260)placed in equal danger, by a test oath, of a complex
(52-260)and puzzling nature, and so far inconsistent with
(52-260)itself, that while, on the one hand, the person who
(52-260)took it was to profess his full belief and compliance
(52-260)with the Confession of Faith adopted by the Scottish
(52-260)Church in the first Parliament of King James

(52-260)VI, he was in the next clause made to acknowledge
(52-260)the King as supreme head of the Church ;
(52-260)a proposition entirely inconsistent with that very
(52-260)Confession which lie had just recognised. Nevertheless,
(52-260)this test was considered as a general pledge
(52-260)of loyalty to be taken by every one to whom it
(52-260)should be tendered, under pain of ruinous fines,
(52-260)confiscations, and even death itself. The case of

[TG52-261]

(52-261)the Earl of Argyle was distinguished, even In those
(52-261)oppressive times, for its peculiar injustice.
(52-261) This nobleman was the son of the Marquis who
(52-261)was beheaded at the commencement of this reign,
(52-261)and he himself, as we have already mentioned, had
(52-261)been placed in danger of losing life and lands, by a
(52-261)most oppressive proceeding on the obsolete statute
(52-261)of leasing-making. He was now subjected to a
(52-261)severer storm. When the oath was tendered to
(52-261)him, as a privy counsellor, he declared he took it
(52-261)so far as it was consistent with Itself, and with the
(52-261)Protestant religion. Such a qualification, it might
(52-261)have been thought, was entirely blameless and
(52-261)unexceptionable. And yet for having added this
(52-261)explanation to the oath which he was required to
(52-261)take, Argyle was thrown into prison, brought to
(52-261)the bar, tried and found guilty of high treason and
(52-261)leasing-making. It has been plausibly alleged that
(52-261)Government only used this proceeding, to wring
(52-261)from the unfortunate Earl a surrender of his
(52-261)jurisdictions ; but, very prudently, he did not choose
(52-261)to trust Ills life on so precarious a tenure. He was
(52-261)one of the few peers who still professed an attachment
(52-261)to the Presbyterian religion ; and the enemies
(52-261)who had abused the laws so grossly to obtain

(52-261)his condemnation, were sufficiently likely to use
(52-261)the advantage to the uttermost. He escaped from
(52-261)the Castle of Edinburgh, (20th Dec. 1681) disguised in the
(52-261)livery of a page, holding up the train of
(52-261)Lady Sophia Lindsay, his step-daughter,
(52-261)and went over to Holland. Sentence of

[TG52-262]

(52-262)attainder was immediately pronounced. His honours,
(52-262)estate, and life were forfeited in absence ; his arms
(52-262)were reversed and turn ; his posterity incapacitated ;
(52-262)and a large reward attached to his head.

(52-262) This extravagant proceeding struck general terror,
(52-262)from its audacious violation of justice, while
(52-262)the gross fallacy on which it rested was the subject
(52-262)of general contempt. Even the children educated
(52-262)in George Heriot's Hospital (a charity on a plan
(52-262)similar to that of Christ Church in London), turned
(52-262)into ridicule the proceedings on this iniquitous trial.
(52-262)They voted that their yard dog was a person under
(52-262)trust, and that the test, therefore, should be tendered
(52-262)to him. Poor Watch, you may believe, only
(52-262)smelt at the paper held out to him, on which the
(52-262)oath was printed, and would pay no more attention
(52-262)to it. Upon this, the paper was again offered,
(52-262)having been previously rubbed over with butter, !

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(52-263)which induced the mastiff to swallow it. This was
(52-263)called taking the test with a qualification, and the
(52-263)dog was adjudged to be hanged as a leasing-maker
(52-263)and perverter of the laws of the kingdom.

(52-263) The gross violence of these proceedings
(52-263)awakened resentment as well as fear. But fear was at

(52-263)first predominant. Upwards of thirty-six noblemen
(52-263)and gentlemen, attached to the Presbyterian
(52-263)religion, resolved to sell their property in Scotland,
(52-263)and remove themselves to America, where
(52-263)they might live according to the dictates of their
(52-263)conscience. A deputation of their number, Lord
(52-263)Melville, Sir John Cochrane, Baillie of Jerviswood,
(52-263)and others, went to London to prepare for
(52-263)this emigration. Here the secret was imparted to
(52-263)them, of an enterprise formed by Monmouth,
(52-263)Shaftesbury, Lord Russell, and Algernon Sidney,
(52-263)to alter the government under Charles II.; and,
(52-263)at all events, to prevent, by the most forcible
(52-263)means, the Duke of York's ascent to the throne,
(52-263)in case of the King's death. The Scottish
(52-263)malecontents abandoned their plan of emigration, to
(52-263)engage in this new and more adventurous scheme.
(52-263)Walter Scott, Earl of Tarras, brother-in-law of
(52-263)the Earl of Monmouth, undertook for a rising in
(52-263)the South of Scotland ; and many of his name and
(52-263)kindred, as well as other gentlemen of the Borders
(52-263)of Scotland, engaged in the plot. One gentleman
(52-263)who was invited to join, excused himself, on
(52-263)account of the ominous sound of the titles of two of
(52-263)the persons engaged. He did not, he said, like
(52-263)such words as Gallowshiels and Hangingshaw.

[TG52-264]

(52-264)Besides the Scottish plot, and that which was
(52-264)conducted by Russell and Sidney in London, there
(52-264)were in that city some desperate men, of a subordinate
(52-264)description, who proposed to simplify the
(52-264)purpose of both the principal conspiracies, by putting
(52-264)the King to death as he passed by a place
(52-264)called the Ryehouse. This last plot becoming public,

(52-264)was the means of defeating the others. But
(52-264)although Campbell of Cessnock, Baillie of Jarviswood,
(52-264)and some conspirators of less consequence,
(52-264)were arrested, the escape of most of the persons
(52-264)concerned partly disappointed the revenge of the
(52-264)Government. The circumstances attending some
(52-264)of these escapes were singular.

(52-264) Lord Melville was about to come to Edinburgh
(52-264)from his residence in Fife, and had sent his principal
(52-264)domestic, a Highlander, named MacArthur,
(52-264)to make preparations for his arrival in town. The
(52-264)Justice-General was friendly to Lord Melville.
(52-264)He had that morning issued warrants for his arrest,
(52-264)and desired to put him on his guard, but durst
(52-264)take no steps to do so. Happening to see Lord
(52-264)Melville's valet on the street, he bent his eyes
(52-264)significantly on him, and asked, " What are you
(52-264)doing here? Get back, you Highland dog I" The
(52-264)man began to say he was making preparations for
(52-264)his master coming to town, when the Justice again
(52-264)interrupted him, saying, angrily, " Get home, you
(52-264)Highland dog ! " and then passed on. MacArthur
(52-264)was sensible of the dangerous temper of the times,
(52-264)and upon receiving such a hint, slight as it was,
(52-264)from such a man, he resolved to go back to his

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(52-265)master. At the Ferry he saw a party of the guards
(52-265)embarking on the same voyage. Making every
(52-265)exertion, he got home time enough to alarm his
(52-265)Lord, who immediately absconded, and soon after
(52-265)got over to Holland.

(52-265) Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, afterwards Lord
(52-265)Marchmont, had a still more narrow escape. The
(52-265)party of guards sent to arrest him had stopped at

(52-265)the house of a friend to the Government to get
(52-265)refreshments, which were amply supplied to them.
(52-265)The lady of the house, who secretly favoured the
(52-265)Presbyterian interest, connected the appearance of
(52-265)this party, and the inquiries which they made
(52-265)concerning the road to Polwarth castle, with some
(52-265)danger threatened to Sir Patrick Hume. She
(52-265)dared not write to apprise him, and still less durst
(52-265)she trust a messenger with any verbal communication.
(52-265)She therefore wrapt up a feather in a blank
(52-265)piece of paper, and sent it over the hills by a boy,
(52-265)while she detained the military party as long as
(52-265)she could, without exciting suspicion. In the
(52-265)mean time, Sir Patrick received the token, and his
(52-265)acute apprehension being rendered yet more
(52-265)penetrating by a sense of danger, he at once
(52-265)comprehended that the feather was meant to convey a hint
(52-265)to him that he should fly.
(52-265) Having been long peculiarly odious to the
(52-265)Government, Sir Patrick could think of no secure
(52-265)retreat above ground. A subterranean vault in
(52-265)Polwarth churchyard, being that in which his
(52-265)ancestors were buried, seemed the only safe place of
(52-265)refuge. The sole light admitted into this dreary

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(52-266)cell was by a small slit at one end. A trusty
(52-266)domestic contrived to convey a bed and bedclothes
(52-266)to this dismal place, and here Sir Patrick lay
(52-266)concealed during the strict search which was made for
(52-266)him in every direction. His daughter, Grizell
(52-266)Hume, then about eighteen years of age, was
(52-266)intrusted with the task of conveying him food, which
(52-266)could only be brought to the vault at midnight.
(52-266)She had been bred up in the usual superstitions of

(52-266)the times, about ghosts and apparitions, but the
(52-266)duty which she was discharging to her father
(52-266)banished all such childish fears. When she
(52-266)returned from her first journey, her mother asked
(52-266)her if she was not frightened in going through the
(52-266)churchyard. She answered, that she had felt fear
(52-266)for nothing excepting the minister's dogs (the
(52-266)manse1 being nigh the church), which had kept
(52-266)such a barking as to alarm her for a discovery.
(52-266)Her mother sent for the clergyman next morning,
(52-266)and by pretending an alarm for mad dogs,
(52-266)prevailed on him to destroy them, or shut them up.
(52-266) But it was not enough to have a faithful messenger ;
(52-266)much precaution was also necessary, to secure
(52-266)secretly, and by stealth, the provisions for the
(52-266)unfortunate recluse, since, if the victuals had been
(52-266)taken openly, the servants must naturally have
(52-266)suspected the purpose to which they were to be
(52-266)applied. Grizell Hume used, therefore, to abstract
(52-266)from the table, as secretly as she could, a portion
(52-266)of the family dinner. Sir Patrick Hume was fond

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(52-267)of sheep's head (being a good Scotsman in all
(52-267)respects), and Grizell, aware of her father's taste, had
(52-267)slipt into her napkin a large part of one which was
(52-267)on the table, when one of her brothers, a boy too
(52-267)young to be trusted with the secret, bawled out, in
(52-267)his surprise at the disappearance of the victuals,
(52-267)" Mamma, look at Grizzly-while we were supping
(52-267)the broth, she has eaten up all the sheep's
(52-267)head!"
(52-267) While in this melancholy abode, Sir Patrick
(52-267)Hume's principal amusement was reading and
(52-267)reciting Buchanan's translation of the Psalms.

(52-267)After lurking in his father's tomb. and afterwards
(52-267)in his own house, for three or four weeks, he at
(52-267)length ventured abroad, and through many dangers
(52-267)made his escape to Holland, like other fugitives.
(52-267) In the mean time, Baillie of Jerviswood, though
(52-267)in a very infirm state of health, was brought to
(52-267)that trial from which Polwarth and others had
(52-267)escaped so marvellously. This gentleman had been
(52-267)offered his life, on condition of his becoming a
(52-267)witness against Lord Russell; a proposal which
(52-267)he rejected with disdain, saying, those who uttered
(52-267)it knew neither him nor his country. It does not
(52-267)appear that there was the slightest evidence of the
(52-267)Scottish gentlemen having any concern in the
(52-267)scheme for assassinating the King ; but there is no
(52-267)doubt that they had meditated an insurrection, as
(52-267)the only mode of escaping the continued persecution
(52-267)of the Government.
(52-267) When Baillie received sentence of death, he only
(52-267)replied, " My Lords, the sentence is sharp, and

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(52-268)the time is short; but I thank God, who has made
(52-268)me as fit to die as you are to live." (Dec. 24,1684) He
(52-268)suffered death with the same firmness ;
(52-268)his sister-in-law, a daughter of Warriston,
(52-268)had voluntarily shared his imprisonment, and
(52-268)supported his exhausted frame during his trial.
(52-268)She attended his last moments on the scaffold,
(52-268)and with Roman fortitude witnessed the execution
(52-268)of a horrid sentence. It is worthy of mention, that
(52-268)the son and heir of this gentleman afterwards married
(52-268)the same young lady who so piously supported
(52-268)her father, Sir Patrick Hume, while concealed
(52-268)in the tomb.1 No other person was executed for

(52-268)accession to what was called the Jerviswood Plot;
(52-268)but many gentlemen were tried in absence, and
(52-268)their estates being declared forfeited, were
(52-268)bestowed on the most violent tools of the Government.
(52-268) Upwards of two thousand individuals were
(52-268)denounced outlaws, or fugitives from justice. Other
(52-268)persons, obnoxious to the rulers, were exorbitantly
(52-268)finned. One of these was Sir William Scott of
(52-268)Harden, from whose third brother your mother is
(52-268)descended. This gentleman, in his early years,
(52-268)had been an active member of the Committee of
(52-268)Estates, but was now upwards of seventy, and

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(52-269)much retired from public life¹. But his nephew,
(52-269)Walter, Earl of Tarras, was deeply concerned in
(52-269)the Jerviswood plot ; more than one of Harden's
(52-269)sons were also implicated, and hence he became
(52-269)obnoxious to the Government. He attended only
(52-269)on the Indulged, that is, licensed preachers, and
(52-269)had kept himself free of giving any offence that
(52-269)could be charged against him. The celebrated
(52-269)Richard Cameron was for some time his chaplain,
(52-269)but had been dismissed as soon as he declared
(52-269)against the Indulgence, and afforded other symptoms
(52-269)of the violent opinions of his sect. But the
(52-269)Privy Council had determined that husbands should
(52-269)be made responsible for the penalties and fines
(52-269)incurred by their wives. Lady Scott of Harden
(52-269)had become liable for so many transgressions of
(52-269)this kind; that the sum total, amounting to almost
(52-269)two thousand pounds, was, with much difficulty,
(52-269)limited to fifteen hundred, an immense sum for a
(52-269)Scottish gentleman of that period ; but which was
(52-269)extorted from this aged person by imprisonment in

(52-269)the Castle of Edinburgh.

(52-269) Whilst these affairs were going on in Scotland,
(52-269)the Duke of York was suddenly recalled to London
(52-269)by the King, whose health began to fail. Monmouth,
(52-269)his favourite son, had been obliged to retire
(52-269)abroad, in consequence of the affair of the Ryehouse
(52-269)plot. It was said that the King still nourished
(52-269)a secret wish to recall his son, and to send
(52-269)the Duke of York back to Scotland. But if he
(52-269)meditated such a change of resolution, which seems

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(52-270)rather improbable, fate left him no opportunity to
(52-270)execute it.

(52-270) Charles II. died of a stroke of apoplexy, which
(52-270)summoned him from the midst of a distracted
(52-270)country, and a gay and luxurious court, on the
(52-270)6th of February, 1685, in the fifty-fourth year of
(52-270)his age.

[TG53-271]

(53-271)WHEN the Duke of York ascended the throne
(53-271)on the death of his brother Charles, he assumed
(53-271)the title of James II. of England, and James
(53-271)VII. of Scotland.¹ His eldest daughter, Mary
(53-271)(whom he had by his first wife), was married to
(53-271)William, Prince of Orange, the Stadtholder or
(53-271)President of the Dutch United Provinces ; a prince
(53-271)of great wisdom, sense, and courage, distinguished
(53-271)by the share he had taken in opposing the ambition
(53-271)of France. He was now next heir to the crown
(53-271)of England, unless the King, his father-in-law,
(53-271)should have a surviving son by his present Queen,

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(53-272)Mary of Este. It was natural to conclude, that
(53-272)the Prince of Orange viewed with the most
(53-272)intense interest the various revolutions and changes
(53-272)of disposition which took place in a kingdom where
(53-272)he possessed so deep a stake. It did not escape
(53-272)remark, that the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of
(53-272)Argyle, and I the various malecontents who were
(53-272)compelled to fly from England or Scotland, seemed
(53-272)to find support, as well as refuge, in Holland. On
(53-272)this subject James made several remonstrances to
(53-272)his son-in-law, which the prince evaded, by alleging
(53-272)that a free state, like the Dutch republic,
(53-272)could not shut its ports against fugitives, of whatever
(53-272)description ; and with such excuses James
(53-272)was obliged to remain satisfied. Nevertheless, the
(53-272)enemies of the monarch were so completely subdued,
(53-272)both in Scotland and England, that no prince
(53-272)in Europe seemed more firmly seated upon his
(53-272)throne.

(53-272) In the mean while, there was no relaxation in the
(53-272)oppressive measures carried on in Scotland. The
(53-272)same laws for apprehending, examining, and executing
(53-272)in the fields, those suspected of nonconformity,
(53-272)were enforced with unrelenting severity ; and
(53-272)as the refusal to bear evidence against a person accused
(53-272)of treason, was made to amount to a crime equal
(53-272)to treason itself, the lands and life of every one
(53-272)seemed to be exposed to the machinations of the corrupt
(53-272)ministry of an arbitrary prince. To administer
(53-272)or receive the Covenant, or even to write in its
(53-272)defence, was declared treasonable, and many other
(53-272)delinquencies were screwed up to the same penalty

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(53-273)of death and confiscation. Those whom the law"
(53-273)named traitors were thus rendered so numerous,
(53-273)that it seemed to be impossible for the most cautious
(53-273)to avoid coming in contact with them, and
(53-273)thereby subjecting themselves to the severe penalties
(53-273)denounced on all having intercourse with such
(53-273)delinquents. This general scene of oppression
(53-273)would, it was supposed, notwithstanding the general
(53-273)show of submission, lead to an universal desire
(53-273)to shake off the yoke of James, should an opportunity
(53-273)be afforded.

(53-273) Under this conviction, the numerous disaffected
(53-273)persons who had retreated to Holland, resolved
(53-273)upon a double invasion of Britain, one part of which
(53-273)was to be directed against England, under command
(53-273)of the popular Duke of Monmouth, whose
(53-273)hopes of returning in any other peaceful fashion
(53-273)had been destroyed by the death of his father,
(53-273)Charles II. The other branch of the expedition
(53-273)was destined to invade Scotland, having at its head
(53-273)the Earl of Argyle (who had been the victim of
(53-273)so much unjust persecution), with Sir Patrick
(53-273)Hume, Sir John Cochrane, and others, the most
(53-273)important of the Scottish exiles, to assist and counsel
(53-273)him.

(53-273) As these Tales relate exclusively to the history
(53-273)of Scotland, I need only notice, that Monmouth's
(53-273)share of the undertaking seemed, for a time, to promise
(53-273)success. Having landed at Lyme, (11th June, 1685)
(53-273)in Dorsetshire, he was joined by greater
(53-273)numbers of men than he had means of
(53-273)arming, and his rapid progress greatly alarmed

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(53-274)James's Government. But his adherents were
(53-274)almost entirely of the lower order, whose zeal and
(53-274)courage might be relied on, but who had no advantages
(53-274)of influence from education or property. At
(53-274)length the unfortunate duke hazarded a battle near
(53-274)Sedgemoor, in which his cavalry, from the treachery
(53-274)or cowardice of their leader, Lord Grey, fled and
(53-274)left the infantry unprotected. The sturdy peasants
(53-274)fought with the utmost resolution, until they were
(53-274)totally broken and dispersed, with great slaughter.
(53-274)But the carnage made among the fugitives was forgotten,
(53-274)in comparison with the savage and unsparing
(53-274)judicial prosecutions which were afterwards
(53-274)carried on before Judge Jefferies, a man whose
(53-274)cruelty was a shame to his profession, and to mankind.
(53-274)Monmouth himself had no better fortune than
(53-274)his adherents. He fell into the hands of the pursuers,
(53-274)and was brought prisoner to the Tower

[TG53-275]

(53-275)of London. He entreated to be permitted to
(53-275)have an interview with the King, alleging he had
(53-275)something of consequence to discover to him.
(53-275)But when this was at length granted, the unhappy
(53-275)duke had nothing to tell, or at least told nothing,
(53-275)but exhausted himself in asking mercy at the hands
(53-275)of his uncle, who had previously determined not to
(53-275)grant it. Monmouth accordingly suffered death on
(53-275)Towerhill, (15th July) amid the lamentations of the
(53-275)common people, to whom he was endeared
(53-275)by his various amiable qualities, and the beauty
(53-275)of his person, fitting him to be the delight and ornament
(53-275)of a court, but not to be the liberator of an
(53-275)oppressed people.
(53-275) While the brief tragedy of Monmouth's invasion,

(53-275)defeat, and death, was passing in England,
(53-275)Argyle's invasion of Scotland was brought to as
(53-275)disastrous a conclusion. The leaders, even before
(53-275)they left their ships, differed as to the course to be
(53-275)pursued. Argyle, a great chieftain in the Highlands,
(53-275)was naturally disposed to make the principal
(53-275)efforts in that part of the country which his friends
(53-275)and followers inhabited. Sir Patrick Hume and
(53-275)Sir John Cochrane, while they admitted that they
(53-275)were certain to raise the clan of Campbell by following
(53-275)the Earl's counsel, maintained, nevertheless,
(53-275)that this single clan, however brave and numerous
(53-275)could not contend with the united strength of all
(53-275)the other western tribes, who were hostile to
(53-275)Argyle, and personally attached to James II. They
(53-275)complained, that by landing in the West Highlands,
(53-275)they should expose themselves to be shut up

[TG53-276]

(53-276)in a corner of the kingdom, where they could expect
(53-276)to be joined by none save Argyle's immediate
(53-276)dependents; and where they must necessarily be
(53-276)separated from the western provinces, in which the
(53-276)oppressed Covenanters had shown themselves ready
(53-276)to rise, even without the encouragement of money
(53-276)or arms, or of a number of brave gentlemen to
(53-276)command and lead them on.
(53-276) These disputes augmented, when, on landing in
(53-276)Kintyre, the Earl of Argyle raised his clan to the
(53-276)number of about a thousand men. Joined to the
(53-276)adventurers embarked from Holland, who were
(53-276)about three hundred, and to other recruits, the
(53-276)insurgent army might amount in all to fifteen hundred,
(53-276)a sufficient number to have struck a severe
(53-276)blow before the royal forces could have assembled,

(53-276)if the invaders could have determined among themselves
(53-276)where to aim at.

(53-276) Argyle proposed marching to Inverary, to attack
(53-276)the Laird of Ballechan, who was lying there for
(53-276)the King with six hundred Highlanders, waiting
(53-276)the support of the Marquis of Athole, then at the
(53-276)head of several clans, and in motion towards
(53-276)Argyleshire. But Sir John Cochrane, having had
(53-276)some communications in the west, which promised
(53-276)a general rising in that country, insisted that the
(53-276)main effort should be made in that quarter. He
(53-276)had a letter also from a gentleman of Lanarkshire,
(53-276)named William Cleland, undertaking, that if the
(53-276)Marquis of Argyle would declare for the work of
(53-276)Reformation, carried on from the year 1638 to
(53-276)1648, he should be joined by all the faithful

[TG53-277]

(53-277)Presbyterians in that country. Sir John, therefore,
(53-277)demandd from Argyle a supply of men and
(53-277)ammunition, that he might raise the western shires ;
(53-277)and was so eager in the request, that he said if
(53-277)nobody would support him, he would go alone,
(53-277)with a pitchfork in his hand.

(53-277) Either project was hopeful, if either had been
(53-277)rapidly executed, but the loss of time in debating
(53-277)the question was fatal. At length the Lowland
(53-277)expedition was determined on ; and Argyle, with
(53-277)an army augmented to two thousand five hundred
(53-277)men, descended into Lennox, proposing to cross
(53-277)the Clyde, and summon to arms the Covenanters
(53-277)of the west country. But the various parties
(53-277)among the Presbyterians had already fallen into
(53-277)debates, whether or not they should own Argyle,
(53-277)and unite under his standard; so that, when that

(53-277)unhappy, and, it would seem, irresolute nobleman,
(53-277)had crossed the river Leven, near to Dunbarton,
(53-277)he found his little army, without any prospect of
(53-277)reinforcement", nearly surrounded by superior forces
(53-277)of the King, assembling from different points,
(53-277)under the Marquis of Athole, the Duke of Gordon,
(53-277)and the Earl of Dunbarton.

(53-277) Argyle, pressed on all sides, proposed to give
(53-277)battle to the enemy ; but the majority of the council
(53-277)of war which he convoked were of opinion, that
(53-277)it was more advisable to give the royalists the slip,
(53-277)and leaving their encampment in the night, to
(53-277)march for Glasgow, or for Bothwell bridge ; and
(53-277)thus at the same time get into a friendly country,
(53-277)and place a large and unfordable river betwixt them

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(53-278)and a superior enemy. Lighting, therefore, numerous
(53-278)fires in the camp, as if it were still occupied
(53-278)by them, Argyle and his troops commenced their
(53-278)projected manoeuvre ; but a retreat is always a
(53-278)discouraging movement, a night-march commonly a
(53-278)confused one, and the want of discipline in these
(53-278)hasty levies added to the general want of confidence
(53-278)and the universal disorder. Their guides,
(53-278)also, were either treacherous or ignorant, for, when
(53-278)morning dawned on the dispirited insurgents,
(53-278)instead of finding themselves near Glasgow, they
(53-278)perceived they were much lower on the banks of
(53-278)the Clyde, near Kilpatrick. Here the leaders came
(53-278)to an open rupture. Their army broke up and
(53-278)separated ; and when the unfortunate Earl, being
(53-278)left almost alone, endeavoured to take refuge in
(53-278)the house of a person who had been once his servant,
(53-278)he was inhospitably refused admittance. He

(53-278)then crossed the Clyde, accompanied by a single
(53-278)friend, who, perceiving that they were pursued,
(53-278)had the generosity to halt and draw upon himself
(53-278)the attention of the party who followed them. This
(53-278)was at Inchinnan ford, upon the river Cart, close
(53-278)to Blythswood house.

(53-278) But Argyle was not more safe alone than in
(53-278)company. It was observed by some soldiers of the
(53-278)militia, who were out in every direction, that the
(53-278)fugitive quitted his horse and waded through the
(53-278)river on foot, from which they argued he must be
(53-278)a person of importance, who was careless about
(53-278)losing his horse, so that he himself made his escape.
(53-278)As soon, therefore, as he reached the bank, they fell

[TG53-279]

(53-279)upon him, and though he made some defence, at
(53-279)length struck him down. As he fell he exclaimed,
(53-279)-" Unfortunate Argyle !" -thus apprising his captors
(53-279)of the importance of their prisoner. A large
(53-279)fragment of rock, still called Argyle's Stone, marks
(53-279)the place where he was taken.

(53-279) Thus terminated this unfortunate expedition, in
(53-279)which Argyle seems to have engaged, from an
(53-279)over estimation both of his own consequence and
(53-279)military talents, and which the Lowland gentlemen
(53-279)seem to have joined, from their imperfect knowledge
(53-279)of the state of the country, as reported to
(53-279)them by those who deeply felt their own wrongs,
(53-279)and did not consider that the majority of their
(53-279)countrymen was overawed and intimidated, as
(53-279)well as discontented.

(53-279) By way of retaliating upon this unhappy nobleman

[TG53-280]

(53-280)the severities exercised towards Montrose,
(53-280)which he is said to have looked upon in triumph,
(53-280)the same disgraceful indignities were used towards
(53-280)Argyle, to which his enemy had been subjected.
(53-280)He was carried up the High Street bare-headed,
(53-280)and mounted on an unsaddled horse, with the
(53-280)hangman preceding him, and was thus escorted to
(53-280)the Tolbooth. In both cases the disgrace lay with
(53-280)those who gave such orders, and did not attach to
(53-280)the objects of their mean malevolence.
(53-280) The Council debated whether Argyle should be
(53-280)executed on the extravagant sentence which had
(53-280)condemned him for a traitor and depraver of the
(53-280)laws, on account of his adding a qualification to the
(53-280)test, or whether it were not better to try him
(53-280)anew, for the undoubted treason which he had
(53-280)committed by this subsequent act of invasion, which
(53-280)afforded a more legal and unchallengeable course
(53-280)of procedure. It was resolved, nevertheless, they
(53-280)should follow the first course, and hold Argyle as
(53-280)a man already condemned, lest, by doing otherwise,
(53-280)they should seem to throw doubt upon, if not indirectly
(53-280)admit, the illegality of the first sentence.
(53-280)The unfortunate Earl was appointed to be
(53-280)beheaded by the Maiden, an instrument resembling

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(53-281)the Guillotine of modern France. (30th June) He mounted
(53-281)the scaffold with great firmness, and
(53-281)embracing the engine by which he was to suffer,
(53-281)declared it the sweetest maiden he ever kissed,
(53-281)and submitted with courage to the fatal
(53-281)accomplishment of his sentence. When this nobleman's
(53-281)death is considered as the consequence of a

(53-281)sentence passed against him for presuming to
(53-281)comment upon and explain an oath which was self-
(53-281)contradictory, it can only be termed a judicial
(53-281)murder. Upwards of twenty of the most considerable
(53-281)gentlemen of his clan were executed in consequence
(53-281)of having joined him. His estate was
(53-281)wasted and confiscated ; his brother, Lord Niel
(53-281)Campbell, was forced to fly to America, and his
(53-281)name doomed to extirpation.
(53-281) Several of Argyle's Lowland followers were
(53-281)also condemned to death. Amongst these was
(53-281)Richard Rumbold, an Englishman, the principal
(53-281)conspirator in what was called the Ryehouse Plot.
(53-281)He was a republican of the old stamp, who might
(53-281)have ridden right-hand man to Cromwell himself.
(53-281)He was the most active in the scheme for assassinating
(53-281)the two royal brothers, which was to have
(53-281)been executed at his farm called the Ryehouse, by
(53-281)one party firing on the royal guards, and another
(53-281)pouring their shot into the King's carriage.
(53-281)Rumbold, who was to head the latter party, expressed
(53-281)some scruple at shooting the innocent postilion,

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(53-282)but had no compunction on the project of assassinating
(53-282)the King and Duke of York.
(53-282) Escaping from England when the discovery
(53-282)took place, this stern republican had found refuge
(53-282)in Holland, until he was persuaded to take part in
(53-282)Argyle's expedition. When the Scottish leaders
(53-282)broke up in confusion and deserted each other, a
(53-282)stranger and an Englishman was not likely to
(53-282)experience much aid or attention. Rumbold, left to
(53-282)shift for himself amid the general dispersion and
(53-282)flight, was soon beset by a party of the Royalists,

(53-282)and while he stoutly defended himself against two
(53-282)men in front, a third came behind him with a pitch-
(53-282)fork, put it behind his ear, and turned off his steel
(53-282)cap, leaving his head exposed ; on which Rumbold
(53-282)exclaimed, " O cruel countryman, to use me thus
(53-282)when my face was to mine enemy ! "
(53-282) He died the death of a traitor, as his share in the
(53-282)Ryehouse conspiracy justly merited. (26th June)But
(53-282)on the scaffold, Rumbold maintained the
(53-282)same undaunted courage he had often shown in the
(53-282)field. One of his dying" observations was, " that
(53-282)he had never believed that the generality of man-
(53-282)kind came into the world bridled and saddled, and
(53-282)a few bootied and spurred to ride upon them."

[TG53-283]

(53-283)This man's death was afterwards avenged on one
(53-283)Mark Kerr, the chief of those who took him : he
(53-283)was murdered before Ills own door, by two young
(53-283)men, calling themselves Rumbold's sons, who ripped
(53-283)out his heart, in imitation of what their father
(53-283)had suffered on the scaffold. Thus does crime
(53-283)beget crime, and cruelty engender cruelty. The
(53-283)actors in this bloody deed made their escape, not so
(53-283)much as a dog baying at them.
(53-283) Before quitting the subject of Argyle's rebellion,
(53-283)I may mention a species of oppression practised
(53-283)on the nonconformists, of a nature differing from
(53-283)those I have already mentioned. When the alarm
(53-283)of invasion arose, it was resolved by the Privy
(53-283)Council, that all such persons as were in prison on
(53-283)account of religion should be sent to the north, for
(53-283)their more safe custody. After a toilsome march,
(53-283)rendered bitter by want of food and accommodation;
(53-283)as well as by the raillery of the pipers, who

(53-283)insulted with ridiculous tunes a set of persons who
(53-283)held their minstrelsy to be sinful, the Wanderers,
(53-283)to the number of an hundred and sixty persons, of
(53-283)whom there were several women, and even some
(53-283)children, reached the place of their destination.
(53-283)This proved to be the castle of Dunottar, a strong
(53-283)fortress, almost surrounded by the German ocean,

[TG53-284]

(53-284)the same in which, as I have told you, the Regalia
(53-284)of Scotland were preserved for some time. Here
(53-284)the prisoners were, without distinction, packed into
(53-284)a large dungeon, having a window open to the sea,
(53-284)in front of a huge precipice. They were neither
(53-284)allowed bedding nor provisions, excepting what they
(53-284)bought, and were treated by their keepers with the
(53-284)utmost rigour.¹ The walls of this place, still called
(53-284)the Whigs' vault, bear token to the severities
(53-284)inflicted on those unhappy persons. There are, in
(53-284)particular, a number of apertures cut in the wall
(53-284)about a man's height, and it was the custom, when
(53-284)such was the jailer's pleasure, that any prisoner
(53-284)who was accounted refractory, should be obliged
(53-284)to stand up with his arms extended, and his fingers
(53-284)secured by wedges in the crevices I have
(53-284)described. It appears that some of these apertures
(53-284)or crevices, which are lower than the others, have
(53-284)been intended for women, and even for children.
(53-284)In this cruel confinement many died, some were
(53-284)deprived of the use of their limbs by rheumatism

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(53-285)and other diseases, and several lost their lives by
(53-285)desperate attempts to descend from the rock on

(53-285)which the castle is founded. Some who actually
(53-285)escaped by descending the precipice, were retaken,
(53-285)and so cruelly tortured for the attempt, by lighted
(53-285)matches tied between their fingers, that several
(53-285)were mutilated, and others died of the inflammation
(53-285)which ensued.

(53-285) The survivors, after enduring this horrid imprisonment
(53-285)for six weeks or two months, had the test
(53-285)offered to them. Those who, overcome by bodily
(53-285)anguish, and the hopeless misery of their condition,
(53-285)agreed to take this engagement, were discharged,
(53-285)and the others transported to the plantations. A
(53-285)tombstone in Dunottar churchyard, still preserves
(53-285)the names of such as died in this cruel captivity,
(53-285)in the various modes we have mentioned.

(53-285) The failure of the invasions of Monmouth and
(53-285)Argyle, with the revenge which had been taken
(53-285)on their unfortunate leaders, was by James, in his
(53-285)triumph, recorded by two medals struck for the
(53-285)occasion, which bore on one side two severed heads,
(53-285)on the other two headless trunks; a device as inhuman
(53-285)as the proceedings by which these advantages
(53-285)had been followed up, and as the royal vengeance
(53-285)which had been so unsparingly executed.

(53-285) The part of the nation which inclined to support
(53-285)the side of the King in all political discussions,
(53-285)now obtained a complete superiority over the rest.
(53-285)They were known by the name of Tories, an
(53-285)appellation borrowed from Ireland, where the irregular
(53-285)and desultory bands, which maintained a sort

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(53-286)of skirmishing warfare after Cromwell had suppressed
(53-286)every national and united effort, were so called.
(53-286)Like the opposite term of Whig, Tory was at first

(53-286)used as an epithet of scorn and ridicule, and both (53-286)were at length adopted as party distinctions, coming (53-286)in place of those which had been used during the (53-286)Civil War, the word Tory superseding the term. (53-286)of Cavalier, and Whig being applied instead of (53-286)Roundhead. The same terms of distinction have (53-286)descended to our time, as expressing the outlines (53-286)of the two political parties which divide the Houses (53-286)of Parliament, and, viewed politically, the whole (53-286)mass of the community. A man who considers (53-286)that, in the general view of the constitution, the (53-286)monarchical power is in danger of being undermined (53-286)by the popular branches, and who therefore (53-286)supports the Crown in ordinary cases of dispute, is a (53-286)Tory ; while one who conceives the power of the (53-286)Crown to be more likely to encroach upon the (53-286)liberties of the people, throws his weight and (53-286)influence into the popular scale, and is called a (53-286)Whig.

(53-286) Either of these opinions may be honourably and (53-286)conscientiously maintained by the party whom (53-286)reflection or education has led to adopt it; and the (53-286)existence of two such parties, opposing each other with (53-286)reason and moderation, and by constitutional means (53-286)only, is the sure mode of preventing encroachment, (53-286)either on the rights of the Crown, or on the privileges (53-286)of the people, and of keeping the constitution (53-286)itself inviolate ; as the stays and rigging of a (53-286)vessel straining against each other in opposite

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(53-287)directions, tend to keep the ship's mast upright in (53-287)its place. But as it is natural for men to drive (53-287)favourite opinions into extremes, it has frequently' (53-287)happened, that the Whig's, or the more violent

(53-287)part of that faction, have entertained opinions
(53-287)which tended towards democracy ; and that the
(53-287)Tories, on the other hand, indulging in opposite
(53-287)prejudices, have endangered the constitution by
(53-287)their tendency towards absolute rule.
(53-287) Thus, in the great Civil War, the friends to
(53-287)popular freedom began their opposition to Charles
(53-287)I., in the laudable desire to regain the full extent
(53-287)of constitutional liberty, but could not. bring the
(53-287)war to a conclusion until the monarchy was
(53-287)totally overthrown, and liberty overwhelmed in the
(53-287)ruins. In like manner, the Tories of Charles
(53-287)II. and James II.'s time, remembering the fatal
(53-287)issue of the Civil Wars, adopted the opposite and
(53-287)equally mistaken opinion, that no check could be
(53-287)opposed to the will of the sovereign, without danger
(53-287)of overthrowing the throne, and by their unlimited
(53-287)desire to enlarge the prerogative of the Crown,
(53-287)they not only endangered the national liberty, but
(53-287)conducted the deluded Sovereign to his ruin.
(53-287)When, therefore, we speak of any particular measure
(53-287)adopted by the Whigs or Tories, it would be
(53-287)very rash to consider it as deserving of censure or
(53-287)applause, merely on account of its having originated
(53-287)with the one or other of these parties. On
(53-287)the contrary, its real merits can only be soundly
(53-287)estimated when we have attentively considered its
(53-287)purpose and effect, compared with the general spirit

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(53-288)of the constitution, and with the exigencies of the
(53-288)times when it; was brought forward.
(53-288) During the whole of Charles the Second's reign,
(53-288)a violent struggle had been continued in England
(53-288)between the Whigs and the Tories, in the course

(53-288)of which both parties acted with a furious animosity,
(53-288)which admitted of no scruple concerning the
(53-288)means to be resorted to for annoying their adversaries.
(53-288)The Whig party had availed themselves
(53-288)of that detestable imposture called the Popish Plot
(53-288)to throw upon the Tories the guilt of an attempt
(53-288)to massacre the Protestants, and bring England
(53-288)back to the Catholic faith by the sword. Under
(53-288)this pretext they shed no small quantity of innocent
(53-288)blood. The Tories regained a decided ascendancy
(53-288)by the discovery of the Ryehouse Plot, an atrocious
(53-288)enterprise, at which men's minds revolted, and
(53-288)which the court artfully improved, by confounding
(53-288)the more moderate schemes laid by Monmouth,
(53-288)Lord Russell, and others, for obtaining some relief
(53-288)from the oppressive and unconstitutional measures
(53-288)of the court, with the bloody measures against the
(53-288)King's person, which Rumbold and other desperate
(53-288)men had meditated. The general hatred inspired
(53-288)by the latter enterprise, excited a wide-spread
(53-288)clamour against the conspirators, and the Tories
(53-288)in their turn became the instruments of sacrificing,
(53-288)on account of a conspiracy of which they were
(53-288)ignorant, Lord Russell and Algernon Sydney, two
(53-288)men whose names, for free and courageous sentiments,
(53-288)will live for ever in history.
(53-288) The prejudice against the Whigs had not

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(53-289)subsided, when James ascended the throne ; and the
(53-289)terrible mode in which the invasion of Monmouth
(53-289)was suppressed and punished, if it excited compassion
(53-289)for the sufferers, spread, at the same time,
(53-289)general dread of the Government. In these circumstances,
(53-289)the whole powers of the state seemed

(53-289)about to be surrendered to the King, without even
(53-289)a recollection of the value of national liberty, or of
(53-289)the blood which had been spent in its defence.
(53-289)The danger was the greater, that a large proportion
(53-289)of the national clergy were extravagant Royalists,
(53-289)who had adopted maxims utterly inconsistent
(53-289)with freedom, and with the very essence of the
(53-289)British constitution. They contended that the
(53-289)right of kings flowed from God, and that they
(53-289)were responsible to Him only for the manner in
(53-289)which they exercised it; that no misconduct, however
(53-289)gross, no oppression, however unjust, gave the
(53-289)subject any right to defend his person or his property
(53-289)against the violence of the sovereign ; and
(53-289)that any attempt at resistance, however provoked,
(53-289)was contrary alike to religion and to law, and rendered
(53-289)its author liable to punishment in this world
(53-289)for treason or sedition, and in that which is to
(53-289)come to eternal condemnation, as foes of the prince
(53-289)whom Heaven had made their anointed sovereign.
(53-289)Such were the base and slavish maxims into which
(53-289)many wise, good, and learned men were hurried,
(53-289)from the recollection of the horrors of civil war,
(53-289)the death of Charles I., and the destruction of the
(53-289)Hierarchy; and thus do men endeavour to avoid

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(53-290)the repetition of one class of crimes and errors, by
(53-290)rushing into extremes of a different description.
(53-290) James II. was unquestionably desirous of power;
(53-290)yet such was the readiness with which courts of
(53-290)justice placed at his feet the persons and property
(53-290)of his subjects, and so great the zeal with which
(53-290)many of the clergy were disposed to exalt his
(53-290)authority into something of a sacred character,

(53-290)accountable for his actions to Heaven alone, that
(53-290)it must have seemed impossible for him to form
(53-290)any demand for an extension of authority which
(53-290)would not have been readily conceded to him, on
(53-290)the slightest hint of his pleasure. But it was the
(53-290)misfortune of this monarch to conceive, that the
(53-290)same sophistry by which divines and lawyers placed
(53-290)the property and personal freedom of his subjects
(53-290)at his unlimited disposal, extended his power over
(53-290)the freedom of their consciences also.

(53-290) We have often repeated, that James was himself
(53-290)a Roman Catholic; and, as a sincere professor
(53-290)of that faith, he was not only disposed, but bound,
(53-290)as far as possible, to bring others into the pale of
(53-290)the church, beyond which, according to the Popish
(53-290)belief, there is no salvation. He might also flatter
(53-290)himself, that the indulgences of a life which had
(53-290)been in some respects irregular, might be obliterated
(53-290)and atoned for by the great and important
(53-290)service of ending the Northern heresy. To James's
(53-290)sanguine hopes, there appeared at this time a
(53-290)greater chance of so important a change being
(53-290)accomplished than at any former period. His own
(53-290)power, if he were to trust the expressions of the

[TG53-291]

(53-291)predominant party in the state, was at least as
(53-291)extensive over the bodies and minds of his subjects
(53-291)as that of the Tudor family, under whose dynasty
(53-291)the religion of England four times changed its
(53-291)form, at the will and pleasure of the sovereign.
(53-291)James might, therefore, flatter himself, that as
(53-291)Henry VIII., by his sole fiat, detached England
(53-291)from the Pope, and assumed in his own person the
(53-291)office of Head of the Church, so a submissive

(53-291)clergy, and a willing people, might, at a similar
(53-291)expression of the present sovereign's will and
(53-291)pleasure, return again under the dominion of the
(53-291)Holy Father, when they beheld their prince
(53-291)surrender to him, as a usurpation, the right of
(53-291)supremacy which his predecessor had seized upon.
(53-291) But there was a fallacy in this reasoning. The
(53-291)Reformation presented to the English nation
(53-291)advantages both spiritual and temporal, of which they
(53-291)must necessarily be deprived, by a reconciliation
(53-291)with Rome. The former revolution was a calling
(53-291)from darkness into light, from ignorance into
(53-291)knowledge, from the bondage of priestcraft into freedom;
(53-291)and a mandate of Henry VIII., recommending a
(53-291)change fraught with such advantages, was sure to
(53-291)be promptly obeyed. The purpose of James, on
(53-291)the contrary, tended to restore the ignorance of
(53-291)the dark ages, to lock up the Scriptures from the
(53-291)use of laymen, to bring back observances and
(53-291)articles of faith which were the offspring of
(53-291)superstitious credulity, and which the increasing
(53-291)knowledge of more than a century had taught men to
(53-291)despise.

[TG53-292]

(53-292)Neither would a reconciliation with Rome have
(53-292)been more favourable to those, who looked to a
(53-292)change of religion only as the means of obtaining
(53-292)temporal advantages. The acquiescence of the
(53-292)nobility in the Reformation had been easily purchased
(53-292)by the spoils of the church property ; but
(53-292)their descendants, the present possessors, would
(53-292)have every reason to apprehend, that a return to
(53-292)the Catholic religion might be cemented by a
(53-292)resumption of the church lands, which had been

(53-292)confiscated at, the Reformation.

(53-292) Thus the alteration which James proposed to
(53-292)accomplish in the national religion, was a task as
(53-292)different from that effected by Henry VIII., as is
(53-292)that of pushing a stone up hill, from assisting its
(53-292)natural impulse by rolling it downwards. Similar
(53-292)strength may indeed be applied in both cases, but
(53-292)the result of the two attempts must be materially
(53-292)different. This distinction James did not perceive;
(53-292)and he persevered in his rash attempt, in an evil
(53-292)hour for his own power, but a fortunate one for
(53-292)the freedom of his subjects, who, being called on
(53-292)to struggle for their religion, re-asserted their
(53-292)half-surrendered liberty, as the only mode by which
(53-292)they could obtain effectual means of resistance.

[TG54-293]

(54-293)IN attempting the rash plan, which doubtless had
(54-293)for its object the establishment of the Catholic
(54-293)religion in his dominions, James II., in his speech to
(54-293)the first English Parliament after Monmouth's
(54-293)defeat, acquainted them with his intentions in two
(54-293)particulars, both highly alarming in the existing
(54-293)temper of the public. The first was, that having
(54-293)seen, as he said, from the example of the last rebellion,
(54-293)that the militia were not adequate to maintain
(54-293)the defence of the kingdom, it was the King's
(54-293)purpose in future to maintain a body of regular troops,
(54-293)for whose pay he requested the House of Commons
(54-293)would make provision. The second point was no
(54-293)less ominous. The King desired, that no man

[TG54-294]

(54-294)should object if he employed some officers in the

(54-294)army who were not qualified according to the Test
(54-294)Act. " They were persons," he said, " well-known
(54-294)to him ; and having had the benefit of their assistance
(54-294)in a time of need and danger, he was determined
(54-294)neither to expose them to disgrace, nor
(54-294)himself to the want of their services on a future
(54-294)occasion."

(54-294) To understand what this alluded to, you must be
(54-294)informed that the Test Act was contrived to
(54-294)exclude all persons from offices of public trust,
(54-294)commissions in the army, and the like, who should not
(54-294)previously take the test oath, declaring themselves
(54-294)Protestants, according to the Church of England.
(54-294)King James's speech from the throne, therefore,
(54-294)intimated, first, that he intended to maintain a
(54-294)standing military force, and, secondly, that it was
(54-294)his purpose to officer these in a great measure with
(54-294)Papists, whom he designed thus to employ, although
(54-294)they could not take the test.

(54-294) Both these suspicious and exceptionable measures
(54-294)being so bluntly announced, created great
(54-294)alarm. When it was moved in the House of Lords,
(54-294)that thanks be returned for the King's speech, Lord
(54-294)Halifax said, that thanks were indeed due to his
(54-294)Majesty, but it was because he had frankly let
(54-294)them see the point he aimed at. In the House of
(54-294)Commons, the reception of the speech was more
(54-294)markedly unfavourable ; and an address was voted,
(54-294)representing that the Papist officers lay under
(54-294)disabilities, which could only be removed by Act of
(54-294)Parliament.

[TG54-295]

(54-295)This Intimation was ill received by the King in
(54-295)his turn, who expressed himself displeas'd at the

(54-295)implied jealousy of his purposes. The House
(54-295)remained in profound silence for some time, until
(54-295)Mr Cook stood up and said, " I hope we are all
(54-295)Englishmen, and not to be frightened out of our
(54-295)duty by a few hard words." This was considered
(54-295)as censurable language, and the gentleman who
(54-295)used it was sent to the Tower. The King
(54-295)presently afterwards prorogued the Parliament, which
(54-295)never met again during the short remainder of his
(54-295)reign.

(54-295) Highly exasperated and disappointed at the
(54-295)unexpected and unfavourable reception which his
(54-295)propositions in favour of the Roman Catholics had
(54-295)received from the English Parliament, James
(54-295)determined that the legislature of Scotland, which till
(54-295)now had studied to fulfil, and even anticipate, his
(54-295)slightest wishes, should show their southern neighbours,
(54-295)in this instance also, the example of submission
(54-295)to the will of their sovereign. In order to
(54-295)induce them, and particularly the representatives
(54-295)of the burghs, to consent without hesitation, he
(54-295)promised a free intercourse of trade with England,
(54-295)and an ample indemnity for all past offences ; measures
(54-295)which he justly regarded as essential to the
(54-295)welfare of Scotland. But these highly desirable
(54-295)favours were clogged by a request, proposed as a
(54-295)sort of condition, that the penal laws should be
(54-295)abolished, and the test withdrawn. The Scottish
(54-295)Parliament, hitherto so submissive, were alarmed
(54-295)at this proposal, which although it commenced only

[TG54-296]

(54-296)by putting Popery on a level with the established
(54-296)religion, was likely, they thought, to end in
(54-296)over-turning the Reformed doctrines, and replacing

(54-296)those of the Church of Rome.

(54-296) It is true that the Scottish penal laws respecting
(54-296)the Roman Catholics were of the most severe and
(54-296)harsh character. The punishments for assisting at
(54-296)the celebration of the mass, were, for the first
(54-296)offence, confiscation and corporal punishment; for
(54-296)the second, banishment, and to the third the pains
(54-296)of treason were annexed. These tyrannical laws
(54-296)had been introduced at a violent period, when those
(54-296)who had just shaken off the yoke of Popery were
(54-296)desirous to prevent, by every means, the slightest
(54-296)chance of its being again imposed on them, and
(54-296)when, being irritated by the recollection of the
(54-296)severities inflicted by the Roman Catholics on those
(54-296)whom they termed heretics, the Protestants were
(54-296)naturally disposed to retaliate upon the sect by
(54-296)whom intolerant cruelties had been practised.

(54-296) But although little could be said in defence of
(54-296)these laws, when the Catholics were reduced to a
(54-296)state of submission, the greater part by far of the
(54-296)people of Scotland desired that they should
(54-296)continue to exist, as a defence to the Reformed
(54-296)religion, in case the Papists should at some future
(54-296)period attempt to recover their ascendancy. They
(54-296)urged, that while the Catholics remained quiet there
(54-296)had been no recent instance of the penal laws being
(54-296)executed against them, and that therefore, since
(54-296)they were already in actual enjoyment of absolute
(54-296)freedom of conscience, the only purpose of the

[TG54-297]

(54-297)proposed abolition of the penal laws must be, to effect
(54-297)the King's purpose of bringing the Catholics forward
(54-297)into public situations, as the favoured ministers
(54-297)of the King, and professing the same religion

(54-297)with his Majesty.

(54-297) Then in respect to the test oath, men remembered
(54-297)that it had been the contrivance of James
(54-297)himself; deemed so sacred, that Argyle had been
(54-297)condemned to death for even slightly qualifying it;
(54-297)and declared so necessary to the safety, nay existence,
(54-297)of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, that it
(54-297)was forced upon Presbyterians at the sword's point.
(54-297)The Protestants, therefore, of every description,
(54-297)were terrified at the test's being dispensed with in
(54-297)the case of the Roman Catholics, who, supported as
(54-297)they were by the King's favour, were justly to be
(54-297)regarded as the most formidable enemies of all
(54-297)whom their Church termed heretics.

(54-297) The consequence of all this reasoning was, that
(54-297)the Episcopal party in Scotland, who had hitherto
(54-297)complied with every measure which James had
(54-297)proposed, now stopped short in their career, and
(54-297)would no longer keep pace with his wishes. He
(54-297)could get no answer from the Scottish Parliament,
(54-297)excepting the ambiguous expression, that they
(54-297)would do as much for the relief of the Catholics as
(54-297)their consciences would permit.

(54-297) But James, although he applied to Parliament
(54-297)in the first instance, had, in case he found that
(54-297)assembly opposed to his wishes, secretly formed the
(54-297)resolution of taking away the effect of the penal
(54-297)laws, and removing the Test Act, by his own royal

[TG54-298]

(54-298)prerogative ; not regarding the hatred and jealousy
(54-298)which he was sure to excite, by a course of conduct
(54-298)offensive at once to the liberties of his subjects, and
(54-298)threatening the stability of the Reformed religion.
(54-298) The pretence on which this stretch of his royal

(54-298)prerogative was exerted, was very slender. The
(54-298)right indeed had been claimed, and occasionally
(54-298)exercised, by the Kings of England, of dispensing
(54-298)with penal statutes in such individual cases as might
(54-298)require exception or indulgence. This right somewhat
(54-298)resembled the Crown's power of pardoning
(54-298)criminals whom the law has adjudged to death ;
(54-298)but, like the power of pardon, the dispensing
(54-298)privilege could only be considered as extending to
(54-298)cases attended with peculiar circumstances. So
(54-298)that when the King pretended to suspend the effect
(54-298)of the penal laws in all instances whatever, it was
(54-298)just as if, being admitted to be possessed of the
(54-298)power of pardoning a man convicted of murder, he
(54-298)had claimed the right to pronounce that murder
(54-298)should in no case be held a capital crime. This
(54-298)reasoning was unanswerable. Nevertheless, at the
(54-298)risk of all the disaffection which such conduct was
(54-298)certain to excite, James was rash enough to put
(54-298)forth a royal proclamation, in which, by his own
(54-298)authority, he dispensed at once with all the penal
(54-298)laws affecting Catholics, and annulled the oath of
(54-298)Supremacy and the Test, so that a Catholic became
(54-298)as eligible for public employment as a Protestant.
(54-298)At the same time, to maintain some appearance of
(54-298)impartiality, an indulgence was granted to moderate
(54-298)Presbyterians, while the laws against the conventicles

[TG54-299]

(54-299)which met in arms, and in the open fields,
(54-299)were confirmed and enforced.
(54-299) In this arbitrary and violent proceeding, James
(54-299)was chiefly directed by a few Catholic counsellors,
(54-299)none of whom had much reputation for talent,
(54-299)while most of them were inspired by a misjudging

(54-299)zeal for their religion, and imagined they saw the
(54-299)restoration of Popery at hand. To these must be
(54-299)added two or three statesmen, who, being originally
(54-299)Protestants, had adopted the Catholic religion
(54-299)in compliance with the wishes of the King. From
(54-299)these men, who had sacrificed conscience and
(54-299)decency to court favour, the very worst advice was
(54-299)to be apprehended, since they were sure to assert
(54-299)to extremity the character which they had adopted
(54-299)on the ground of self-interest. Such a minister
(54-299)was the Earl of Perth, Chancellor of Scotland,
(54-299)who served the King's pleasure to the uttermost
(54-299)in that kingdom ; and such, too, was the far more
(54-299)able and dangerous Earl of Sunderland in England,
(54-299)who, under the guise of the most obsequious
(54-299)obedience to the King's pleasure, made it his study
(54-299)to drive James on to the most extravagant measures,
(54-299)with the secret resolution of deserting him

[TG54-300]

(54-300)as soon as he should see him in danger of perishing
(54-300)by means of the tempest which he had encouraged
(54-300)him wantonly to provoke.
(54-300) The sincerity of those converts who change their
(54-300)faith at a moment when favour and power can be
(54-300)obtained by the exchange, must always be doubtful,
(54-300)and no character inspires more contempt than
(54-300)that of an apostate who deserts his religion for love
(54-300)of gain. Not, however, listening to these obvious
(54-300)considerations, the King seemed to press on the
(54-300)conversion of his subjects to the Roman Catholic
(54-300)faith, without observing that each proselyte, by the
(54-300)fact of becoming so, was rendered generally
(54-300)contemptible, and lost any influence he might have
(54-300)formerly possessed. Indeed, the King's rage for

(54-300)making converts was driven to such a height by his
(54-300)obsequious ministers, that an ignorant negro, the
(54-300)servant or slave of one Raid, a mountebank, was
(54-300)publicly baptized after the Catholic ritual upon a
(54-300)stage in the High Street of Edinburgh, and christened
(54-300)James, in honour, it was said, of the Lord
(54-300)Chancellor James Earl of Perth, King James him-
(54-300)self, and the Apostle James.

(54-300) While the King was deserted by his old friends
(54-300)and allies of the Episcopal Church, he probably
(54-300)expected that his enemies the Presbyterians would
(54-300)have been conciliated by the unexpected lenity
(54-300)which they experienced. To bring this about, the
(54-300)Indulgence was gradually extended until it
(54-300)comprehended almost a total abrogation of all the
(54-300)oppressive laws respecting fanatics and conventicles,
(54-300)the Cameronians alone being excepted, who

[TG54-301]

(54-301)disowned the King's authority. But the Protestant
(54-301)nonconformists, being wise enough to penetrate
(54-301)into the schemes of the Prince, remained determined
(54-301)not to form a union with the Catholics, and
(54-301)generally refused to believe that the King had any
(54-301)other object in view than the destruction of
(54-301)Protestants of every description.

(54-301) Some ministers, indeed, received the toleration
(54-301)with thanks and flattery ; and several Presbyterians
(54-301)of rank accepted offices under Government in the
(54-301)room of Episcopalians, who had resigned rather
(54-301)than acquiesce in the dispensation of the penal
(54-301)laws. But, to use their own expressions, the more
(54-301)clear-sighted Presbyterians plainly saw that they
(54-301)had been less aggrieved with the wounds, stabs,
(54-301)and strokes, which the church had formerly received,

(54-301)than by this pretended Indulgence, which they
(54-301)likened to the cruel courtesy of Joab, who gave a
(54-301)salute to Abner, while at the same time he stabbed
(54-301)him under the fifth rib. This was openly
(54-301)maintained by one large party among the Presbyterians,
(54-301)while the more moderate admitted, that Heaven had
(54-301)indeed made the King its instrument to procure
(54-301)some advantage to the church ; but that being
(54-301)convinced the favour shown to them was not sincere,
(54-301)but bestowed with the purpose of disuniting
(54-301)Protestants amongst themselves, they owed James little
(54-301)gratitude for that which he bestowed, not from any
(54-301)good-will to them, but to further his own ends.
(54-301) These discords between the King and his former
(54-301)friends in Scotland occasioned many changes in
(54-301)the administration of the country. The Duke of

[TG54-302]

(54-302)Queensberry, who had succeeded Lauderdale in
(54-302)his unlimited authority, and had shown the same
(54-302)disposition to gratify the King on all former occasions,
(54-302)was now disgraced on account of his reluctance
(54-302)to assent to the rash measures adopted in
(54-302)favour of the Catholics. Perth and Melfort, the
(54-302)last also a convert to the Catholic faith, were placed
(54-302)at the head of the administration. On the other
(54-302)hand, Sir George MacKenzie, long King's advocate,
(54-302)and so severe against the Covenanters that he
(54-302)received the name of the Bloody MacKenzie, refused
(54-302)to countenance the revocation of the penal
(54-302)laws, and was, like Queensberry, deprived of his
(54-302)office. Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, named
(54-302)in his stead, was a Presbyterian of the more rigid
(54-302)sort, such as were usually called fanatics. Judges
(54-302)were also created from the same oppressed party.

(54-302)But none of the nonconformists so promoted,
(54-302)however gratified with their own advancement, either
(54-302)forgot the severity with which their sect had been
(54-302)treated, through the express interference and
(54-302)influence of James, or gave the infatuated monarch
(54-302)credit for sincerity in his apparent change of
(54-302)disposition towards them.

(54-302) Insensible to the general loss of his friends and
(54-302)partisans, James proceeded to press the exercise
(54-302)of his dispensing power. By a new order from
(54-302)court, the most ridiculous and irritating that could
(54-302)well be imagined, all persons in civil employment,
(54-302)without exception, were ordered to lay down their
(54-302)offices, and resume them again by a new commission,
(54-302)without taking the test; which reassumption,

[TG54-303]

(54-303)being an act done against the existing laws, they
(54-303)were required instantly to wipe out, by taking out
(54-303)a remission from the Crown, for obeying the royal
(54-303)command. And it was declared, that such as did
(54-303)not obtain such a remission, should be afterwards
(54-303)incapable of pardon, and subjected to all the penalties
(54-303)of not having taken the test. Thus, the King
(54-303)laid his commands upon his subjects to break one
(54-303)of the standing laws of the kingdom, and then stood
(54-303)prepared to enforce against them the penalty which
(54-303)they had incurred (a penalty due to the Crown
(54-303)itself), unless they consented to shelter themselves
(54-303)by accepting a pardon from the King for a crime
(54-303)which they had committed by his order, and thus
(54-303)far acknowledge his illegal power to suspend the
(54-303)laws. In this manner, it was expected that all
(54-303)official persons would be compelled personally to
(54-303)act under and acknowledge the King's power of

(54-303)dispensing with the constitution.

(54-303) In England, the same course of misgovernment
(54-303)was so openly pursued, that no room was left the
(54-303)people to doubt that James designed to imitate
(54-303)the conduct of his friend and ally, Louis XIV. of
(54-303)France, in the usurpation of despotic power over
(54-303)the bodies and consciences of his subjects. It was
(54-303)just about this time that the French monarch
(54-303)revoked the toleration which had been granted by
(54-303)Henry IV. to the French Protestants, and forced
(54-303)upwards of half a million of his subjects, offending
(54-303)in nothing excepting their worshipping God after
(54-303)the Protestant manner, into exile from their native
(54-303)country. Many thousands of these persecuted men

[TG54-304]

(54-304)found refuge in Great Britain, and by the accounts
(54-304)they gave of the injustice and cruelty with which
(54-304)they had been treated, increased the general
(54-304)hatred and dread of the Catholic religion, and in
(54-304)consequence the public jealousy of a prince, who
(54-304)was the bigoted follower of its tenets.

(54-304) But James was totally blind to the dangerous
(54-304)precipice on which he stood, and imagined that
(54-304)the murmurs of the people might be suppressed
(54-304)by the large standing army which he maintained, a
(54-304)considerable part of which, in order to overawe
(54-304)the city of London, lay encamped on Hounslow-
(54-304)Heath.

(54-304) To be still more assured of the fidelity of his
(54-304)army, the King was desirous to introduce amongst
(54-304)them a number of Catholic officers, and also to
(54-304)convert as many of the soldiers as possible to that
(54-304)religion. But even among a set of men, who from
(54-304)their habits are the most disposed to obedience,

(54-304)and perhaps the most indifferent about religious
(54-304)distinctions, the name of Papist was odious ; and
(54-304)the few soldiers who embraced that persuasion were
(54-304)treated by their comrades with ridicule and
(54-304)contempt.

(54-304) In a word, any prince less obstinate and bigoted
(54-304)than James, might easily have seen that the army
(54-304)would not become his instrument in altering the
(54-304)laws and religion of the country. But he proceeded,
(54-304)with the most reckless indifference, to provoke a
(54-304)struggle, which it was plain must be maintained
(54-304)against the universal sentiments of his subjects.
(54-304)He had the folly not only to set up the Catholic

[TG54-305]

(54-305)worship in his royal chapel, with the greatest pomp
(54-305)and publicity, but to send an ambassador, Lord
(54-305)Castlemaine, to the Pope, to invite his Holiness to
(54-305)countenance his proceedings, by affording him the
(54-305)presence of a nuncio from the See of Rome. Such
(54-305)a communication was, by the law of England, an
(54-305)act of high treason, and excited the deepest resentment
(54-305)in England, while abroad it was rather ridiculed
(54-305)than applauded. Even the Pope himself
(54-305)afforded the bigoted monarch very little countenance
(54-305)in his undertaking, being probably of opinion that
(54-305)James's movements were too violent to be secure.
(54-305)His Holiness was also on indifferent terms with
(54-305)Louis XIV., of whom James was a faithful ally,
(54-305)and, on the whole, the Pope was so little disposed
(54-305)to sympathize with the imprudent efforts of the
(54-305)English Monarch in favour of the Catholic religion,
(54-305)that he contrived to evade every attempt of Lord
(54-305)Castlemaine to enter upon business, by affecting a
(54-305)violent fit of coughing whenever the conversation

(54-305)took that turn. Yet even this coldness, on the part
(54-305)of the head of his own Church, who might be
(54-305)supposed favourable to James's views, and so intimately
(54-305)concerned in the issue of his attempt, did not
(54-305)chill the insane zeal of the English monarch.
(54-305) To attain his purpose with some degree of grace
(54-305)from Parliament, which, though he affected to despise
(54-305)it, he was still desirous of conciliating, the
(54-305)King took the most unconstitutional measures to
(54-305)influence the members of both houses. One mode
(54-305)was by admitting individuals to private audiences,
(54-305)called Closetings, and using all the personal

[TG54-306]

(54-306)arguments, promises, and threats, which his situation
(54-306)enabled him to enforce, for the purpose of inducing
(54-306)the members to comply with his views. He
(54-306)extorted also, from many of the royal burghs, both in
(54-306)England and Scotland, the surrender of their charters,
(54-306)and substituted others which placed the
(54-306)nomination of their representatives to Parliament in the
(54-306)hands of the Crown ; and he persisted obstinately
(54-306)in removing Protestants from all offices of honour
(54-306)and trust in the government, and in filling their
(54-306)situations with Papists. Even his own brothers-in-
(54-306)law, the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester, were
(54-306)disgraced, or at least dismissed from their
(54-306)employments, because they would not sacrifice their
(54-306)religious principles to the King's arguments and
(54-306)promises.

(54-306) Amid so many subjects of jealousy, all uniting
(54-306)to show, that it was the purpose of the King to
(54-306)assume arbitrary power, and by the force of
(54-306)tyranny over the rights and lives of his subjects, to
(54-306)achieve a change in the national religion, those

(54-306)operations which immediately affected the church,
(54-306)were the objects of peculiar attention.

(54-306) As early in his unhappy career as 1686, the
(54-306)year following that of his accession to the throne,
(54-306)James had ventured to re-establish one of the most
(54-306)obnoxious institutions in his father's reign, namely,
(54-306)the Court of High Ecclesiastical Commission, for
(54-306)trying all offences of the clergy. This oppressive
(54-306)and vexatious judicature had been abolished in
(54-306)Charles the First's time, along with the

[TG54-307]

(54-307)Star-Chamber, and it was declared by act of Parliament
(54-307)that neither of them should ever be again erected.

(54-307)Yet the King, in spite of experience and of law,
(54-307)recalled to life this oppressive court of Ecclesiastical
(54-307)Commission, in order to employ its arbitrary
(54-307)authority in support of the cause of Popery. Sharpe,
(54-307)a clergyman of London, had preached with vehemence
(54-307)in the controversy between Protestants and
(54-307)Catholics, and some of the expressions he made use
(54-307)of were interpreted to reflect on the King,¹ Sharpe
(54-307)endeavoured to apologize, but nevertheless the
(54-307)Bishop of London received orders to suspend the
(54-307)preacher from his functions. That prelate excused
(54-307)himself from obedience, because he had no power

[TG54-308]

(54-308)to proceed thus summarily against a person not
(54-308)convicted of any offence. The Bishop's excuse, as
(54-308)well as Sharpe's apology, were disregarded, and
(54-308)both were suspended from their functions by this
(54-308)illegal court; the preacher, because he exerted
(54-308)himself, as his profession required, in combating

(54-308)the arguments by which many were seduced from
(54-308)the Protestant faith ; the prelate, because he
(54-308)declined to be an instrument of illegal oppression.
(54-308)The people saw the result of this trial, with a deep
(54-308)sense of the illegality shown, and the injustice
(54-308)inflicted.

(54-308) The Universities were equally the object of the
(54-308)King's unprovoked aggressions. It was in their
(54-308)bosom that the youth of the kingdom, more
(54-308)especially those destined for the clerical profession,
(54-308)were educated, and James naturally concluded,
(54-308)that to introduce the Catholic influence into these
(54-308)two great and learned bodies, would prove a most
(54-308)important step in his grand plan of re-establishing
(54-308)that religion in England.

(54-308) The experiment upon Cambridge was a slight
(54-308)one. The King, by his mandate, required the
(54-308)University to confer a degree of master of arts
(54-308)upon Father Francis, an ignorant Benedictine monk.
(54-308)Academical honours of this kind are generally
(54-308)conferred without respect to the religion of the
(54-308)party receiving them ; and indeed the University
(54-308)had, not very long before, admitted a Mahomedan
(54-308)to the degree of master of arts; but that was an
(54-308)honorary degree only, whereas the degree
(54-308)demanding for the Benedictine monk inferred a right

[TG54-309]

(54-309)to sit and vote in the elections of the University,
(54-309)whose members, considering that the Papists so
(54-309)introduced might soon control the Protestants,
(54-309)resolved to oppose the King's purpose in the
(54-309)commencement, and refused to grant the degree
(54-309)required. The Court of High Commission suspended
(54-309)the vice-chancellor, but the University

(54-309)chose a man of the same determined spirit in his
(54-309)room ; so that the King was not the nearer to his
(54-309)object, which he was compelled for the present to
(54-309)abandon.

(54-309) Oxford, however, was attacked with more
(54-309)violence, and the consequences were more important.
(54-309)That celebrated University had been distinguished
(54-309)by its unalterable attachment to the royal cause.
(54-309)When Charles I. was compelled to quit London,
(54-309)he found a retreat at Oxford, where the various
(54-309)colleges expended in supporting his cause
(54-309)whatever wealth they possessed, while many members
(54-309)of the University exposed their lives in his
(54-309)service. In Charles the Second's time, Oxford, on
(54-309)account of its inflexible loyalty, had been chosen as
(54-309)the place where the King convoked a short
(54-309)Parliament, when the interest of the Whigs in the city
(54-309)of London was so strong as to render him fearful
(54-309)of remaining in its vicinity. It was less to the
(54-309)honour of this University, that it had shown itself
(54-309)the most zealous in expressing, and enforcing by
(54-309)its ordinances, the slavish tenets of passive
(54-309)obedience and non-resistance to the royal authority,
(54-309)which were then professed by many of the
(54-309)members of the Church of England ; but it was an

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(54-310)additional proof that their devotion to the King was
(54-310)almost unlimited.

(54-310) But if James recollected any thing whatever of
(54-310)these marks of loyalty to the Crown, the remembrance
(54-310)served only to encourage him in his attack
(54-310)upon the privileges of the University, in the belief
(54-310)that they would not be firmly resisted. With
(54-310)ingratitude, therefore, as well as folly, he proceeded

(54-310)to intrude his mandate on the society of Magdalen
(54-310)College, commanding them to choose for their
(54-310)president one of the new converts to the Catholic
(54-310)religion, and on their refusal, expelled them from
(54-310)the college ; thus depriving them of their revenues
(54-310)and endowments, because they would not transgress
(54-310)the statutes, to the observance of which they had
(54-310)solemnly sworn.

(54-310) A still more fatal error, which seems indeed to
(54-310)have carried James's imprudence to the uttermost,
(54-310)was the ever-memorable prosecution of the bishops,
(54-310)which had its origin in the following circumstances.
(54-310)In 1688, James published a second declaration of
(54-310)indulgence, with an order subjoined, by which it
(54-310)was appointed to be read in all the churches. The
(54-310)greater part of the English bishops, disapproving
(54-310)of the King's pretended prerogative of dispensing
(54-310)with the test and penal laws, resolved to refuse
(54-310)obedience to this order, which, as their sentiments
(54-310)were well known, could only be intended to
(54-310)disgrace them in the eyes of the people. Six of the most
(54-310)distinguished of the prelates joined with [Sancroft]
(54-310)the Archbishop of Canterbury, in a humble

[TG54-311]

(54-311)petition to the King,¹ praying his Majesty would
(54-311)dispense with their causing to be published in their
(54-311)dioceses a declaration founded upon the claim of
(54-311)royal dispensation, which claim having been
(54-311)repeatedly declared illegal, the petitioners could not,
(54-311)in prudence, honour, or conscience, be accessory to
(54-311)distributing a paper, which asserted its validity in
(54-311)so solemn a manner all over the nation.

(54-311) The King was highly incensed at this remonstrance,
(54-311)and summoning the seven prelates before

(54-311)his Privy Council, he demanded of them if they
(54-311)owned and adhered to their petition. They at
(54-311)once acknowledged that they did so, and were
(54-311)instantly committed to the Tower, on a charge of
(54-311)sedition. The rank and respectability of these
(54-311)distinguished men, the nature of the charge against
(54-311)whom, in the popular apprehension, was an attempt
(54-311)to punish them for a bold, yet respectful discharge
(54-311)of their high duties, coupled with the anxious
(54-311)dread of what might be expected to follow such a
(54-311)violent procedure, wrought up the minds of the
(54-311)people to the highest pitch.

(54-311) An immense multitude assembled on the banks
(54-311)of the Thames, and beheld with grief and wonder
(54-311)those fathers of the Church conveyed to prison in

[TG54-312]

(54-312)the boats appointed for that purpose. The enthusiasm
(54-312)was extreme. The spectators wept, they
(54-312)kneeled, they prayed for the safety of the
(54-312)prisoners, which was only endangered by the firmness
(54-312)with which they had held fast their duty; and the
(54-312)benedictions which the persecuted divines distributed
(54-312)on every side, were answered with the
(54-312)warmest wishes for their freedom, and the most
(54-312)unreserved avowal of their cause. All this enthusiasm
(54-312)of popular feeling was insufficient to open
(54-312)James's eyes to his madness. He urged on the
(54-312)proceedings against the prelates, who, on the 17th
(54-312)June, 1688, were brought to trial, and, after a long
(54-312)and most interesting hearing of their cause, were
(54-312)fully acquitted. The acclamations of the multitude
(54-312)were loud in proportion to the universal
(54-312)anxiety which prevailed while the case was in
(54-312)dependence ; and when the news reached the camp

(54-312)at Hounslow, the extravagant rejoicings of the
(54-312)soldiers, unchecked by the King's own presence,
(54-312)showed that the army and the people were animated
(54-312)by the same spirit.

(54-312) Yet James was so little influenced by this
(54-312)universal expression of adherence to the Protestant
(54-312)cause, that he continued his headlong career with a
(54-312)degree of rapidity, which compelled the reflecting
(54-312)part of the Catholics themselves to doubt and fear
(54-312)the event. He renewed his violent interference
(54-312)with the universities, endeavoured to thrust on
(54-312)Magdalen college a Popish bishop, and resolved
(54-312)to prosecute every clergyman who should refuse
(54-312)to read his declaration of indulgence, that is to say,

[TG54-313]

(54-313)with the exception of an inconsiderable minority,¹
(54-313)the whole clergy of the Church of England.
(54-313) While the kingdoms of Scotland and England
(54-313)were agitated by these violent attempts to establish
(54-313)the Roman Catholic religion, their fears were roused
(54-313)to the highest pitch by observing with what
(54-313)gigantic strides the King was advancing to the
(54-313)same object in Ireland, where, the great body of
(54-313)the people being Catholics, he had no occasion to
(54-313)disguise his purposes. Lord Tyrconnell, a
(54-313)head-strong and violent man, and a Catholic of course,
(54-313)was appointed Viceroy, and proceeded to take
(54-313)every necessary step, by arming the Papists and
(54-313)depressing the Protestants, to prepare for a total
(54-313)change, in which the latter should be subjugated by
(54-313)a Catholic Parliament. The violence of the King's
(54-313)conduct in a country where he was not under the
(54-313)necessity of keeping any fair appearances, too
(54-313)plainly showed the Protestants of England and

(54-313)Scotland, that the measure, presented to them as
(54-313)one of general toleration for all Christian sects, was
(54-313)in fact designed to achieve the supremacy of the
(54-313)Catholic faith over heresy of every denomination.
(54-313) During all this course of mal-administration, the

[TG54-314]

(54-314)sensible and prudent part of the nation kept their
(54-314)eyes fixed on William Prince of Orange, married,
(54-314)as I have before told you, to James's eldest daughter,
(54-314)Mary, and heir to the throne, unless it happened
(54-314)that the King should have a son by his present
(54-314)Queen. This was an event which had long been
(54-314)held improbable, for the children which the Queen
(54-314)had hitherto borne were of a very weak constitution,
(54-314)and did not long survive their birth; and
(54-314)James himself was now an elderly man.
(54-314) The Prince of Orange, therefore, having a fair
(54-314)prospect of attaining the throne after his father-in-
(54-314)law's death, observed great caution in his
(54-314)communications with the numerous and various factions in
(54-314)England and Scotland ; and even to those who
(54-314)expressed the greatest moderation and the purest
(54-314)sentiments of patriotism, he replied with a prudent
(54-314)reserve, exhorting them to patience, dissuading
(54-314)from all hasty insurrections, and pointing out to
(54-314)them, that the death of the King must put an end
(54-314)to the innovations which he was attempting on the
(54-314)constitution.
(54-314) But an event took place which entirely altered
(54-314)the Prince of Orange's views and feelings, and
(54-314)forced him upon an enterprise, one of the most
(54-314)remarkable in its progress and consequences of any
(54-314)which the history of the world affords. Mary,
(54-314)Queen of England, and wife of James II., was

(54-314)delivered of a male child, on the 10th June, 1688.
(54-314)The Papists had long looked forward to this event
(54-314)as to one which should perpetuate the measures of
(54-314)the King in favour of the Roman Catholics after

[TG54-315]

(54-315)his own death. They had, therefore, ventured to
(54-315)prophesy, that the expected infant would be a son,
(54-315)and they imputed the fulfilment of their wishes to
(54-315)the intervention of the Virgin Mary of Loretto,
(54-315)propitiated by prayers and pilgrimages.
(54-315) The Protestant party, on the other hand, were
(54-315)disposed to consider the alleged birth of the infant,
(54-315)which had happened so seasonably for the Catholics,
(54-315)as the result not of a miracle of the Popish saints,
(54-315)but of a trick at court. They affirmed that the
(54-315)child was not really the son of James and his wife,
(54-315)but a supposititious infant, whom they were desirous
(54-315)to palm upon their subjects as the legal heir of
(54-315)the throne, in order to defeat the claim of the
(54-315)Protestant successors. This assertion, though gravely
(54-315)swallowed by the people, and widely spread
(54-315)amongst them, was totally without foundation ; nor
(54-315)was it possible that there could exist more complete
(54-315)proof of such a fact, than James himself published
(54-315)to the world concerning the birth of this young
(54-315)Prince of Wales. But the King's declarations, and
(54-315)the evidence which he at length made public, were
(54-315)unable to bear down the calumny which was so
(54-315)widely and anxiously circulated. The leaders of the
(54-315)Protestant party, whatever they might themselves
(54-315)believe, took care to make the rumour of the
(54-315)alleged imposture as general as possible ; and many,
(54-315)whose Tory principles would not have allowed
(54-315)them to oppose the succession of a prince really

(54-315)descended of the blood royal, stood prepared to
(54-315)dispute the right of the infant to succeed to the throne,
(54-315)on account of the alleged doubtfulness of his birth.

[TG54-316]

(54-316)One thing, however, was certain, that whether
(54-316)the child was supposititious or not, his birth was
(54-316)likely to prolong the misgovernment under which
(54-316)the country groaned. There now no longer existed
(54-316)the prospect that James would be, at no distant
(54-316)date, succeeded by his son-in-law, the Prince of
(54-316)Orange, with whom the Protestant religion must
(54-316)necessarily recover its predominance. This infant
(54-316)was of course to be trained up in the religion and
(54-316)principles of his father ; and the influence of the
(54-316)dreaded spirit of Popery, instead of terminating
(54-316)with the present reign, would maintain and extend
(54-316)itself through that of a youthful successor. The
(54-316)Prince of Orange, on his part, seeing himself, by
(54-316)the birth and rights of this infant, excluded from
(54-316)the long-hoped-for succession to the crown of
(54-316)England, laid aside his caution, with the purpose of
(54-316)taking a bold and active interference in British
(54-316)politics.

(54-316) He now publicly, though with decency, declared,
(54-316)that his sentiments were opposite to those on
(54-316)which his father-in-law acted, and that though he
(54-316)was disposed to give a hearty consent to repealing
(54-316)penal statutes in all cases, being of opinion that no
(54-316)one should be punished for his religious opinions,
(54-316)yet he could not acquiesce in the King's claim to
(54-316)dispense with the test, which only excluded from
(54-316)public offices those whose conscience would not
(54-316)permit them to conform to the established religion
(54-316)of the country in which they lived. Having thus

(54-316)openly declared his sentiments, the Prince of
(54-316)Orange was resorted to openly or secretly, by all

[TG54-317]

(54-317)those, of whatever political opinions, who joined in
(54-317)the general fear for the religious and civil liberties
(54-317)of the country, which were threatened by the bigotry
(54-317)of James. Encouraged by the universal sentiments
(54-317)of the English nation, a few Catholics excepted,
(54-317)and by the urgent remonstrances of many
(54-317)of the leading men of all the various parties, the
(54-317)Prince of Orange resolved to appear in England
(54-317)at the head of an armed force, with the purpose of
(54-317)putting a stop to James's encroachments on the
(54-317)constitution in church and state.

(54-317) Under various plausible pretexts, therefore, the
(54-317)Prince began to assemble a navy and army
(54-317)adequate to the bold invasion which he meditated ;
(54-317)while neither the warning of the King of France,
(54-317)who penetrated the purpose of these preparations,
(54-317)nor a sense of the condition in which he himself
(54-317)stood, could induce James to take any adequate
(54-317)measures of defence.

(54-317) The unfortunate Prince continued to follow the
(54-317)same measures which had lost him the hearts of
(54-317)his subjects, and every step he took encouraged
(54-317)and prompted disaffection. Dubious of the
(54-317)allegiance of his army, he endeavoured, by introducing
(54-317)Irish Catholics amongst them, to fill their ranks,
(54-317)in part at least, with men in whom he might
(54-317)repose more confidence. But the lieutenant-colonel
(54-317)and five captains of the regiment in which the
(54-317)experiment was first tried, refused to receive the
(54-317)proposed recruits; and though these officers were
(54-317)cashiered for doing so, yet their spirit was

(54-317)generally applauded by those of their own profession.

[TG54-318]

(54-318)Another experiment on the soldiery had a still
(54-318)more mortifying result. Although it is contrary
(54-318)to the British constitution to engage soldiers under
(54-318)arms in the discussion of any political doctrine,
(54-318)since they must be regarded as the servants, not
(54-318)the counsellors of the state, nevertheless, James
(54-318)resolved, if possible, to obtain from the army their
(54-318)approbation of the repeal of the test and the penal
(54-318)statutes. By way of experiment, a single battalion
(54-318)was drawn up in his own presence, and informed,
(54-318)that they must either express their hearty
(54-318)acquiescence in the King's purposes in respect to
(54-318)these laws, or lay down their arms, such being the
(54-318)sole condition on which their services would be
(54-318)received. On hearing this appeal, the whole
(54-318)regiment, excepting two officers and a few Catholic
(54-318)soldiers, laid down their arms. The King stood
(54-318)mute with anger and disappointment, and at length
(54-318)told them, in a sullen and offended tone, to take
(54-318)up their arms and retire to their quarters, adding,
(54-318)that he would not again do them the honour to ask
(54-318)their opinions.

(54-318) While James was thus extorting from his very
(54-318)soldiers opinions the most unfavourable to his
(54-318)measures, he suddenly received intelligence from his
(54-318)ambassador in Holland, that the Prince of Orange
(54-318)was about to put to sea with an army of fifteen
(54-318)thousand men, supplied by the States of Holland,
(54-318)and a fleet of five hundred sail.

(54-318) Conscious that he had lost the best safeguard of
(54-318)a monarch,-namely, the love and affections of his
(54-318)subjects, this news came upon James like a thunder

[TG54-319]

(54-319)clap. He hastened to retract all the measures which
(54-319)had rendered his reign so unpopular; but it was
(54-319)with a precipitation which showed fear, not conviction,
(54-319)and the people were persuaded that the concessions
(54-319)would be recalled as soon as the danger
(54-319)was over.

(54-319) In the mean time, the Dutch fleet set sail. At
(54-319)first it encountered a storm, and was driven back
(54-319)into harbour.(19th Oct.) But the damage sustained
(54-319)by some of the vessels being speedily
(54-319)repaired, they again put to sea, and with so much
(54-319)activity, that the short delay proved rather of
(54-319)service than otherwise ; for the English fleet, which
(54-319)had also been driven into harbour by the storm,
(54-319)could not be got ready to meet the invaders.
(54-319)Steering for the west of England, the Prince of
(54-319)Orange landed in Torbay, on the 5th November
(54-319)1688, being the anniversary of the Gunpowder
(54-319)Plot, an era which seemed propitious to an
(54-319)enterprise commenced in opposition to the revival of
(54-319)Popery in England.

(54-319) Immediately on his landing, the Prince published
(54-319)a manifesto, setting forth, in plain and strong
(54-319)terms, the various encroachments made by the reigning
(54-319)monarch upon the British constitution, and upon
(54-319)the rights as well of the church as of private
(54-319)persons and corporate bodies. He came, he said, with
(54-319)an armed force, to protect his person from the
(54-319)King's evil counsellors, but declared that his only
(54-319)purpose was to have a full and free Parliament
(54-319)assembled, in order to procure a general settlement
(54-319)of religion, liberty, and property.

[TG54-320]

(54-320)Notwithstanding that so many persons of rank
(54-320)and influence had privately encouraged the Prince
(54-320)of Orange to this undertaking,1 there appeared at
(54-320)first very little alacrity to support him in carrying
(54-320)it through. The inhabitants of the western counties,
(54-320)where the Prince landed, were overawed by
(54-320)recollection of the fearful punishment inflicted upon
(54-320)those who had joined Monmouth, and the Prince
(54-320)had advanced to Exeter ere he was joined by any
(54-320)adherent of consequence. But from the time that
(54-320)one or two gentlemen of consideration joined him,
(54-320)a general commotion took place all over England,
(54-320)and the nobility and gentry assumed arms on every
(54-320)side for redress of the grievances set forth in the
(54-320)Prince's manifesto.

(54-320) In the midst of this universal defection, King
(54-320)James gave orders to assemble his army, assigned
(54-320)Salisbury for his headquarters, and announced his
(54-320)purpose of fighting the invaders. But he was
(54-320)doomed to experience to what extent he had alienated
(54-320)the affections of his subjects by his bigoted
(54-320)and tyrannical conduct. Several noblemen and
(54-320)officers of rank publicly deserted, and carried off
(54-320)to the Prince's army numbers of their soldiers.
(54-320)Amongst these was Lord Churchill, afterwards
(54-320)the celebrated Duke of Marlborough. He was a
(54-320)particular favourite of the unhappy King, who had
(54-320)bestowed a peerage on him, with high rank in the

[TG54-321]

(54-321)army ; and his desertion to the Prince on this
(54-321)occasion showed that the universal aversion to King
(54-321)James's measures had alienated the affections of

(54-321)those who would otherwise have been most
(54-321)devotedly attached to him.
(54-321) A still more striking defection seems to have
(54-321)destroyed the remains of the unhappy Monarch's
(54-321)resolution. His second daughter, the Princess
(54-321)Anne, who was married to a younger son of the
(54-321)King of Denmark, called Prince George, escaped
(54-321)by night from London, under the protection of the
(54-321)Bishop of that city, who raised a body of horse for
(54-321)her safeguard, and rode armed at their head. She
(54-321)fled to Nottingham, where she was received by the
(54-321)Earl of Dorset, and declared for a free Protestant
(54-321)Parliament. Her husband, and other persons of
(54-321)the first distinction, joined the Prince of Orange.
(54-321) The sudden and unexpected dissolution of his
(54-321)power, when every morning brought intelligence
(54-321)of some new defection or insurrection, totally
(54-321)destroyed the firmness of James, who, notwithstanding
(54-321)his folly and misconduct, becomes, in this
(54-321)period of unmitigated calamity, an object of our
(54-321)pity. At the tidings of his daughter's flight, he
(54-321)exclaimed, with the agony of paternal feeling,
(54-321)" God help me, my own children desert me I" In
(54-321)the extremity and desolation of his distress, the
(54-321)unfortunate monarch seems to have lost all those
(54-321)qualities which had gained him in earlier life the
(54-321)character of courage and sagacity; and the heedless
(54-321)rashness with which he had scorned the distant

[TG53-322]

(54-322)danger, was only equalled by the prostrating
(54-322)degree of intimidation which now overwhelmed him.
(54-322) He disbanded his army, to the great increase of
(54-322)the general confusion ; and, finally, terrified by the
(54-322)recollection of his father's fate, he resolved to

(54-322)withdraw himself from his kingdom. It is probable
(54-322)that he could not have taken any resolution which
(54-322)would have been so grateful to the Prince of
(54-322)Orange. If James had remained in Britain, the
(54-322)extremity of his misfortunes would probably have
(54-322)awakened the popular compassion ; and the tenets
(54-322)of the High Churchmen and Tories, although they
(54-322)had given way to their apprehensions for the safety
(54-322)of religion and liberty, might, when these were
(54-322)considered as safe, have raised many partisans to
(54-322)the distressed monarch. Besides, while King
(54-322)James remained in his dominions, it would have
(54-322)been an obnoxious and odious attempt, on the part
(54-322)of the Prince of Orange, to have plucked the crown
(54-322)forcibly from the head of his father-in-law, in order
(54-322)to place it upon his own. On the other hand, if
(54-322)the flight of the King into foreign countries should
(54-322)leave the throne unoccupied, nothing could be so
(54-322)natural as to place there the next Protestant heir
(54-322)of the crown, by whose providential interference
(54-322)the liberties and constitution of the country had
(54-322)been rescued from such imminent danger.
(54-322) Fortune seemed at first adverse to an escape,
(54-322)which was desired by King James, owing to his
(54-322)fears, and by the Prince of Orange, in consequence
(54-322)of his hopes. As the King, attended by one

[TG54-323]

(54-323)gentleman, endeavoured to get on board of a vessel
(54-323)prepared for his escape, they were seized by some
(54-323)rude fishermen, who were looking out to catch
(54-323)such priests and Catholics as were flying from the
(54-323)kingdom. At the hands of these men the unfortunate
(54-323)Monarch received some rough treatment,
(54-323)until the gentry of the country interposed for the

(54-323)protection of his person, but still refused to permit
(54-323)him to depart the kingdom. He was allowed,
(54-323)however, to return to London, where the rabble,
(54-323)with their usual mutability, and moved with
(54-323)compassion for the helpless state to which they beheld
(54-323)the King reduced, received him with acclamations
(54-323)of favour.

(54-323) The Prince of Orange, not a little disappointed
(54-323)by this incident, seems to have determined to conduct
(54-323)himself towards his father-in-law with such a
(54-323)strain of coldness and severity as should alarm
(54-323)James for his personal safety, and determine him
(54-323)to resume his purpose of flight. With such a view,
(54-323)the Prince refused to receive the nobleman whom
(54-323)the King had sent to him to desire a conference,
(54-323)and ordered the messenger to be placed under
(54-323)arrest. In reply to the message, he issued a
(54-323)command, transmitted at midnight, that the King

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(54-324)should leave his palace the next morning. The
(54-324)dejected sovereign yielded to the mandate, and, at
(54-324)his own request, Rochester was assigned for his
(54-324)abode. That happened which must have been
(54-324)foreseen, from his choosing a place near the river as
(54-324)his temporary habitation.(23d Dec.) James privately
(54-324)embarked on board of a frigate, and was
(54-324)safely landed at Ambleteuse, in France. He was
(54-324)received by Louis XIV. with the utmost generosity
(54-324)and hospitality, and lived for many years at
(54-324)St Germain, under his protection and at his
(54-324)expense, excepting only during a short campaign
(54-324)(to be afterwards noticed) in Ireland. Every
(54-324)effort to replace him in his dominions, only proved
(54-324)destructive to those who were engaged in them.

(54-324)The exiled monarch was looked upon with reverence
(54-324)by sincere Catholics, who counted him as a
(54-324)martyr to his zeal for the form of religion which
(54-324)he and they professed; but by others he was
(54-324)ridiculed as a bigot, who had lost three kingdoms for
(54-324)the sake of a mass.

(54-324) A Convention, as it was called (in effect a
(54-324)Parliament, though not such in form, because it could
(54-324)not be summoned in the King's name), was convoked
(54-324)at Westminster ; and, at their first meeting,
(54-324)they returned their unanimous thanks to the Prince
(54-324)of Orange for the deliverance which he had
(54-324)achieved for the nation. The House of Commons
(54-324)then proceeded, by a great majority, to vote that
(54-324)King James had forfeited his regal title by a
(54-324)variety of encroachments on the constitution ; that,
(54-324)by his flight, he had abdicated the government;

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(54-325)and that the throne was vacant. But as great part
(54-325)of this resolution was adverse to the doctrine of
(54-325)the Tories, who refused to adopt it, the mention
(54-325)of forfeiture was omitted; and it was finally
(54-325)settled, that by his evil administration, and subsequent
(54-325)flight from Britain, King James had abdicated the
(54-325)throne. And I cannot forbear to point out to you
(54-325)the singular wisdom of both the great parties in
(54-325)the state, who, by keeping the expressions of their
(54-325)resolution so general as to clash with the
(54-325)sentiments of neither, concurred in a measure so
(54-325)important, without starting any theoretical disputes to
(54-325)awaken party contention at a moment when the
(54-325)peace of England depended on unanimity.
(54-325) The throne being thus declared vacant, the
(54-325)important question remained, by whom it should be

(54-325)filled. This was a point warmly disputed. The
(54-325)Tories were contented that the Prince of Orange
(54-325)should exercise the regal power, but only under
(54-325)the title of Regent. They could not reconcile
(54-325)themselves to the dethroning a King and electing
(54-325)his successor; and contended, that James's course of
(54-325)misconduct did not deprive him of his kingly right
(54-325)and title, but only operated like some malady,
(54-325)which rendered him unfit to have the exercise of
(54-325)regal power. The Whigs replied, that this
(54-325)doctrine would prevent the nation from deriving the
(54-325)desired advantages from the Revolution, since, if
(54-325)James was in any respect to be acknowledged as a
(54-325)sovereign, he might return and claim the power
(54-325)which is inalienable from the royal right. Besides,
(54-325)if James was still King, it was evident that his son,

[TG54-326]

(54-326)who had been carried abroad, in order that he
(54-326)might be bred up in Popery, and in arbitrary
(54-326)doctrines, must be acknowledged after the death of
(54-326)James himself. They, therefore, declared for the
(54-326)necessity of filling up the vacant sovereignty. A
(54-326)third party endeavoured to find a middle opinion,
(54-326)with regard to which the objections applicable to
(54-326)those we have just expressed should not hold good.
(54-326)They proposed that the crown should be conferred
(54-326)on Mary, Princess of Orange, in her own right;
(54-326)thus passing over the infant Prince of Wales, and
(54-326)transferring their allegiance to Mary as the next
(54-326)Protestant heir of the crown.

(54-326) The Prince of Orange, who had listened to, and
(54-326) watched these debates in silence, but with deep
(54-326)interest, now summoned a small council of leading
(54-326)persons, to whom he made his sentiments known.

(54-326) He would not, he said, interfere in any
(54-326)respect with the right of the English Parliament
(54-326)to arrange their future government according to
(54-326)their own laws, or their own pleasure. But he
(54-326)felt it necessary to acquaint them, that if they
(54-326)chose to be governed by a Regent, he would not
(54-326)accept that office. Neither was he disposed to take
(54-326)the government of the kingdom under his wife,
(54-326)supposing she was chosen Queen. If either of
(54-326)these modes of settlement were adopted, he
(54-326)informed them he would retire entirely from all
(54-326)interference with British affairs. The Princess,
(54-326)his wife, seconded her husband's views, to whom
(54-326)she always paid the highest degree of conjugal
(54-326)deference.

[TG54-327]

(54-327)The wisdom and power of the Prince of Orange,
(54-327)nay even the assistance of his military force, were
(54-327)absolutely indispensable to the settlement of
(54-327)England, divided as it was by two rival political parties,
(54-327)who had indeed been forced into union by the
(54-327)general fear of James's tyranny, but were ready to
(54-327)renew their dissensions the instant the overwhelming
(54-327)pressure of that fear was removed. The
(54-327)Convention were, therefore, obliged to regulate the
(54-327)succession to the throne upon the terms agreeable
(54-327)to the Prince of Orange. The Princess and he
(54-327)were called to the throne jointly, under the title of
(54-327)King William and Queen Mary, the survivor
(54-327)succeeding the party who should first die. The
(54-327)Princess Anne of Denmark, was named to succeed
(54-327)after the death of her sister and brother-in-law,
(54-327)and the claims of James's infant son were entirely
(54-327)passed over.

(54-327) The Convention did not neglect this opportunity
(54-327)to annex to the settlement of the crown a
(54-327)Declaration of Rights, determining in favour of the
(54-327)subject those rights which had been contested
(54-327)during the late reigns, and drawing with more accuracy
(54-327)and precision than had hitherto been employed,
(54-327)the lines which circumscribe the royal authority.
(54-327) Such was this memorable Revolution, which
(54-327)(saving a petty and accidental skirmish) decided
(54-327)the fate of a great kingdom without bloodshed, and
(54-327)in which, perhaps for the only time in history, the
(54-327)heads of the discordant factions of a great empire
(54-327)laid aside their mutual suspicion and animosity,
(54-327)and calmly and dispassionately discussed the great

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(54-328)concerns of the nation, without reference to their
(54-328)own interests, or those of their party. To the
(54-328)memory of this Convention, or Parliament, the
(54-328)Britannic kingdoms owe the inestimable blessing
(54-328)of a constitution, fixed on the decided and defined
(54-328)principles of civil and religious liberty.

[TG55-329]

(55-329)THE necessity of explaining the nature and
(55-329)progress of the Revolution of England, without which
(55-329)it would be impossible for you to comprehend what
(55-329)passed in the northern part of the kingdom, has
(55-329)drawn us away from the proper subject of this
(55-329)little book, and makes it necessary that we should
(55-329)return to our account of Scottish affairs during the
(55-329)time that these important events were taking place
(55-329)in England.
(55-329) We have mentioned the discontents which existed

(55-329)among King James's most zealous friends in
(55-329)Scotland, on account of his pressing the revocation
(55-329)of the Test, and that several of the crown officers,
(55-329)and crown lawyers, and even two or three of the

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(55-330)judges, had been displaced for demurring to that
(55-330)measure, the vacancies being filled with Catholics
(55-330)or Presbyterians. You have also been told, that
(55-330)by this false policy, James lost the affection of his
(55-330)friends of the Episcopal church, without being able
(55-330)to conciliate his ancient enemies, the
(55-330)nonconformists.

(55-330) Thus stood matters in Scotland, when, in
(55-330)September 1688, King James sent down to his council
(55-330)in Scotland, an account of the preparations making
(55-330)in Holland to invade England. Upon this alarming
(55-330)news, the militia were ordered to be in readiness ;
(55-330)the Highland chiefs were directed to prepare
(55-330)their clans to take the field ; and the vassals of the
(55-330)crown were modelled into regiments, and furnished
(55-330)with arms. These forces, joined to the standing
(55-330)army, would have made a considerable body of
(55-330)troops.

(55-330) But unanimity, the soul of national resistance, was
(55-330)wanting. The Scottish Royalists were still so
(55-330)much attached to the Crown, and even to the person
(55-330)of James, that, notwithstanding the late causes
(55-330)of suspicion and discord which had occurred betwixt
(55-330)them and the King, there remained little
(55-330)doubt that they would have proved faithful to his
(55-330)cause. But the Presbyterians, even of the most
(55-330)moderate party, had suffered so severely at James's
(55-330)hand, both during his brother's reign, and his own,
(55-330)that it was hardly to be expected that a few glances

(55-330)of royal favour, to which they appeared to be
(55-330)admitted only because they could not be decently
(55-330)excluded from the toleration designed for the

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(55-331)benefit of the Catholics, should make them forget the
(55-331)recent terrors of the storm. Several of the gentry
(55-331)of this persuasion, however, seemed ready to serve
(55-331)the King, and obtained commissions in the militia;
(55-331)but the event showed that this was done with the
(55-331)purpose of acting more effectually against him.
(55-331) The Earl of Perth endeavoured to ascertain the
(55-331)real sentiments of that numerous party, by applying
(55-331)to them through the medium of Sir Patrick
(55-331)Murray, a person who seemed attached to no
(55-331)particular sect, but who was esteemed by all. This
(55-331)gentleman applied to such leading Presbyterian
(55-331)ministers as were in Edinburgh, reminding them of the
(55-331)favours lately shown them by the King, and
(55-331)requesting they would now evince their gratitude, by
(55-331)influencing their hearers to oppose the unnatural
(55-331)invasion threatened by the Prince of Orange. The
(55-331)clergymen received the overture coldly, and
(55-331)declined to return an answer till there should be more
(55-331)of their brethren in town. Having in the interim
(55-331)obtained information, which led them to expect the
(55-331)ultimate success of the Prince of Orange, they sent
(55-331)as their answer to the Earl of Perth, through Sir
(55-331)Patrick Murray, " that they owned the King had
(55-331)of late been used as Heaven's instrument, to show
(55-331)them some favour ; but being convinced that he had
(55-331)done so, only with a design to ruin the Protestant
(55-331)religion, by introducing dissension among its professors
(55-331)of different denominations, and observing, that
(55-331)the persons whom he voluntarily raised to power,

(55-331)were either Papists, or persons popishly inclined,
(55-331)they desired to be excused from giving any farther

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(55-332)answer, saving that they would conduct themselves
(55-332)in this juncture as God should inspire them."

(55-332) From this answer, it was plain that James was
(55-332)to expect nothing from the Presbyterians ; yet they
(55-332)remained silent and quiet, waiting the event, and
(55-332)overawed by the regular troops, who were posted
(55-332)in such places as to prevent open insurrection.

(55-332) The disaffection of the English soldiery having
(55-332)alarmed James's suspicions, he sent orders that his
(55-332)Scottish army should be drawn together, and held
(55-332)in readiness to march into England. The Scottish
(55-332)administration answered by a remonstrance,
(55-332)that this measure would leave the government of
(55-332)Scotland totally defenceless, and encourage the
(55-332)disaffected, who could not but think the affairs of
(55-332)King James were desperate, since he could not
(55-332)dispense with the assistance of so small a body of
(55-332)troops. To this remonstrance the King replied by
(55-332)a positive order, that the Scottish army should
(55-332)advance into England.

(55-332) This little army might consist of six or seven
(55-332)thousand excellent troops, commanded by James
(55-332)Douglas, brother to the Duke of Queensberry, as
(55-332)General-in-chief, and by the more celebrated John
(55-332)Graham of Claverhouse, recently created Viscount
(55-332)of Dundee, as Major-General. The former was
(55-332)secretly a favourer of the Prince of Orange's
(55-332)enterprise. Viscount Dundee, on the other hand, was
(55-332)devotedly attached to the cause of King James, and
(55-332)redeemed some of his fiercer and more cruel
(55-332)propensities, by the virtue of attaching himself to his

(55-332)benefactor, when he was forsaken by all the world

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(55-333)besides. It is said, that the march was protracted
(55-333)by Douglas, lest the steadiness of the Scottish army
(55-333)should have served as an example to the English.
(55-333)At length, however, they reached London, where
(55-333)the Viscount of Dundee claimed a right to
(55-333)command, as eldest Major-General; but the English
(55-333)officers of the same rank, whether out of national
(55-333)jealousy, or that Dundee's obtaining so high a rank
(55-333)might have interfered with their private schemes,
(55-333)positively refused to serve under him. It is said,
(55-333)that, in the event of his obtaining this command,
(55-333)his design was to assemble such English troops as
(55-333)yet remained faithful, and, at the head of these and
(55-333)the Scottish army, to have marched against the
(55-333)Prince of Orange, and given him battle. But this
(55-333)scheme, which must have cost much bloodshed, was
(55-333)defeated by the refusal of the English officers to
(55-333)light under him.

(55-333) King James, amidst the distraction of his affairs,
(55-333)requested the advice of this sagacious and determined
(55-333)adherent, who pointed out to him three
(55-333)courses. The first was, to try the fate of war, by
(55-333)manfully fighting the Prince of Orange. The
(55-333)second alternative was, to meet him in friendship,
(55-333)and require to know his purpose. The third was,
(55-333)to retire into Scotland, under protection of the
(55-333)little army which had marched to support him.
(55-333)The King, it is said, was inclined to try the third
(55-333)alternative; but, as he received intelligence that
(55-333)several Scottish peers and gentlemen were come
(55-333)post to London, to wait on the Prince of Orange,
(55-333)he justly doubted whether that kingdom would

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(55-334)have proved a safer place of refuge than England.
(55-334)Indeed, he presently afterwards heard, that one of
(55-334)Douglas's battalions had caught the spirit of
(55-334)desertion, and gone over to the Prince.
(55-334) Shortly after this untoward event, Dundee, with
(55-334)such of his principal officers as adhered to the cause
(55-334)of James, received assurances of the King's disposition
(55-334)to hazard battle, and were commanded to
(55-334)meet him at Uxbridge, to consult upon the movements
(55-334)to be adopted. When the Scottish officers
(55-334)reached the place appointed, instead of meeting
(55-334)with the King, they learned that their misguided
(55-334)Monarch had fled, and received the fatal order to
(55-334)disband their forces. Dundee, with the Lords
(55-334)Linlithgow and Dunmore, shed tears of grief and
(55-334)mortification. In the uncertainty of the times,
(55-334)Dundee resolved to keep his forces together, until
(55-334)he had conducted them back into Scotland. With
(55-334)this view he took up his quarters at Watford,
(55-334)intending to retreat on the ensuing morning. In the
(55-334)mean while, the town's-people, who did not like the
(55-334)company of these northern soldiers, raised a report
(55-334)during the course of the night that the Prince of
(55-334)Orange was coming to attack them, hoping, by
(55-334)this false alarm, to frighten the Scottish troops from
(55-334)the place sooner than they intended. But Dundee
(55-334)was not a person to be so easily startled. To the
(55-334)great alarm of the citizens, he caused his trumpets
(55-334)sound to arms, and taking up a strong position in
(55-334)front of the town, sent out to reconnoitre, and learn
(55-334)the Intentions of the Prince of Orange. Thus the
(55-334)stratagem of the citizens of Watford only brought

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(55-335)on themselves the chance of a battle in front of
(55-335)their town, which was most likely to suffer in the
(55-335)conflict, be the event what it would.

(55-335) But the Prince of Orange knew Dundee's
(55-335)character well. He had served his early campaigns
(55-335)under that Prince, and had merited his regard, not
(55-335)only by a diligent discharge of his duty, but also by
(55-335)rescuing William at the battle of Seneff in 1674,
(55-335)and remounting him on his own horse, when that
(55-335)of the Prince was slain under him.¹ Dundee had
(55-335)left the Dutch service, on being disappointed of a
(55-335)regiment.

(55-335) Knowing, therefore, the courage, talent, and
(55-335)obstinacy of the Scottish commander, the Prince of
(55-335)Orange took the step of assuring the Viscount of
(55-335)Dundee, that he had not the least purpose of molesting
(55-335)him, and that, understanding he was at
(55-335)Watford, and was keeping his men embodied, he had
(55-335)to request he would remain there till further orders.
(55-335)When the news of the King's return to London
(55-335)was rumoured, Dundee went to assure his old
(55-335)master of his continued attachment, and to receive
(55-335)his orders ; and it is said he even, in that moment
(55-335)of universal despair, offered to assemble the
(55-335)dispersed troops of the King, and try the fate of war.
(55-335)But James's spirit was too much broken to stand
(55-335)such a hazard.

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(55-336)On James's final flight to France, and the decision
(55-336)of the Convention, elevating the Prince and
(55-336)Princess of Orange to the throne, Dundee would
(55-336)no longer retain his command, but retired to Scotland,

(55-336)at the head of a body-guard of twenty or
(55-336)thirty horse, who would not quit him, and without
(55-336)whose protection he could not perhaps have passed
(55-336)safely through the southern and western counties,
(55-336)where he had exercised so many severities. The
(55-336)Scottish army, or what remained of it, was put
(55-336)under the command of General MacKay, an officer
(55-336)attached to King William, and transferred to the
(55-336)service of the new Monarch, though there were
(55-336)many amongst them who cast a lingering eye
(55-336)towards that of their old master.

(55-336) In the mean time, the Revolution had been
(55-336)effected in Scotland, though not with the same
(55-336)unanimity as in England. On the contrary, the
(55-336)Episcopalians throughout the kingdom, in spite of
(55-336)all the provocations which they had received, could
(55-336)not prevail upon themselves to join in any
(55-336)measures which should be unfavourable to James's
(55-336)interest, and would probably have appeared in arms
(55-336)in his cause, had there been any one present in
(55-336)Scotland to raise and uphold the exiled monarch's
(55-336)banner.

(55-336) The Scottish prelates, in particular, hastened to
(55-336)show, that in the extremity of King James's
(55-336)misfortunes, they had forgotten their rupture with
(55-336)him, and had returned to the principles of passive
(55-336)obedience, by which their church was distinguished.
(55-336)On the 3d November, the whole of their

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(55-337)number, excepting the Bishops of Argyle and Caithness,
(55-337)joined in a letter to the King, professing their own
(55-337)fixed and unshaken loyalty, promising their
(55-337)utmost efforts to promote among his subjects an
(55-337)intemerable and steadfast allegiance, and praying

(55-337)that Heaven would give the King the hearts of
(55-337)his subjects and the necks of his enemies.
(55-337) But the defenceless state in which King James's
(55-337)Scottish government was left, after the march of
(55-337)Douglas and Dundee into England at the head of
(55-337)the regular forces, rendered the good wishes of
(55-337)the bishops of little service. It soon began to
(55-337)appear that the Scottish Presbyterians were determined
(55-337)to avail themselves of an opportunity for
(55-337)which the chiefs amongst them had long made
(55-337)preparations. The Earls of Glencairn, Crawford,
(55-337)Dundonald, and Tarras, with several other persons
(55-337)of consideration, encouraged the rising of the
(55-337)Presbyterians, who, hastily assuming arms, appeared
(55-337)in different parts of the country, in open opposition
(55-337)to the Government.
(55-337) These desultory forces might have been put
(55-337)down by the militia ; but a manoeuvre of the Earl
(55-337)of Athole, whose connexion with the Earl of Derby
(55-337)had procured him admission into the secrets of
(55-337)the Revolution, prevented the adherents of King
(55-337)James from having this support. Lord Tarbat
(55-337)concurred in the sentiments of Athole, and both
(55-337)being members of the Privy Council, had an
(55-337)opportunity of carrying their purpose into execution.
(55-337)When the news reached Scotland, that the army
(55-337)of King James was disbanded, and the King had

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(55-338)fled, these two noblemen persuaded the Chancellor,
(55-338)Perth, and other Catholics or zealous Jacobites in
(55-338)the Privy Council, that, as there was now no chance
(55-338)of coming to a decision by force of arms, it was
(55-338)their duty to disband the militia, as their services
(55-338)could not be needed, and their maintenance was a

(55-338)burden to the country.

(55-338) The Earl of Perth, who appears to have been a
(55-338)timorous man, and of limited understanding, was
(55-338)persuaded to acquiesce HI this measure; and no
(55-338)sooner had he parted with the militia, his last armed
(55-338)defence, than his colleagues made him understand
(55-338)that he being a Papist, incapacitated by law from
(55-338)holding any public office, they did not think
(55-338)themselves in safety to sit and vote with him as a
(55-338)member of government. And, while the Protestant
(55-338)part of his late obsequious brethren seemed to shun
(55-338)him as one infected with the plague, the rabble
(55-338)beat drums in the streets, proclaimed him traitor,
(55-338)and set a price upon his head. The late Chancellor's
(55-338)courage could not withstand the menace, and he
(55-338)escaped from the metropolis, with the purpose of
(55-338)flying beyond seas. But being pursued by armed
(55-338)barks, he was taken, and detained a prisoner for
(55-338)more than four years.

(55-338) In the mean time, an act of violence of a decided
(55-338)character took place in Edinburgh. Holyrood
(55-338)House, the ancient palace of James's ancestors,
(55-338)and his own habitation when in Scotland, had been
(55-338)repaired with becoming splendour, when he came
(55-338)to the throne. But it was within its precincts that
(55-338)he had established his royal chapel for the Catholic

[TG55-339]

(55-339)service, as well as a seminary of Jesuits, an
(55-339)institution which, under pretext of teaching the Latin
(55-339)language, and other branches of education gratis,
(55-339)was undoubtedly designed to carry on the work of
(55-339)making proselytes. At Holyrood House a printing
(55-339)establishment was also erected, from which
(55-339)were issued polemical tracts in defence of the

(55-339)Catholic religion, and similar productions. The
(55-339)palace and its inmates were on all these accounts
(55-339)very obnoxious to the Presbyterian party, which
(55-339)now began to obtain the ascendancy.
(55-339) The same bands, consisting of the meaner class
(55-339)of people, apprentices, and others, whose appearance
(55-339)had frightened the Chancellor out of the city,
(55-339)continued to parade the streets with drums beating,
(55-339)until, confident in their numbers, they took
(55-339)the resolution of making an attack on the palace,
(55-339)which was garrisoned by a company of regular
(55-339)soldiers, commanded by one Captain Wallace.
(55-339) As the multitude pressed on this officer's
(55-339)sentinels, he at length commanded his men to fire, and
(55-339)some of the insurgents were killed. A general
(55-339)cry was raised through the city, that Wallace and
(55-339)his soldiers were committing a massacre of the
(55-339)inhabitants ; and many of the citizens, repairing to
(55-339)the Earl of Athole and his colleagues, the only
(55-339)part of the Privy Council which remained,
(55-339)obtained a warrant from them for; the surrender of
(55-339)the palace, and an, order for the King's heralds to
(55-339)attend in their official habits to intimate the same.
(55-339)The city guard of Edinburgh was also commanded
(55-339)to be in. readiness to enforce the order ; the trained

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(55-340)bands were got under arms, and the provost and
(55-340)magistrates, with a number of persons of condition,
(55-340)went to show their good-will to the cause.
(55-340)Some of these volunteers acted a little out of
(55-340)character. Lord Mersington, one of the Judges of
(55-340)the Court of Session, lately promoted to that office
(55-340)by James II., at the time when he was distributing
(55-340)his favours equally betwixt Papist and Puritan,

(55-340)attracted some attention from his peculiar appearance ;
(55-340)he was girt with a buff belt above five inches
(55-340)broad, bore a halbert in his hand, and (if a Jacobite
(55-340)eyewitness speaks truth) was " as drunk as ale
(55-340)and brandy could make him."

(55-340) On the approach of this motley army of besiegers,
(55-340)Wallace, instead of manning the battlements and
(55-340)towers of the palace, drew up his men imprudently
(55-340)in the open court-yard in front of it. He
(55-340)refused to yield up his post, contending, that the
(55-340)warrant of the Privy Council was only signed by
(55-340)a small number of that body. Defiance was
(55-340)exchanged on both sides, and firing commenced ; on
(55-340)which most of the volunteers got into places of
(55-340)safety, leaving Captain Wallace and the major of
(55-340)the city guard to dispute the matter professionally.
(55-340)It chanced that the latter proved the better soldier,
(55-340)and finding a back way into the palace, attacked
(55-340)Wallace in the rear. The defenders were at the
(55-340)same time charged in front by the other assailants,
(55-340)and the palace was taken by storm. The rabble
(55-340)behaved themselves as riotously as might have been
(55-340)expected, breaking, burning, and destroying, not
(55-340)only the articles which belonged to the Catholic

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(55-341)service, but the whole furniture of the chapel;
(55-341)and, finally, forcing their way into the royal
(55-341)sepulchres, and pulling about the bodies of the
(55-341)deceased princes and kings of Scotland. These
(55-341)monuments, to the great scandal of the British
(55-341)Government, were not closed until ten or twelve years
(55-341)since, before which time, the exhibition of the
(55-341)wretched relics of mortality which had been dragged
(55-341)to light on this occasion, was a part of the

(55-341)show offered for the amusement of strangers who
(55-341)visited the palace.

(55-341) This riot, which ascertained the complete
(55-341)superiority of the Presbyterian party, took place on
(55-341)the 10th December, 1688. The houses of various
(55-341)Catholics, who then resided chiefly in the Canongate,
(55-341)were mobbed, or rabbled, as was then the
(55-341)phrase, their persons insulted, and their property
(55-341)destroyed. But the populace contented themselves
(55-341)with burning and destroying whatever they
(55-341)considered as belonging to Papists and Popery,
(55-341)without taking any thing for their own use.

(55-341) This zeal for the Protestant cause was maintained
(55-341)by false rumours that an army of Irish Catholics
(55-341)had landed in the west, and were burning, spoiling,
(55-341)and slaying. It was even said they had
(55-341)reached Dumfries. A similar report had produced
(55-341)a great effect on the minds of the English during
(55-341)the Prince of Orange's advance to the capital. In
(55-341)Scotland it was a general signal for the Presbyterians
(55-341)to get to arms ; and, being thus assembled,
(55-341)they, and particularly the Cameronians, found
(55-341)active occupation in expelling from the churches

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(55-342)the clergy of the Episcopal persuasion. To proceed
(55-342)in this is work with some appearance of form,
(55-342)they, in most cases, previously intimated to the
(55-342)Episcopal curates that they must either leave their
(55-342)churches voluntarily, or be forcibly ejected from
(55-342)them.

(55-342) Now, since these armed nonconformists had been,
(55-342)to use their own language, for nearly twenty years
(55-342)" proscribed, forfeited, miserably oppressed, given
(55-342)up as sheep to the slaughter, intercommuned, and

(55-342)interdicted of harbour or supply, comfort or communion,
(55-342)hunted and slain in the fields, in cities
(55-342)imprisoned, tortured, executed to the death, or
(55-342)banished and sold as slaves ; " and, as many of them
(55-342)avowed the same wild principles which were acted
(55-342)upon by the murderers of Archbishop Sharpe, it
(55-342)might have been expected that a bloody retaliation
(55-342)would take place as soon as they had the power in
(55-342)their own hands. Yet it must be owned that these
(55-342)stern Cameronians showed no degree of positive
(55-342)cruelty. They expelled the obnoxious curates
(55-342)with marks of riotous triumph, tore their gowns,
(55-342)and compelled them sometimes to march in a mock
(55-342)procession to the boundary of their parish ; they
(55-342)plundered the private chapels of Catholics, and
(55-342)destroyed whatever they found belonging to their
(55-342)religion ; but they evinced no desire of personal
(55-342)vengeance; nor have I found that the clergy who
(55-342)were expelled in this memorable month of December,
(55-342)1688, although most of them were treated
(55-342)with rudeness and insult, were, in any case, killed
(55-342)or wounded in cold blood.

[TG55-343]

(55-343)These tumults would have extended to
(55-343)Edinburgh ; but the College of Justice, under which
(55-343)title all the different law bodies of the capital are
(55-343)comprehended, assumed arms for maintaining the
(55-343)public peace, and resisting an expected invasion of
(55-343)the city by the Cameronians, who threatened, in
(55-343)this hour of triumph, a descent on the metropolis,
(55-343)and a second Whigamores' Raid. This species of
(55-343)civic guard effectually checked their advance, until,
(55-343)not being supposed favourable to the Prince of
(55-343)Orange, it was disbanded by proclamation when

(55-343)he assumed the management of public affairs.
(55-343) Scotland may be said to have been, for some
(55-343)time, without a government; and, indeed, now
(55-343)that all prospect of war seemed at an end, men of
(55-343)all parties posted up to London, as the place where
(55-343)the fate of the kingdom must be finally settled.
(55-343)The Prince of Orange recommended the same
(55-343)measure which had been found efficient in
(55-343)England ; and a Convention of the Scottish Estates
(55-343)was summoned to meet in March, 1689. The
(55-343)interval was spent by both parties in preparing for a
(55-343)contest.
(55-343) The Episcopal party continued devoted to the
(55-343)late King. They possessed a superiority among
(55-343)the nobility, providing the bishops should be
(55-343)permitted to retain their seats in the Convention. But
(55-343)among the members for counties, and especially
(55-343)the representatives of burghs, the great majority
(55-343)was on the side of the Whigs, or Williamites, as
(55-343)the friends of the Prince of Orange began to be
(55-343)called.

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(55-344)If actual force were to be resorted to, the
(55-344)Jacobites relied on the faith of the Duke of Gordon,
(55-344)who was governor of the castle of Edinburgh, on
(55-344)the attachment of the Highland clans, and the feudal
(55-344)influence of the nobles and gentry of the north.
(55-344)The Whigs might reckon on the full force of the
(55-344)five western shires, besides a large proportion of
(55-344)the south of Scotland. The same party had on
(55-344)their side the talents and abilities of Dalrymple,
(55-344)Fletcher, and other men of strong political genius,
(55-344)far superior to any that was possessed by the
(55-344)Tories. But if the parties should come to an open

(55-344)rupture, the Whigs had no soldier of reputation to
(55-344)oppose to the formidable talents of Dundee.
(55-344) The exiled King having directed his adherents
(55-344)to attend the Convention, and, if possible, secure a
(55-344)majority there, Dundee appeared on the occasion
(55-344)with a train of sixty horse, who had most of them
(55-344)served under him on former occasions. The principal
(55-344)Whigs, on their part, secretly brought into
(55-344)town the armed Cameronians, whom they concealed
(55-344)in garrets and cellars till the moment should come
(55-344)for their being summoned to appear in arms. These
(55-344)preparations for violence show how inferior in civil
(55-344)polity Scotland must have been to England, since
(55-344)it seemed that the great national measures which
(55-344)were debated with calmness, and adopted with
(55-344)deliberation in the Convention of England, were, in
(55-344)that of North Britain, to be decided, apparently,
(55-344)by an appeal to the sword.
(55-344) Yet the Convention assembled peaceably, though
(55-344)under ominous circumstances. The town was filled

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(55-345)with two factions of armed men, lately distinguished
(55-345)as the persecuting and the oppressed
(55-345)parties, and burning with hatred against each
(55-345)other. The guns of the castle, from the lofty rock
(55-345)on which it is situated, lay loaded and prepared to
(55-345)pour their thunders on the city ; and under these
(55-345)alarming circumstances, the peers and commons of
(55-345)Scotland were to consider and decide upon the fate
(55-345)of her crown. Each party had the deepest motives
(55-345)for exertion.
(55-345) The Cavaliers, or Jacobites, chiefly belonging
(55-345)by birth to the aristocracy, forgot James's errors
(55-345)in his misfortunes, or indulgently ascribed them to

(55-345)a few bigoted priests and selfish counsellors, by
(55-345)whom, they were compelled to admit, the royal
(55-345)ear had been too exclusively possessed. They
(55-345)saw, in their now aged monarch, the son of the
(55-345)venerated martyr, Charles I., whose memory was so
(55-345)dear to them, and the descendant of the hundred
(55-345)princes who had occupied the Scottish throne,
(55-345)according to popular belief, for a thousand years, and
(55-345)under whom their ancestors had acquired their
(55-345)fortunes, their titles, and their fame. James
(55-345)himself, whatever were the political errors of his reign,
(55-345)had been able to attach to himself individually,
(55-345)many both of the nobility and gentry of Scotland,
(55-345)who regretted him as a friend as well as a
(55-345)sovereign, and recollected the familiarity with which
(55-345)he could temper his stately courtesy, and the
(55-345)favours which many had personally received from
(55-345)him. The compassion due to fallen majesty was
(55-345)in this case enhanced, when it was considered that

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(55-346)James was to be uncrowned, in order that the
(55-346)Prince and Princess of Orange, his son-in-law and
(55-346)daughter, might be raised to the throne in his stead,
(55-346)a measure too contrary to the ordinary feelings of
(55-346)nature not to create some disgust. Besides, the
(55-346)Cavaliers generally were attached to the Episcopal
(55-346)form of worship, and to the constitution of a church,
(55-346)which, while it supported with credit the dignity
(55-346)of the sacred order, affected not the rigorous
(55-346)discipline and vexatious interference in the affairs of
(55-346)private families, for which they censured the
(55-346)Presbyterians. Above all, the Jacobites felt that they
(55-346)themselves must sink in power and influence with
(55-346)the dethronement of King James, and must remain

(55-346)a humbled and inferior party in the kingdom which
(55-346)they lately governed, hated for what had passed,
(55-346)and suspected in regard to the future.

(55-346) The Whigs, with warmer hopes of success, had
(55-346)even more urgent motives for political union and
(55-346)exertion. They reckoned up the melancholy roll
(55-346)of James's crimes and errors, and ridiculed the
(55-346)idea, that he who had already suffered so much
(55-346)both in his youth and middle age, would ever
(55-346)become wiser by misfortune. Bigotry and an
(55-346)extravagant and inveterate love of power, they alleged,
(55-346)were propensities which increased with age; and
(55-346)his religion, they contended, while it would readily
(55-346)permit him to enter into any engagements which
(55-346)an emergency might require, would with equal
(55-346)ease dispense with his keeping them, and even
(55-346)impute it as a merit that he observed no faith with
(55-346)heretics. The present crisis, they justly argued,

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(55-347)afforded a happy occasion to put an end to that
(55-347)course of open encroachment upon their liberty
(55-347)and property, of which the Scottish nation had so
(55-347)long had to complain ; and it would be worse than
(55-347)folly to sacrifice the rights and liberties of the
(55-347)people to the veneration attached to an ancient line
(55-347)of princes, when their representative had forgotten
(55-347)the tenure by which he held the throne of his
(55-347)fathers. The form of the Presbyterian Church,
(55-347)while it possessed a vital power over the hearts
(55-347)and consciences of the worshippers, was also of a
(55-347)character peculiarly favourable to freedom, and
(55-347)suitable to a poor country like that of Scotland,
(55-347)which was unable to maintain bishops and
(55-347)dignitaries with becoming splendour. A great part of

(55-347)the nation had shown themselves attached to it,
(55-347)and disposed to submit to the greatest hardships,
(55-347)and to death itself, rather than conform to the
(55-347)Episcopal mode of worship ; and it was fitting they
(55-347)should have permission to worship God in the way
(55-347)their consciences recommended. The character of
(55-347)William afforded the most brilliant arguments to
(55-347)his partisans in the Convention. He had been
(55-347)from his youth upward distinguished as the champion
(55-347)of public freedom, his zeal for which exceeded
(55-347)even his ambition. He was qualified by the
(55-347)doctrines of toleration, which he had deeply imbibed,
(55-347)to cure the wounds of nations distracted by civil
(55-347)faction, and his regard for truth and honour withstood
(55-347)every temptation to extend his power, which
(55-347)the unsettled circumstances of the British
(55-347)kingdoms might present to an ambitious prince.

[TG55-348]

(55-348)Distracted by these various considerations, the
(55-348)Scottish Convention met. The first contest was
(55-348)for the nomination of a president, (14th March) in
(55-348)which it is remarkable that both the
(55-348)contending parties made choice of candidates, in
(55-348)whom neither could repose trust as faithful
(55-348)partisans. The Marquis of Athole was proposed by
(55-348)the Jacobites, to whose side he now inclined, after
(55-348)having been, as I have shown you, the principal
(55-348)actor in displacing James's Scottish administration,
(55-348)and chasing from Edinburgh that King's Chancellor,
(55-348)the Earl of Perth. The Wigs, on the
(55-348)other hand, equally at a loss to find an unexceptionable
(55-348)candidate, set up the Duke of Hamilton,
(55-348)although his future conduct was so undecided and
(55-348)dubious as to make them more than once repent of

(55-348)their choice.

(55-348) The Duke of Hamilton attained the presidency
(55-348)by a majority of fifteen, which, though not a very
(55-348)predominating one, was sufficient to ascertain the
(55-348)superiority of the Whigs, who, as usual in such
(55-348)cases, were immediately joined by all those whom
(55-348)timidity or selfish considerations had kept aloof,

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(55-349)until they should discover which was the safest,
(55-349)and likely to be the winning side. The majorities
(55-349)of the Whigs increased therefore upon every question,
(55-349)while the Jacobite party saw no remedy but
(55-349)in some desperate and violent course. The readiest
(55-349)which occurred was to endeavour to induce the
(55-349)Duke of Gordon, governor of the castle, to fire
(55-349)upon the town, and to expel the Convention, in
(55-349)which their enemies were all-powerful. The
(55-349)Convention, on the other hand, by a great majority,
(55-349)summoned the Duke to surrender the place, under
(55-349)the pains of high treason.

(55-349) The position of the Duke was difficult. The
(55-349)castle was strong, but it was imperfectly supplied
(55-349)with provisions ; the garrison was insufficient, and
(55-349)many among them of doubtful fidelity; and as
(55-349)every other place of strength throughout the
(55-349)kingdom had been surrendered, to refuse compliance
(55-349)might be to draw upon himself the unmitigated
(55-349)vengeance of the prevailing party. The Duke was
(55-349)therefore uncertain how to decide, when the Earls
(55-349)of Lothian and Tweeddale came to demand a
(55-349)surrender in the name of the Convention; and he at
(55-349)first offered to comply, on obtaining indemnity for
(55-349)himself and his friends. But the Viscount of
(55-349)Dundee, getting access to the castle while the

(55-349)treaty was in dependence, succeeded in inspiring
(55-349)the Duke with a share of his own resolution ; so
(55-349)that when the commissioners desired to know the
(55-349)friends for whom he demanded immunity, he answered
(55-349)by delivering to them a list of all the clans
(55-349)in the Highlands; which being interpreted as done

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(55-350)in scorn, the two earls returned so indignant, that
(55-350)they scarce could find words to give an account of
(55-350)their errand to the Convention.

(55-350) Soon after, the Duke of Gordon was solemnly
(55-350)summoned by two heralds, in their ceremonial
(55-350)habits, to surrender the castle; and they at the
(55-350)same time published a proclamation, prohibiting
(55-350)any one to converse with or assist him, should he
(55-350)continue contumacious. The Duke desired them
(55-350)to inform the Convention, that he held his
(55-350)command by warrant from their common master; and,
(55-350)giving them some money to drink King James's
(55-350)health, he observed, that when they came to
(55-350)declare loyal subjects, traitors, with the King's coats
(55-350)on their backs, they ought in decency to turn
(55-350)them.

(55-350) But though Dundee had been able to persuade
(55-350)the Duke to stand a siege in the castle, he could not
(55-350)prevail upon him to fire on the town; an odious
(55-350)severity, which would certainly have brought
(55-350)general hatred upon him, without, perhaps, having
(55-350)the desired effect of dislodging the Convention.
(55-350)This scheme having failed, the Jacobites resolved
(55-350)upon another, which was to break up with all their
(55-350)party, and hold another and rival Convention at
(55-350)Stirling. For this purpose it was proposed that
(55-350)the Earl of Mar, hereditary keeper of Stirling

(55-350)Castle, should join them, in order that they might
(55-350)have the protection of the fortress, and that Athole
(55-350)should assist them with a body of his Highlanders.
(55-350)These noblemen entered into the plan ; but when
(55-350)it came to the point of execution, the courage of

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(55-351)both seems to have given way, and the design was
(55-351)postponed.
(55-351) Whilst affairs were in this state, Dundee,
(55-351)provoked alike at the vacillation of his friends, and the
(55-351)triumph of his- enemies, resolved no longer to remain
(55-351)inactive. He suddenly appeared before the
(55-351)Convention, and complained of a plot laid to
(55-351)assassinate himself and Sir George MacKenzie, the late
(55-351)King's advocate,-a charge which was very probable,
(55-351)since the town was now filled with armed
(55-351)Cameronians, who had smarted so severely under
(55-351)the judicial prosecutions of the lawyer, and the
(55-351)military violence of the soldier. Dundee demanded
(55-351)that all strangers should be removed from the town;
(55-351)and when it was answered that this could not be
(55-351)done without placing the Convention at the mercy
(55-351)of the Popish Duke of Gordon and his garrison,
(55-351)he left the assembly in indignation, and returning
(55-351)to his lodgings, instantly took arms and mounted
(55-351)his horse, attended by fifty or sixty armed followers.
(55-351)The city was alarmed at the appearance of

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(55-352)this unexpected cavalcade, so formidable from the
(55-352)active and resolute character of its leader; and the
(55-352)Convention, feeling or pretending personal alarm,
(55-352)ordered the gates of their hall to be locked, and

(55-352)the keys to be laid upon the table. In the mean
(55-352)time, the drums beat to arms, and the bands of
(55-352)westland-men, who had been hitherto concealed in
(55-352)garrets and similar lurking-holes, appeared in the
(55-352)streets with their arms prepared, and exhibiting, in
(55-352)their gestures, language, and looks, the stern hopes
(55-352)of the revenge which they had long panted for.
(55-352) While these things were passing, Dundee, in
(55-352)full view of friends and enemies, rode at leisure
(55-352)out of the city, by the lane called Leith Wynd,
(55-352)and proceeded along the northern bank of the
(55-352)North Loch, upon which the New Town of Edinburgh
(55-352)is now situated. From thence, turning under
(55-352)the western side of the castle, he summoned the
(55-352)Duke of Gordon to a conference at the foot of the
(55-352)walls, and for that purpose scrambled up the
(55-352)precipitous bank and rock on which the fortress is
(55-352)situated. So far as is known respecting this singular
(55-352)interview, Dundee's advice to the Duke was, to
(55-352)maintain the castle at all risks, promising him
(55-352)speedy relief.
(55-352) The people of Edinburgh, who witnessed from
(55-352)a distance this extraordinary conference, concluded
(55-352)that the castle was about to fire upon the city, and
(55-352)the spectators of Dundee's exploit were mistaken
(55-352)for his adherents: while the Jacobite members of
(55-352)the Convention on their part, unarmed and enclosed
(55-352)among their political enemies, were afraid of

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(55-353)being massacred by the armed Whigs. The
(55-353)Convention, when their alarm subsided, sent Major
(55-353)Bunting with a party of horse to pursue Dundee
(55-353)and make him prisoner. That officer soon overtook
(55-353)the Viscount, and announced his commission ;

(55-353)to which Dundee only deigned to answer, that if
(55-353)he dared attempt to execute such a purpose, he
(55-353)would send him back to the Convention in a pair
(55-353)of blankets. Bunting took the hint, and suffering
(55-353)the dreaded commander and his party to pass
(55-353)unmolested, returned in peace to the city. Dundee
(55-353)marched towards Stirling, and in consequence of
(55-353)his departure, the other friends of King James left
(55-353)Edinburgh, and hastened to their own homes.
(55-353) So soon as this extraordinary scene had passed
(55-353)over, the Convention, now relieved from the
(55-353)presence of the Jacobite members, resolved upon levying
(55-353)troops to defend themselves, and to reduce the
(55-353)castle. The Cameronians were the readiest force
(55-353)of whose principles they could be assured, and it
(55-353)was proposed to them to raise a regiment of two
(55-353)battalions, under the Earl of Angus, eldest son of
(55-353)the Marquis of Douglas, a nobleman of military
(55-353)talents, as colonel, and William Cleland, as
(55-353)lieutenant-colonel. This last had been one of the
(55-353)commanders at Drumclog, and, besides being a
(55-353)brave gentleman, was a poet, though an indifferent
(55-353)one, and more a man of the world than most of the
(55-353)sect to which he belonged.
(55-353) Some of the more rigid Covenanters were of
(55-353)opinion, that those who possessed their principles
(55-353)had no freedom (to use their own phraseology) to

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(55-354)join together for the defence of a Convention, in
(55-354)which so many persons were in the possession both
(55-354)of places and power, who had been deeply engaged
(55-354)in the violent measures of the last reign ; and they
(55-354)doubted this the more, as no steps had been taken
(55-354)to resume the obligations of the Covenant. But

(55-354)the singular and most unexpected train of events,
(55-354)which had occasioned their being called to arms to
(55-354)defend a city, where they had never before been
(55-354)seen openly save when dragged to execution, seemed
(55-354)so directly the operation of Providence in their
(55-354)favour, that, giving way for once to the dictates of
(55-354)common sense, the Cameronians agreed to consider
(55-354)the military association now proposed as a necessary
(55-354)and prudential measure, protesting only that the
(55-354)intended regiment should not be employed either
(55-354)under or along with such officers as had given
(55-354)proofs of attachment to Popery, Prelacy, or
(55-354)Malignancy. They also stipulated for regular
(55-354)opportunities of public worship, and for strict punishment
(55-354)of unchristian conversation, swearing, and profligacy
(55-354)of every sort; and their discipline having been
(55-354)arranged as much to their mind as possible, eighteen
(55-354)hundred men were raised, and, immediately marching
(55-354)to Edinburgh, assumed the duty of defending
(55-354)the Convention, and blockading the garrison in the
(55-354)castle.

(55-354) The Cameronians were soon, however, relieved
(55-354)by troops more competent to such a task, being a
(55-354)part of the regular army sent down to Scotland by
(55-354)King William, in order to give his party the
(55-354)decided superiority in that kingdom. Batteries were

[TG55-355]

(55-355)raised against the castle, and trenches opened.
(55-355)The Duke of Gordon made an honourable defence,
(55-355)while, at the same time, he avoided doing any
(55-355)damage to the town, and confined his fire to returning
(55-355)that of the batteries, by which he was annoyed.
(55-355)But the smallness of his garrison, the scarcity of
(55-355)provisions, the want of surgical assistance and

(55-355)medicines for the wounded, above all, the frequency
(55-355)of desertion, induced the Duke finally to surrender
(55-355)upon honourable terms; and in June he evacuated
(55-355)the fortress.

(55-355) The Convention, in the mean time, almost entirely
(55-355)freed from opposition within their own assembly,
(55-355)proceeded to determine the great national question
(55-355)arising out of the change of government. Two
(55-355)letters being presented to them, one from King
(55-355)James, the other on the part of the Prince of
(55-355)Orange, they opened and read the latter with much
(55-355)reverence, while they passed over with little notice
(55-355)that of his father-in-law, intimating by this that
(55-355)they no longer regarded him as a sovereign.

(55-355) This was made still more manifest by their vote
(55-355)respecting the state of the nation, which was much
(55-355)more decisive than that of the English Convention.
(55-355)The Scots Whigs had no Tories to consult with and
(55-355)satisfy by a scrupulous choice of expressions, and
(55-355)of course gave themselves no trouble in choosing
(55-355)between the terms abdication or forfeiture. They
(55-355)openly declared that James had assumed the throne
(55-355)without taking the oaths appointed by law; that
(55-355)he had proceeded to innovate upon the constitution
(55-355)of the kingdom, with the purpose of converting a

[TG55-356]

(55-356)limited monarchy into one of despotic authority ;
(55-356)they added, that he had employed the power thus
(55-356)illegally assumed, for violating the laws and liberties,
(55-356)and altering the religion of Scotland ; and in
(55-356)doing so, had FORFEITED his right to the Crown,
(55-356)and the throne had thereby become vacant.

(55-356) The forfeiture, in strict law, would have extended
(55-356)to all James's immediate issue, as in the case of

(55-356)treason in a subject; but as this would have injured
(55-356)the right of the Princess of Orange, the effects of
(55-356)the declaration were limited to King James's infant
(55-356)son, and to his future children. In imitation of
(55-356)England, the crown of Scotland was
(55-356)settled upon the Prince and Princess of
(55-356)Orange, and the survivor of them,
(55-356)after whose decease, and failing heirs of their
(55-356)body, the Princess Anne and her heirs were called
(55-356)to the succession.(11th April, 1689)

[TG55-357]

(55-357)When the crown was thus settled, the Convention
(55-357)entered into a long declaration, called the
(55-357)Claim of Rights, by which the dispensing powers
(55-357)were pronounced illegal ; the various modes of
(55-357)oppression practised during the last two reigns
(55-357)were censured as offences against liberty, and
(55-357)Prelacy was pronounced an insupportable grievance.
(55-357) These resolutions being approved of by the new
(55-357)sovereigns, they began to assume the regal power,
(55-357)and fixed an administration. The Duke of Hamilton
(55-357)was named High Commissioner, in reward of
(55-357)his services as President of the Convention ; Lord
(55-357)Melville was made Secretary of State, and the
(55-357)Earl of Crawford President of the Council. Some
(55-357)offices were put into commission, to serve as objects
(55-357)of ambition to those great men who were yet unprovided
(55-357)for ; others were filled up by such as had
(55-357)given proofs of attachment to the Revolution. In
(55-357)general, the choice of the Ministry was approved
(55-357)of ; but the King and his advisers were censured
(55-357)for bestowing too much confidence on Dalrymple,
(55-357)lately created Viscount Stair, and Sir John
(55-357)Dalrymple, his son, called Master of Stair. A vacancy

(55-357)occurred for the promotion of the Earl of Stair in
(55-357)a singular manner.

[TG55-358]

(55-358)Sir George Lockhart, an excellent lawyer, who
(55-358)had been crown counsel in Cromwell's time, was,
(55-358)at the period of the Revolution, President of the
(55-358)Court of Session, or first judge in civil affairs. He
(55-358)had agreed to act as an arbiter in some disputes
(55-358)which occurred between a gentleman named Chiesley,
(55-358)of Dalry, and his wife. The President, in
(55-358)deciding this matter, had assigned a larger provision
(55-358)to Mrs Chiesley than, in her husband's opinion,
(55-358)was just or necessary; at which Dalry, a
(55-358)man headlong in his passions, was desperately
(55-358)offended, and publicly threatened the President's
(55-358)life. He was cautioned by a friend to forbear
(55-358)such imprudent language, and to dread the just
(55-358)vengeance of Heaven. " I have much to reckon
(55-358)for with Heaven," said the desperate man, " and
(55-358)we will reckon for this amongst the rest." In
(55-358)pursuance of his dreadful threat, Chiesley, armed
(55-358)for the purpose of assassination, followed his victim
(55-358)to the Greyfriar's church, in which Sir George
(55-358)usually heard divine service ; but feeling some
(55-358)reluctance to do the deed within the sacred walls, he
(55-358)dogged him home, till he turned into the entry to
(55-358)his own house, in what is still called the President's
(55-358)Close. Here Chiesley shot the Judge dead ;
(55-358)and disdaining to save his life by flight, he calmly
(55-358)walked about in the neighbourhood of the place
(55-358)till he was apprehended. He was afterwards tried
(55-358)and executed.

[TG55-359]

(55-359)The office of the murdered President (a most
(55-359)important one, being the head of the supreme civil
(55-359)court) was conferred upon Lord Stair, and that of
(55-359)King' Advocate, equivalent to the situation of
(55-359)Attorney General in England, was given to his
(55-359)son, Sir John Dalrymple, who was afterwards
(55-359)associated with Lord Melville in the still more
(55-359)important situation of Secretary of State. Both
(55-359)father and son were men of high talent, but of
(55-359)doubtful integrity, and odious to the Presbyterians
(55-359)for compliances with the late government.
(55-359) Besides his immediate and official counsellors,
(55-359)King William gave, in private, much of his
(55-359)confidence to a clergyman named Carstairs, who was
(55-359)one of his chaplains. This gentleman had given
(55-359)strong proof of his fidelity and fortitude ; for, being
(55-359)arrested in Charles II.'s time, on account of
(55-359)his connexion with the conspiracy called Jerviswood's
(55-359)Plot, he underwent the cruel torture of the
(55-359)thumbikins, which, as I before told you, were
(55-359)screws, that almost crushed the thumbs to pieces.
(55-359)After the success of the Revolution, the Magistrates
(55-359)of Edinburgh complimented Carstairs, then
(55-359)a man of importance, with a present of the instrument
(55-359)of torture by which he had suffered. The
(55-359)King, it is said, heard of this, and desired to see

[TG55-360]

(55-360)the thumbikins. They were produced. He placed
(55-360)his thumbs in the engine, and desired Carstairs to
(55-360)turn the screw. " I should wish to judge of your
(55-360)fortitude," said the King, " by experiencing the
(55-360)pain which you endured." Carstairs obeyed, but
(55-360)turned the screws with a polite degree of attention

(55-360)not to injure the royal thumbs. " This is
(55-360)unpleasant," said the King, "yet it might be endured.
(55-360)But you are trifling with me. Turn the engine so
(55-360)that I may really feel a share of the pain inflicted
(55-360)on you." Carstairs, on this reiterated command,
(55-360)and jealous of his own reputation, turned the screws
(55-360)so sharply, that William cried for mercy, and
(55-360)owned he must have confessed any thing, true or
(55-360>false, rather than have endured the pain an instant
(55-360)longer. This gentleman became a particular
(55-360)confidant of the King, and more trusted than many
(55-360)who filled high and ostensible situations in the
(55-360)state. He was generally allowed to be a man of
(55-360)sagacity and political talent, but his countrymen
(55-360)accused him of duplicity and dissimulation ; and
(55-360)from that character he was generally distinguished
(55-360)by the nickname of Cardinal Carstairs.
(55-360) But while King William was thus considering
(55-360)the mode and selecting the council by which he
(55-360)proposed to govern Scotland, an insurrection took
(55-360)place, by means of which the sceptre of that kingdom

[TG55-361]

(55-361)was wellnigh wrested from his gripe. This
(55-361)was brought about by the exertions of the Viscount
(55-361)Dundee, one of those extraordinary persons,
(55-361)by whose energies great national revolutions are
(55-361)sometimes wrought with the assistance of very
(55-361)small means.

[TG56-362]

(56-362)WHEN the Viscount of Dundee retired, as I
(56-362)told you, from the city of Edinburgh, the Convention,
(56-362)in consequence of the intercourse which he

(56-362)had held, contrary to their order, with the Duke
(56-362)of Gordon, an intercommuned Catholic, sent him a
(56-362)summons to appear before them, and answer to an
(56-362)accusation to that effect. But Dundee excused
(56-362)himself on account of his lady's dangerous illness,
(56-362)and his own personal danger from the Cameronians.

(56-362)In the mean time King James, with forces

(56-362)furnished him by the French King, had arrived in
(56-362)Ireland, and, welcomed by the numerous Catholics,
(56-362)had made himself master of that fine kingdom,
(56-362)excepting only the province of Ulster, where the
(56-362)Protestants of English and Scottish descent offered
(56-362)a gallant and desperate resistance. But in spite of
(56-362)such partial opposition as the north of Ireland

[TG56-363]

(56-363)could make, James felt so confident, that, by his
(56-363)Secretary Melfort, he wrote letters to the
(56-363)Viscount Dundee, and to the Earl of Balcarras,
(56-363)Dundee's intimate friend, and a steady adherent of the
(56-363)exiled monarch, encouraging them to gather together
(56-363)his faithful subjects, and make a stand for his
(56-363)interest, and promising them the support of a
(56-363)considerable body of forces from Ireland, with a
(56-363)supply of arms and ammunition. So high were the
(56-363)hopes entertained by Lord Melfort, that, in letters
(56-363)addressed to some of his friends, he expressed, in
(56-363)the most imprudent manner, his purpose of
(56-363)improving to the uttermost the triumph which he
(56-363)did not doubt to obtain. "We dealt too leniently
(56-363)with our enemies," he said, " when we were in
(56-363)power, and possessed means of crushing them.
(56-363)But now, when they shall be once more conquered

(56-363)by us, and subjected once more to our authority,
(56-363)we will reduce them to hewers of wood and
(56-363)drawers of water."
(56-363) These letters falling into the hands of the
(56-363)Convention, excited the utmost indignation. The
(56-363)Duke of Hamilton and others, who conceived
(56-363)themselves particularly aimed at, became more
(56-363)decided than ever to support King William's government,
(56-363)since they had no mercy to expect from
(56-363)King James and his vindictive counsellors. A
(56-363)military force was despatched to arrest Balcarras
(56-363)and Dundee. They succeeded in seizing the first
(56-363)of these noblemen ; but Dundee being surrounded
(56-363)by a strong body-guard, and residing in a country
(56-363)where many of the gentlemen were Jacobites, the

[TG56-364]

(56-364)party sent to arrest him were afraid to attempt the
(56-364)execution of their commission. He remained, therefore,
(56-364)at his own castle of Dudhope, near Dundee,
(56-364)where he had an opportunity of corresponding with
(56-364)the Highland chiefs, and with the northern gentlemen,
(56-364)who were generally disposed to Episcopacy,
(56-364)and favourable to the cause of King James.
(56-364) Of the same name with the great Marquis of
(56-364)Montrose, boasting the same devoted loyalty, and
(56-364)a character as enterprising, with judgment superior
(56-364)to that of his illustrious prototype, Dundee is
(56-364)said to have replied to those who, on the day of his
(56-364)memorable retreat, asked him whither he went,-
(56-364)"That he was going wherever the spirit of
(56-364)Montrose should conduct him." His whole mind was
(56-364)now bent upon realizing this chivalrous boast. His
(56-364)habits were naturally prudent and economical; but
(56-364)while others kept their wealth as far as possible

(56-364)out of the reach of the revolutionary storm, Dundee
(56-364)liberally expended for the cause of his old
(56-364)master the treasures which he had amassed in his
(56-364)service. His arguments, his largesses, the high
(56-364)influence of his character among the Highland
(56-364)chiefs, whose admiration of Ian Dhu Cean, or
(56-364)Black John the Warrior, was no way diminished
(56-364)by the merciless exploits which had procured him in
(56-364)the Low country the name of the Bloody Clavers,
(56-364)united with their own predilection in favour of

[TG56-365]

(56-365)James, and their habitual love of war, to dispose
(56-365)them to a general insurrection. Some of the clans,
(56-365)however, had, as usual, existing feuds amongst
(56-365)themselves, which Dundee was obliged to assist in
(56-365)composing, before he could unite them all in the
(56-365)cause of the dethroned monarch.
(56-365) I will give you an account of one of those feuds,
(56-365)which, I believe, led to the last considerable
(56-365)clan-battle fought in the Highlands.

(56-365)There had been, for a great many years, much
(56-365)debate, and some skirmishing, betwixt MacIntosh of
(56-365)Moy, the chief of that ancient surname, and a tribe
(56-365)of MacDonalds, called MacDonalds of Keppoch.
(56-365)The MacIntoshes had claims of an ancient date
(56-365)upon the district of glen Roy (now famous for the
(56-365)phenomenon called the parallel roads), and the
(56-365)neighbouring valley of Glenspean. MacIntosh
(56-365)had his right to these lands expressed in written
(56-365)grants from the Crown, but Keppoch was in actual

[TG56-366]

(56-366)possession of the property. "When asked upon
(56-366)what charters he founded his claim, MacDonald
(56-366)replied, that he held his lands, not by a sheep's
(56-366)skin, but by the sword; and his clan, an uncommonly
(56-366)bold and hardy race, were ready to support
(56-366)his boast. Several proposals having been in vain
(56-366)made to accommodate this matter, MacIntosh
(56-366)resolved to proceed to open force, and possess
(56-366)himself of the disputed territory. He therefore
(56-366)displayed the yellow banner, which was the badge of
(56-366)his family, raised his clan and marched towards
(56-366)Keppoch, being assisted by an independent
(56-366)company of soldiers, raised for the service of Government,
(56-366)and commanded by Captain MacKenzie of
(56-366)Suddie. It does not appear by what interest this
(56-366)formidable auxiliary force was procured, but
(56-366)probably by an order from the Privy Council.
(56-366) On their arrival at Keppoch, MacIntosh found
(56-366)his rival's house deserted, and imagining himself
(56-366)in possession of victory, even without a combat, he
(56-366)employed many workmen, whom he had brought
(56-366)with him for that purpose, to construct a castle, or
(56-366)fort, on a precipitous bank overhanging the river
(56-366)Roy, where the vestiges of his operations are still
(56-366)to be seen. The work was speedily interrupted,
(56-366)by tidings that the MacDonalds of Keppoch,
(56-366)assisted by their kindred tribes of Glengarry and
(56-366)Glencoe, had assembled, and that they were lying
(56-366)on their arms, in great numbers, in a narrow glen
(56-366)behind the ridge of hills which rises to the
(56-366)north-east of Keppoch, the sloping declivity of which is
(56-366)called Mullroy. Their purpose was to attack

[TG56-367]

(56-367)MacIntosh at daybreak; but that chief determined

(56-367)to anticipate their design, and assembling his clan,
(56-367)marched towards his enemy before the first peep
(56-367)of dawn. The rival clan, with their chief, Coll of
(56-367)Keppoch, were equally ready for the conflict; and,
(56-367)in the grey light of the morning, when the
(56-367)MacIntoshes had nearly surmounted the heights of
(56-367)Mullroy, the MacDonalds appeared in possession
(56-367)of the upper ridge, and a battle instantly
(56-367)commenced.

(56-367) A lad who had lately run away from his master,
(56-367)a tobacco-spinner in Inverness, and had enlisted in
(56-367)Suddie's independent company, gives the following
(56-367)account of the action. " The MacDonalds came
(56-367)down the hill upon us, without either shoe, stocking,
(56-367)or bonnet on their heads ; they gave a shout,
(56-367)and then the fire began on both sides, and continued
(56-367)a hot dispute for an hour (which made me wish I
(56-367)had been spinning tobacco). Then they broke in
(56-367)upon us with sword and target, and Lochaber-axes,
(56-367)which obliged us to give way. Seeing my captain
(56-367)severely wounded, and a great many men lying
(56-367)with heads cloven on every side, and having never
(56-367)witnessed the like before, I was sadly affrighted.
(56-367)At length a Highlandman attacked me with sword
(56-367)and target, and cut my wooden-handled bayonet
(56-367)out of the muzzle of my gun. I then clubbed my
(56-367)gun, and gave him a stroke with it, which made
(56-367)the but-end to fly off, and seeing the Highlandmen
(56-367)come fast down upon me, I took to my heels, and
(56-367)ran thirty miles before I looked behind me, taking
(56-367)every person whom I saw or met for my enemy."

[TG56-368]

(56-368)Many, better used to such scenes, fled as far and
(56-368)fast as Donald MacBane, the tobacco-spinner's

(56-368)apprentice. The gentleman who bore MacIntosh's
(56-368)standard, being a special object of pursuit, saved
(56-368)himself and the sacred deposit by a wonderful
(56-368)exertion. At a place where the river Roy flows
(56-368)between two precipitous rocks, which approach
(56-368)each other over the torrent, he hazarded a desperate
(56-368)leap where no enemy dared follow him, and
(56-368)bore off his charge in safety.

(56-368) It is said by tradition, that the MacIntoshes
(56-368)fought with much bravery, and that the contest
(56-368)was decided by the desperation of a half-crazed
(56-368)man, called " the red-haired Bo-man," or
(56-368)cow-herd, whom Keppoch had not summoned to the
(56-368)fight, but who came thither, uncalled, with a club
(56-368)on his shoulder. This man, being wounded by a
(56-368)shot, was so much incensed with the pain, that he
(56-368)darted forward into the thickest of the
(56-368)MacIntoshes, calling out, " They fly, they fly! upon them,
(56-368)upon them!" The boldness he displayed, and the
(56-368)strokes he dealt with his unusual weapon, caused
(56-368)the first impression on the array of the enemies of
(56-368)his chief.

(56-368) MacDonald was very unwilling to injure any of
(56-368)the government soldiers, yet Suddie, their
(56-368)commander, received his death wound. He was brave,
(56-368)and well armed with carabine, pistols, and a halberd
(56-368)or half-pike. This officer came in front of a
(56-368)cadet of Keppoch, called MacDonald of Tullich,
(56-368)and by a shot aimed at him, killed one of his
(56-368)brothers, and then rushed on with his pike.

[TG56-369]

(56-369)Notwithstanding this deep provocation, Tullich, sensible of
(56-369)the pretext which the death of a captain under
(56-369)Government would give against his clan, called out

(56-369)more than once, " Avoid me-avoid me." -" The
(56-369)MacDonald was never born that I would shun,"
(56-369)replied the MacKenzie, pressing on with his pike.
(56-369)On which Tullich hurled at his head a pistol, which
(56-369)he had before discharged. The blow took effect,
(56-369)the skull was fractured, and MacKenzie died
(56-369)shortly after, as his soldiers were carrying him to
(56-369)Inverness.

(56-369) MacIntosh himself was taken by his rival, who,
(56-369)in his esteem, was only an insurgent vassal. When
(56-369)the captive heard the MacDonalds greeting their
(56-369)chieftain with shouts of " Lord of Keppoch ! Lord
(56-369)of Keppoch !" he addressed him boldly, saying,
(56-369)" You are as far from being lord of the lands of
(56-369)Keppoch at this moment, as you have been all
(56-369)your life." -" Never mind," answered the victorious
(56-369)chieftain, with much good-humour, " we'll enjoy
(56-369)the good weather while it lasts." Accordingly, the
(56-369)victory of his tribe is still recorded in the
(56-369)pipe-tune, called, " MacDonald took the brae on them."
(56-369) Some turn of fortune seemed about to take place
(56-369)immediately after the battle ; for before the
(56-369)MacDonalds had collected their scattered forces, the
(56-369)war-pipes were again heard, and a fresh body of
(56-369)Highlanders appeared advancing towards Keppoch,
(56-369)in the direction of Garvamoor. This unexpected
(56-369)apparition was owing to one of those sudden
(56-369)changes of sentiment by which men in the earlier

[TG56-370]

(56-370)stages of society are often influenced. The
(56-370)advancing party was the clan of Macpherson,
(56-370)members, like the MacIntoshes, of the confederacy
(56-370)called the Clan Chattan, but who, disputing with
(56-370)them the precedence in that body, were alternately

(56-370)their friends or enemies, as the recollection of
(56-370)former kindnesses, or ancient quarrels, prevailed. On
(56-370)this occasion the MacPhersons had not accompanied
(56-370)MacIntosh to the field, there being some discord
(56-370)betwixt the tribes at the time ; but when they
(56-370)heard of MacIntosh's defeat, they could not reconcile
(56-370)it with their honour, to suffer so important a
(56-370)member of the Clan Chattan to remain captive with
(56-370)the MacDonalds. They advanced, therefore, in
(56-370)order of battle, and sent Keppoch a flag of truce,
(56-370)to demand that MacIntosh should be delivered to
(56-370)them.

(56-370) The chief of Keppoch, though victorious, was in
(56-370)no condition for a fresh contest, and therefore
(56-370)surrendered his prisoner, who was much more mortified
(56-370)by finding himself in the hands of the MacPhersons,
(56-370)than rejoiced in escaping from those of his
(56-370)conqueror Keppoch. So predominant was his
(56-370)sense of humiliation, that when the MacPhersons
(56-370)proposed to conduct him to Cluny, the seat of their
(56-370)chief, he resisted at first in fair terms, and when the
(56-370)visit was urged upon him, he threatened to pierce
(56-370)his bosom with his own dirk, if they should persevere
(56-370)in compelling him to visit Cluny in his
(56-370)present situation. The MacPhersons were generous,
(56-370)and escorted him to his own estates.

[TG56-371]

(56-371)The issue of the conflict at Mullroy, so mortifying
(56-371)to the conquered chief, was also followed with
(56-371)disastrous consequences to the victor.

(56-371) The resistance offered to the royal troops, and
(56-371)the death of MacKenzie of Suddie, who commanded
(56-371)them, together with the defeat of MacIntosh,
(56-371)who had the forms at least of the law on his side,

(56-371)gave effect to his complaint to the Privy Council.
(56-371)Letters of fire and sword, as they were called, that
(56-371)is, a commission to burn and destroy the country
(56-371)and lands of an offending chieftain, or district, were
(56-371)issued against Coll MacDonald of Keppoch. Sixty
(56-371)dragoons, and two hundred of the foot guards, were
(56-371)detached into Glenroy and Glenspean, with orders
(56-371)to destroy man, woman, and child, and lay waste
(56-371)Keppoch's estates. Keppoch himself was for a
(56-371)time obliged to fly, but a wealthy kinsman purchased
(56-371)his peace by a large crick, or fine. We shall
(56-371)presently find him engaged in a conflict, where the
(56-371)destiny, not of two barren glens, but of a fair kingdom,
(56-371)seemed to depend upon the issue.
(56-371) This brings us back to Dundee, who, in spring
(56-371)1689, received Intelligence that General MacKay,
(56-371)an officer intrusted by King William with the
(56-371)command of the forces in Scotland, was marching
(56-371)against him at the head of an army of regular
(56-371)troops. MacKay was a man of courage, sense,
(56-371)and experience, but rather entitled to the praise of
(56-371)a good officer than an able general, and better qualified
(56-371)to obey the orders of an intelligent commander,
(56-371)than penetrate into, encounter, and defeat, the
(56-371)schemes of such an active spirit as Dundee.

[TG56-372]

(56-372)Of this there was an instance in the very
(56-372)beginning of the conflict, when Mackay advanced
(56-372)towards Dudhope castle, with the hope of coming
(56-372)upon his antagonist at unawares ; but Dundee was
(56-372)not to be taken by surprise. Marching with a
(56-372)hundred and fifty horse to the town of Inverness, he
(56-372)found MacDonald of Keppoch at the head of several
(56-372)hundred Highlanders, blockading the place, on

(56-372)account of the citizens having taking part with
(56-372)MacIntosh against his clan. Dundee offered his
(56-372)mediation, and persuaded the magistrates to gratify
(56-372)Keppoch with the sum of two thousand dollars,
(56-372)for payment of which he granted his own bond in
(56-372)security. He manifested his influence over the
(56-372)minds of the mountain chiefs still more, by prevailing
(56-372)on Keppoch, though smarting under the injuries
(56-372)he had sustained, by the letters of fire and
(56-372)sword issued against him by King James's Government,
(56-372)to join him with his clan, for the purpose of
(56-372)restoring that monarch to the throne.

(56-372) Thus reinforced, but still far inferior in
(56-372)numbers to his opponent MacKay, Dundee, by a rapid
(56-372)movement, surprised the town of Perth. He seized
(56-372)what public treasure he found in the hands of the
(56-372)receiver of taxes, saying that he would plunder no
(56-372)private person, but thought it was fair to take the
(56-372)King's money for the King's service. He dispersed,
(56-372)at the same time, two troops of horse, newly
(56-372)raised by Government, seized their horses and
(56-372)accoutrements, and made prisoners their commanding
(56-372)officers, the Lairds of Pollock and of Blair.
(56-372) After this exploit, Dundee retreated into the

[TG56-373]

(56-373)Highlands to recruit his little army, to wait for a
(56-373)body of three thousand men, whom he expected
(56-373)from Ireland, and to seek a suitable time for
(56-373)forwarding the explosion of a conspiracy, which had
(56-373)been formed in a regiment of dragoons now serving
(56-373)in MacKay's army, but which he had himself
(56-373)commanded before the Revolution. Both the officers
(56-373)and men of this regiment were willing to return to
(56-373)the command of their old leader, and the allegiance

(56-373)of their former King. Creichton, an officer in the
(56-373)regiment, the same whose attack on a conventicle
(56-373)I formerly told you of, was the chief conductor of
(56-373)this conspiracy. It was discovered by MacKay
(56-373)just when it was on the point of taking effect, and
(56-373)when the event, with such an enemy as Dundee in
(56-373)his vicinity, must have been destruction to his army.
(56-373)MacKay cautiously disguised his knowledge of the
(56-373)plot, until he was joined by strong reinforcements,
(56-373)which enabled him to seize upon the principal
(56-373)conspirators, and disarm and disband their inferior
(56-373)accomplices.

(56-373) The Privy Council had a great inclination to
(56-373)make an example, which should discourage such
(56-373)practices in future ; and Captain Creichton, being
(56-373)the chief agent, a stranger, and without friends or
(56-373)intercessors, was selected for the purpose of being
(56-373)hanged, as a warning to others. But Dundee did
(56-373)not desert his old comrade. He sent a message to
(56-373)the Lords of the Privy Council, saying, that if they
(56-373)hurt a hair of Creichton's head, he would in the way
(56-373)of reprisal cut his prisoners, the lairds of Pollock
(56-373)and Blair, joint from joint, and send them to Edinburgh,

[TG56-374]

(56-374)packed up in hampers. The Council were
(56-374)alarmed on receiving this intimation. The Duke
(56-374)of Hamilton reminded them, that they all knew
(56-374)Dundee so well that they could not doubt his being
(56-374)as good as his word, and that the gentlemen in his
(56-374)hands were too nearly allied to several of the Council
(56-374)to be endangered on account of Creichton.
(56-374)These remonstrances saved Creichton's life.
(56-374) A good deal of marching, countermarching, and
(56-374)occasional skirmishing, ensued between Dundee

(56-374)and MacKay, during which an incident is said to
(56-374)have occurred strongly indicative of the character
(56-374)of the former. A young man had joined Dundee's
(56-374)army, the son of one of his old and intimate friends.
(56-374)He was employed upon some reconnoitring service,
(56-374)in which, a skirmish taking place, the new recruit's
(56-374)heart failed him, and he fairly fled out of the fray.
(56-374)Dundee covered his dishonour, by pretending that
(56-374)he himself had despatched him to the rear upon a
(56-374)message of importance. He then sent for the youth
(56-374)to speak with him in private. " Young man," he
(56-374)said, " I have saved your honour ; but I must needs
(56-374)tell you, that you have chosen a trade for which
(56-374)you are constitutionally unfit. It is not perhaps
(56-374)your fault, but rather your misfortune, that you do
(56-374)not possess the strength of nerves necessary to
(56-374)encounter the dangers of battle. Return to your
(56-374)father - I will find an excuse for your doing so with
(56-374)honour - and I will besides put you in the way of
(56-374)doing King James's cause effectual service, without
(56-374)personally engaging in the war."
(56-374) The young gentleman, penetrated with a sense

[TG56-375]

(56-375)of the deepest shame, threw himself at Ins General's
(56-375)feet, and protested that his failure in duty was only
(56-375)the effect of a momentary weakness, the recollection
(56-375)of which should be effaced by his future conduct,
(56-375)and entreated Dundee, for the love he bore
(56-375)his father, to give him at least a chance of regaining
(56-375)his reputation. Dundee still endeavoured to
(56-375)dissuade him from remaining with the army, but as
(56-375)he continued urgent to be admitted to a second
(56-375)trial, he reluctantly gave way to his request. " But
(56-375)remember," he said, " that if your heart fails you

(56-375)a second time, you must die. The cause I am
(56-375)engaged in is a desperate one, and I can permit no
(56-375)man to serve under me who is not prepared to
(56-375)fight to the last. My own life, and those of all
(56-375)others who serve under me, are unsparingly devoted
(56-375)to the cause of King James ; and death must be
(56-375)his lot who shows an example of cowardice."
(56-375) The unfortunate young man embraced, with
(56-375)seeming eagerness, this stern proposal. But In the
(56-375)next skirmish in which he was engaged, his
(56-375)constitutional timidity again prevailed. He turned his
(56-375)horse to fly, when Dundee, coming up to him, only
(56-375)said, " The son of your father is too good a man
(56-375)to be consigned to the provost-marshal;" and without
(56-375)another word, he shot him through the head
(56-375)with his pistol, with a sternness and inflexibility of
(56-375)purpose, resembling the stoicism of the ancient
(56-375)Romans.
(56-375) Circumstances began now to render Dundee
(56-375)desirous of trying the chance of battle, which he
(56-375)had hitherto avoided. The Marquis of Athole,

[TG56-376]

(56-376)who had vacillated more than once during the
(56-376)progress of the Revolution, now abandoned
(56-376)entirely the cause of King James, and sent his son,
(56-376)Lord Murray, into Athole, to raise the clans of
(56-376)that country, Stewarts, Robertsons, Fergussons,
(56-376)and others, who were accustomed to follow the
(56-376)family of Athole in war, from respect to the
(56-376)Marquis's rank and power, though they were not his
(56-376)patriarchal subjects or clansmen. One of these
(56-376)gentlemen, Stewart of Boquhan, although dependent
(56-376)on the Marquis, was resolved not to obey him
(56-376)through his versatile changes of politics. Having

(56-376)been placed in possession of the strong castle of
(56-376)Blair, a fortress belonging to the Marquis, which
(56-376)commands the most important pass into the Northern
(56-376)Highlands, Stewart refused to surrender it to
(56-376)Lord Murray, and declared he held it. for King
(56-376)James, by order of the Viscount of Dundee. Lord
(56-376)Murray, finding his father's own house thus
(56-376)defended against him, sent the tidings to General
(56-376)MacKay, who assembled about three thousand
(56-376)foot, and two troops of horse, and advanced with
(56-376)all haste into Athole, determined to besiege Blair,
(56-376)and to fight Dundee, should he march to its relief.
(56-376) At this critical period, Lord Murray had assembled
(56-376)about eight hundred Athole Highlanders, of
(56-376)the clans already named, who were brought together
(56-376)under pretence of preserving the peace of the
(56-376)country. Many of them, however, began to
(56-376)suspect the purpose of Lord Murray to join MacKay ;
(56-376)and recollecting that it was under Montrose's command,
(56-376)and in the cause of the Stewarts, that their

[TG56-377]

(56-377)fathers had gained their fame, they resolved they
(56-377)would not be diverted from the same course of
(56-377)loyalty, as they esteemed it. They, therefore, let
(56-377)Lord Murray know, that if it was his intention
(56-377)to join Dundee, they would all follow him to the
(56-377)death ; but if he proposed to embrace the side of
(56-377)King William, they would presently leave him.
(56-377)Lord Murray answered with threats of that
(56-377)vengeance which a feudal lord could take upon
(56-377)disobedient vassals, when his men, setting his threats
(56-377)at defiance, ran to the river, and filling their
(56-377)bonnets with water, drank King James's health, and
(56-377)left the standard of the Marquis to a man -- a

(56-377)singular defection among the Highlanders of that
(56-377)period, who usually followed to the field their
(56-377)immediate superior, with much indifference concerning
(56-377)the side of politics which he was pleased to embrace.
(56-377) These tidings came to Dundee, with the
(56-377)information that MacKay had reached Dunkeld, with
(56-377)the purpose of reducing Blair, and punishing the
(56-377)Athole gentlemen for their desertion of the standard
(56-377)of their chief. About the same time, General
(56-377)Canon joined the Viscount, with the reinforcement
(56-377)so long expected from Ireland ; but they amounted
(56-377)to only three hundred men, instead of as many
(56-377)thousands, and were totally destitute of money
(56-377)and provisions, both of which were to have been
(56-377)sent with them. Nevertheless, Dundee resolved to
(56-377)preserve the castle of Blair, so important as a key
(56-377)to the Northern Highlands, and marched to protect
(56-377)it with a body of about two thousand Highlanders,

[TG56-378]

(56-378)with whom he occupied the upper and northern
(56-378)extremity of the pass between Dunkeld and Blair.
(56-378) In this celebrated defile, called the Pass of
(56-378)Killiecrankie, the road runs for several miles along
(56-378)the banks of a furious river, called the Garrey,
(56-378)which rages below, amongst cataracts and water-falls
(56-378)which the eye can scarcely discern, while a
(56-378)series of precipices and wooded mountains rise on
(56-378)the other hand ; the road itself is the only mode
(56-378)of access through the glen, and along the valley
(56-378)which lies at its northern extremity. The path
(56-378)was then much more inaccessible than at the
(56-378)present day, as it ran close to the bed of the river, and
(56-378)was narrower and more rudely formed.
(56-378) A defile of such difficulty was capable of being

(56-378)defended to the last extremity by a small number
(56-378)against a considerable army; and considering how
(56-378)well adapted his followers were for such mountain
(56-378)warfare, many of the Highland chiefs were of
(56-378)opinion, that Dundee ought to content himself with
(56-378)guarding the pass against MacKay's superior army,
(56-378)until a rendezvous, which they had appointed,
(56-378)should assemble a stronger force of their countrymen.
(56-378)But Dundee was of a different opinion,
(56-378)and resolved to suffer MacKay to march through
(56-378)the pass without opposition, and then to fight him
(56-378)in the open valley, at the northern extremity. He
(56-378)chose this bold measure, both because it promised
(56-378)a decisive result to the combat which his ardent
(56-378)temper desired; and also because he preferred
(56-378)fighting MacKay before that General was joined

[TG56-379]

(56-379)by a considerable body of English horse who were
(56-379)expected, and of whom the Highlanders had at
(56-379)that time some dread.
(56-379) On the 17th June, 1689, General MacKay with
(56-379)his troops entered the pass, which, to their astonishment,
(56-379)they found unoccupied by the enemy. His
(56-379)forces were partly English and Dutch regiments,
(56-379)who, with many of the Lowland Scots themselves,
(56-379)were struck with awe, and even fear, at finding
(56-379)themselves introduced by such a magnificent, and,
(56-379)at the same time, formidable avenue, to the
(56-379)presence of their enemies, the inhabitants of these
(56-379)tremendous mountains, into whose recesses they
(56-379)were penetrating. But besides the effect produced
(56-379)on their minds by the magnificence of natural
(56-379)scenery, to which they were wholly unaccustomed,
(56-379)the consideration must have hung heavy on them,

(56-379)that if a general of Dundee's talents suffered them
(56-379)to march unopposed through a pass so difficult, it
(56-379)must be because he was conscious of possessing
(56-379)strength sufficient to attack and destroy them at
(56-379)the further extremity, when their only retreat
(56-379)would lie through the narrow and perilous path by
(56-379)which they were now advancing.

(56-379) Mid-day was past ere MacKay's men were
(56-379)extricated from the defile, when their general drew
(56-379)them up in one line three deep, without any
(56-379)reserve, along the southern extremity of the narrow
(56-379)valley into which the pass opens. A hill on the
(56-379)north side of the valley, covered with dwarf trees
(56-379)and bushes, formed the position of Dundee's army,
(56-379)which, divided into columns, formed by the different

[TG56-380]

(56-380)clans, was greatly outflanked by MacKay's
(56-380)troops.

(56-380) The armies shouted when they came in sight of
(56-380)each other ; but the enthusiasm of MacKay's
(56-380)soldiers being damped by the circumstances we have
(56-380)observed, their military shout made but a dull and
(56-380)sullen sound compared to the yell of the
(56-380)Highlanders, which rung far and shrill from all the hills
(56-380)around them. Sir Evan Cameron of Lochiel, of
(56-380)whom I formerly gave you some anecdotes, called
(56-380)on those around him to attend to this circumstance,
(56-380)saying, that in all his battles he observed victory
(56-380)had ever been on the side of those whose shout
(56-380)before joining seemed most sprightly and confident.
(56-380)It was accounted a less favourable augury by some
(56-380)of the old Highlanders, that Dundee at this
(56-380)moment, to render his person less distinguishable, put
(56-380)on a sad-coloured buff-coat above the scarlet

(56-380)cassock and bright cuirass, in which he had hitherto
(56-380)appeared.

(56-380) It was some time ere Dundee had completed his
(56-380)preparations for the assault which he meditated, and
(56-380)only a few dropping shots were exchanged, while,
(56-380)in order to prevent the risk of being outflanked, he
(56-380)increased the intervals between the columns with
(56-380)which he designed to charge, insomuch that he had
(56-380)scarce men enough left in the centre. About an
(56-380)hour before sunset, he sent word to Mackay that
(56-380)he was about to attack him, and gave the signal to
(56-380)charge.

(56-380) The Highlanders stript themselves to their shirts
(56-380)and doublets, threw away every thing that could

[TG56-381]

(56-381)impede the fury of their onset, and then put
(56-381)themselves in motion, accompanying with a dreadful yell
(56-381)the discordant sound of their war-pipes. As they
(56-381)advanced, the clansmen fired their pieces, each
(56-381)column thus pouring in a well-aimed though
(56-381)irregular volley, when, throwing down their fuses,
(56-381)without waiting to reload, they drew their swords,
(56-381)and, increasing their pace to the utmost speed,
(56-381)pierced through and broke the thin line which was
(56-381)opposed to them, and profited by their superior
(56-381)activity and the nature of their weapons to make a
(56-381)great havoc among the regular troops. When thus
(56-381)mingled with each other, hand to hand, the advantages
(56-381)of superior discipline on the part of the Lowland
(56-381)soldier were lost-Agility and strength were
(56-381)on the side of the mountaineers. Some accounts
(56-381)of the battle give a terrific account of the blows
(56-381)struck by the Highlanders, which cleft heads down
(56-381)to the breast, cut steel headpieces asunder as

(56-381)nightcaps, and slashed through pikes like willows. Two
(56-381)of MacKay's English regiments in the centre stood
(56-381)fast, the interval between the attacking columns
(56-381)being so great that none were placed opposite to
(56-381)them. The rest of King William's army were
(56-381)totally routed and driven headlong into the river.
(56-381) Dundee himself, contrary to the advice of the
(56-381)Highland chiefs, was in front of the battle, and
(56-381)fatally conspicuous. By a desperate attack he
(56-381)possessed himself of MacKay's artillery, and then led
(56-381)his handful of cavalry, about fifty men, against two
(56-381)troops of horse, which fled without fighting.
(56-381)Observing the stand made by the two English

[TG56-382]

(56-382)regiments already mentioned, he galloped towards the
(56-382)clan of MacDonald, and was in the act of bringing
(56-382)them to the charge, with his right arm elevated, as
(56-382)if pointing the way to victory, when he was struck
(56-382)by a bullet beneath the arm-pit, where he was
(56-382)unprotected by his cuirass.¹ He tried to ride on,
(56-382)but being unable to keep the saddle, fell mortally
(56-382)wounded, and died in the course of the night.
(56-382) It was impossible for a victory to be more
(56-382)complete than that gained by the Highlanders at
(56-382)Killiecrankie. The cannon, baggage, and stores of
(56-382)MacKay's army, fell into their hands. The two
(56-382)regiments which kept their ground suffered so
(56-382)much in their attempt to retreat through the pass,
(56-382)now occupied by the Athole-men, in their rear,
(56-382)that they might be considered as destroyed. Two
(56-382)thousand of Mackay's army were killed or taken,
(56-382)and the General himself escaped with difficulty to
(56-382)Stirling, at the head of a few horse. The
(56-382)Highlanders, whose dense columns, as they came down

(56-382)to the attack, underwent three successive volleys
(56-382)from MacKay's line, had eight hundred men slain.
(56-382) But all other losses were unimportant compared
(56-382)to that of Dundee, with whom were forfeited all
(56-382)the fruits of that bloody victory. MacKay, when
(56-382)he found himself free from pursuit, declared his

[TG56-383]

(56-383)conviction that his opponent had fallen in the battle.
(56-383)And such was the opinion of Dundee's talents and
(56-383)courage, and the general sense of the peculiar crisis
(56-383)at which his death took place, that the common
(56-383)people of the low country cannot, even now, be
(56-383)persuaded that he died an ordinary death. They
(56-383)say, that a servant of his own, shocked at the
(56-383)severities which, if triumphant, his master was likely to
(56-383)accomplish against the Presbyterians, and giving
(56-383)way to the popular prejudice of his having a charm
(56-383)against the effect of lead balls, shot him, in the
(56-383)tumult of the battle, with a silver button taken from
(56-383)his livery coat. The Jacobites, and Episcopal
(56-383)party, on the other hand, lamented the deceased
(56-383)victor as the last of the Scots, the last of the
(56-383)Grahams, and the last of all that was great in his
(56-383)native country.

[TG57-384]

(57-384)THE Viscount of Dundee was one of those gifted
(57-384)persons upon whose single fate that of nations
(57-384)is sometimes dependent. His own party believed,
(57-384)that, had he lived to improve the decisive victory
(57-384)which he had so bravely won, he would have soon
(57-384)recovered Scotland to King James's allegiance. It
(57-384)is certain, a great many of the nobility only waited

(57-384)a gleam of success to return to the Jacobite side ;
(57-384)nor were the revolutionary party so united amongst
(57-384)themselves as to have offered a very firm resistance.
(57-384)The battle of Killiecrankie, duly improved,
(57-384)would, unquestionably, have delivered the whole of
(57-384)Scotland north of the Forth into the power of
(57-384)Dundee, and rendered even Stirling and
(57-384)Edinburgh insecure. Such a flame kindled in Scotland,

[TG57-385]

(57-385)must have broken many of King William's
(57-385)measures, rendered it impossible for him to go to
(57-385)Ireland, where his presence was of the last necessity,
(57-385)and have been, to say the least, of the highest
(57-385)prejudice to his affairs.
(57-385) But all the advantages of the victory were lost
(57-385)in the death of the conquering general. Cannon,
(57-385)who succeeded to the chief command on Dundee's
(57-385)decease, was a stranger to Highland manners, and
(57-385)quite inadequate to the management of such an
(57-385)army as that which chance placed under his
(57-385)command. It was in vain that the fame of the victory,
(57-385)and the love of plunder and of war, which made
(57-385)part of the Highland character, brought around
(57-385)him, from the remote recesses of that warlike country,
(57-385)a more numerous body of the mountaineers
(57-385)than Montrose had ever commanded. By the
(57-385)timidity and indecision of his opponent, MacKay
(57-385)gained time enough to collect, which he did with
(57-385)celerity, a body of troops sufficient to coop up the
(57-385)Jacobite general within his mountains, and to maintain
(57-385)an indecisive war of posts and skirmishes,
(57-385)which wearied out the patience of the quick-spirited
(57-385)Highlanders.
(57-385) Cannon attempted only one piece of service

[TG57-386]

(57-386)worthy of mention, and in that he was foiled. In
(57-386)the extremity of the alarm which followed the
(57-386)defeat of Killiecrankie, the Earl of Angus's newly
(57-386)raised regiment of Cameronians had been
(57-386)despatched to the Highlands. They had advanced
(57-386)as far as Dunkeld, when Cannon for once showed
(57-386)some activity, and avoiding MacKay by a rapid
(57-386)and secret march, he at once surrounded, in the
(57-386)village and castle of Dunkeld, about twelve
(57-386)hundred of this regiment, with more than double their
(57-386)own forces.(21st August) Their situation seemed
(57-386)so desperate, that a party of horse who
(57-386)were with them retired, and left the Cameronians
(57-386)to their fate.

(57-386) But the newly acquired discipline of these hardy
(57-386)enthusiasts prevented their experiencing the fate
(57-386)of their predecessors at Bothwell and Pentland.
(57-386)They were judiciously posted in the Marquis of
(57-386)Athole's house and neighbouring enclosures, as also
(57-386)in the churchyard and the old cathedral; and with
(57-386)the advantage of this position they beat off repeatedly
(57-386)the fierce attacks of the Highlanders, though
(57-386)very inferior in numbers. This success restored
(57-386)the spirits of the King's troops, and diminished
(57-386)considerably that of the Highlanders, who, according
(57-386)to their custom, began to disperse and return
(57-386)home.

(57-386) The Cameronian regiment lost in this action
(57-386)their gallant Lieutenant-Colonel, Cleland, and
(57-386)many men. But they were victorious, and that
(57-386)was a sufficient consolation.

(57-386) You may have some curiosity to know the future

[TG57-387]

(57-387)fate of this singular regiment. The peculiar and
(57-387)narrow-minded ideas of the sect led many of them
(57-387)to entertain doubts of the lawfulness of the part
(57-387)they had taken. The Presbyterian worship had
(57-387)indeed been established as the national church since
(57-387)the Revolution, but it was far from having attained
(57-387)that despotic authority claimed for it by the
(57-387)Cameronians, and therefore, although, at the first landing
(57-387)of the Prince of Orange, they had felt it matter
(57-387)of duty to espouse his cause, yet they were utterly
(57-387)disgusted with the mode in which he had settled
(57-387)the state, and especially the Church of Scotland.
(57-387) What they in their enthusiasm imputed to King
(57-387)William as matter of censure, ought in reality to
(57-387)be considered as most meritorious. That wise and
(57-387)prudent monarch saw the impossibility of bringing
(57-387)the country to a state of quiet settlement, if he kept
(57-387)alive the old feuds by which it had been recently
(57-387)divided, or if he permitted the oppressed Presbyterians
(57-387)to avenge themselves as they desired upon
(57-387)their former persecutors. He admitted all persons
(57-387)alike to serve the state, whatever had been their
(57-387)former principles and practice; and thus many
(57-387)were reconciled to his government, who, if they had
(57-387)felt themselves endangered in person and property,
(57-387)or even deprived of the hope of royal patronage
(57-387)and official situation, would have thrown a heavy
(57-387)weight into the Jacobite scale. William, upon these
(57-387)principles, employed several persons who had been
(57-387)active enforcers of King James's rigorous
(57-387)measures, and whom the Cameronians accounted God's
(57-387)enemies and their own, and deemed more deserving

[TG57-388]

(57-388)of severe punishment and retaliation, than of
(57-388)encouragement and employment.
(57-388) In church affairs, King William's measures were
(57-388)still less likely to be pleasing to these fierce
(57-388)enthusiasts than in those which concerned the state. He
(57-388)was contented that there should be in Scotland, as
(57-388)in Holland, a national church, and that the form
(57-388)should be Presbyterian, as the model most
(57-388)generally approved by his friends in that kingdom. But
(57-388)the King was decided in opinion that this church
(57-388)should have no power either over the persons or
(57-388)consciences of those who were of different
(57-388)communions, to whom he extended a general toleration,
(57-388)from which the Catholics alone were excluded.
(57-388)owing to the terror inspired by their late strides
(57-388)towards predominant superiority during the reign
(57-388)of James II. The wisest, the most prudent, and
(57-388)the most learned of the Presbyterian ministers,
(57-388)those chiefly who, having fled from Scotland and
(57-388)resided in the Netherlands," had been enlightened
(57-388)on this subject of toleration, were willingly
(57-388)disposed to accommodate themselves to the King's
(57-388)inclination, and rest satisfied with the share of
(57-388)authority which he was willing to concede to the
(57-388)national church.
(57-388) But wise and moderate opinions had no effect
(57-388)on the more stubborn Presbyterians, who, irritated
(57-388)at the kirk's being curbed of her supreme power;
(57-388)and themselves checked in the course of their
(57-388)vengeance upon their oppressors, accounted the
(57-388)model of King William's ecclesiastical government
(57-388)an Erastian establishment, in which the dignity of

[TG57-389]

(57-389)the church was rendered subordinate to that of
(57-389)the state. There were many divines, even within
(57-389)the pale of the church, whose opinions tended to
(57-389)this point, and who formed a powerful party in the
(57-389)General Assembly. But the Cameronians in
(57-389)particular, elated with the part, both in suffering and
(57-389)acting, which they had performed during the late
(57-389)times, considered the results of the Revolution as
(57-389)totally unworthy of the struggle which they had
(57-389)maintained. The ministers who were willing to
(57-389)acquiesce in a model of church government so
(57-389)mutilated in power and beauty as that conceded by
(57-389)King William, they termed a hive of lukewarm,
(57-389)indifferent shepherds, who had either deserted their
(57-389)flocks and fled, to save themselves during the rage
(57-389)of persecution, or who, remaining in Scotland
(57-389)had truckled to the enemy, and exercised their
(57-389)ministry in virtue of a niggardly indulgence from
(57-389)the tyrant, whilst they themselves endured want
(57-389)and misery, and the extremities of the sword and
(57-389)gallows, rather than renounce one iota of the
(57-389)doctrine held by the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland
(57-389)in the time of her highest power in 1640. They
(57-389)considered the General Assembly held under the
(57-389)authority of King William, as an association in
(57-389)which the black hand of defection was extended
(57-389)to the red hand of persecution, and where
(57-389)apostates and oppressors, leagued together, made
(57-389)common cause against pure Presbyterian government
(57-389)and discipline.
(57-389) Feeling thus indisposed towards the existing

[TG57-390]

(57-390)government, it followed as a matter of course, that
(57-390)the Cameronians, if they did not esteem themselves

(57-390)actually called upon to resist King William's
(57-390)authority, from which they were withheld by some
(57-390)glimmering of common sense,-which suggested,
(57-390)as the necessary consequence, the return of their
(57-390)old enemy James,-neither did they feel at liberty
(57-390)to own themselves his subjects, to take oaths of
(57-390)allegiance to his person and that of his queen, or
(57-390)to submit themselves, by any mark of homage, to
(57-390)a sovereign, who had not subscribed and sworn
(57-390)to the Solemn League and Covenant.

(57-390) Although, therefore, this extreme party differed
(57-390)among themselves, to what extent they should
(57-390)disclaim the King and the Government, yet the
(57-390)general sense of their united societies became more
(57-390)and more scrupulous, concerning the lawfulness
(57-390)of serving in the Earl of Angus's regiment; and
(57-390)while they continued to own these soldiers as
(57-390)brethren, and hold correspondence with them, we
(57-390)observe that they hint at the introduction of some
(57-390)of the errors of the time, even into this select
(57-390)regiment. Card-playing, dice, and other scandalous
(57-390)games, but in particular the celebration of King
(57-390)William's birth-day, by rejoicing and drinking of
(57-390)healths, greatly afflicted the spirit of the general
(57-390)meeting of the more rigorous of the party, who
(57-390)held such practices as an abomination. It is
(57-390)probable, therefore, that the regiment of Cameronians
(57-390)received from this time few recruits out of the
(57-390)bosom of the party whose name they bore.

[TG57-391]

(57-391)They were afterwards sent to serve on the
(57-391)Continent, and behaved courageously at the bloody
(57-391)battle of Steinkirk, in 1692, where they lost many
(57-391)men, and amongst others their colonel, the Earl of

(57-391)Angus, who fell fighting bravely at their head.
(57-391)During these campaigns the regiment became
(57-391)gradually more indifferent to their religious duties.
(57-391)At last, we learn that their chaplain and they
(57-391)became heartily weary of each other, and that while
(57-391)the preacher upbraided his military flock with
(57-391)departing from the strictness of their religious
(57-391)professions, the others are said to have cursed him to
(57-391)his face, for having been instrumental in inducing
(57-391)them to enter Into the service. In latter times this
(57-391)regiment, which is still called the 26th, or
(57-391)Cameronian regiment, seems to have differed very little
(57-391)in its composition from other marching regiments,
(57-391)excepting that it was chiefly recruited in Scotland,
(57-391)and that, in memory of the original principles of
(57-391)the sect out of which it was raised, each soldier
(57-391)was, and perhaps is still, obliged to show himself
(57-391)possessed of a Bible when his necessaries are
(57-391)inspected.
(57-391) During the course of the winter 1689-90, King
(57-391)James made an effort to reanimate the war in the
(57-391)Highlands, which had almost died away, after the
(57-391)repulse of the Highlanders at Dunkeld. He sent
(57-391)over General Buchan, an officer of reputation, and
(57-391)who was supposed to understand the Highland
(57-391)character and Highland warfare. The clans again
(57-391)assembled with renewed hopes; but Buchan proved
(57-391)as incapable as Cannon had shown himself the year

[TG57-392]

(57-392)before, of profiting by the ardour of the
(57-392)Highlanders.
(57-392) With singular want of caution, the Jacobite
(57-392)general descended the Spey, as far as a level plain
(57-392)by the river-side called Cromdale, where he

(57-392)quartered his army, about eighteen hundred men, in
(57-392)the hamlets in the vicinity.¹ Sir Thomas Livingstone,
(57-392)an excellent old officer, who commanded on
(57-392)the part of King William, assembled a large force
(57-392)of cavalry, some infantry, and a body of the clan
(57-392)Grant, who had embraced William's interest. The
(57-392)general's guide on this night's march was Grant of
(57-392)Elchies, who conducted him from Forres, down
(57-392)the hill above castle Grant, and through the valley
(57-392)of Auchinarrow, to the side of the Spey, opposite
(57-392)to the haugh of Cromdale. Elchies then, with
(57-392)the advanced guard of Grant, forded the broad and
(57-392)rapid river. He next killed, with his own hand,
(57-392)two of the Highlanders, outposts or sentinels, and
(57-392)led his own party, with Sir Thomas Livingstone
(57-392)and his cavalry, through a thicket of beech-trees,
(57-392)and thus surprised Buchan and his army asleep in
(57-392)their quarters. (1st May, 1690) They fought gallantly,
(57-392)notwithstanding, with their swords and
(57-392)targets, but were at length compelled to
(57-392)take to flight. The pursuit was not so destructive
(57-392)to the defeated party as it would have been to the
(57-392)soldiers of any other nation, if pursued by the
(57-392)cavalry of a successful enemy. Light of foot, and

[TG57-393]

(57-393)well acquainted with their own mountains, the
(57-393)Highlanders escaped up the hills, and amongst the
(57-393)mists, with such an appearance of ease and agility,
(57-393)that a spectator observed, they looked more like
(57-393)men received into the clouds, than fugitives
(57-393)escaping from a victorious enemy.
(57-393) But the skirmish of Cromdale, and the ruin of
(57-393)King James's affairs in Ireland, precluded all hopes
(57-393)on the part of the Jacobites, of bringing the war

(57-393)in the Highlands to a successful termination. A
(57-393)fort near Inverlochy, originally erected by
(57-393)Cromwell, was again repaired by Livingstone, received
(57-393)the name of Fort William, and was strongly
(57-393)garrisoned, to bridle the Camerons, MacDonalDs,
(57-393)and other Jacobite clans. The chiefs saw they
(57-393)would be reduced to maintain a defensive war in
(57-393)their own fastnesses, and that against the whole
(57-393)regular force of Scotland. They became desirous,
(57-393)therefore, of submitting for the present, and reserving
(57-393)their efforts in behalf of the exiled family for
(57-393)some more favourable time. King William was
(57-393)equally desirous to see this smouldering fire, which
(57-393)the appearance of such a general as Montrose or
(57-393)Dundee might soon have blown into a destructive
(57-393)flame, totally extinguished. For this purpose, he
(57-393)had recourse to a measure, which, had it been duly
(57-393)executed, was one of deep policy.

(57-393) The Earl of Breadalbane, a man of great power
(57-393)in the Highlands, and head of a numerous clan of
(57-393)the Campbells, was intrusted with a sum of money,
(57-393)which some authors call twenty, and some twelve
(57-393)thousand pounds, to be distributed among the

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(57-394)chieftains, on the condition of their submission to
(57-394)the existing Government, and keeping on foot,
(57-394)each chief in proportion to his means, a military
(57-394)force to act on behalf of Government, at home or
(57-394)abroad, as they should be called upon. This scheme,
(57-394)had it succeeded, would probably have rendered
(57-394)the Highland clans a resource, instead of a terror,
(57-394)to the Government of King William. Their love
(57-394)of war, and their want of money, would by degrees
(57-394)have weaned them from their attachment to the

(57-394)exiled King, which would gradually have been
(57-394)transferred to a Prince, who led them to battle,
(57-394)and paid them for following him.

(57-394) But many of the chiefs were jealous of the
(57-394)conduct of the Earl of Breadalbane in distributing the
(57-394)funds intrusted to his care. Part of this treasure
(57-394)the wily earl bestowed among the most leading
(57-394)men ; when these were bought off, he intimidated
(57-394)those of less power into submission, by threatening
(57-394)them with military execution; and it has always
(57-394)been said, that he retained a very considerable
(57-394)portion of the gratuity in his own hands. The
(57-394)Highland chiefs complained to Government of
(57-394)Breadalbane's conduct, and, to prejudice the earl
(57-394)in the minds of the Ministry, they alleged that he
(57-394)had played a double part, and advised them only
(57-394)to submit to King William for the present, until
(57-394)an opportunity should occur of doing King James
(57-394)effectual service. They also charged Breadalbane
(57-394)with retaining, for his own purposes, a considerable
(57-394)part of the money deposited in his hands, to
(57-394)be distributed in the Highlands.

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(57-395)Government, it is said, attended to this information,
(57-395)so far as to demand, through the Secretary of
(57-395)State, a regular account of the manner in which the
(57-395)sum of money placed in his hands had been distributed.
(57-395)But Breadalbane, too powerful to be called
(57-395)in question, and too audacious to care for having
(57-395)incurred suspicion of what he judged Government
(57-395)dared not resent, is traditionally said to have
(57-395)answered the demand in the following cavalier
(57-395)manner :-" My dear Lord, The money you mention
(57-395)was given to purchase the peace of the Highlands.

(57-395)The money is spent-the Highlands are quiet, and
(57-395)this is the only way of accompting among friends."
(57-395) We shall find afterwards, that the selfish avarice,
(57-395)and resentment of this unprincipled noblemen, gave
(57-395)rise to one of the most bloody, treacherous, and cruel
(57-395)actions, which dishonour the seventeenth century.
(57-395)Of this we shall speak hereafter; at present it is
(57-395)enough to repeat, that Breadalbane bribed, soothed,
(57-395)or threatened into submission to the Government,
(57-395)all the chiefs who had hitherto embraced the interest
(57-395)of King James, and the Highland war might
(57-395)be considered as nearly, if not entirely ended. But
(57-395)the proposed measure of taking the clans into the
(57-395)pay of Government, calculated to attach them
(57-395)inalienably to the cause of King William, was totally
(57-395)disconcerted, and the Highlanders continued as
(57-395)much Jacobites at heart as before the pacification.
(57-395) There remained, however, after the Highlands
(57-395)were thus partially settled, some necessity of
(57-395)providing for the numerous Lowland officers who had
(57-395)joined the standard of Dundee, and who afterwards

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(57-396)remained with his less able successors in command.
(57-396)These individuals were entitled to consideration
(57-396)and compassion. They amounted to nearly a
(57-396)hundred and fifty gentlemen, who sacrificing their
(57-396)fortune to their honour, preferred following their old
(57-396)master into exile, to changing his service for that of
(57-396)another. It was stipulated by the treaty that they
(57-396)should have two ships to carry them to France,
(57-396)where they were received with the same liberal
(57-396)hospitality which Louis XIV. showed in whatever
(57-396)concerned the affairs of King James, and where,
(57-396)accordingly, they received for some time pay and

(57-396)subsistence, in proportion to the rank which they
(57-396)had severally enjoyed in the exiled King's service.
(57-396) But when the battle of La Hogue had
(57-396)commenced the train of misfortunes which France
(57-396)afterwards experienced, and put a period to all
(57-396)hopes of invading England, it could not be expected
(57-396)that Louis should continue the expense of supporting
(57-396)this body of Scottish officers, whom there was
(57-396)now so little prospect of providing for in their own
(57-396)country. They themselves being sensible of this,
(57-396)petitioned King James to permit them to reduce
(57-396)themselves to a company of private soldiers, with
(57-396)the dress, pay, and appointments of that rank,
(57-396)assuring his Majesty that they would esteem it a
(57-396)pleasure to continue in his service, even under the
(57-396)meanest circumstances, and the greatest hardships.
(57-396) James reluctantly accepted of this generous offer,
(57-396)and, with tears in his eyes, reviewed this body of
(57-396)devoted loyalists, as, stript of the advantages of
(57-396)birth, fortune, and education, they prepared to take

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(57-397)upon them the duties of the lowest rank in their
(57-397)profession. The unhappy Prince gave every man
(57-397)his hand to kiss, -promised never to forget their
(57-397)loyalty, and wrote the name of each individual in
(57-397)his pocket-book, as a pledge, that when his own
(57-397)fortune permitted, he would not be unmindful of
(57-397)their fidelity.
(57-397) Being in French pay, this company of gentlemen
(57-397)were of course engaged in the French service ;
(57-397)and wherever they came, they gained respect by
(57-397)their propriety of behaviour, and sympathy from
(57-397)knowledge of their circumstances. But their
(57-397)allowance, being only threepence a-day, with a pound

(57-397)and a half of bread, was totally inadequate not only
(57-397)for procuring their accustomed comforts, but even
(57-397)for maintaining them in the most ordinary manner.
(57-397)For a time, they found a resource in the sale of
(57-397)watches, rings, and such superfluous trinkets as had
(57-397)any value. It was not unusual to see individuals
(57-397)among them laying aside some little token of
(57-397)remembrance, which had been the gift of parental
(57-397)affection, of love, or of friendship, and to hear them
(57-397)protest, that with this at least they would never
(57-397)part. But stern necessity brought all these relics
(57-397)to the market at last, and this little fund of support
(57-397)was entirely exhausted.

(57-397) After its first formation this company served
(57-397)under Marshal Noailles, at the siege of Rosas, in
(57-397)Catalonia, and distinguished themselves by their
(57-397)courage on so many occasions, that their general
(57-397)called them his children ; and, pointing out their
(57-397)determined courage to others, used to say, that the

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(57-398)real gentleman was ever the same, whether in
(57-398)necessity or in danger.

(57-398) In a subsequent campaign in Alsace, they
(57-398)distinguished themselves by their voluntary attempt
(57-398)to storm a fortified island on the Rhine, defended
(57-398)by five hundred Germans. They advanced to the
(57-398)shore of that broad river under shelter of the night,
(57-398)waded into the stream, with their ammunition
(57-398)secured about their necks for fear of its being wetted,
(57-398)and linked arm-in-arm, according to the Highland
(57-398)fashion, advanced into the middle of the current.
(57-398)Here the water was up to their breasts, but as soon
(57-398)as it grew more shallow, they untied their cartouch-
(57-398)boxes, and marching ashore with their muskets

(57-398)shouldered, poured a deadly volley upon the
(57-398)Germans, who, seized with a panic, and endeavouring
(57-398)to escape, broke down their own bridges, and
(57-398)suffered a severe loss, leaving the island in possession
(57-398)of the brave assailants. When the French general
(57-398)heard of the success of what he had esteemed a
(57-398)desperate bravado, he signed himself with the cross
(57-398)in astonishment, and declared that it was the boldest
(57-398)action that ever had been performed, and that
(57-398)the whole honour of contrivance and execution
(57-398)belonged to the company of officers. The place
(57-398)was long called L'Ile d'Ecossais, the Scotsmen's
(57-398)Island, and perhaps yet retains the name.

(57-398) In these and similar undertakings, many of this
(57-398)little band fell by the sword; but the fate of such
(57-398)was enviable compared with that of the far greater
(57-398)part who died under the influence of fatigue,
(57-398)privations, and contagious diseases, which fell with

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(57-399)deadly severity on men once accustomed to the
(57-399)decencies and accommodations of social life, and
(57-399)now reduced to rags, filth, and famine. When, at
(57-399)the peace of Ryswick, this little company was
(57-399)disbanded, there remained but sixteen men out of
(57-399)their original number ; and only four of these ever
(57-399)again saw their native country, whose fame had
(57-399)been sustained and extended by their fidelity and
(57-399)courage.

(57-399) At length the last faint embers of civil war died
(57-399)away throughout Scotland. The last place which
(57-399)held out for King James was the strong island
(57-399)and castle in the frith of Forth, called the Bass.
(57-399)This singular rock rises perpendicularly out of
(57-399)the sea. The surface is pasture land, sloping to

(57-399)the brink of a tremendous precipice, which on all
(57-399)sides sinks sheer down into the stormy ocean.
(57-399)There is no anchorage ground on any point near
(57-399)the rock; and although it is possible, in the
(57-399)present state of the island, to go ashore (not without
(57-399)danger, however), and to ascend by a steep path to
(57-399)the table-land on the top of the crag, yet, at the
(57-399)time of the Revolution a strong castle defended
(57-399)the landing place, and the boats belonging to the
(57-399)garrison were lowered into the sea, or heaved up into
(57-399)the castle, by means of the engine called a crane.
(57-399)Access was thus difficult to friends, and impossible
(57-399)to enemies.
(57-399) This sequestered and inaccessible spot, the
(57-399)natural shelter and abode of gannets, gulls, and sea-

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(57-400)fowl of all descriptions, had been, as I have before
(57-400)noticed, converted into a state prison during the
(57-400)reigns of Charles II. and James II.; and was
(57-400)often the melancholy abode of the nonconformists,
(57-400)who were prisoners to Government. When the
(57-400)Revolution took place, the Governor of the Bass
(57-400)held out from 1688 to 1690, when he surrendered
(57-400)the island and castle to King William. They
(57-400)were shortly after recovered for King James by
(57-400)some Jacobite officers, who, sent thither as
(57-400)prisoners, contrived to surprise and overpower the
(57-400)garrison, and again bade defiance to the new
(57-400)Government. They received supplies of provisions
(57-400)from their Jacobite friends on shore, and exercised,
(57-400)by means of their boats, a sort of privateering
(57-400)warfare on such merchant vessels as entered the
(57-400)frith. A squadron of English ships-of-war was
(57-400)sent to reduce the place, which, in their attempt to

(57-400)batter the castle, did so little damage, and received
(57-400)so much, that the siege was given up, or rather
(57-400)converted into a strict blockade. The punishment
(57-400)of death was denounced by the Scottish Government
(57-400)against all who should attempt to supply the
(57-400)island with provisions ; and a gentleman named
(57-400)Trotter, having been convicted of such an attempt,
(57-400)was condemned to death, and a gallows erected
(57-400)opposite to the Bass, that the garrison might
(57-400)witness his fate. The execution was interrupted for
(57-400)the time by a cannon-shot from the island, to the
(57-400)great terror of the assistants, amongst whom the
(57-400)bullet lighted; but no advantage accrued to Trotter,
(57-400)who was put to death elsewhere. The

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(57-401)intercourse between the island and the shore was in
(57-401)this manner entirely cut off. Shortly afterwards
(57-401)the garrison became so weak for want of provisions,
(57-401)that they were unable to man the crane by
(57-401)which they launched out and got in their boats.
(57-401)They were thus obliged finally to surrender, but
(57-401)not till reduced to an allowance of two ounces of
(57-401)rusk to each man per day. They were admitted to
(57-401)honourable terms, with the testimony of having
(57-401)done their duty like brave men.
(57-401) We must now return to the state of civil affairs
(57-401)in Scotland, which was far from being settled.
(57-401)The arrangements of King William had not
(57-401)included in his administration Sir James Montgomery
(57-401)and some other leading Presbyterians, who
(57-401)conceived their services entitled them to such distinction.
(57-401)This was bitterly resented ; for Montgomery
(57-401)and his friends fell into an error very common to
(57-401)agents in great changes, who often conceive

(57-401)themselves to have been the authors of those events, in
(57-401)which they were only the subordinate and casual
(57-401)actors. Montgomery had conducted the debates
(57-401)concerning the forfeiture of the crown at the
(57-401)Revolution, and therefore believed himself adequate to
(57-401)the purpose of dethroning King William, who, he
(57-401)thought, owed his crown to him, and of replacing
(57-401)King James. This monarch, so lately deprived of
(57-401)his realm on account of his barefaced attempts to
(57-401)bring in Popery, was now supported by a party of
(57-401)Presbyterians, who proposed to render him the
(57-401)nursing father of that model of church government,

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(57-402)which he had so often endeavoured to stifle
(57-402)in the blood of its adherents. As extremes
(57-402)approach to each other, the most violent Jacobites
(57-402)began to hold intercourse with the most violent
(57-402)Presbyterians, and both parties voted together in
(57-402)Parliament, from hatred to the administration of
(57-402)King William. The alliance, however, was too
(57-402)unnatural to continue; and King William was
(57-402)only so far alarmed by its progress, as to hasten a
(57-402)redress of several of those grievances, which had
(57-402)been pointed out in the Declaration of Rights. He
(57-402)also deemed it prudent to concede something to
(57-402)the Presbyterians, disappointed as many of them
(57-402)were with the result of the Revolution in
(57-402)ecclesiastical matters.

(57-402) I have told you already that King William had
(57-402)not hesitated to declare that the National Church
(57-402)of Scotland should be Presbyterian; but, with the
(57-402)love of toleration, which was a vital principle in
(57-402)the King's mind, he was desirous of permitting the
(57-402)Episcopalian incumbents, as well as the forms of

(57-402)worship, to remain in the churches of such parishes
(57-402)as preferred that communion. Moreover, he did
(57-402)not deem it equitable to take from such proprietors
(57-402)as were possessed of it, the right of patronage,
(57-402)that is, of presenting to the Presbytery a candidate
(57-402)for a vacant charge ; when, unless found unfit for
(57-402)such a charge, upon his life and doctrine being
(57-402)enquired into by formal trial, the person thus
(57-402)presented was of course admitted to the office.
(57-402) A great part of the Presbyterians were much

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(57-403)discontented at a privilege, which threw the right
(57-403)of electing a clergyman for the whole congregation
(57-403)into the hands of one man, whilst all the rest might
(57-403)be dissatisfied with Ills talents, or with his character.
(57-403)They argued also, that very many of these
(57-403)presentations being in the hands of gentry of the
(57-403)Episcopal persuasion, to continue the right of
(57-403)patronage, was to afford such patrons the means of
(57-403)introducing clergymen of their own tenets, and
(57-403)thus to maintain a perpetual schism in the bosom
(57-403)of the church. To this it was replied by the
(57-403)defenders of patronage, that as the stipends of the
(57-403)clergy were paid by the landholders, the nomination
(57-403)of the minister ought to be left in their hands ;
(57-403)and that it had accordingly been the ancient law of
(57-403)Scotland, that the advowson, or title to bestow the
(57-403)church-living, was a right of private property.
(57-403)The tendency towards Episcopacy, continued these
(57-403)reasoners, might indeed balance, but could not
(57-403)overthrow, the supremacy of the Presbyterian
(57-403)establishment, since every clergyman who was in
(57-403)possession of a living, was bound to subscribe the
(57-403)Confession of Faith, as established by the Assembly

(57-403)of Divines at Westminster, and to acknowledge
(57-403)that the General Assembly was invested with
(57-403)the full government of the church. They further
(57-403)argued, that in practice it was best this law of
(57-403)patronage should remain unaltered. The
(57-403)Presbyterian church being already formed upon a model
(57-403)strictly republican, they contended, that to vest the
(57-403)right of nominating the established clergy in the

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(57-404)hearers, was to give additional features of
(57-404)democracy to a system, which was already sufficiently
(57-404)independent both of the crown and the aristocracy.
(57-404)They urged, that to permit the flocks the choice of
(57-404)their own shepherd, was to encourage the
(57-404)candidates for church preferment rather to render
(57-404)themselves popular by preaching to soothe the humours
(57-404)of the congregation, than to exercise the wholesome
(57-404)but unpleasing duties, of instructing their ignorance,
(57-404)and reproofing their faults ; and that thus assentation
(57-404)and flattery would be heard from the pulpit,
(57-404)the very place where they were most unbecoming,
(57-404)and were likely to be most mischevous.
(57-404) Such arguments in favour of lay patronage
(57-404)had much influence with the King ; but the
(57-404)necessity of doing something which might please the
(57-404)Presbyterian party, induced his Scottish ministers,
(57-404)- not, it is said, with William's entire approbation,
(57-404)- to renew a law of Cromwell's time, which
(57-404)placed the nomination of a minister, with some
(57-404)slight restrictions, in the hands of the congregation.
(57-404)These, upon a vacancy, exercised a right of
(57-404)popular election, gratifying unquestionably to the
(57-404)pride of human nature, but tending to excite, in
(57-404)the case of disagreement, debates and strife, which

(57-404)were not always managed with the decency and
(57-404)moderation that the subject required.

(57-404) King William equally failed in his attempt to
(57-404)secure toleration for such of the Episcopal clergy
(57-404)as were disposed to retain their livings under a
(57-404)Presbyterian supremacy. To have gained these

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(57-405)divines, would have greatly influenced all that part
(57-405)of Scotland which lies north of the Forth; but in
(57-405)affording them protection, William was desirous
(57-405)to be secured of their allegiance, which in general
(57-405)they conceived to be due to the exiled sovereign.
(57-405)Many of them had indeed adopted a convenient
(57-405)political creed, which permitted them to submit to
(57-405)William as King de facto, that is, as being actually
(57-405)in possession of the royal power, whilst they internally
(57-405)reserved and acknowledged the superior
(57-405)claims of James as King de jure, that is, who had
(57-405)the right to the crown, although he did not enjoy it.
(57-405) It was William's interest to destroy this
(57-405)sophistical species of reasoning, by which, in truth, he
(57-405)was only recognised as a successful usurper, and
(57-405)obeyed for no other reason but because he had the
(57-405)power to enforce obedience. An oath, therefore,
(57-405)was framed, called the Assurance, which, being
(57-405)put to all persons holding offices of trust, was
(57-405)calculated to exclude those temporizers who had
(57-405)contrived to reconcile their immediate obedience to
(57-405)King William, with a reserved acknowledgment
(57-405)that James possessed the real title to the crown.
(57-405)The Assurance bore, in language studiously explicit,
(57-405)that King William was acknowledged, by the
(57-405)person taking the oath, not only as king in fact,
(57-405)but also as king in law and by just title. This

(57-405)oath made a barrier against most of the Episcopal
(57-405)preachers who had any tendency to Jacobitism;
(57-405)but there were some who regarded their own
(57-405)patrimonial advantages more than political questions

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(57-406)concerning the rights of monarchs, and in spite of
(57-406)the intolerance of the Presbyterian clergy (which,
(57-406)considering their previous sufferings, is not to be
(57-406)wondered at), about a hundred Episcopal divines
(57-406)took the oaths to the new Government, retained
(57-406)their livings, and were exempted from the
(57-406)jurisdiction of the courts of Presbytery.