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Aug. 28. 1891

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AN
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND,
FROM
THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF CHRISTIANITY,
IN THAT KINGDOM,
TO
THE PRESENT TIME.
WITH
REMARKS
ON THE MOST IMPORTANT OCCURRENCES.
IN A SERIES OF LETTERS TO A FRIEND.

BY
THE REVEREND JOHN SKINNER,
A PRESBYTER OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN SCOTLAND,
AT LONGSIDE, ABERDEENSHIRE.

VOLUME II

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR T. EVANS, PATER-NOSTER ROW;
AND R. N. CHEYNE, EDINBURGH.
MDCCLXXXVIII.

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Earl of Arran chosen Regent on the Death of James V.—Proceedings in Parliament favourable to the Reformation—The Popish Party alarmed persecutes the Reformers — Burning of Mr. George Wishart — Murder of Cardinal Beton, with Reflections — New Preachers at St. Andrews — Account of John Knox — And of John Rough afterwards put to Death in England.


IN prosecution of my design of giving you a distinct account of our ecclesiastical affairs, from the first appearance of christianity in Scotland, to the present time, I have already advanced as far as the beginning of that conspicuous æra, which produced a surprizing change in the religious system of Britain, and will ever be distinguished as one of the most remarkable periods in the annals of our church. We have seen how the business of the *Reformation* was going on in Germany, and what steps the Protestants there had taken for the safety of their persons, and the free exercise of their religion,

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religion,

LETTER religion, while Henry VIII. of England was giving life to their cause, by throwing off the papal supremacy, and prohibiting any ecclesiastical dependence, in his dominions, on the See of Rome. XXXI.  In Scotland we have observed the same spirit of reformation breaking out, on various occasions, in spite of all the severities that were made use of to suppress it. The death of the late King, however inconvenient for the nation in general, was considered by the reforming party as highly favourable to their views. The first publick transaction, subsequent to this unexpected event, was the choice of a Regent or Governor, which notwithstanding the intrigues of Cardinal Beton, who it is said, produced a forged will of the late King in his own favour, fell upon James Hamilton Earl of Arran, who now, upon the death of the Duke of Albany without issue, was after the infant Queen the next heir to the crown, being the grandson of a sister of James the third. This disposal of the Regency gave universal satisfaction to the whole nation, except to the Cardinal and his faction among the clergy. The rest were pleased to find the power taken out of the Cardinal's hands, who was both hated and feared for his pride and severity: And they in particular who favoured the appearances of a reformation in the church, conceived great hopes from the governor's known goodnature, and the signs of his inclination that way. For, to the great offence of the clergy, he kept in his family two Chaplains, Thomas Guillam and John Rough, who had both deserted the Romish church, and preached now against the Pope's supremacy and such other points as had of late been brought into controversy. The first of these had been Provincial of the Dominicans or Black-friars in

in Scotland, and it is said, had translated the new LETTER testament into the vulgar tongue : The other had XXXI. been a Dominican too, and on the governor's application had got permission from the Cardinal to leave his monastery at Stirling, and become his Lordship's chaplain. These two preachers were not only encouraged by the governor, but were likewise countenanced by such of the nobility as had been carried prisoners to London after the affair of Solway-mofs, and were now permitted to come home on their parole. Among these were the Earls of Cassilis and Glencairn, the Lords Maxwell and Gray, besides many gentlemen of inferior note, most of whom, by their acquaintance with Archbishop Cranmer and other English Bishops, had imbibed the reforming principles of that church, and now brought them to their own country with them. The King of England too hearing of his nephew's death, and being always attentive to the interests of his own kingdom, had formed in his mind a project of uniting the two crowns by a marriage between his son Edward and the Scottish Queen Mary, and had engaged his Scottish prisoners, whom he treated with great kindness for that purpose, to support his proposal with all their influence on their return home.

All these circumstances bore a favourable aspect towards a regular reformation in Scotland on the English plan, and for a while some proper use seems to have been made of them. For how soon the M2r. 15, Parliament met, a petition was presented by A.D. 1548. Robert Lord Maxwell, craving " that it may be Keith's lawful to all our sovereign lady's lieges to have Hist. p. 36. the holy writ of the old and new testament in the vulgar tongue, in English or Scotch, of a good and true translation, without incurring any
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" crime

LETTER XXXI. "crime for having and reading of the same, provided that no man dispute or hold opinions, under the pains contained in former acts." This petition the Lords of the articles, whose business was to prepare bills for the Parliament, found reasonable; "and therefore thought the same might be used among all the lieges, because there was no law shown or produced to the contrary." When this draught of an act was read, Archbishop Dunbar of Glasgow, the Chancellor, stood up, and in his own name and in the name of all the prelates of the realm, as one of the three estates of Parliament, "dissented there- to *simpliciter*, unto the time that a provincial council might be had of all the clergy in the kingdom, to advise and conclude if the same be necessary to be had among the Queen's lieges or not, and thereafter to shew the final determination that shall be made in that behalf: And thereupon asked instruments." Notwithstanding of this protestation, the bill was passed; and on the nineteenth of March proclamation of it was made at the market cross of Edinburgh, by the governor's order.

This was gaining one considerable privilege, which the church of Rome had long and stiffly stood out against. Yet it is certain, the several national churches for many hundreds of years had the scriptures in their own vulgar languages. And tho' the Popes in the West had begun now and then to interfere with their directions and recommendations in favour of the Latin version, yet there was no absolute and authoritative prohibition of the vulgar tongues, till the time of Gregory VII. who in answer to a petition from Uratislaus King of Bohemia, for a continuance of the blessing which

which his people had enjoyed for more than two hundred years, says, "It appears that God designed the scripture to be obscure in several places, lest, if it had been plain to all the world, it should grow contemptible, and by being wrong interpreted might be the source of error: And it is no excuse, that some holy persons have allowed what the people demand out of simplicity, since the primitive church tolerated many things which have been corrected upon serious examination, after religion was better established and further extended: For which reason we, by the authority of St. Peter, forbid what your subjects so imprudently desire; and we order you to oppose this their foolish temerity with all your force." These reasons urged by this violent Pope, however weak and inconclusive, are still made use of upon this subject by the Romanists of the present day. But if the scriptures were to be preserved from contempt and abuse by being shut up in an unknown tongue, may it not be asked, what entitled the Latin tongue to this high office? Why not keep them locked up under the equally impenetrable obscurity of their own sacred originals of Hebrew and Greek, in which their inspired authors spoke and wrote them, rather than confine them to a language in which they had originally no concern, and which could claim no intrinsic merit? The new testament was at first spread thro' the world in Greek, as the old was in Hebrew, till a Greek translation was made. And the Latin christians thought it then incumbent on them to get both translated into their common language for their common use. Were not the scriptures in danger of being abused or becoming contemptible then, when the Latin was the vulgar

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vulgar language, as much as they can be now in the vulgar language of any christian country? Indeed there is so much absurdity in this practice, and in every attempt to vindicate it, that all the glosses and daubings of its abettors can never keep it entirely out of sight. But the truth is, it is not so much regard for the scripture, as for the Latin tongue, the once commanding language of the high and mighty Rome, that first produced and still keeps up this otherwise unaccountable veneration for the Latin bible, which, notwithstanding of the bold decree of the council of Trent in pronouncing it authentick, yet after all the revivals and corrections it has undergone since that decree by the two Popes Sixtus V. and Clement VIII, is still as imperfect and incorrect a version as we have.

It is true, the church of Rome may be said to have acted wisely enough for what she still thought her main interest on this occasion, as well as on many others. For as she suspected that the promiscuous acquaintance with the scripture might, by a wrong interpretation, lead people into what she was pleased to call error, so it might likewise be a mean of discovering things which she would not wish brought to light, and which from the plain and natural sense of scripture would be found to be greater errors than those she pretended to guard against. This had been the case already with Wickliff and Hufs, Luther, and the rest of her opponents: And our Archbishop Dunbar, as a dependent upon her, might fear the worst if such a door of acquaintance should be opened among us. However on passing the act, the governor desired Mr. Sadler the English resident to write to London for some English bibles, which at the request



quest of the convocation in 1534, the King had caused to be printed and dispersed, and for a copy of such statutes and injunctions as had been lately made in England for the reformation of religion, and suppressing the Pope's authority. Accordingly the books came, and at the same time, or soon after, Henry sent down one Richardson a Priest, whom the governor heard preach, and promised him a living and entertainment in the country. This man went to St. Andrews, and talked with the Cardinal, but on what business or to what effect; we are not told.

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Keith's  
Hist. p. 39.

All this looked well in so far, and great expectations were formed of what would follow. But these flattering prospects came to nothing, at least for some time, tho' a beginning was now made, which might in end have accomplished a good work, if the governor had kept steady to his first professions. It is true he had difficulties to encounter, which would have required more natural resolution to surmount than he was possessed of. The correspondence with England met with much opposition from different quarters. The proposed marriage, tho' once formally agreed to, and hostages given for the performance, was not universally relished. The clergy set themselves violently against it, from a just fear of the dangerous consequences of it to their religious system: And a great body of the nobility, such as the Earls of Huntly, Argyle, Montrose, Bothwell, Monteith, the Lord Fleming, with many more of all ranks, out of a national dislike to the English, entered into a solemn bond to resist the match with all their might, and did what they could to engage the governor to break off the treaty, by offering to bring about a match between the infant Queen  
and

LETTER and his eldest son the Lord Hamilton. At the  
 XXXI. same time his natural brother John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, being newly returned from France, to which he was much devoted, and being put upon it by the Cardinal, began to represent to the governor the impropriety of the measures he was pursuing, as the legitimacy of his birth, he said, because of an antecedent divorce of his father from a wife prior to his mother, with all his present titles and future hopes depended upon the Pope's authority and the laws of the church as then established. All these considerations so wrought on the timorous, unstable man, that in a few days he made a public renunciation of his former belief, and was solemnly reconciled to the church by receiving absolution from the hands of the Cardinal, in the church of the Franciscans at Stirling, sometime in September 1543.

This unexpected step soon altered the face of affairs. Richardson the English Priest, with others of his countrymen, made homewards as fast as they could: The governor's two chaplains were dismissed: Friar Guillam, fearing to be called in question for his doctrine, which the Abbot of Paisley had been always finding fault with, withdrew into England, and died there. His colleague Rough staid some time in this country, and we shall hear more of him by and by. Nor was the governor satisfied with thus abandoning his former friends; but to testify his new zeal the more, he made a publick speech in the parliament of December, the same year, against the spreading of Hereticks and sowing damnable opinions, "exhorting therefore  
 " all Prelates and ordinaries, ilkane within his  
 " own dioces and jurisdiction, to enquire upon all  
 " manner of such persons, and proceed against  
 " them

“ them according to the laws of halie Kirk : And  
 “ my Lord Governor shall be ready at all times  
 “ to do therein what accords him of his office.”

LETTER

XXXL

Upon this the Cardinal, who since the King's death had been pretty quiet, took courage again, and appeared once more in his own colours. For being now fortified with the Regent's authority, he was always travelling thro' the country with a splendid retinue, either making friends or destroying enemies. The Pope had sent a legate into Scotland to dissuade the nation from the English marriage, proposed for their Queen. He was nobly entertained, but without acting in any public sphere went off again in March 1544. And soon after the Cardinal was invested with this character, which added nothing to his power, whatever it did to his dignity. In 1545 he made a visitation of his diocess, attended by the Governor, and a number of the nobility and gentry ; and being come to Perth, he convened before him a number of suspected persons who, besides other frivolous points of accusation, were indicted particularly for contravening that clause in the act of the Governor's first Parliament, whereby the lieges, tho' in general allowed to read the scripture, were prohibited from disputing about the interpretation of it. The pannels being found guilty, as was to be looked for before such a court and upon such a captious indictment, were condemned to different degrees of punishment : Some were imprisoned, some banished, and five men, and a woman named Helen Stirk, who was then nursing a child of her own, were for example's sake sentenced to death, which was immediately executed, the men being as usual burnt at a stake, and the woman drowned in a pool. From thence the Cardinal marched, on

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the

LETTER the same errand, to Angus, where he called many  
 XXXI. in question for reading the new testament in Eng-  
 lish, notwithstanding of the liberty once given, which was now accounted a heinous crime: And it is said, such was the ignorance or prejudice of these times, that even many of the very Priests gave out that the new testament was written by Luther, and that the old was the only scripture to be read. From Angus the procession went thro' the Mearns, and then returned to St. Andrews, where the Cardinal spent the Christmas holidays, and afterwards proceeded to Edinburgh.

Here perceiving that after all his severities, many were still inclining to the new opinions, and that they were encouraged in these inclinations by the immoral lives of too many of the clergy, he assembled a provincial council in January 1546, in order to consult about proper methods to stop the growing heresy, and to restrain the licentiousness of churchmen, which was so scandalous and gave the people such a handle to desert them. But how far they proceeded in that plausible design, which had so often been pretended, remains uncertain. Perhaps they were diverted from it, or interrupted in it, by the agreeable information they then received, that the famous new preacher Mr. George Wishart, whom the Cardinal had been long in search of, was just then at the house of Ormiston in East Lothian. The Cardinal went immediately to the governor, and got him to send a party to apprehend the heretick. But the Laird of Ormiston refusing to deliver him up, as hoping to have wrought his escape, the Earl of Bothwell, who was high sheriff of the county, came to the house, and upon pledging his honour for Mr. Wishart's safety had him put into his hands, who that very

night carried him to the house of Elphinston, <sup>LETTER</sup> where the Cardinal was waiting him. From thence <sup>XXXI.</sup> he was conveyed to the castle of Edinburgh, and in a few days removed to the Cardinal's own castle of St. Andrews. Thither the other prelates were immediately summoned, and accordingly convened on the twenty seventh of February, in order to the trial and condemnation of this supposed Arch-heretick. The Archbishop of Glasgow advised the Cardinal to get a commission from the Governour to some man of quality to execute justice, lest all the burdē should lie upon the clergy if they should finish the process in their own names. To this the Cardinal consented, in confidence that the <sup>Spotf. p. 79</sup> Governour would not hesitate in the matter, as for some time past he had found him very obsequious to all his purposes. Bur the Governour, either out of pity to the sufferer, or by the importunity of other friends, warned the Cardinal not to precipitate the trial, till he should come in person and see the cause maturely examined, and if otherwise he protested that the man's blood should be required at his hand. This answer grieved the Cardinal not a little, who feared the danger of delay in an affair he had so much at heart, and therefore resolved to go on with it by his own authority, as he should see most fitting. So the convention was held on the day appointed, and after the usual formalities of citation and accusation Mr. Withart was sentenced to be burnt on the first of March, which was put in execution accordingly: And that day the Cardinal made proclamation thro' St. Andrews, that no person should pray for the heretick under pain of ecclesiastical censures. This Mr. Withart was of the family of Pitarro in the Meris. In his younger years he had been master of the grammar school of Montrose, and

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had afterwards studied at Cambridge, from whence he returned to his own country in the year 1544. He is said to have been the worthiest and most pacific of all those who at first supported the new doctrines in this kingdom, and may, for his learning and modesty, be called the Melancthon of Scotland, tho' from all the accounts we have of him in the histories of those times, it is not easy to learn whether he was in any degree of holy orders or not. His death was matter of great triumph to the persecuting zealots; and the Cardinal himself boasted of it, as giving a deadly blow to heresy, and putting the church in a state of perfect security. But so uncertain are the issues of all human consultations, that this very thing proved the rock on which he and all his fortunes perished: For not only were the minds of the common people much irritated by this execution, but even the humours of some of high rank, who otherwise bore no good will to the Cardinal, were so enraged at his insatiable cruelties, that they openly vowed the blood of Mr. Wishart should not pass unrevenge'd. Of this number were John and Norman Leslies, the one brother, the other son to the Earl of Rothes, Kirkaldy of Grange, with some others, of less note: Who in prosecution of the plot, met all at St. Andrews early in the morning on Saturday the twenty ninth of May, and having by a preconcerted stratagem got access into the castle, they burst into the Cardinal's bed-chamber, and stabbing him several times thro' the body, left him weltering in his blood.

Thus fell Cardinal David Beton, the last of that dignity in Scotland, a man of great parts and dexterity in business, but of loose morals and unbounded ambition, and in prosecuting the reputed heretics

heretics of those days, entirely void of all humanity. This bold action was variously thought of, both at the time and since. The Romish party did, and still do execrate it in the bitterest language, and would be laying the odium of it not on the persons only who were concerned in it, but but even on the principles which they were supposed to espouse: Which, if conclusive, would militate equally against themselves. For they should remember who they were that murdered their darling Archbishop Becket, and how conscientiously they did penance to the Pope for it. This was more than three hundred years before Luther or Calvin were heard of: And so much was this barbarous spirit kept up even among Catholics, as they call themselves, that much about the time of our Cardinal Beton's tragical end, a like assassination was perpetrated on another Cardinal, George Martinusius, Archbishop of Strigonia in Hungary, who for his ambitious intermeddling in politicks, was privately murdered in his apartment by the hands of his own secretary. Nor was this method of revenge upon the sacred and inviolable persons of Cardinals, confined to such nations as might be reckoned savage and unpolished. Even the annals of France present us with an account of one Cardinal, Bourbon, imprisoned, and another, Guise, stabbed to death by a Catholic King's command, at a meeting of the estates of the realm in 1588. I mention these almost cotemporary instances, to check the illgrounded vanity of some men, who would make the world believe that none but Protestants

By a daughter of the family of Airly he had several children, one of whom he had, only a few weeks before his death, married to the master of Crawford, and given 4000 merks of portion with her.

testants

LETTER testants are capable of such atrocious villainies! On the other hand, there are a set of writers who go as far to the other extreme, even to the borders of blasphemy, in crying up this horrid deed. The history attributed to Knox, by the style of the narration, holds it forth as a godly and praiseworthy action: The Martyrologist Fox expressly affirms that "the murderers were stirred up by the Lord." And the Presbyterian Historiographer Calderwood says, "the Cardinal intended farther, if the Lord had not stirred up some men of courage to cut him off in time." These are strange expressions: And it is hoped the modern writers of that party will now in this enlightened age have more regard to the honour of our common christianity in general, and of the Protestant name in particular, than adopt these uncharacteristic ravings of their predecessors, which some more than a century after, were again renewed on occasion of a like barbarity to an Archbishop of St. Andrews of another denomination.

But before I have done with the Cardinal and Mr. Wishart, there is a circumstance to be taken notice of, which the writers on both sides appear to lay much stress upon. To aggravate the Cardinal's cruelty, it is said, that whilst Wishart was burning at the stake, the Cardinal sat in a window overlaid with tapestry, glutting his eyes with the shocking sight: And that the martyr in the midst of the flames should say, "This fire hath scorched my body, yet hath it not daunted my spirit: But he, who from yonder high place beholdeth us with so much pride, shall within a few days lie in the same as ignominiously, as he doth now rest himself proudly." This prediction is much spoken of by the  
tribe

Spotwood,  
p. 82.



tribe of writers I last mentioned, as a sign of the man's prophetic spirit, and an undeniable testimony of the truth for which he suffered: While the Popish party as confidently infer from it that Mr. Wishart was in the plot against the Cardinal's life, and so might the more readily foretell his death: and indeed the being so particular in the circumstance of the window, and the event happening so soon after, seems to give some ground for this inference, as all the historians agree in telling us that, in order to pacify the mob without, who were clamouring "What was become of my Lord Cardinal?" the assassins exposed his mangled body at that very window. Now both these opposite conclusions, either to the honour or dishonour of Mr. Wishart's memory, would fall to the ground if the prediction itself might be called in question: And that it is highly questionable, may be presumed from these considerations which Bishop Hist. p. 42. Keith has laid before us, and to which the last editors of Bayle's general dictionary, men of no mean penetration in criticism, give their approbation. 1. That Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, who lived at the time, and wrote the tragedy of Cardinal Beton, in which he collects all that could be suggested to the Cardinal's disadvantage, takes no notice of the prediction, nor of the circumstance of the window on which it is found: 2. That Fox in his Martyrology does not mention it: And 3. that there is nothing of it in the first edition of Knox's history, which if written by him, would certainly have given us such a remarkable story, as Knox was Wishart's intimate acquaintance, and staid so long with the murderers in the castle, that he could not but have

LETTER have known it, if it had been true, and would  
 XXXI. not have omitted the publishing of it if he had  
 known it. To which let me add, that in all  
 probability Buchanan, whose inventive genius  
 has displayed itself in more productions of the  
 scandalous kind, has been the first fabricator  
 of this one too; and the next editions of Knox's  
 history have, for the sake of embellishment, bor-  
 rowed it from Buchanan, of whose Latin their ac-  
 count is a faithful translation.

Upon the whole, there is no need of this doubt-  
 ful story, either to adorn Wilsart's, or stigmatize  
 the Cardinal's memory. The burning of the one  
 was not only in itself a cruel, but as matters then  
 stood, a most impolitic business: And the mur-  
 dering the other, wicked as he seems to have  
 been, was a piece of the most savage and un-  
 christian butchery. And I shall shut it all up  
 with the modest Archbishop Spotswood's reflec-  
 tion upon it, "that he now remains a tragical  
 " ensample in story, to admonish every man to  
 " keep within his bound, and hold that mode-  
 " ration which is fitting."

p. 83.

The see of St. Andrews being thus vacated by  
 the death of the Cardinal, was immediately fil-  
 led by the Abbot of Paisley, who being nomi-  
 nated by his brother the governor, was elected  
 by the Canons, and had his bulls of confirmation  
 from the Pope without the least scruple or de-  
 lay. At the same time the Pope wrote to the  
 Governor and the new Primate, exhorting and  
 urging them to manifest their zeal, in punish-  
 ing the injury done to the see ecclesiastic. Ac-  
 cordingly the Bishops were earnest with the Go-  
 vernor, that a speedy and effectual course should  
 be taken for apprehending the murderers, and  
 the

the ecclesiastical judges issued out their solemn LETTER  
 anathemas against them, and against all who XXXL  
 should succour or uphold them. On the tenth  
 of June the council sat, and next day emitted an  
 act against "invading, destroying, or withhold-  
 ing abbeys or other religious places," fearing,  
 it seems, that the violence of the times might  
 proceed to such extremities. In August the Par- Keith. p. 64  
 liament met, and took under deliberation how  
 the castle of St. Andrews was to be regained  
 out of the hands of the party who had taken  
 possession of it. This, it was thought at first,  
 might have been brought about by capitulation:  
 For the two Leslies had already offered to the  
 Governor to deliver up the castle, and his eldest  
 son, whom the Cardinal, under pretence of ho-  
 nour, had kept there as a pledge of his father's  
 fidelity, upon condition of obtaining a full re-  
 mission under the great seal. But against this  
 proposal, the Archbishop of Glasgow protested  
 that no remission should be granted, till they first  
 got absolution from the Pope for such a murder. Keith. p. 50.  
 Yet the remission was agreed to by the Gover-  
 nor and the Estates: But the murderers being  
 startled at the Archbishop's protestation, and sus-  
 pecting some kind of quirk, began to recede from  
 their proposals, on which the remission was can-  
 celled; and on the fourteenth of August they  
 were all declared guilty of high treason, and  
 their goods and lands forfeited. The same day  
 the clergy taxed themselves in the sum of three  
 thousand pounds monthly towards carrying on the  
 siege of the castle, which having been strongly  
 fortified by the Cardinal for his own purposes,  
 could not be reduced in any other way.

By this time too great numbers, besides the

I.F.T.T.F.F.  
 XXXI. original associates, had found their way into the castle, to congratulate the garrison, and take one lot with them. Among the rest was the Governor's old chaplain Mr. John Rough, who had for some years past been preaching in the West country about Kyle and Cuningham, and now joined himself to these people for the same purpose. How commendable a step this was, I shall not say, and the man himself had not much joy in it: For all the time that the siege was going on, from the twenty third of August to the middle of December, the besieged gave themselves up to all manner of riot and debauchery, regardless of the danger they were in, or of the admonitions of their new preacher who indeed, all things considered, could not think of having much influence with such a graceless band. In the mean time the King of England had taken them under his protection, and the sea being open, had sent them large supplies of victuals and ammunition, so that the Governor thought proper to come to a treaty with them on certain conditions, and on the seventeenth of December raised the siege.— Upon this Mr. Rough, finding his labours useless in the castle, left it and went into the town, where he preached publickly, and had frequent disputations with the established clergy on the controverted points. Soon after, we are told John Knox came to St. Andrews, and entered the castle to supply the vacant office of preacher to the garrison, which is the first public appearance of this renowned champion of Presbytery upon the ecclesiastical stage, where he afterwards appeared as a very capital actor. He had got university education at St. Andrews, under the historian John Major, where he made such proficiency in all

all the branches of academical learning, that before the usual time he was judged fit to be admitted into holy orders. When he left the University, he took to the reading of St. Augustin, who pleased him most of all the fathers, and becoming acquainted with the Friar Guillam I spoke of, he thereby got the first knowledge of the reformed doctrines that were then in agitation. With this new light he employed himself for a livelihood, in teaching of children in such private families as favoured a reformation, where he expounded the scriptures, and performed the other offices of a chaplain. And now, taking the advantage of the strength of that fortrefs, and longing to be with the noble company who had so bravely avenged the death of his beloved Mr. Withart, he came to St. Andrews in the beginning of the year 1547, being now in the forty second year of his age. Here he connected himself with Mr. Rough, in order to support him in his disputations, because, as Knox's history describes him, "tho' his doctrine was without corruption, yet was he not the most learned." At last a sort of congregation being formed in the town, partly of the town's people, and partly from the castle, a thought struck them of having Mr. Knox for their preacher, and to go about it with some shew of regularity, they gave him a kind of call, by the mouth of Mr. Rough their former volunteer: Which upon their principles seems to have been altogether superfluous, as Mr. Knox's right to preach, without any call, was just as good as Mr. Rough's had been before. But whatever right either of them had, so it was in fact, that Mr. Knox now looked on himself as lawful minister of St. Andrews, in which character,



LETTER XXXI. ter, upon the Sunday after his installment, he preached his first public sermon in the parish-kirk, from Daniel c. vii. v. 24, 25. applying his explanation of this mystical passage to the church of Rome, and drawing his conclusions accordingly.

When the new Archbishop heard of these strange proceedings, he sharply rebuked the sub-prior Winram for suffering such heretical and schismatical doctrines to be taught without opposition. Upon this all the clergy in town convened, and calling Rough and Knox before them, they began a confutation of sundry articles collected out of the sermon, which they maintained to be erroneous, and Knox vigorously defended, and asserted to be scriptural truths. Indeed all the clergy in the kingdom that heard of it, were mightily alarmed at this audacious step which under the protection of the castle, Knox had so confidently ventured upon: And to give a check to the consequences of it, they presented, on the nineteenth of March, a supplication to the Governor, from all the Bishops, Prelates and kirkmen, against the pestilentious heresies of Luther, his sect and followers, and praying his Grace and the temporal Lords “ for their princely honour and nobilities “ to give their hasty help and remeid in that “ behalf.” In answer to which the Governor ordains “ the kirkmen to give in the names of these “ heretics, and his Grace and the Lords temporal “ shall take them, and cause the laws of the “ realm be executed upon them, according to the “ laws of halie kirk.” In St. Andrews, where the danger was greatest, the clergy, in order to stop the defection of the people, resolved to preach by turns in the parish-kirks upon the Sundays

Keith, p. 62.

Sundays, and to keep off from any of the disputed points as much as they could. By this shift, which necessity drove them to, Knox was kept out of the pulpit on Sunday, but preached on the week days, none daring to molest him, for fear of his parishioners in the castle. But John Rough, being grieved with the wicked and licentious lives of those people, which all Knox's zeal and ministerial authority could not reform, and probably, upon second thoughts, not satisfied with himself for being among them, left them at last altogether, and departed into England. There he preached in the towns of Carlisle, Berwick and Newcastle some years, and was then provided by the Archbishop of York in a benefice near Hull, on which he resided till the death of Edward VI. On that event he fled with his wife to Friseland, where he made a living by knitting caps, hose, and the like, till the year 1557, when coming to London to provide some necessaries for his business, he fell into the hands of the Magistrates, and was carried before Bonner Bishop of London. Being questioned if at any time since his last coming into England he had preached, he answered "that he had not preached: but in some places where godly people were assembled, he had read the prayers of the communion book, set forth in the reign of King Edward." And being asked what his judgment was of that book, he declared, that "he did approve of it, as agreeing in all points with the word of God." When he was brought forth to judgment, he was charged on these three heads. 1. That being in orders and a Priest, he had married a wife. 2. That he would not use the Latin service; and 3. That he


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Spotf.p.87.

LETTER he would not go to mass. To the first he answered, "that orders are not an impediment to  
 XXXI. matrimony, and that he had done lawfully in  
 "taking a wife." To the other two he said, tho' he were to live as long as Methuselah, he would do neither. Upon these answers he was condemned, degraded, and put into the hands of the secular magistrate, who the next day caused  
 Nov .21. him be burnt in Smithfield.

From this short account of Mr. Rough, who was one of our first reformers, and a clergyman, these two observations may be drawn, as worthy of our notice. 1. That he approved the English liturgy, and consequently was not against set forms of prayer. And, 2. That he looked upon reading prayers in an assembly of godly people to be more his duty as a clergyman, than preaching; which is contrary to the tenets of those among us who boast of being the only followers of our first reformers, and look upon preaching and hearing sermons as the essential ingredient of what they call worship. It is likewise to be observed, that hitherto our dissenters from the established church are by their enemies branded with the title of Lutherans, and their opinions called the heresies of Luther. For Calvin had not yet begun to be much talked of in this country, and Zuinglius, who was Calvin's fore-runner, does not seem to have been ever known in it. In consequence therefore of this early attachment to the Lutheran model, we find all this time, no contention about different degrees of orders among the clergy, and little or no notice taken, whether a superiority of one order to another, was agreeable to the word of God or not. We see our dissenting clergy fleeing



fleeing from persecution to, and when employed LETTER  
serving in, a church where such a superiority was XXXI.  
still strictly preserved; and where, tho' they could   
not heartily agree to all the points of her doctrine  
at her first advance towards reformation, they  
never made any objection to her constitution of  
government. Parity or imparity was none of  
the questions then agitated; at least it was not  
discussed in the way it has been since, nor so  
thoroughly examined as to become a test of Pro-  
testant communion. But of this I shall soon  
have occasion to treat more fully.

Mean time I am, &c.

LETTER

## L E T T E R XXXII.

*Death of Henry VIII, of England—Effect of it in Scotland—Battle of Pinkey—A Peace concluded between the two Kingdoms, and Persecution of the Reformers renewed—Provincial Synods held by the Archbishop of St. Andrews—Account of the Council of Trent—And of the Affairs of the Protestants in Germany.*

LETTER  
XXXII. **I**N the beginning of the year 1547 died Henry VIII. of England, who by throwing off the papal yoke, which his predecessors had oft attempted, laid the foundation of that ecclesiastical system, which the English nation rejoices in, to this day. It is true, he has been blamed for not going all the lengths that were necessary, and his statute of the *six Articles*, as it is called, lies heavy on his memory. By this statute, which was passed in the year 1539, these six capital doctrines of the Romish church, transubstantiation, communion in one kind, celibacy of the clergy, monastic

tic vows, private masses, and auricular confession are enacted under severe penalties ; and it is still thrown out as a sarcastic reflection on him, that in the forenoon he hanged the Papists who maintained the Pope's supremacy, and in the afternoon, burnt the Protestants who denied his six articles. Yet it does not seem quite fair to burden Henry with the whole odium of this apparent inconsistency in his mode of persecution. For it was the convocation, or assembly of the clergy, which after " a long and great, deliberate and " advised consultation and disputation," drew up these articles on the second of June, and the bill for enacting them was not brought into parliament till the seventh. In the convocation indeed there was always a strong party who, tho' they acknowledged the King's supreme headship, rather than incur a premunire by denying it, yet had still a strong attachment to their old friend the Pope : And therefore, in order to keep a door open for returning, if ever occasion offered, to his holiness' good graces, they indulged Henry in all his old scholastic notions, and gave Archbishop Cranmer, who stood up for a real and entire reformation, all the trouble and uneasiness they possibly could. It was by this party, and with these views, that this cruel and ensnaring bill was first framed in convocation, and then proposed and carried in parliament, where Cranmer opposed it for three days, with great courage and elocution. Yet it is remarkable, that notwithstanding this opposition, Henry still retained not only an esteem, but even a friendship and affection for this worthy Prelate, who, had he been properly supported by all his suffragans, would by degrees have drawn the King off from many

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LETTER of those irregular steps, which they for their own  
 XXXII. ends humoured him in, and of which he is made  
 to bear the whole blame.\* As to his general  
 character, instead of tearing it in pieces, to dis-  
 cover the blemishes of it, it were but fair to take  
 it on the whole, and place it in one view over  
 against that of his two cotemporaries, the Em-  
 peror of Germany, and the King of France,  
 who survived him little more than two months :  
 and when we compare the open and even un-  
 controulable temper of the English Henry with the  
 hypocritical ambition of the Austrian Charles, and  
 the polite duplicity of the French Francis, let it be  
 honestly said which of the three characters is most  
 eligible, and most becoming the majesty of a  
 Prince.

The death of Henry was a great disappoint-  
 ment to the garrison of reformers at St. An-  
 drews, who had all along depended on him,  
 and been supported by him. In the treaty of  
 December the garrison had agreed to deliver  
 up the castle, so soon as the promised absolu-  
 tion should come from Rome. About the be-  
 gining of June it came, with this ill-looking  
 clause in it, "remittimus crimen irremissibile,"  
 we pardon this unpardonable crime ; which the  
 garrison excepted against, and very justly, as tak-  
 ing back with the one hand what it held out  
 with the other ; and therefore would not yield,  
 in expectation of being succoured from England,


\* It was the envy of these time-servers that made the work  
 of reformation go on so slowly as it did ; which is taken notice  
 of even by Sleidan, a foreign cotemporary writer, who died in  
 1556, and has left an elegant and impartial history of the pro-  
 gress of the reformation in Europe, from the beginning of it till  
 that time.

which

which Henry on his death, had given in charge to his successor. But the young King's counsellors were too dilatory in their preparations: For on the twenty ninth of June a French fleet appeared on the coast, which playing upon the castle from the sea, while the governor invested it by land, brought them to a capitulation on the thirtieth of July, by which their lives were to be spared, and all of them to be transported to France. When they arrived there, they were severally disposed of in different prisons, and some of them detained all winter in the galleys, among whom was their preacher John Knox. By this surrender, the governor recovered his eldest son, and the Popish party were highly elevated with such a signal revenge of the Cardinal's death.

But this pleasing prospect was soon sadly clouded. For in the beginning of September, the Duke of Somerset, now Protector of England under his nephew the young Edward, in prosecution of the treaty of marriage made by the Governor with the late King, entered Scotland with a well appointed army of eighteen thousand men, while a fleet of sixty sail appeared on the coast at the same time. His first proposal was to settle the matter in an amicable way by commissioners on both sides, without coming to hostilities. But the Scottish Governor, being dissuaded by his brother the Archbishop from any terms of accommodation, drew up his army in face of the enemy, who lay about Prestonpans, six miles east from Edinburgh. And in this posture both armies continued some days, till the tenth of September, when they came to an engagement near Pinkey, in which the Scots,

BETTER being flanked by the English ships from the  
 XXXII. sea, were utterly routed, with the loss of ten  
 thousand men, and among these many of the  
 first nobility and gentry: This was a heavy  
 blow to the nation, occasioned, as the affair of  
 Flowden had been, by a stiff adherence to the  
 French interest, and like that too might have  
 been still more ruinous than it was, if the vic-  
 tors had pushed their success to the utmost:  
 But after burning a few villages, they left the  
 country and went home. However this disas-  
 ter, which the Earl of Huntly humourously cal-  
 led a rough courtship, so alarmed the Govern-  
 or and nobility, that it was resolved to convey the  
 young Queen to the castle of Dunbarton for  
 security: And a deputation was, at the Queen  
 mother's instance, sent to the French King Henry,  
 begging he would take the person of their so-  
 vereign lady into his protection till she should  
 be ripe for marriage, which they signified a dis-  
 tant wish might be with his son the Dauphin.  
 This was as welcome news as Henry could have  
 looked for, and accordingly six thousand auxi-  
 liaries arrived in Scotland about the middle of  
 June 1548. In July a parliament was held at  
 Haddington, about sending the Queen to France.  
 But the nobility were not all of one mind. For  
 such of them as favoured the reformation were  
 keen for accepting the advantageous terms offer-  
 ed by England, while the Governor with the  
 other party, who were most numerous, gave their  
 voices for the match with France. There were  
 then four French gallies lying in the road of  
 Leith. With these the French Admiral put to  
 sea, as if to return home; but when out of sight  
 of land, he designedly tacked about to the north,  
 and

and sailed round the Isles to Dunbarton. There LETTER the young Queen, now in the seventh year of XXXII. her age, was delivered to Monsieur de Breze,  whom the French King had sent to receive her, and in a few days landed safely in France, attended by the Lords Erskine, and Livingstone, with several young noblemen and gentlemen, and by the lady Fleming with four young ladies of the name of Mary, Livingston, Fleming, Seton and Beton. Mean time the war went on between England and Scotland with various success for two years, till at last a general peace was concluded near Boulogne in March 1550 between France and England, in which the Scots were comprehended as allies to France, and thereupon hostilities ceased on all sides.

During the continuance of this war we find little stir among the clergy, who perhaps thought it not a proper time to go on with their severities, till they should see what turn matters might take in the state, and what might be the event of the war with the Protestant English. This relaxation brought many persons over to the new doctrines, and dissenters increased daily: Upon which account, when the war was over, the clergy began to look more narrowly into their own affairs, and the burning business was begun again upon one Adam Wallace, a plain, simple man, who for some time had instructed the lady Ormiston's children in the new forms. This man was apprehended at Winton by the Primate's orders, and brought to his trial in the church of the Blackfriars at Edinburgh: Where, in presence of the Governor, the Earl of Argyle justice-general, the Earls of Huntly, Angus, and Glencairn, and divers others of the prelates and nobility,

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bility, he was accused in the usual manner, and being found guilty was next day burned on the Castlehill.

Some time after this, a provincial council was held at Edinburgh by the Archbishop, in which was agitated that strange question, "whether the Paternoster might be said to the saints?" This blasphemous query had been tossed before in St. Andrews, where a Friar Tottis undertook in a sermon to prove the lawfulness of the affirmative, but was so hooted at by the hearers, and by the very children crying after him in the streets *Friar Paternoster*, that he took shame and left the city. Yet in the university the contention was very hot, and the doctors met to dispute and decide upon it. Some gave their opinion, that the Lord's prayer might be said to God formally, and to the saints materially. Others, not liking that distinction, said, it might be directed to God principally, and to the saints less principally. Others would have it ultimately and not ultimately, or primarily and secondarily: And the greatest number seemed to be for saying it to God in a strict sense, and to the saints in a large one. But when they could not agree about it, the decision was referred to the synod in January. When the synod met, the question was propounded, and after much reasoning, being put to the vote, it was found "that the Lord's prayer might be said to the saints." But the Bishops and such as had any judgment, would not suffer the conclusion to be enacted, ordaining the Subprior of St. Andrews, for settling the minds of the people on his return, to teach them, "that the Lord's prayer ought to be said to God, yet so as  
" that

Spotf. p 93.



“that the saints ought also to be invocated.” LETTER  
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 What a farce do we find here, and how unworthy to engage the attention of sensible men, much more of a company of churchmen assembled in council? The very vulgar ridiculed these foolish altercations, and thought more pertinently on the subject than the learned doctors.\* So it was no wonder that the new preachers had such a following in the nation, when the errors they appeared against, were so grossly scandalous in themselves, and debated in such an openly scandalous manner, as to become the publick scoff and derision of the very meanest of the people.

In this synod too, an order was issued for publishing a catechism in the mother tongue, containing an explication of the belief, the ten commandments, and the Lord's prayer; and the curates were enjoined to read some portion of it every Sunday and holiday to the people, when there was no sermon, and until fit preachers should be provided by the Bishops.† It was suspected to

\* A common servant, we are told, of the Sub-prior's, seeing an unusual hurry among the divines in convening so often, asked his master one evening what the matter was, and being told, that they could not agree to whom the Lord's prayer should be said, hastily answered, “to whom should it be said but unto God?” What then, said the sub-prior, shall we do with the saints? The fellow replied, “give them *Aves* and *Credos* enough in the devil's name, for that may suffice them.”

† It was accordingly printed at St. Andrews in August following, by the command and at the expence of Archbishop Hamilton, whose composition it is thought to be, and consists of about 400 pages in quarto. It is a judicious commentary on the decalogue, creed, Paternoster &c. and the author shows his wisdom and moderation in taking care not to enter upon the controverted points.

be

LETTER  
XXXII. be necessity that drove them to this expedient, and the main thing that prevented its efficacy was its being too late. Their former severities had embittered the minds of the people, and the dissenters could easily see that the gentle methods of the gospel were at last applied to, only when the rigours of the law were found to have been used in vain. Accordingly we read of little or no effect that this attempt towards instruction produced, and the desire of reformation spread more and more thro' all ranks. However the Primate went on with his endeavours to check the progress of what he called heresy. For next  
A.D. 1553. year he held another provincial synod at Linlithgow, in which the maintainers of any opinion contrary to the Church of Rome were condemned, and the decrees of the council of Trent, made in the time of the late Pope Paul III. were received as obligatory on this church. Some acts too were passed for reforming the corrupt lives of the clergy, which were much complained of in every synod of these times, tho' from the frequent repetition of such general acts, there would seem to have been little or no execution done upon them, or attention paid to them.

As this is the first time we find any mention made of the council of Trent in our Scottish church, it will be proper that we take a short view of this great and last bulwark of the Romish church, from its first erection to the present date. I have already observed how earnest the Protestant Princes were, among their first demands, for a free and general council to be held somewhere in Germany, and how at last the Emperor found it convenient to humour them so far, as to promise them to do all he could to bring it about. It

It is needless to enter into the much agitated question, whether the right of convocating a general council belongs to the ecclesiastic or the civil power, as it must be allowed that the mutual concurrence of both is necessary, both for the regularity and convenience of the assembly. In the present case the Emperor's promise, being in a great measure extorted from him, was at best evasive, and designed rather to amuse than satisfy the Protestants. What they demanded, touched the head as well as the members; and as the design of a general council was to effect a reformation of both, they could hardly expect to succeed, while the Emperor yielded the privilege of convocating it to the Pope, who was the principal party complained of. Yet this concession, favourable as it was to him, did not altogether please Pope Paul, who could not but remember the fate of his predecessor John, from the council of Constance, little more than a hundred years before: And therefore, being an artful man, he cunningly protracted the design by nominating for the place of meeting first Mantua and then Vicenza, both under his own controul, and which he was sure for that very reason the demanders would not accept of. At last, owing to the pressing importunity of the King of France, who seems to have been more hearty in the affair, tho' no more a friend to the Protestants than the Emperor, he was obliged to name a third place, and made choice of Trent, a city between Italy and Germany, under the lordship of its Bishop, who is a Prince of the Empire. Yet after all, so many delays occurred, partly casual, and partly of the Pope's contriving, that the first session was not held till

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the

**LETTER** the thirteenth of December 1545, in which, **XXXII.** and in the second session in January after, nothing was done, because of the paucity of the attendants. In the third session, where were present eight Cardinals, six Archbishops and thirty Bishops, besides Abbots, the Nicene creed was read and received. In the fourth session the number of the canonical books of the old and new testament, with the traditions conveyed down by the church, was settled, and the vulgate translation declared to be authentick. The fifth session decreed what was to be believed concerning original sin, that tho' it be remitted in baptism, yet concupiscence, the effect of it, remains.

When they had gone thus far, some disturbances arising in Germany obliged them to adjourn the next diet to the thirteenth of January 1547, when they met, and passed their famous decree of justification by works as well as by faith, condemning at the same time no fewer than thirty three errors on this subject, some of which, they said, allowed with the old Pelagians, too much to the will, assisted only by natural strength, and others with the modern Lutherans, ascribed all to grace governing and overbearing the will by an irresistible force. Their next meeting was on the third of March, in which they published a decree concerning the sacraments in general, and defining their number, necessity, efficacy, matter, form and minister. Soon after this a suspicion was instilled into them by their physician Jerom Fracastorius, who had a pension of sixty crowns a month from the Pope, that the air of the place was unwholesome, and threatened a pestilence: On which it was resolved to translate the council

cil to Bononia, a city in the Pope's dominions, LETTER  
 whither all the Italian Bishops and such as were XXXII.  
 the Pope's creatures immediately retired, as had  
 been concerted. But the Emperor being highly  
 offended at this step, expressly enjoined the Ger-  
 man Bishops to remain at Trent. So that now  
 the council was divided, and continued in that  
 state of inactivity some more than four years.

In the mean time Pope Paul died, and was  
 succeeded by Julius III. who reassembled the coun-  
 cil at Trent on the first of May 1551. At their  
 meeting in September, a Legate or Orator from  
 the King of France appeared, with letters ad-  
 dressed to the *Meeting* at Trent. This diminutive  
 form of address occasioned a sharp contest, whe-  
 ther or not they should allow the letters to be  
 read, which at last was determined in the af-  
 firmative. In these letters the French Monarch  
 Henry complains much of Pope Julius, who in-  
 stead of being the common father and peace-  
 maker of Christendom, as by his high station he  
 ought to be, was industriously kindling the flames  
 of division and animosity among the Princes of  
 it: For which reason he formally protests here,  
 as he had done at Rome before, 1. That he  
 "does not judge it safe nor honourable to send  
 "any of his Bishops to this meeting. 2. That he  
 "does not hold this meeting for a public or Gene-  
 "ral Council, but looks upon it as no better than  
 "a private convention for some people's particu-  
 "lar interests. And therefore, 3. That neither he  
 "nor any in his kingdom will receive or be  
 "bound by any thing that shall be done in it,  
 "and that, if need be, he will take such mea-  
 "sures as his predecessors have done on like oc-  
 "casions." Notwithstanding of this protestation

LETTER from even the *Most Christian* King, the council  
 XXXII. proceeded to business, and appointed extracts  
 from the Lutheran writings about the Eucharist  
 to be examined by so many selected Doctors,  
 who were ordered to have their opinions ready  
 against the next session, on the eleventh of Oc-  
 tober. This was accordingly done, and a decree  
 made upon that examination, establishing tran-  
 substantiation and the adoration of the host.  
 But they did not choose to meddle with the  
 great point of communion in both kinds to the  
 laity, till the arrival of the Protestant deputies,  
 who had been long in suspense about the form  
 of the safe-conduct which the council had offer-  
 ed them, and which from former remembrance  
 they had all the reason in the world to take  
 care should be well guarded against any possibi-  
 lity of subterfuge. In their next session in No-  
 vember they fixed the doctrines of penance and  
 extreme unction. And thus were they going  
 on swimmingly in their own way, and without  
 paying any regard either to the objections of  
 the German Protestants, or the remonstrances of  
 the French Catholics, when a sudden bold stroke  
 from an unsuspected quarter checked their ze-  
 alous career for a while, and put them upon pro-  
 viding for their own personal safety.

To understand this, we must go back a little,  
 and view the situation of things in Germany,  
 where we shall find, some years before this,  
 the Lutheran interest much upon the decline,  
 and as its enemies thought, on the point almost  
 of being totally extinguished. Luther himself  
 had died in 1546, and after his death his follow-  
 ers began to divide among themselves. Osi-  
 ander in particular made a great noise at Kon-  
 ingsberg

ingsberg by his teaching that man was justified, not by faith, which was Luther's capital dogma, but "by the essential righteousness of Christ inherent in him;" and being a man of a vehement spirit, he drew over great numbers to his opinion. The party too which Calvin had by this time raised in emulation of Luther, and in some points even in opposition to him, had got ground in some of the German states, and were acting for themselves upon a separate footing. All this contributed to weaken their political union, by creating jealousies among the different adherents, tho' engaged in the same general cause; and the Emperor, their common enemy, was too sharp-sighted not to discover and take hold of advantages of that kind. The repeated confederacies of the Protestants at Smalcalde had irritated him to a high degree, and he was still watching every opportunity to distress and crush the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, who were the two principal supporters, as well as ornaments, of the Protestant name. In this he at last succeeded to his utmost wishes: For these two Princes being obliged to take arms in their own defence, against the insidious measures which Charles was pursuing, and coming to an engagement with him at Mulberg on the Elbe, April 24th, 1547, the Elector was taken prisoner, and the Landgrave some time after surrendering himself to the Emperor on the faith of a promise made to two Princes who interceded for him, was by the fallacious wording of that promise, which must throw a lasting infamy on the Emperor's name, detained under a guard for five years. But Charles was still more cruelly severe on the Elector:

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LETTER XXXII. tor: For he not only stripped him of the best and greatest part of his hereditary domains, but likewise took the electoral dignity from him, and conferred it on his cousin Maurice, a younger branch of the Saxon family; in which branch it continues to this day.

This was the heaviest blow which the reformation had hitherto met with, and the Emperor took care to make his own use of it: For soon after this, on the Italian Bishops removing from Trent to Bononia, finding that nothing was like to be done further in the council-way, he resolved to get a formula of agreement drawn up by a deputation of divines from both sides. But they coming to no unanimous settlement, he committed the work to three of his own naming, two of whom were Papists, Julius Phlug Bishop of Numburg, and Michael Holding Titular Bishop of Sidon, and the third a Lutheran, John Agricola, court-preacher to the Elector of Brandenburg. These three compiled a piece containing twenty six articles concerning the most material points in controversy, and assured the Emperor there was nothing in it absolutely contrary to the Romish doctrine, but only the allowing Priests to marry, and giving the cup to the laity. Charles was highly fond of this project, and sent the articles to the Pope for his approbation, which he refused: So the Emperor took his own way, and published, in the diet held at Augsburg in 1548, his imperial constitution which he called the *Interim* “ordering from henceforth that all should either observe the old rites, or entirely conform themselves to this constitution, without any change or variation, till the decision of a general council.”



“council.” Yet this device pleased neither party. The Lutherans for the most part protested against it as re-establishing Popery: And many of their ministers chose rather to resign their chairs, than subscribe it. The old elector of Saxony, tho’ a prisoner, forbid the use of it among his people, and tho’ the elector of Brandenburg, to please the Emperor, agreed to it, he never could get his favourite Divine Bucer to sign it. The Papists too clamoured about it, as yielding too much to the Hereticks, and several of their learned men were at pains to confute it. So that, after all the Emperor’s fondness for it and violence in pushing the reception of it, like all such reconciling schemes, it was found to answer no salutary purpose, and only inflamed both sides with a greater heat of tenaciousness to their own way.

All this time the Emperor was persevering in his rigour against his two illustrious prisoners, whom he had always looked upon with a malignant eye, as the two principal obstacles in the way of his ambitious projects, and now that he had got them in his power, was determined, if possible, not to part with them. But this excess of unrelenting obstinacy in end wrought the very effect which it was designed to prevent. For the new Elector Maurice, who, tho’ a Lutheran in profession, had hitherto befriended the Emperor, was so incensed at this treatment of the Landgrave, whose daughter he had married, and whom he had persuaded to put himself in the Emperor’s will, that he at last resolved to accomplish by force what he could not obtain by justice. To this purpose he collected a body of men, and while the Emperor in the course of his military expeditions

LETTER XXXII. expeditions was lying at Inspruck: either to assault or overawe the council at Trent, by being in their neighbourhood, Maurice by forced marches came upon him so unexpectedly, that he was within a few hours of seizing his person. This daring and well conducted push had the proposed effect. The jealous Emperor, beginning to suspect Maurice when he first heard of his motions, had already released the old Elector, with a view to give Maurice trouble by reviving his claim, and upon setting on foot a negotiation of peace, the Landgrave got his liberty next. Nor were these all the consequences of this master-stroke of policy, which indeed has the appearance of treachery in Maurice, but in reality was only a playing off the Emperor's artillery upon himself. For this undertaking succeeding as intended, so frightened the Fathers of Trent with the alarm of the enterprizing Maurice being so near them with a Lutheran army, that they decamped in great hurry and terror to their respective habitations, and did not assemble again as long as Charles lived, nor for several years after. And to take all advantages of the Emperor's confusion upon this disappointment, a treaty of pacification between Maurice and Ferdinand King of Bohemia, as deputy for his brother Charles, was begun at Passaw a city in the Lower Bavaria, in August 1552, by which, after much altercation on both sides, it was finally concluded that the Lutherans should have the free exercise of their religion in all time coming, without the least let or molestation, either from the ecclesiastical or imperial courts. It is this treaty of Passaw, thus wrought out by Maurice's outwitting the Emperor in his own arts of cunning and dissimulation,

lation which, after more than thirty years of unwearied struggle, laid the foundation of that mixed system of religious establishment which Germany has enjoyed ever since.

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L E T T E R    X X X I I I .

*The Reformation checked by the death of Edward VI. of England—State of Affairs in Scotland—Labours of John Knox and other Preachers—Politics of the Court favourable to the Re-forming Interest—Reflections on that Subject.*

**W**HILE the reformation in Germany stood in the situation I have mentioned in the preceding letter, and was continuing to make considerable progress in Scotland, it was threatened with a severe check in the neighbouring kingdom, by the premature death of the young Edward. This hopeful Prince had succeeded his father Henry; and though then but ten years of age, had discovered great knowledge, of, and affection for, the reformation which

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his father had begun, by throwing off the papal supremacy. In this disposition he was well supported by his council, of whom his uncle the Duke of Somersset, a zealous and sensible patron of the reformation, was declared chief, with the title of Protector. Accordingly, in the year 1548, a committee of select Bishops and divines was appointed by the convocation, to examine and reform the offices of the church, and did in consequence of that appointment compile and set forth a new office of communion, which still goes by the name of the first liturgy of Edward VI. and of which this character is given by authority, in answer to the Devonshire petitions, that "whatsoever is contained in that book, either for baptism, mass, confirmation, or service in the church, is by our parliament established, by the whole clergy agreed, yea, by the Bishops of the Realm devised, by God's word confirmed." In a year or two after, this liturgy was revised, and at the desire of some foreign divines, such as Bucer, Peter Martyr, and some others, whom Archbishop Cranmer had invited over, alterations were made in some material articles, especially in what regarded the administration of the Eucharist: And with these alterations it was published in a second form, which is in substance what the church of England uses at this day; but whether preferable to the first, or not, is a question that needs not be debated here. All the statutes of the late reign, which had hitherto cramped the intended reformation, particularly that severe one respecting the six articles, were repealed, and most of the old primitive liberties restored. Indeed the King, or rather

rather his counsellors, retained the supremacy which had been wrested from the Pope, and which as flowing from, or connected with the temporalities, no doubt belonged more properly to the English crown than to the Roman mitre, tho' with respect to pure spirituals it was justly due to neither. However, these were hopeful beginnings, and had the King lived a few years longer, things might have been conducted in such a manner as might have been equally honourable to both church and state. But his death, as I said, was a melancholy interruption, and formed a prospect the most opposite that could have been imagined.

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I return now to our own country, where we left our Bishops and clergy acting or attempting to act in something like their own sphere, by holding synods, and publishing catechetical instructions for checking the new doctrines, and retaining the people in the old communion.— Hitherto it may be said, the balance was pretty even between the two contenders, and the awakening zeal of the established clergy in the one scale seemed, if not to downweigh, at least to equiponderate the reforming principles of the dissenters in the other. But from this time, by some means or other, we shall see the establishment losing ground, and the other side, we may be sure, would gain what their adversaries lost. The Governor, tho' of himself not a bad man, was weak and irresolute, and his brother the Primate, who had the entire management of him, was more inclined to consult his present ease and pleasure, than to prosecute such methods of either force or flattery as were necessary, in the then situation of things, for re-  
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tifying the apparent disorders. At the same time the Queen Dowager, who was a woman of great spirit and activity, having now got her daughter the young Queen lodged to her satisfaction in a place of honourable security, began to entertain hopes, and had even formed a design of removing the Governor, and getting the management into her own hands. The Governor, as might be expected, did not at first relish the proposal when it was made to him. But in end being persuaded by his friends, and allured by the honours and gratuities which the King of France offered him, he thought fit to acquiesce, and the Queen-mother, by a commission from her daughter, was proclaimed Regent on the twelfth of April 1554.

This change, it might have been thought, would have quashed the reforming scheme entirely, as besides the new Regent's French education, she was known to be intimately connected with and influenced by two Cardinals, Guise and Lorraine, who were her brothers: And to add to the fears of the reformers, the new Queen of England, Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. by his first wife, had already in the strongest manner declared her warm attachment to the papal interest, and had rescinded all that her father and brother had for more than twenty years been doing against it. Yet so strange and uncertain is the face of human prospects, that these two circumstances, tho' outwardly concurring as it were towards the same object, did by degrees contribute more than any external cause, to the furthering of the very purpose which they had the appearance of destroying. Our Regent, on her first entrance into power, filled her court with

with a greater number of her French countrymen than was agreeable to the native subjects of the realm; and by this impolitic step, alienated the minds of many of the nobility, who, tho' loyally enough affected, could not brook such a visible neglect, and thereupon either joined themselves to the reformers, or became careless and indifferent in the public service. And, which increased the general discontent, she was advised by her foreign counsellors, to propose the laying a yearly tax upon the leiges, for keeping up a regular army, under pretence of relieving the nobles from personal attendance, unless upon any important emergence. This proposal was received with the utmost indignation, and about three hundred of the lesser Barons met at Edinburgh, and boldly remonstrated against it; on which the scheme was prudently abandoned, but the alarm it gave left an unfavourable impression on the minds of the people.

The Regent herself did not want penetration, nor was she of an oppressive disposition. But her natural connexions and foreign counsels led her many times, contrary to her own judgment and inclination, into disagreeable undertakings, which raised a jealousy against her, and thereby strengthened the religious opposition which had hitherto been but in a languid state. On the other hand, the Queen of England having put on a resolution to extirpate what she thought a most damnable heresy out of her dominions, by the long practised method of fire and faggot, as many of the reforming preachers as could get out of her power, fled for their lives, some to Germany, others to Switzerland and Geneva, and such of them as were Scotchmen came  
back

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back to their own country: Of this number was a William Harlaw, who had preached some time in England, and now upon his return continued the same occupation. After him came a John Willocks, who had been a Franciscan Friar in Ayr, and had officiated some time in England, but upon Mary's persecution had gone over to Friseland, where he professed medicine, and was twice sent by the Countess of Friseland with a commission to our Queen Regent in 1554, after which he took up his abode here, and continued to preach to as many as were willing to resort to him, who, we are told, were neither few nor of the meaner sort.

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But he who made the greatest figure among all these preachers, and gave most life to the cause, was the renowned John Knox, who, after having been eight years out of Scotland, came back to it in the end of harvest 1555. This famous reformer, we have already seen, was one of the company, who upon the surrender of the castle of St. Andrews in 1547, had been carried prisoner to France, where he was detained in the galleys and elsewhere, till the year 1550 that he was released. Yet it is observable, that the writer of his life, which is placed before the history that goes under his name, speaks of him "as being constrained to leave his country for a while, by the persecution of the then Bishops against the professors of the truth," artfully concealing his voluntary conforment with the murderers of Cardinal Beton, before he had met with any trouble from the Bishops, or been much taken notice of by them, and in that company suffering in the common calamity which they had brought on themselves, and in which religion, true



true or false, had no concern. Knox himself tells us, that many of these prisoners were released at the intercession of the Queen Dowager, and tho' he does not expressly mention himself being of that number, there is no doubt to be made but he was. If so, how ungrateful was it in him to treat her character with such scurrilous in civility, as would be unbecoming from any pen, much more from a person of such high pretensions to piety and godliness? For this reason, it has been thought that Knox himself was not the author of that history, tho' some of his modern admirers are of a different opinion, and yet find no fault with the want of gratitude and good breeding displayed in it.

Be in this what may, the history tells us, that on his release from his confinement he came over to England, where he was first appointed preacher at Berwick, then at Newcastle; thence he was called to London, and remained in these Southern parts till the death of Edward VI. When on that event he left England, he went to Geneva, and there continued some time at his private studies, till he was called by a congregation of English refugees assembled at Frankfort to be one of their preachers, which call he obeyed, tho' unwillingly, "at the commandment, he says, "of that notable servant of God John Calvin." It will by some be thought no small compliment to Calvin's memory, that he was so reverentially obeyed by a man of Mr. Knox's standing; one who had officiated in the church of England, and boasted of having refused a Bishoprick in it; and one too who was not of the most compliant or mannerly temper to some who might have been reckoned his superiors in more respects than one.

His

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His after conduct gives ground to suspect that his obeying this call had been agreeable to his own humour, which seems to have been pretty much of the wandering cast, otherwise Calvin's command had not been so readily hearkened to: Or perhaps Mr. Knox found it prudent to comply, lest on his refusal Calvin should make his continuance in Geneva rather inconvenient for him, as his influence there was already become formidable to all who offended, or differed from him. This the unhappy Michael Servetus had lately felt to his fatal experience.\* And the part acted on this occasion by the great Genevan Reformer may serve to account in some measure for that excessive rigour of discipline which his pupil Knox in the days of his power would have been introducing into Scotland, as sanctified by "that notable servant of God, *John Calvin*." Indeed this petty state of Geneva, the now so much admired model of liberty both civil and religious, soon made itself conspicuous for such acts of severity and

\* This man was a Spaniard, and in 1531 had published a book in Latin with this title, "Of the errors about the Trinity, seven books," containing some opinions respecting this mystery which differed from the then received explications: Tho' what these opinions were, cannot now be well ascertained, as the most of his writings were burnt by Calvin's order, and are very scarce at this day: Only, from what distant mention is made of him in some of the Socinian writers, who were then beginning to make a noise, it would appear that he was none of that tribe.— However so it was, that coming to Geneva in the course of his peregrinations, he had the hardiness to hold a disputation on this subject with Calvin, who, instead of confuting him by argument, got him judicially condemned and publicly burnt as an heretic, October 27, 1553, and not only so, but he likewise openly justified that act of severity in a book which he published at the time, to shew, that Magistrates may warrantably inflict capital punishments upon heretics.

oppression,

oppression, as in a monarchical government would have been called despotic tyranny; and all this chiefly owing to the zeal and influence of that popular demagogue, \* who still has the glory, as it is reckoned here, of having first instilled the true principles of what is called liberty into our countryman John Knox, to whom I now return.

Whatever were his motives for leaving Geneva at Calvin's command, to Frankfort he actually went: Where he was no sooner arrived, than he began to find fault with the liturgy which the English refugees had brought from home with them, and raised such a division on that account, as could not be healed but by consulting the Oracle at Geneva. Accordingly Knox, and Whittingham, an Englishman of the same stamp, but who was afterwards dean of Durham in Queen Elizabeth's time, were employed to send a description of the English li-

\* As early as 1542, when Calvin was scarce warm in his new settlement, he brought an accusation against Amy Perrin the Captain General of the city, who had been very active about the change of religion in 1535, and got the man publicly beheaded on the stone of the great altar which had been removed out of the cathedral church, and carried to the common place of execution to serve as a scaffold for that purpose. His unrelenting prosecutions of Bolsec and Bertelier for some charges against his character in France; his treatment of Alciat Blandrata and other refugees, who had fled to Geneva as an asylum from the Popish persecutions in their own countries, but had the misfortune to differ from him in some abstract points of theology; and his magisterial intermeddling in the affairs of other churches of the protestant name in Poland, Transylvania, Germany, and even in England all the time of Edward VI. discover such a domineering spirit, and such pretensions to a certain degree of dictatorial infallibility, as were never exceeded by any Pope, in proportion to the difference of dignity, and extent of command.

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turgy to Calvin, and get his judgment upon it. And it was in consequence of their description, which we may believe would not paint it in the most favourable light, that Calvin returned that solemn decision of his, which the enemies of liturgical worship hold in veneration, and the abettors of that way reject with equal contempt, tho' coming even from the Genevan tripod, "In Anglicana liturgia, qualem describitis, multas video fuisse tolerabiles ineptias; In the English liturgy, such as you describe it, I see there have been many improper things, yet such as may be tolerated." Notwithstanding of this favourable sentence, Knox was obliged on account of his turbulent humour, to leave Frankfurt, where all the good he had done by his short stay was the rending the distressed congregation there, and to return to his dear Geneva, from whence, as we have seen, he made a visit this year to his own country.

A.D. 1555. His first appearance was at Edinburgh, where he preached in a private house, and had, we are told, a good resort of people of distinction to attend his instructions. His great theme was to dissuade his hearers from being present at the mass, or partaking of "the Papistical Sacraments." In prosecution of which subject, when it was urged, in defence of condescending a little to the times, that St. Paul by the advice of St. James and the elders of Jerusalem went into the temple, under colour of paying a vow, after a sufficiency of argument against the application of this example to the case in hand, he added this objection of his own head, that "he much doubted whether James his commandment, or Paul's obedience, proceeded of the  
" Holy

Spotfwood,  
p. 93.



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“fore the facts are most unlike.” This syllogism, upon sustaining the minor proposition, which he always took for granted, was sufficient; and so the event shewed.

For in a short time, upon his unwearied assiduity in perpetually inculcating the same thing, great numbers in the South and West of the kingdom, which were the principal sphere of his labours, forsook the public worship, as being both superstitious and idolatrous, and began to form themselves into separate societies for assembling with the reforming preachers. How or where the rest of them, whether few or many, were employed, we have little intelligence, as Mr. Knox appears to have been the chief actor in all that was yet going on. However the little that was doing alarmed the Bishops, and drove them to the necessity of counter-acting in some way or other. With this view they summoned Knox to appear in the church of the Black Friars in Edinburgh, on the fifteenth of May. But, whether owing to any informality in the summons, or that the Bishops were afraid of danger from the powerful support he was like to have, the diet did not hold: And Mr. Knox preached that very day in Edinburgh to a greater audience than usual, and in the Bishop of Dunkeld’s lodgings too, which he kept out ten days. This was indeed a bold step, and plainly shewed how sure he was of being well supported. For soon after this the Earls Maritchal and Glencairn advised him to write to the Queen Regent, and demand a reformation. But the Queen put the writing into the hands of Archbishop Beton of Glasgow, calling it in derision a pasquil, and took no further notice of it. Yet

Yet in the midst of all this appearance of success, it would seem the man's roving spirit could not rest; or perhaps he was not satisfied with all the lengths he had hitherto carried his point. For having received letters of invitation from his old faction at Frankfort, which had now set up at Geneva, he resolved, against the most pressing entreaties of his new friends, to visit that city once more, promising at the same time to return, how soon the godly in Scotland should be pleased to recal him. So in July 1556 he again left his native country, under colour of a ministerial call, which he pretended he could not in conscience disobey. But he should have remembered that the first call of any sort he ever had, was to a congregation in St. Andrews, who therefore had a better title to his labours than either Frankfort or Geneva, and where he, who went so much upon a popular call, might in safety, as he ought in duty, have exercised his ministry, as well as at Edinburgh or Calder or Kyle, or any of the places which, he tells us, he visited, without the least intimation of his looking near St. Andrews all the time. The truth is, the man seems to have had secret views of his own, which he did not chuse to disclose even to his intimates, and therefore thought proper to conceal under the common cloak for all such secrets, the cloak of conscience.

Now while Mr. Knox is absent, and the reforming work seemingly at a stand, for want of of his active zeal, let me express my surprize at the progress I find it has already made in opposition to the governing powers of our own kingdom, and under the melancholy prospect  
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of being borne down by the concurrent assistance of the now entirely Popish government in England. There was certainly ground to fear a combination of this kind between the bigotted Mary of England, who had in a short time crushed the reformation at home, and our Dowager Mary, now cloathed with supreme authority, and stimulated to such an enterprize by two Cardinal brothers, as well as likely to be supported in it by a powerful and persecuting monarch; the King of France. I know, all may be and is ascribed to an interposing Providence; and I certainly should be the last man to contend the point. But the history of the times enables us to trace out some external circumstances, concurrent with or subservient to the will of providence in this affair, and from which we may draw this important observation, that, as worldly politics had been the constant supporters of the papal grandeur, so at this time they were the undesigning instruments to give it that shock, which at last effected its final overthrow in Britain.

Had the two Marys, both equally devoted to the old religion, tho' not of equal austerity of disposition, laid their heads cordially together in defence of it, the one with all the force of England, and the other with even but half the force of Scotland, which at least she had at her command, Mr. Knox would have found more difficulty than he did, with all his oratory and impetuosity, to get such a footing at first, and at last to bring matters to such a bearing. But this conjunction of two such malignant planets was prevented by their early and continued jarring in politics. The Queen of England, by her marriage with  
with



with the Emperor's son and heir Philip King of Spain, was thereby involved in all his disputes and wars with the King of France; who on the other hand engaged our Mary to espouse his quarrel, and take off the weight of England from him. So that the two Queens, however agreeing in attachment to what they believed to be the true church, were divided both in interest and affection by reasons of state, and had neither leisure nor inclination to unite their forces even in such a favourite cause. Besides, there was another project, which our Regent had long had in her eye, and the success of which was now drawing near to be determined. Our young Sovereign Queen Mary, whom we have heard little of, since her going to France, had in that polite court got such an education as, meeting with all the embellishments of nature, rendered her the most accomplished lady both in body and mind, that was to be seen in Europe. And as she was now advancing towards the time of life which in Princesses of royal blood is thought fit for matrimony it was the earnest wish of her mother our Regent, and of her principal Tutor the King of France, from most weighty considerations, to have her bestowed upon his son and heir Francis who was much of the same age. The bringing this important business to a happy issue engrossed all our Queen Regent's thoughts, and required the utmost address and management, in neither of which she was defective, to procure the consent of the estates of the realm, which, they told her, was necessary to give the proposed marriage a legal sanction. This put her upon the expedient of soothing and courting all parties, both to prevail

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vail with them to invade England in support of her engagements with France, and to gain them over to her daughter's marriage. And altho' she was once and again disappointed in the first of these views, by their refusing to enter the English borders in a hostile manner, she succeeded to her heart's desire in the second. For in end the proposal was agreed to, and nine commissioners,\* from the clergy, nobility and gentry were sent over to France with full powers of ratification, before whom our Queen was married to the Dauphin on the 24th of April 1558, by the Cardinal of Bourbon, Archbishop of Rouen, in the cathedral church of Notredame at Paris: And a few days after, the Commissioners took the oath of allegiance to the King Dauphin and the Queen, in name of the whole estates of the kingdom.

But still there remained another favour to be obtained, besides the possession of the Queen's person, and that was the *Matrimonial Crown* for the Dauphin, by which all the rights belonging to the husband of a Queen were to be vested in his person. To procure this required all the art and management of the Queen Regent: And her having this object in view, may account for that moderation, by which she endeavoured to keep the balance even between the two jarring parties in the kingdom. When the clergy pushed her to keep down the reformers, or the reformers came upon her with their demands, she took care to put them both off with fair words,

\* Viz. The Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishop of Ross, the Bishop of Orkney, the Earls of Rothes and Cassilis, Lord Fleming, Lord Seton, the Prior of St. Andrews, and John Erskine of Dun.

begging

begging them to have patience till the Parliament should grant the matrimonial crown, and assuring them, that then she would do what she could to gratify them.

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Thus two of the most unfavourable conjunctures, as might have been thought, for the reforming interest, the marriage of the Queen of England with the heir of Spain, and of the Queen of Scotland with the heir of France, all of them avowed defenders of the papal cause, and professed enemies to any thing that looked like an attack upon their religious system, did yet by a secret direction combine together, to favour the first open attempt that was made towards a reformation in Scotland. So wonderful are the events of human affairs, and such a manifest disproportion do we many times discover, between what we are apt to call the cause, and the effect. Let us take every thing of this kind as we find it, and admire the inscrutable wisdom of the Most High, who keeps the disposal of events in his own hands, and turns all human counsels to the accomplishment of his own great and good purposes.

I am, &c.

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## L E T T E R    X X X I V .

*John Knox continues to support the Reformers—  
They subscribe a Bond of Union, and style them-  
selves the Congregation—Proceedings against  
them—Burning of Walter Miln, an aged Priest  
—Various demands of the Congregation—  
Conduct of the Queen Regent towards them—  
Consequences of her Breach of Promise.*

**W**HEN John Knox left Scotland, as men-  
tioned in my last letter, the preach-  
ing business was carried on, tho' not with so  
much spirit, as when he was present, by a  
few of his party; by Harlaw and Willocks in  
Leith and Edinburgh, by a Paul Methven about  
Dundee, and in the West, by a John Douglas an  
old Carmelite Friar. These are all that we hear  
of for some time; and no great danger, it  
might have been thought, was to be apprehend-  
ed from them. Yet the Bishops, seeing them  
beginning to form stated meetings, and fearing  
their increase if not checked in time, petition-  
ed

ed the Regent to call the preachers before the council, and arraign them for convening the lieges against her authority. But when the day of appearance was come, such numbers of people flocked together, and the Queen was so daringly menaced by some of the ringleaders that the diet was discharged, and a promise given that the preachers should meet with no harm. And now the party, finding their strength on the growing hand, thought it time to put Knox in mind of his promise at parting, and to recall him to his former charge among them: Which they did by a letter dated from Stirling, and signed by the Earl of Glencairn, the Lord Lorn, John Erskin of Dun, and James Stuart Prior of St. Andrews. When Knox received this letter, he again consulted Calvin and his colleagues, who all with one consent gave sentence, that he could not refuse that vocation, "unless he would declare himself rebellious to his God, and unmerciful to his country:" On which he returned answer, "that he would visit them with all expedition, so soon as he might put order to that dear flock committed to his charge." What a pother this man still makes about calls and charges; yet how frequently he flies from one flock to another? Since he got out of confinement in France, he had been in Berwick, in Newcastle, in London, and elsewhere in England, in Frankfort, in Geneva, in Edinburgh and various parts of Scotland, back to Geneva, and now on his return to Scotland again, connected, on his own principles, with nine or ten different flocks, and all in the space of seven or eight years. This looks as if he had been an Apostle indeed, entrusted with the care of

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Keith. p. 65.

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A.D. 1557.

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all the churches, and at liberty to bestow his Apostolick visitations when and where he pleased. Indeed his affectation of a very superiour character is too evident, in the pompous style of his letters, and the bold overbearing language of all his writings.


However his high spirit met with a little humiliation at this juncture. For when, in obedience to the invitation, he had come as far on his way as Dieppe in France, in the end of October, he found letters of a contrary strain, advising him not to continue his journey; for that all things were at a stand in Scotland. It seems the reformers, being uncertain what turn their affairs might take, began to reckon it more secure to be allowed the worship of God after their own manner in private assemblies, than to push too hastily for greater freedom, and by failing in the attempt perhaps lose all. This upon the main seems to have been a prudent resolution; and if adhered to, might have gained their point in a more regular and peaceable manner than what followed. But Mr. Knox thought otherwise, as appears by the long letter he wrote from Dieppe, in which, after a mixture of upbraidings and exhortations, set off with a good deal of boasting of his own importance, he concludes with putting them in mind, that “the reformation of religion and of publick enormities appertains to more than the clergy or chief rulers called Kings.”— This letter had the desired effect, and so wrought on those to whom it was directed, that immediately on the receipt of it, they drew up and subscribed a bond of mutual union and defence, at Edinburgh on the third of December 1557.—

In

In this bond they engage to stand by one another at all hazards, in defence and maintenance of: "faithful ministers, truly and purely to minister Christ's gospel and sacraments to the "people." And here for the first time they distinguish themselves and their adherents by the new title of *The Congregation*, no less than seven times repeated, and with this singular speciality too, as being the congregation of the Lord, in opposition to the as yet established church, whom they are pleased to call the congregation of Satan. From this time we shall find the *Congregation* and the *Lords of the Congregation* much talked of in our annals for some years, till they got themselves settled on a more secure and enlarged footing: and then we see them dropping this new coined translation of *Ecclesia*, and returning to the old one of the *Kirk* or *Church*.— Soon after subscribing this bond, the Lords and others that concurred with them convened together, and after deliberation on what was fittest to be done, they concluded upon the two following articles, which I shall set down at full length, as being the first regular appearance that our original reformers have made, and of use to shew something of their genuine principles, when left to their own unbiaſſed sentiments.

1. "It is thought expedient, advised and ordained, that in all parishes of this realm the "Common Prayer be read weekly on Sunday "and other festival days, publicly in the parish "churches, with the lessons of the old and new "testament, conform to the order of the book "of Common Prayer. And if the Curates of "the parishes be qualified, to cause them read the "same: And if they be not, or refuse, that "the

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LETTER XXXIV.  “ the most qualified in the parish use and read the same.  
 2. “ It is thought necessary that doctrine, preaching, and interpretation of scripture be had and used privatley in quiet houses, without great conventions of the people thereto, while afterward that God move the Prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers.”

On the first of these articles it has been debated, whether the book of common prayer then recommended was the prayer-book of England, or the form of Geneva, which, when it appeared, was called the Common Order: And tho' for my own part, I am convinced that it was the English book, either first or second of Edward VI. yet I join in opinion with Bishop Keith, that the decision of the controversy either way is not material: Since it is evident on the very face of the article, that a common form of prayer to be read publicly in the church was then the known and desired mode of worship, and that our reformation was begun with, and founded upon a liturgy of some kind and in some shape or other. This is the main point in question now-a-days on the head of worship; and the example of the *Congregation* at this time, as far as it has weight, clearly points out what side of the question they favour. I say, as far as this example has weight: For I produce it only as *argumentum ad hominem*, not as essential to the merits of the cause, which can be defended without it. Indeed the lawfulness and expediency of set forms of prayer in the public worship of God, is a theme which has been largely discussed by many an able pen, and is not much controverted now by the sensible part of those who do not use any.

From



From the second article it is observable, as I LETTER XXXIV. took notice in the history of Mr. Rough, that in those days, preaching and hearing sermons was not, as now, reckoned a part, much less the whole of public worship. The prayers were to be read publicly in the parish kirks on Sundays and holidays: Preaching was to be performed privately in quiet houses, without great convention of people, and no fixed time mentioned, but only, it would seem, when it could be conveniently done. Had both these parts of this fundamental ordinance of our Scottish reformation been duly attended to, it had prevented much of those confusions and disorders, which that age and the next saw our country groaning under for a number of years. And had Mr. Knox on his return confined himself to the observance of it, as he well and warrantably might have done, the laudable work might, and in all probability would, have been carried on and perfected in a more laudable way, and to as good purpose. It is true, such a quiet compliance with this prudent and peaceable appointment would have lost him much of that applause which the "pithiness of his conceived prayers," and the fervency of his bold preachings, procured him among his admirers both then and since; tho' to balance that loss, it would have saved much of that reproach and obloquy, just or not, which his memory lies under with many to this day.

In consequence of this new determination among the reformers, the Earl of Argyle took the Carmelite Douglas to be his chaplain, and carried him to the Highlands with him. At this appearance of an avowed breaking off from the establishment, the Primate Hamilton was highly

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highly offended, and wrote to Argyle in an authori-  
 thorative manner, but with more discretion and  
 and softness than had been usual in such cases  
 before, desiring him to put away Douglas, and  
 promising to furnish him with a catholic chaplain  
 in that heretic's stead. To which the Earl returned  
 a decent and mannerly answer, thanking his  
 Lordship for his professions of kindness, but de-  
 claring his resolution to abide by what he had  
 done, and not be kept any longer in that state  
 of ignorance from which he was now getting free.  
 In this correspondence, even as recorded by Knox,  
 we find nothing uncharacteristic on either side.  
 The Archbishop on the one hand holds it for  
 as his duty, and within his office, to suppress  
 heresy, and prevent schism, and the Earl, on  
 the other hand, expresses his abhorrence of heresy  
 or faction, and his readiness to produce his chap-  
 lain at proper time and place, to give account of  
 his faith and doctrine, whether it be conform to  
 the true standard or not. And both of them  
 behave to one another with more deference and  
 outward politeness than had appeared from the  
 Episcopal side for some years past, or was shewn  
 to the Episcopal side some years after. Yet,  
 soon after this correspondence, the Primate,  
 with a view no doubt to terrify these insulting  
 preachers, gave way to the rage of persecution,  
 and renewed the old rigour, at a very impro-  
 per time indeed, and in a very imprudent man-  
 ner.

Keith.p.67.

One Walter Miln, who in his younger years  
 had travelled into Germany, and upon his re-  
 turn had been settled Priest at the kirk of Lunan  
 in Angus, had, upon an information of heresy  
 in the time of Cardinal Beton, been forced to  
 abandon

abandon his charge, and had absconded ever since: But being now apprehended in the town of Dyfart, he was carried to St. Andrews, and being brought before the Archbishop and some of his suffragans, was by them sentenced to the flames, and burnt accordingly, on the twenty eighth of April 1558. He was a worn-out decrepit man, of eighty two years of age, yet expressed himself both on his trial and at the stake, with a courage and composure that amazed his very enemies, and among the last words that he spoke, hoped and wished he might be the last who should suffer death in the land, in such a way and upon such an account. The condemnation of this old man, who had been in a manner forgotten, and by the course of nature had not long to live, was as foolish a step as the clergy had taken of a long while. Yet no warning had any effect upon them; For while the resentment of this late stroke of ecclesiastic severity was hot in people's minds, they were so thoughtless as attempt their yearly procession thro' Edinburgh, on the feast of St. Giles, the patron Saint of the city, with the usual pomp of carrying an image of the saint in great state thro' the streets, which upon this occasion they were obliged to borrow from the Gray Friars, the town's image having been stolen some days before. But the mob soon plucked it from the bearer, and threw it in the dirt, then broke it in pieces, and spoiled the whole pageantry. What a ridiculous blunder was this in the ecclesiastics, when they knew what a torrent of opposition was now every where let loose against images, thus to insult and inflame an ungovernable populace by the practice of an idle ceremony, which might have been

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forborn without any hurt to either their interest,  
or their religion?

However, when they had recovered from the  
fright of this assault, they put on a face of con-  
fidence, and appointed a meeting to be held at  
Edinburgh in November following. All the in-  
tervening time, both parties were busy enough,  
in looking after their respective concerns, and  
the Queen Regent still endeavouring to manage  
and keep in with both, tho' with as much of a  
bias to the old way as was consistent with her  
present views. The congregation on their part  
drew up a supplication to her in a strange, mixed  
style of submission and threatenng; and to the  
supplication they added the following demands.

Keith. p. 80. 1. "That it may be lawful to meet publicly  
" or privately to common prayers in the vulgar  
" tongue. 2. That it shall be lawful to any  
" qualified person to interpret scripture at such  
" meetings. 3. That baptism and the Lord's  
" supper be administered in the vulgar tongue,  
" and this last in both kinds, according to our  
" Saviour's institution. 4. That the wicked and  
" scandalous lives of churchmen be reformed  
" according to the rules contained in the new  
" testament, the writings of the ancient fathers,  
" and the godly and approved laws of the Em-  
" peror Justinian, which three they are willing  
" shall decide the controversy between them  
" and the clergy: So that the grave and godly  
" face of the primitive church may be restor-  
" ed, ignorance expelled, and true doctrine and  
" good manners may once again appear in the  
" church in this realm."

These demands are certainly very reasonable;  
and the proposing such an authentic and or-  
thodox

thodox standard for deciding the controversy, discovers what true Catholick principles prevailed as yet among the reformers, notwithstanding of their complaints against the establishment, which they wish to be rectified, not thrown down.—  
 What a pity it was, that the strain of the supplication was not corresponding to the subject of it? But this was still the misfortune, owing perhaps to a national fieryness of temper, that the disagreeable manner counteracted the reasonable matter of their petitions, and was more effectual in disgusting, than the other was in gaining over, those in power to whom they were addressed. The last of these demands seems indeed to have an invidious aspect, in throwing such a random aspersion on the clergy in general. But that there was too much ground for it, appears from the complaints of even their own writers,\* which sufficiently shew that the demand

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\* There is extant a paper about this time, of date January 5, 1559, under the title of the counsel given by the Dean and chapter of Aberdeen to my Lord Bishop of Aberdeen the ordinary, (who was then William Gordon, of the family of Huntly) at his desire for reformation to be made, &c. and signed by Robert Erskin Dean, and nine of the Chapter, among whom is John Leslie then Parson of Oyne, and afterwards Bishop of Ross: In which they advise “ that my Lord of Aberdeen cause the kirk-  
 “ men within his dioces to reform themselves in all their scan-  
 “ dalous manner of living, and to remove their open concubines  
 “ as well great as small, under the pains contained in the law  
 “ and acts provincial, and the Chapter shall do sicklike among  
 “ them, as well on themselves, as their servants and those under  
 “ their jurisdiction:” And then after some other particulars they conclude thus, “ And that the premises by the help of  
 “ God may take the better effect, the Dean and Chapter  
 “ humbly and heartily pray and exhort my Lord their ordinary,  
 “ for the honour of God, relief of his own conscience, and well  
 “ of

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mand here made was not the result of ill-nature, but of a general necessity. The ecclesiastic convention which met at Edinburgh in November 1558, agreed so far to these demands, as to allow prayers to be used, and the sacraments, to be administered in the vulgar tongue, provided the reformers would keep up the mass, and acknowledge Purgatory and praying to the saints. But this they neither could nor would submit to; as indeed what was thus required of them, was far more material and interesting to both parties, tho' from different views than all that was granted to them. The Regent for her part kept them in good hopes, and to serve her political ends allowed them for the present to have their worship in their own language, with this only exception, that, for preventing tumults they should not assemble publicly in Edinburgh or Leith. With this concession they seemed to be satisfied, and for a while behaved so quietly, as not even to allow Mr. Douglas, Argyle's Chaplain, to officiate in Leith as he proposed. Soon after this the Parliament met, and the

“ of his diocess, and because all they that are contrarious to  
 “ the religion christian, promise faithful obedience to the Prelates, so that they amend their own lives and their inferiors  
 “ conform to the law of God and holy church, that therefore  
 “ his Lordship would be so good as shew good and edifying example in special, in removing and discharging himself of the  
 “ company of the gentlewoman with whom he is greatly slandered,  
 “ without which be done, the obstinate say they cannot accept counsel and correction from him who will not correct himself, and  
 “ that his Lordship will cause his servants reform themselves,  
 “ because next himself it is meet he should begin at his own  
 “ household : all which being done, they verily believe all shall  
 “ come well to the honour of God and reformation of the Diocess of Aberdeen, and they promise his Lordship their hearty  
 “ concurrence to the utmost of their power.”

Congregation

congregation designed to present a supplication to that supreme court, much to the same purpose with that which had been laid before the convocation. But the Queen Regent, by her usual excuse of the necessity she was under, to court the ecclesiastical state for their consent in the affair of the matrimonial crown, and promising to befriend them when that point was gained, got them diverted from presenting it at that time. Yet, to prevent any handle which might be taken against them from their silence on this occasion, they drew up and offered a protestation, which was indeed read in Parliament, but was not, as they desired, inserted in the records. Only the Regent told them she should remember their protest, and put a good end to all things that were in controversy among them. In this protestation, as recorded by Knox, there is one article which does not altogether correspond with the pacific professions that have hitherto appeared in this reforming congregation, but rather seems to threaten the violence and disorder that followed. For they protest, 3dly "that if any tumult or uproar shall arise among the members of this realm for diversity of religion, and if it shall chance that abuses be violently reformed, that the crime thereof be not imputed to us, who do now most humbly seek all to be reformed by an order. But rather whatever inconvenience shall follow for lack of order taken, may be imputed to those that do refuse the same." I would be almost inclined to think that this writer or his interpolator had fabricated this article of his own head, as I am sorry to find such a turbulent and imprudent declaration making part of a paper which, in imitation

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Spotswood,  
P. 120.

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of the Lutherans about thirty four years before, may be thought to have given our Scotch reformers a title to share in the distinguishing appellation of *Protestants*.

In this Parliament the matrimonial crown was granted, and the Regent was empowered to send it over to France by the Earl of Argyle and the Prior of St. Andrews. But whatever it was owing to, whether to any suspicion of danger from that honourable commission, or that they did not choose to be so long absent from the business they were now engaged in, these two Lords never made out their Embassy, and the crown matrimonial, which the Regent had laboured so much to procure, was never sent. However, as she had now gained her end, it was to be expected she would have made good some of her promises to the congregation; and their writers cry out against her for not doing it. But the case was: She had been obliged to make as favourable promises to the other side also, and it was no wonder if they thought they had as good right, and fully more ground to depend upon her countenance. She had promised to both parties from views of interest, but she was attached to one of them by principle, and that one had as yet both law and custom in its favour. Yet when left to herself, being a Princess of great moderation and prudence, she took much pains to prevent the divisions which she saw arising among the people about religion, and to that purpose she recommended mutual visits and entertainments among the nobility, as a likely mean to cement differences and root out their animosities. But all would not do: the congregation demanded too much and too boisterously, and the clergy would yield nothing:



nothing: Bad language and scurrilous epithets were bandied to and fro, which were mutually irritating, and equally disgraceful to both parties. Sometimes indeed, but rarely, argumentation and reasoning were proposed, but the disputants could never agree about the terms; an instance of which we have preserved in an epistolary squabble between Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Croraguel, and John Willocks the reforming preacher in Ayrshire, about the sacrifice of the mass; LETTER XXXIV.  
A.D. 1559: Mr. Willocks insisting on having the cause judged, if not only, at least ultimately, by the word of God; and the Abbot flying off to the old doctors, as he calls them, a list of whom he gives in the following confused order, Irenæus, Origen, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Damascene, Nazianzen, Hilary, Jerom, Ambrose, Augustin, Theophylact and Tertullian, "whose writings," he says, "are a thousand years old, and of whom a great part suffered martyrdom for Christ's sake," tho' of all this dozen there were only two, Irenæus and Cyprian, that were martyrs for religion. In the management of this contest, both sides seem to have overstretched, Mr. Willocks in affirming the Roman mass to be such idolatry as is condemned in scripture, and the Abbot in boastingly pretending to defend it, out of these old fathers, who all of them, except Damascene and Theophylact, (whom as swaying a little that way he has artfully but absurdly foisted into his catalogue) knew nothing of it, as he was taught to use it.

I am not to enter here into this part of the dispute, tho' I cannot help expressing my opinion that, however much superstition and abuse may be in the modern mass of the Church of Rome,

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as confessedly different from the old eucharistic service of that church, and unsupported by the liturgical practice of the first five hundred years; it was no advantage, in point of argument, to our reforming society, to be so forward as they were, in painting it out under the odious colours of scriptural idolatry. For tho' that stretch of declamation served to inflame the minds of the vulgar, who could not enter into the merits of the cause, it could not but harden the judicious and sensible part of the people, to hear such a sacred and solemn affair spoken of in such a disgusting and irreverent manner. And if the zeal of reformation had led them to employ the fervor of their eloquence against every presumptive species of idolatry, there was one at that time too prevalent among themselves, as well as among their opponents, which they would have been as laudably employed in rooting out of people's hearts, even covetousness, which, without any force of interpretation, an Apostle expressly says is idolatry. Be in this what will, it was a mistaken confidence on both sides which, as I said, prevented a proper discussion of the question; and, as is common in all such cases, both parties boasted of their own success in the unavailing correspondence.

About the same time too, and with a view still to settle matters, the Queen Regent advised the Primate to call a national council of all the Prelates and learned clergy in the realm, that they might strive to provide some method for healing the present sores, and restoring peace to the church and state. Accordingly they met at Edinburgh, on the second of March; and this was the last national synod of that church that ever Scotland saw.

law. To this synod the congregation gave in some articles of reformation, desiring 1. "That publick prayers be used, and the sacraments ministered, in the vulgar tongue. 2. That Bishops be elected by consent of the gentry of the diocess, and parish priests by consent of the parishioners. 3. That such incumbents as are insufficient for discharging the pastoral offices, be deprived of their benefices, and others put into their places, who shall be found qualified and willing to instruct the people by constant and daily preaching. 4. That all immoral or unlearned churchmen be excluded from administration of the sacraments, and all other ecclesiastical function." Here again we meet with nothing that can be called altogether unreasonable, or could be said to look like a design of a total breaking off from church obedience, or overturning the old model of church government. And it might have been hoped, that so many neighbouring examples of late would have induced the synod to pay some regard to these requests. But nothing of that kind had any weight with them: For to the first they answered, "that they could not dispense with using any language but Latin in the publick prayers, as being appointed by the church under most severe penalties, which cannot be infringed without violating the majesty of God." To the second, "that what is decreed by the Canon law, concerning the election of Bishops and Pastors, ought to be maintained entire, because the election of Bishops being a privilege of the crown with consent of the Pope, to determine any thing in opposition thereto when the Queen was so young, would be indiscreet to her, and a treatable

LETTER XXXIV.

Vol. II. L. "sonable

LETTER XXXIV.  sonable encroachment on the royal prerogative." To the two last they agreed, "that the decree of the council of Trent shall take place, which orders all churchmen within six months to attend their cures in person, or lose their benefices."

This was standing stiff to their old forms, and shewed a fixed resolution not to make the least concession. In the article indeed of the election of the clergy, they had some shadow of reason, from what they pretended of deference to their young and absent sovereign, if they had not clogged it with bringing in the decree of their Canon law, and the consent of the Pope, which was but an artful colouring to blind people's eyes, as they knew how the Pope claimed the right and in fact frequently exercised the power of disposing of benefices, not only without, but even against the sovereign's consent. But the congregation's request, whether proper to be granted or not, is a proof that hitherto they had no objection to the office, title, or precedence of Bishops, as such, but only in this, as in their former petitions, desired to have their election to, and exercise of their office, put under what they thought useful and necessary regulations: And the synod's taking formal notice of it, even with the burden of a refusal, is a testimony that they had no quarrel with them on that score, nor suspected them of intending a total rejection of the order. However, this peremptory denying the use of the vulgar tongue in the public worship, which had always been, and justly too, a favourite point with the reformers of all nations, and which the Regent had so lately granted to the congregation, may be said to have been the main cause of all the

the

the tumults and irreparable disorders which so soon followed, and which, as I observed before, from the third article of their publick protestation, seem to have been conditionally threatened.


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For now the Regent, having carried her two capital projects, by keeping pretty fair hitherto with both parties, and finding the churchmen, whom she always favoured, beginning to exert themselves with what she thought a becoming spirit and vigour, resolved to support them with the royal authority. And when the congregation sent the Earl of Glencairn and Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudon, to solicit the continuance of her promised indulgence, she gave them such an answer as made them apprehend a storm ready to fall upon them, which was likewise hastened, sooner perhaps than otherwise it would have been, by one of their ministers being hardy enough to preach publicly in the town-kirk of Perth. This raised her indignation to the highest pitch; and when Lord Ruthven, the Provost of the town, whom she had ordered to go and chastise these innovations, told her he had no power over people's consciences, she vowed in great wrath to make both him and them repent it, and immediately gave orders, by the advice of her council, to summon all the ministers to appear before her at Stirling on the tenth of May. But when she got account what vast numbers of both gentry and commonalty were preparing to attend their preachers to the diet, she hearkened to the Laird of Dun's intercession, and desired him to persuade them to disperse, with a solemn promise that the diet should not be held, nor any prejudice done to the preachers.

A.D. 1559.

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 This gentleman, having a great deal to say with the Congregation, among whom he was a principal leader, wrote to the gentry, who were assembled at Perth on their way to Stirling, to dismiss their followers, as there was now no fear nor appearance of danger. They hearkened to his advice, and most of the common people went home: Only a few gentlemen and some of the ministers remained at Perth. Yet when the day came, and none of the ministers appeared, they were all denounced rebels, and every body inhibited, under pain of treason, to assist or harbour, or in any shape entertain them. This was the worst and most unjustifiable step that ever the Regent took, and whoever advised her to it, as it is not likely she would have taken such a step without advice, have all the miserable consequences of it to answer for. The Laird of Dun, who was a man universally esteemed for his integrity, was highly offended at this so flagrant instance of double dealing, and justly suspecting danger to his own person among such courtiers, withdrew with all privacy to Perth, where he easily apologized for the advice he had given, and informed his friends there how implacably the Regent and council were set against them.

I am, &c.

**LETTER**



L E T T E R XXXV.

*John Knox joins the Congregation at Perth—  
And begins the Destruction of the Churches and  
Monasteries—Reflections on these Acts of Violence—  
Further Proceedings of the Congregation—  
Continued Demolition of Churches, &c.  
—The Lords of the Congregation after various  
Treaties, deprive the Queen of the Regency—  
—On the Arrival of Troops from England to  
assist the Congregation, she takes Shelter in the  
Castle of Edinburgh, and dies there.*

**W**HILE the minds of the reformers were in that ferment, which the Queen's breach of promise, and their own danger had occasioned, it happened, (whether luckily or unluckily, let different parties say) that John Knox arrived from France. We had left this champion of the cause some time ago at Dieppe, sadly vexed at the disappointment he had met with, but still waiting a favourable opportunity to renew his

LETTER his endeavours and display his zeal in his own  
 XXXV. country. In the mean time, a providential change  
 of great importance had occurred in the neigh-  
 bouring kingdom. The Popish Mary of England,  
 after an inglorious and bloody reign of scarce six  
 years, had died on the 17th of November 1558,  
 and was peaceably succeeded by her sister Eliza-  
 beth, who had always declared herself a Protef-  
 tant. This was a favourable event for Knox,  
 who well knew what use to make of it. Only  
 it had happened unluckily, that he had lately  
 written and published a virulent book against  
 "the government of women," which he heard the  
 Protestant Elizabeth was as much offended at;  
 as the Popish Mary had been. In order there-  
 for to remove the unfavourable opinion of his  
 sentiments, which this publication might occa-  
 sion, and to clear the way for his intended re-  
 turn to his own country, he wrote from Dieppe  
 to Cecil, Elizabeth's secretary, on the subject of  
 his book, not openly retracting the main position  
 of it, but softening and palliating his doctrine  
 with the convenient supposition of a *Providential*  
 right, on which hypothesis, he says to Cecil,  
 "if any think me either enemy to the person or  
 "regiment of her whom God hath now promot-  
 "ed, they are utterly deceived in me: For the  
 "miraculous work of God, comforting his af-  
 "flicted by an infirm vessel, I do acknow-  
 "ledge, and I will obey the power of his most  
 "potent hand, raising up whom best pleaseth  
 "his mercy, to suppress such as fight against his  
 "glory, albeit that nature and God's most per-  
 "fect ordinance repugneth to such regiment,"  
 &c. This is a sufficient proof of the man's ver-  
 satile genius, and what confidence he had in his  
 OWN

April 10,  
 1559.



own abilities, on any side of a question which he should see convenient to espouse.

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Having therefore, by this seasonable piece of sophistical flattery, opened a door for the freedom of getting home, and for answering any other exigencies that might occur, he took his departure from Dieppe, and on the second of May reached Edinburgh, where staying only two nights, he proceeded to Dundee, to comfort the brethren there, and from thence to Perth, where the convention above mentioned had assembled. This was a very critical juncture, and the presence of such a powerful and zealous orator would be most acceptable; so upon the eleventh of May, being called upon to mount the pulpit, he failed not to declaim on the usual theme of idolatry, and to shew what positive precepts there were for destroying all instruments and places of it. Immediately after sermon one of the established clergy very foolishly ventured to expose an image that was in the kirk, to try how the people's affections stood that way, after Knox's vehement harangue on the subject. At this one of the bystanders expressing some disgust, the Priest rashly gave him a blow, and in return the other threw a stone and broke the image. The enraged populace looked upon this as a signal for attack; some fell upon the Priest, who had much ado to escape with his life, others ran to the altar, and defaced whatever they thought had the appearance of superstition. In a little while great numbers assembled, "not of the gentlemen nor of such as were earnest professors," says Knox, "but of the rascally multitude," and finding nothing to do in the town's church, they ran to the Franciscan and Dominican

LETTER nican Monasteries, which they burst open, and soon  
 XXXV. spoiled of all that was in them, leaving nothing  
 but the bare walls. From them they marched  
 in triumph to the Carthusian Monastery, com-  
 monly called the Charterhouse, which they plun-  
 dered in the like manner, and then so completely  
 demolished that noble building, that in two days  
 scarce a vestige of it was to be seen. Mr. Knox  
 Keith.p.85. boasts much of the disinterestedness of this rascally  
 multitude, as he calls them, in laying no hands  
 on the rich spoil for themselves, "their con-  
 sciences," he says, "being so beaten with the  
 word, that they had no respect to their own  
 particular profit, but only to abolish idolatry  
 and all places and monuments thereof." And  
 the modern admirers of these doings still lay hold  
 of this, as a glorious instance of self-denial in these  
 conscientious reformers. Tho' after all, there  
 seems to be nothing in it but what may be easily  
 accounted for, from the unpremeditated fury of a  
 thoughtless mob, whether Popish or Protestant,  
 and which has been exemplified by all professi-  
 ons, both before that time and since, upon sundry  
 occasions, where it has been seen, that a present  
 fit of zeal or ill-nature, when it has silenced con-  
 science, has got the better of avarice also.\*

However,

\* Of this, besides what has been in our own day, and within  
 the compass of almost every one's knowledge, we have a quite  
 similar instance that happened in Knox's lifetime, and even  
 among a set of Popish idolaters and image worshippers. In the  
 history of Charles V. by Principal Robertson, we are told, that  
 in the insurrections in Spain, in the beginning of his reign, "a  
 tumultuous spirit seized the inhabitants of Burgos, Zamora,  
 and several other cities, and tho' their representatives saved  
 themselves by flight, they were burnt in effigy, their houses  
 razed to the ground, and their effects consumed by fire: And  
 such

However the destroying work was now begun; and this attempt at Perth, as it was the first fruits of Mr. Knox's appearance after his return from exile, before which we find no symptom of such a daring and riotous spirit, so it was an introduction to all the lawless and unchristian violence of the kind that followed. I am far from approving, or pretending to vindicate these monastic institutions, which seem to have been begun without necessity, and carried on in such an irregular and unbecoming manner, as gave great offence to all lovers of decency and good order. Yet I cannot help looking upon this horrid method of putting an end to them, as an act of the most savage barbarity, and most palpable injustice in the perpetrators, who had no more right, either by the law of God or man, to drive a monk out of his cell, than to take Mr Knox's coat off his back. At the same time, I cannot altogether join in the outcry which the Popish party have made about the sacrilegious guilt of thus destroying or taking away what had been once given to God: For, before the force of this charge be sustained, it ought to be made appear that God had accepted the donation, lest our Saviour's application of the pharisaical pretence of *Corban* should hold good, as perhaps, upon enquiry, would be found to have been too often the case,

“such was the horror which the people had conceived against them as betrayers of the public liberty, that not one in these licentious multitudes would touch any thing, however valuable, that had belonged to them.” What word was it, we might ask, that the consciences of these licentious multitudes were beaten with at that time, if indeed they had any pretence to conscience at all, which it is much to be suspected is asleep on every such occasion?

LETTER in most of these monastic foundations. It is true, XXXV. these buildings and lands were dedicated to religious uses by their devout founders, and so may be thought to have been unalienably appropriated to such purposes. But it is equally true, that such appropriations are things merely external, and not essential to religion as such; and consequently may, without any real prejudice to the substance of it, be separated from it, when and how those in proper authority, whoever they are shall see expedient. Yet that this "rascally multitude" at Perth, I use their own Knox's language, had authority, or were excusable, either before God or man for what they did, I neither can nor ever will acknowledge, tho' it is not to be denied that desirable enough effects have been oftentimes produced even by wicked instruments. In a word, to shut up what may be said on this disagreeable subject, I am for my own part entirely of his mind, who said "he would neither build a monastery, nor destroy one."

After this bold but shameful step towards a reformation at Perth, most of the stranger people we are told went home, and Mr. Knox was left in the town to instruct the flock, because, as he says, and it is the truest character he could give them, whatever meaning he had under it, "they were young and rude in Christ." What the nature of his instructions was, we may judge from the effects they produced. In the mean time, the congregation understanding that the Regent was making preparations for punishing this riotous insurrection, reassembled at Perth, and wrote a letter to her in such terms as, instead of craving pardon for the outrage of a foolish mob, seemed designed rather to vindicate what they had had

had done, and openly dare and defy the Magistrate. Nor is this much to be wondered at, if we consider that the church, in which they had been bred, had been at pains, thro' a course of years, by exalting the spiritual power above the temporal, to sink the sovereign in the people's eyes, and to diminish the respect due to him, wherever what they were pleased to call religion was concerned.

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Besides this letter to the Regent, they wrote also to the commander of the French forces in Scotland, warning him not to proceed to harsh measures against them: And to the Nobility who were at court, justifying what they had done at Perth, as being done at God's commandment, and telling them, that "tho' all authority established by God is good, and to be obeyed of all men, under pain of damnation, yet they ought to understand there is a great difference between the authority, and the persons of those

\* How unlike is this conduct to that of the christian people of Antioch, in the time of the Emperor Theodosius the first, after an insult upon his authority by the rascally multitude of the city, in refusing his edicts, and throwing down and defacing the public statues set up in honour of him? And how different is the bullying humour of Knox, (who, we may presume, if not the original framer, was at least concerned in the penning of that provoking letter,) from the amiable and submissive deportment of the Antiochian Bishop Flavianus upon this dangerous occasion? This venerable old prelate, in the depth of winter, took a journey of many hundred miles, from Antioch to Constantinople, where the Emperor resided, and there prostrating himself before him, so mollified and wrought upon the incensed monarch, by such a truly christian speech as deserves to be engraven on brass, and by offering his own gray head a victim for his heart-broken flock, that he not only obtained a full pardon for the heinous offence, but even drew tears of compassion from the Emperor's eyes.

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placed

LETTER XXXV. "placed in authority:"\* And that the church-  
 men might not pretend they had been taken un-  
 wares, they directed a letter to them too, under  
 this peculiar address, "To the generation of An-  
 tichrist, the pestilent Prelates, and their sha-  
 velings within Scotland, the congregation of  
 Christ Jesus within the same faith;" ordering  
 them to desist from their former cruelties, and  
 threatening them with the severest vengeance of re-  
 taliation, if they do not. Notwithstanding all this,  
 the Regent made ready her forces to attack Perth.  
 But by the mediation of friends, a compromise  
 was made, in consequence of which she got access  
 to it in a peaceable manner, and the congrega-  
 tion left it, after having entered into a new  
 bond of association, on the last day of May.

Here again the Regent unluckily took some  
 measures which the opposite party deemed a  
 breach of the agreement, on which the Earl of  
 Argyle and the Prior of St. Andrews, who tho'  
 of the congregation, had hitherto adhered to  
 the Queen, deserted her and joined their friends.  
 On the fourth of June, the Regent with her  
 small army went to Falkland, and the Lords of  
 the congregation, with Mr. Knox in their com-  
 pany, moved to Crail, where on the ninth he  
 preached, and on the tenth at Anstruther, in both  
 which towns his preaching brought about the  
 breaking down of altars and images, "but still,"  
 he says, "with more anger than avarice." On  
 the morrow being Sunday, he marched with his  
 party to St. Andrews; and there in fulfilment

\* A distinction this of a new coinage, which was afterwards  
 put in practice by a set of men, who "fought for the King  
 against Charles Stuart."

of

of a prediction which now for the first time he LETTER  
 he boasts of having made in his exile, that he XXXV.  
 would preach there in open audience before he  
 died, and in despite of the Archbishop, who, tho'  
 attended with a hundred men in arms, durst not  
 oppose him, he preached such a sermon, on the Spotwood,  
 subject of our Saviour's driving the buyers and P. 124.  
 sellers out of the temple, that immediately after  
 the people spoiled all the churches in the town,  
 and levelled the Dominican and Franciscan mo-  
 nasteries to the ground. Let it be observed here,  
 that this was done on a Sunday, under Mr. Knox's  
 eye, and at his instigation, and that too not by a  
 "rascally multitude," as at Perth, but by the  
 Provost and Bailies, with the whole town at  
 their heels. Was this employment for the Lord's  
 day? Was it a work of either necessity or  
 mercy? Or, had it been both, might it not have  
 deferred till to-morrow? Could there have been  
 a greater profanation of the Sabbath, than this?  
 And how would Mr. Knox have thundered out all  
 the curses of scripture, and all the oratory of Bil-  
 lingsgate, against a less profanation of it in an  
 opposite cause? Besides, the impudent application  
 of our Saviour's example, who was Lord of  
 the Sabbath and temple both, and had hereditary  
 right to turn whom he pleased out of his Father's  
 house, did that example either entitle or warrant  
 Knox and his party to throw down the house, be-  
 cause of the corrupt use that was made of it? But  
 it was his orders, and in those days that was  
 enough, on Sunday or any day, to destroy what-  
 ever he thought fit to call idolatry.

When account of this havock was brought to  
 the Regent at Falkland, she marched on the  
 morrow with her troops towards Cupar, and was  
 met

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met by the other party with their army, at a moor near that town. But without coming to an engagement, another cessation of hostilities was patched up, and both armies retired. Mean time the people of Perth were complaining of the hardships which they suffered from the Queen's garrison there, upon which the Lords marched in a body to their relief, and on the twenty fifth being Sunday again, they drove out the garrison, and reinstalled Lord Ruthven in the Provostship of the town. The next day they destroyed the fine abbey and royal palace of Scoon in that neighbourhood, with the Bishop of Moray's lodgings, in spite of Mr. Knox's pretended remonstrances against it. From this exploit they posted next to Stirling, to prevent the Regent's getting possession of that pass, and there destroyed all the religious places, and among the rest the famous abbey of Cambuskenneth. After three days abode at Stirling, on this desolating business, they set forward to Edinburgh, for reformation to be made there, as Knox calls it. But by the way they halted a little at Linlithgow, where they made the same thorough work as at Stirling: And tho' they were not above three hundred in number, their approach struck such a terror at Edinburgh, that the Queen and Lord Seton the Provost left the city to the will of the reforming party in it, who, before the end of June that the Lords from Stirling came up, had ruined all the monasteries in and about the town, except the abbey of Holyroodhouse, which they only plundered, "so that," says Knox, "we were the less troubled with putting order to these places." But now is it not amazing how such an unheard-of devastation could have indeed been effectuated in

Keith, p. 94.



in the short space of seven weeks, from the eleventh of May, when they began at Perth, to the end of June, in which time near to twenty of these religious fabrics had been laid in ruins in different places, and scarce a drop of blood spilt in the whole business! Strange, that none of the zealots on the other side would stand up in the quarrel, and risk a few lives in defence of their venerable images, tho' not many years ago, they had taken so many lives for but seeming to speak lightly of them! I know there are some, who will very readily bring in the hand of God here, and perhaps it cannot be well accounted for any other way: Yet if we admit such an interposition of providence, it ought to be considered as indeed permitting the fall of the superstition which had so long prevailed, but not as giving sanction to, or approving by success, the tumultuous and disorderly methods of putting down that superstition.

At the same time, while I have not the least sympathy with the cause which now seemed to be depressed, when I consider how cruel and unmerciful it had been when it was uppermost, I cannot help feeling for the situation of the Queen Regent: A stranger of a polite nation, engaged with the boisterous humours of a fierce and untractable people: A woman neither mean-spirited nor bad-hearted: A mother too, entrusted with the management of an only child's hereditary kingdom; Led by what she had seen at home, to an admiration of these sumptuous buildings, originally devoted to what she thought the service of religion, and now, under pretence of religion, reduced to so many heaps of rubbish by a lawless rabble: And in the midst of all these confusions,

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burgh, which she did on the twenty third of July, and that day came within two miles of the city. Such a sudden and unlooked for march filled them with the utmost consternation, and the more so, as they suspected Lord Erskine, the Governor of the castle, to be none of their friends: So they thought fit to accept of the terms offered them, that all strangers of the congregation should depart out of Edinburgh, on the 25th of July, and leave the city open to the Regent and her retinue, with this mutual stipulation, that till the tenth of January next she should give no molestation to the new preachers, nor the congregation use any violence against the churchmen or religious houses. In consequence of this agreement, the Lords of the congregation, after drawing up and subscribing a third bond, or covenant of mutual faith and assistance, went off to the West country, with Mr. Knox in their company; and Mr. Willox remained preacher in Edinburgh. The Regent then entered into the city, and for this time adhered so strictly to the terms of the late agreement that, tho' she used many fair and discreet methods to have the mass publicly set up, she proceeded to no compulsion, and the reformed party kept the exclusive possession of the high church without much disturbance.

During these transactions at home the King of France Henry II. had died, and was succeeded <sup>July 3,</sup> by his son Francis II. our Queen's husband, a <sup>1559.</sup> youth of little more than sixteen years of age. This change, it is thought, was a great and irretrievable loss to our country. For tho' Henry was sufficiently attached to the Romish forms, yet being a shrewd politician himself, and much directed in his councils by his prime minister the

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 XXXV. constable Montmorency, who was a wise moderate man, and by the two great Princes of the blood, the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, who both inclined to the Protestant cause, he was more disposed to manage the affairs of Scotland in these troublesome times, by mild and pacific measures, than by the rigour of authority and open force. But upon his untimely death a new system of politicks was adopted. Montmorency was discharged from court, the two Princes of the blood were ill looked on, and the Guises, our Queen's uncles, becoming now by that relation the principal favourites and directors, advised the prosecuting the Scottish rebels, as they called them, with the utmost severity, and with all the force that France could furnish. The effect of this advice soon appeared in two separate letters of this month of July, the one from the new King, and the other from our Queen, both addressed to her natural brother the Prior of St. Andrews, reproaching him with ingratitude in the strongest terms, and threatening him with the utmost severity of royal vengeance: All which, as matters now stood, was but a vain display of sovereignty, and served no end but to draw from this artful ambitious man, who began already to know his own importance, a canting and evasive answer.— But writing was not all that was done. For in September there came over a thousand French soldiers, with abundance of money and military provisions, and the men were immediately employed in fortifying the town of Leith. About the same time too came the Bishop of Amiens, as Legate from the Pope, and with him three doctors of the Sorbonne, who, if we may credit Bishop Leslie, were very successful in restoring the old rites, and in

in animating by their example our Prelates and inferior clergy to a commendable diligence in their respective functions: But our other historians represent this legation as tending to very little purpose, and where the truth lies, is best to be discovered by the events which so soon followed.

Some weeks after this were taken up in a paper-war, and numbers of letters, declarations, and proclamations from both sides were published and dispersed thro' the country, full of mutual reproaches and accusations, the Regent vindicating her doings from the topic of lawful authority, and the congregation justifying the outrage of their actions by calling God to witness for the uprightness of their intentions. They had lately got a considerable reinforcement to their party by the accession of the late Governor, now stiled the Duke (from the Ducal title of Chateherault, conferred on him by the French King some years before,) who was reconciled to the congregation by his eldest son, now Earl of Arran, a zealous profelyte to the Protestant persuasion. With this addition of internal interest, and to interrupt, if possible, the fortifying of Leith, the congregation, after various meetings and deliberations, came at last in a body to Edinburgh, in open violation of the late agreement: And at the same time they wrote a letter to the Regent, who had retired from Holyroodhouse to the garrison at Leith for the security of her person, requiring her to evacuate Leith of the foreign troops and threatening in case of refusal to expel them by force. To this bold message, the Regent replied with equal spirit, expostulating with them on this rebellious stretch of arrogance, charging the Duke in particular with ingratitude and breach of promise,

LETTER XXXV. promise, and authoritatively commanding them all, under pain of treason, to leave the metropolis directly. The herald who carried this message they detained in Edinburgh three days: And in the mean time assembling all together, the Lord Ruthven gravely proposed the deposition of the Regent from her office and authority by a solemn sentence of their convention: which, after much altercation upon the propriety and impropriety of the measure, being referred to the two preachers Willocks and Knox who were present, was by a most scandalous and impertinent application of an instance or two out of the old testament, determined in the affirmative. An act of deprivation was drawn up accordingly, and proclaimed by found of trumpet at the market cross of Edinburgh, a copy of which Mr. Knox has thought fit to preserve for the instruction of posterity. This done they dismissed the herald, with a letter of intimation to the Regent, signed by "your Grace's humble serviteurs, the council having the authority unto the next parliament, erected by common election of the Earls, Lords and Barons convened at Edinburgh of the Protestant faction."


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p. 105.

Yet these Earls, Lords and Barons, who all together were only twenty nine in number, seem themselves to have had but a poor opinion of the validity of this act of theirs, since we still find them applying to the Queen for the removal of the French soldiers out of the kingdom, which, if divested of authority, she had no more concern with, nor power to order, than any private subject had. And the commanders of the English troops that came to the assistance of the congregation, still spoke of her and acknowledged

ed her as Regent, without any regard to, or notification given them of what their friends had pretended to do against her. How she herself received it when it was intimated to her, we are not told: For immediately after this, open hostilities commenced on both sides. The congregation summoned the garrison of Leith to surrender, and attempted to scale the fortifications, but were repulsed. Money too began to be scarce among them, and a supply of a thousand pounds which they had procured from the English Governor of Berwick, was intercepted, and came not to their hands. And now the hopes and spirits of the party were brought so low, that on the sixth of November they were glad to decamp from Edinburgh at midnight, and never halted till they reached Stirling. There Mr. Knox refreshed their drooping spirits with a sermon from the eightieth psalm; and a resolution was formed to look once more to England, and send a formal deputation to Elizabeth for assistance. In the mean time it was agreed, for keeping up the cause, that one part of their chiefs should reside in and about Glasgow, and another in Fife, and that for carrying on the necessary correspondence, Mr. Balnaves should attend the one, and Mr. Knox the other of these bodies, as secretaries. The Western division, with the Duke at their head, on coming to Glasgow, caused all the altars and images in the churches to be broken down, and seized and plundered the Archbishop's palace: And on the twenty ninth of the month they emitted a ridiculous proclamation, in name of Francis and Mary, King and Queen of Scots, "commanding under strictest penalties all the lieges, especially the clergy, to  
 " join

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Keith.

LETTER XXXV. “ join themselves to the reformed congregation, and to give open testimony of their conversion, with plain confession of their faith, and renouncing of all manner of superstition and idolatry.” This was followed on the fourteenth of December by another, “ prohibiting and discharging by the same authority all consistorial courts for upholding Antichrist’s dominion, and by name the consistorial court of Brechin, under pain of death.” The Presbyterian church historian Mr. Alexander Petrie, who was preacher to the Scotch congregation at Rotterdam after the restoration, tells us he got these proclamations among some papers belonging to the Laird of Dun, and boasts as much of them as if they had been legal and authorized deeds, for warranting the procedure of the reformation. When the congregation departed from Edinburgh, the Regent took possession of it, on which all the reformed party left it, and the high church was consecrated anew by the Bishop of Amiens. A band of soldiers too was sent to scour the country of Fife, who taking their route by land, plundered the houses of all the disaffected that lay in their way on both sides the Forth, but after various skirmishes, were at last, on the arrival of an English fleet in the Frith, on the fifteenth of January, obliged to pull back again to Leith the same way that they came, with considerable loss. Upon this new appearance of success, the reforming gentlemen of the Merne took heart, and going to Aberdeen, demolished the monasteries of the Dominican and Carmelite Friars in the New Town, but were prevented in their designs upon the cathedral and religious fabrics in the Old Town by the Earl of Huntly

ly and the Laird of Balquhain. The Bishop LETTER William Gordon had, some time before, when XXXV. the plundering work was going on in the  South, disposed of the jewels and precious utensils belonging to the cathedral, in keeping to the Earl of Huntly and to the several Canons, before witnesses, and under bonds of restitution: But what became of them, or whether and to whom they were restored, we have no account. What little was left, which had not been thought worth the removing, the Mearns men got their hands on, and carried with them.

Mean time the application to England had, after a great deal of formality, succeeded, and the English army of two thousand horse and six thousand foot entered Scotland in the beginning of April 1560, and were joined in a day or two by all the leading men of the congregation from all parts. Queen Elizabeth has been much blamed for thus patronizing, and so powerfully supporting the rebellious subjects of another Sovereign, both because of the real injustice of the fact, and bad tendency of the example. How far it was justifiable in the subjects to make the application, is a point of casuistry which, some will say, was determined by necessity, and others will say no necessity can determine, so long as the scripture maxim holds, which Mr. Knox himself at other times pleads from, that evil should not be done, even to procure good. But in what Elizabeth did, she seems to have had both policy and provocation to bear her out. It was good policy, such indeed as all crowned heads act by, to prevent, by any means that came in her way, such an accession to the power of France as an absolute sway in Scotland would have made  
to



LETTER to it. Besides, that she was early irritated by  
 XXXV. the provoking step, which, on her sister Mary's  
 death, the King of France had taken, in causing  
 his daughter in law assume the title of Queen of  
 England, and quarter the arms of that crown  
 with the arms of Scotland and France, in all the  
 plate and household furniture belonging to her  
 and her husband the Dauphin : And in this im-  
 prudent claim they still persisted after the Dau-  
 phin became King on his father's death, and  
 were actually keeping it up at this very time.—  
 This was certainly wounding Elizabeth in the  
 most tender part. It was proclaiming her illegi-  
 timacy in a most public and affronting manner,  
 and was undoubtedly such an insult as, if she  
 was really a lawful Sovereign, she had all the  
 reason in the world to resent. But be this as  
 it may, and on whatever side the blame may be  
 thought to ly, so it was in fact, that a power-  
 ful assistance from England came, so powerful  
 indeed, and so seasonable, as in all human ap-  
 pearance preserved the congregation from sink-  
 ing under the weight of superior authority, not-  
 withstanding of their bold suspension of the Re-  
 gent, and the mighty boasts of their own num-  
 bers and constancy. Upon this event the Regent  
 took shelter in the Castle of Edinburgh, as she  
 feared her person not to be safe enough in open  
 lodgings ; and in her company went the Archbi-  
 shop of St. Andrews and several other counsel-  
 lors. For no sooner was the English army joined  
 by their friends, but they began their operations  
 against Leith with various success for some weeks,  
 in which time there were sundry proposals and  
 plans of accommodation spoken of, but to no ef-  
 fect : On which the congregation entered into a  
 fourth

fourth covenant of association signed on the twenty-seventh of April by seven Earls, seven Lords, and about a hundred and twenty gentlemen of best note. Yet still the garrison of Leith kept their ground, and seemed rather to have the advantage in what sallies they made upon the besiegers: Till about the middle of May, that a reinforcement of two thousand men came to the English army, with assurance of still greater succours, if necessary, which visibly cast the balance, and brought the besieged very low. Mean time the Regent had been seized with a lingering distemper, which being heightened, as it was no wonder, by the grief and anxiety of her mind, increased so fast upon her, that on the tenth of June it put an end to her days. Her behaviour at her death was such, as even her reviler John Knox is obliged to represent in a different light from the usual ugly view in which he had thought fit to exhibit her character; and Archbishop Spottwood, who, probably had the account from his father the Superintendent, who knew her well, says, "she ended her life most christianly." In general it may be allowed, that had she been left to her own good sense and moderation in the management of the public affairs, uncontrouled by unpopular orders from France, and unprovoked by the brutal barbarities which fell out at home after Knox's last return from Geneva, she would in time have settled the divisions of the kingdom in such a way as would not have left that indelible stain, which blackens the face of what is called the reformation in Scotland.

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A.D. 1560.


I am, &c.

LETTER  
XXXVI.

## L E T T E R    X X X V I .

*Peace concluded between France and England—  
Concessions granted to the Nobility and People of  
Scotland—A Parliament held for the Redress  
of Grievances—Legality of it disputed—It  
abolishes Popery, and establishes the reformatory  
Confession of Faith—Account of the Reformers  
First Book of Discipline—Of an Act  
passed for the Destruction of the remaining Cloys-  
ters and Abbey Churches—And of the Super-  
intendants appointed, according to the Book of  
Discipline.*

**A** Few days after the death of the Queen Regent, Commissioners arrived both from France and England, in order to compose the differences that had fallen out in Scotland. The King of France finding it difficult to contend with the power of England, and yet not willing that he or his Queen should debase their dignity, by stooping to a treaty with their own rebellious subjects,

subjects, had granted commission to enter into a LETTER  
 “reconciliation of differences arisen with the XXXVI.  
 “Queen of England, by assembling men on the   
 “borders.” Accordingly the commissioners from  
 both courts met at Berwick on the fourteenth of  
 June, and after adjusting preliminaries, came to  
 Edinburgh on the sixteenth. There they found  
 the Regent dead, but nevertheless went on with  
 the business of their commission: And having  
 spent some time in debating all the points that  
 were in agitation, at last, by virtue of the full  
 powers they were invested with from their re-  
 spective Sovereigns, they came to a final agree-  
 ment on the sixth of July, which was signed A.D. 156a.  
 on the part of France by the Bishop of Valence  
 and the Sieur de Randan, and on the part of  
 England by Secretary Cecil and Wotton Dean  
 of Canterbury. In this agreement the affairs of  
 Scotland are not particularly mentioned, as it  
 had been thought too derogatory from the ma-  
 jesty of Sovereigns to treat on an equal footing  
 with subjects: And therefore this middle way  
 was taken, that the nobility and people of Scot-  
 land should offer petitions for obtaining redress  
 of their grievances, and the King and Queen,  
 at the earnest desire of Elizabeth, whom by  
 the sixth article of the agreement, they now  
 acknowledge their rightful and lawful fellow-so-  
 vereign, should condescend to make such con-  
 cessions as might tend to introduce a good har-  
 mony and understanding between them and their  
 people. These concessions are seventeen in num-  
 ber, all engrossed in the strongest terms, for the  
 security of the petitioners: And as there are three  
 of them which have a particular connection with  
 our present subject, and will afterwards be refer-  
 red to, I shall here set down the substance of  
 O 2 them.

LETTER them. 4. " Concerning the petition relating to  
 XXXVI. " the assembling of the States, the deputies have  
 " agreed that the States of the kingdom may  
 " assemble, in order to hold a Parliament, on  
 " the tenth day of July now running, and that  
 " on the said day the Parliament shall be ad-  
 " journed, and continued from that day to the  
 " first of August next, during which interval  
 " the deputies shall order a dispatch to the King  
 " and Queen, to advertise them of this con-  
 " cession, and to supplicate them most humbly to  
 " accord to it: And this assembly shall be as  
 " valid in all respects as if it had been called,  
 " and appointed by the express commandment  
 " of the King and Queen, provided that no mat-  
 " ter be treated of before the said first day of  
 " August. 13. It is agreed and concluded, that  
 " if any Bishops, Abbots, or other ecclesiastical  
 " persons, shall make complaints that they have  
 " received any harm in their persons or goods,  
 " these complaints shall be taken into considera-  
 " tion by the Estates in Parliament, and that  
 " such reparation shall be appointed as to the  
 " Estates shall appear reasonable: And in the  
 " mean time it shall not be lawful for any per-  
 " son to give them any disturbance in the enjoy-  
 " ment of their goods, nor do them any wrong,  
 " injury or violence, and whoever shall contra-  
 " vene this article, shall be pursued by the nobi-  
 " lity as a disturber of the public weal and tranqui-  
 " lity. 17. Whereas, on the part of the nobles  
 " and people of Scotland, there have been pre-  
 " sented certain articles concerning religion and  
 " certain other points, in which the Lords De-  
 " puties would by no means meddle, as being  
 " of such importance that they judged them pro-  
 " per

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 p. 137.

“ per to be remitted to the King and Queen; LETTER XXXVI.  
 “ therefore the said nobles of Scotland have en-  
 “ gaged, that in the ensuing convention of Estates  
 “ some persons of quality shall be chosen to re-  
 “ pair to their Majesties, and remonstrate to  
 “ them the state of their affairs, particularly  
 “ those last mentioned, and such others as could  
 “ not be decided by the Lords Deputies, and to  
 “ understand their intention and pleasure con-  
 “ cerning what remonstrances shall be made to  
 “ them on the part of this kingdom of Scotland.”

All these articles of agreement are beforehand ratified and confirmed by Francis and Mary, King and Queen of France and Scotland, by letters patent under their hands and seals, at Remorentin, June 2, 1560. Two days after the treaty was concluded, the articles were publicly proclaimed at Edinburgh, and on the sixteenth of July the English army departed to Berwick, and the French put to sea in English bottoms. \*

\* With them went, from a foresight of what was like to follow, Archbishop Beton of Glasgow, who carried with him all the public records of his see. When Queen Mary returned to Scotland, she constituted him her Ambassador at the court of France, and upon her death, King James her son continued him, notwithstanding of his different principles, in the same character, till his death, which happened not till 1603. In this station of high trust he carefully preserved the letters, instructions, and other papers committed to him by his royal constituents, all which, with what he carried over with him, he left at his death to the Scots College at Paris, where they have been lately disposed in excellent order by the care and industry of two of our own countrymen, Mr. Lewis Innes, Rector of that College, and his brother Thomas, so well known by his “critical essay on the “ancient inhabitants of Scotland.” From this valuable repository many discoveries relative to our history have of late years been made, and some of the mistakes or wilful impositions of our leading historians in some momentous points laid open.

Upon

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Upon the third day after the departure of the troops, there was a solemn thanksgiving kept in the high church of Edinburgh, where, says Knox, the "most part of the chief ministers of the realm were at the time:" In which thanksgiving, among other expressions suitable to the occasion, they mention their confederacy with England, which they call "that most godly league contracted in God's name," and they pray to God, "that he would retain them and their confederates so firmly together by the power of his holy spirit, that Sathan have never power to set them again at variance or discord." Yet England was at that time as truly and strictly prelati- cal as it has been at any æra ever since, even at the famous æra of the *Solemn League and Covenant*, when this old strain of thankfulness was forgotten, and the English prelacy declared, by the pretended successors of these reformers, an intolerable grievance. Things being thus prepared, the next step was to distribute the ministers among the principal burghs in the kingdom; but such was the paucity of preachers, that only these eight towns, Edinburgh, Leith, St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Perth, Jedburgh, Dundee, and Dunfermline, could at first be provided. At the same time, to keep up some appearance of the old form, they nominated five Superintendants to be placed in the five districts of Lothian, Glasgow, Fife, Angus and Argyle. All this was done before the first of August, but by what authority we are not told. In the treaty between the deputies it was agreed that the states of Scotland might meet on the tenth of July, but it was expressly restricted, that nothing should be treated of before the first of August. This appointment

ment therefore is no deed of the states, and can only be considered as a plan to be proposed, <sup>LETTER</sup> ~~not as a standing and authorised settlement.~~ <sup>XXXVI.</sup>

When the first of August came, the Parliament met, and was very numerous. Bishop Keith has given us, out of the Cotton Library, a list of its members, consisting of one Duke, thirteen Earls, nineteen Lords, six Bishops, twenty one Priors and Commendators, an hundred and five Barons by name, and the commissioners of twenty two burghs, "with many other barons, freeholders and landed men, all without armour." At their first meeting, a difficulty was started, and great debates ensued concerning the legality of it: One party maintaining, that as the Sovereign had sent no commission, nor authorized any to represent her person, no Parliament could be held: Others pleading the fourth article of the treaty as a sufficient warrant for their meeting: And this opinion by a majority of voices prevailed. Yet it is still doubted whether this was a legal Parliament, for want of the royal consent, and as the regalia of the kingdom were not carried in state, as usual on such occasions. But admitting the lawfulness of the meeting according to the concessions in the treaty, it may still be questioned whether every branch of business done in it was legal, even by these concessions. The deputies themselves had expressly refused to meddle with the religious differences in the kingdom, which they leave entirely to the cognizance of the Sovereign; and yet in direct opposition to this mode of proceeding, the principal employment of this so much magnified Parliament was to regulate every thing that concerned the religious disputes, and leave nothing to the Sovereign to do, but to ratify



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tify its decisions. For as soon as the Lords of the articles were chosen, and other customary formalities adjusted, the very first thing we find entered upon, is a supplication from the congregation against Popery, the then established religion, in all its branches. To this supplication a favourable answer was made, and the ministers were desired to draw up, under separate heads, the sum of that doctrine which they wished to have established by law. Accordingly in four days a *Confession of Faith* was completed, and was by permission openly read before the states, without any the least word, as we are told, being said in opposition to it. Then a diet was appointed for collecting the votes, and it is remarked that only three of the temporal estate, the Earl of Athol, and the Lords Borthwick and Somervil dissented, giving no other reason but "that they would believe as their fathers had done." On the other hand the Earl Marishal made a speech in favour of the confession, and declared that to him the profound silence of the Prelates seemed to be an irrefragable testimony of its truth. The justness of this inference perhaps will admit of some doubt: But it cannot be denied that the Prelates are not to be commended for their silence, what ever may be thought of their prudence, at such a trying time. Whether their remonstrances would have answered any good end or not, it was their duty to have made the experiment, and to have stood up, as they gave the meeting their presence, in defence of what they professed to believe was the orthodox faith, when they saw it so daringly opposed, by men whom not many months before, they had pronounced to be a set of damnable Hereticks. Their doing so would have at least

Spotfwood,  
P. 150.

least taken out the sting from the Earl Marishal's LETTER XXXVI. speech, and might have prevented what Mr. Knox boastingly said to Queen Mary, soon after her return, when he told her to her face, "that the ignorant Papist cannot patiently reason, and the learned and crafty Papist will never come in your audience, Madam, to have the ground of their religion searched out; for they know they are not able to maintain any argument, except by fire and sword, and their own laws be judges."

This *Confession* therefore, thus recommended from the one side, and so feebly or not at all opposed from the other, received the sanction of the states on the seventeenth of August, and Mr. Knox has given us a full and exact copy of it. It is divided into twenty five heads, and continued to be the established formula in Scotland for more than eighty years, till the Westminster confession, which is now the legal standard, jostled it out, but whether in conformity with, or to the improvement of the old one, may be referred to a comparison betwixt them. This material point being gained, there was an act passed on the twenty third, for abolishing the mass, by which the sayers and hearers of mass are, for the first fault, to suffer confiscation of all their goods, and a corporal punishment at the discretion of the judge, for the second banishment, and for the third death. How are the times changed, and what ugly alterations does power and prosperity work upon peoples tempers? It is not above twelve months since these very men humbly petitioned for liberty of conscience, and seemed willing to rest satisfied with being allowed to worship God quietly in their own way. And yet no sooner

LETTER are their circumstances changed, and themselves  
 XXXVI. fet in something like a throne of judgment, but  
 ~~~~~ the corruption of human nature appears, the flames  
 of an intemperate zeal break forth, and they boldly
 express and demand all that severity and rigour
 of which they had so very lately, and with so
 much justice, complained. Nor is this change
 of spirit upon a change of times peculiar to these
 reformers. The opposite party come in for a share
 of it too. There is preserved, among the papers
 I spoke of in the Scots college of Paris, an original
 letter from the Archbishop of St. Andrews
 to the Archbishop of Glasgow, at this time in
 France, in which among other complaints he says
 " it might be sufficient to ony that would be of
 " this new opinion, to use their own conscience
 " with thairfell, and nocht to cummer otheris, to
 " boist them or banische thame the cuntrie, with-
 " out thair doo sicklyk, or at leist to hald all their
 " benefices and lyvings fra thame." Why did
 not the Primate think of this sooner, when he
 had Adam Wallace and Walter Miln before him,
 who would have thought liberty of conscience
 sufficient? And with what propriety could he now
 in his crest-fallen state, complain of a practice,
 however iniquitous in itself, of which he himself
 in the days of his power, had set repeated ex-
 amples? This is another of the many instances
 where it appears, that the spirit of Popery, as con-
 trary to the spirit of the gospel, has influenced the
 reformation, and kept in fundry corruptions which
 were equally as Antichristian as many of those
 that were thrown out.

But to go on: On the twenty fourth of Au-
 gust there were other two acts made: One abo-
 lishing the Pope's authority within the realm, and
 the

the other rescinding all former acts not agreeing with the *Confession of Faith* now ratified, and approved by the estates. In the abolishing of the Pope's authority, there is a particular clause in one of their acts which deserves to be taken notice of, where they order "that the Bishoprick of Galloway be adjudged to the Bishop of Athens, without the Pope's Bulls." We shall hear more of this Bishop afterwards: What I would observe in the mean time is, that this reforming Parliament, as it is called, does not seem to have been such an enemy to Episcopacy as to think it unlawful to dispose of Bishopricks, and even to take into their own hands the power of that disposal, which had long run in another channel. These three are the only acts which our historians mention as passed at this time, tho' it is certain there were several others about some of the affairs of state: And it is strange that our two church-writers of different characters, Knox and Spotswood, who both take notice of the restricting article of the treaty, against meddling with matters of religion, should particularize the only acts that were a direct contravention to that express restriction. But this was not the only deviation from the agreement, by virtue of which they met. For by the thirteenth article it was appointed that any complaints from the Prelates about their livings should be heard and redressed by the estates: And yet, as we are told by a letter from a Thomas Archbald, Chamberlain of the Archbishoprick of Glasgow, to the Archbishop, of date August 28th, 1560, the injured churchmen were never allowed time to present their bills, under pretence of hurry of other business, till the favourite project was carried, and then the Parliament

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broke up in all haste, without taking notice of any thing that should come from their now humbled adversaries, and only emitting this self-vindicating declaration, that "because none of the kirkmen had given in their bills of complaint; therefore the Lords and Nobility had done their duty, according to the articles of peace." It would seem indeed, by the silence of the Prelates when the point of doctrine was under discussion, which one should have thought, was the proper sphere for them to have moved in; that their only view in being there at all, was to take care of their benefices, and watch every opportunity of getting them secured, according to the article agreed to for that purpose. Upon which too probable supposition they might have seen; and no doubt did see their error at last, in letting go what they should have reckoned the substance, in hopes of catching the shadow, and by that worldly minded piece of policy losing both.— How would Knox and Buchanan have triumphed over them upon this severe and merited disappointment, if it could have been done without exposing the shuffling and evasive iniquity of their own friends in the management of it? For this reason they have denied themselves that pleasure, and observe an affected silence on the whole affair.

Keith,
P. 491.

When the parliament was dissolved, the preachers, we are told, were busied in drawing up a form of church-polity, for the order that should be observed in preaching and ministration of the sacraments, in the election and maintenance of pastors, and other things relating to discipline. And the care of this great work was committed to six of the most able of them, of whom John Knox was

was one, and from the nature of the composition ^{LETTER XXXVI.} seems to have been the principal one. It is called the *First book of Discipline*, and consists of nine divisions beside subdivisions. As some of the framers of it wished to conform as near as possible to the ancient model of government, it appoints superintendents, with some remains of episcopal power and precedence, and lays out ten districts under the old name of dioceses to be filled with them, viz. Orkney, Ross, Argyle, Aberdeen, Brechin, Fife, Lothian, Jedburgh, Glasgow and Dumfries.* In the second head of *the Sacraments*, it enjoins “sitting at the Lord’s table, as most convenient to that holy action, and thinks it nearest to what Christ and the Apostles did; that the minister break the bread and distribute to those that are next him, commanding the rest every one with reverence and sobriety to *break* with other, during which time some such proper places of scripture ought to be read as the minister shall appoint.” In the fourth head about ministers, it says, “other ceremonies than the publick approbation of the people and declaration of the chief minister we cannot approve: For albeit the Apostles used the laying on of hands, yet since the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremony we judge not necessary.”—About readers. “To the church which cannot

* This constitution had indeed some appearance of a Prelatial plan, and the ingenious author of the *Fundamental Charter of Presbytery* has collected out of the histories and General assemblies of these times no fewer than thirty instances of a visible superiority which these superintendents were vested with, and exercised over the ordinary class of ministers, tho’ at the same time clogged with such levelling and inconsistent incumbrances, as can no way be adjusted to the primitive model in the most diminutive point of view.

“ presently

LETTER XXXVI. “ presently be furnished with ministers, men
 “ must be appointed that can distinctly read the
 “ *Common Prayers* and scriptures, for the ex-
 “ ercise both of themselves and the church, un-
 “ till they grow to a greater perfection, because
 “ he who is now a reader may in process of
 “ time attain to a further degree, and be admit-
 “ ted to the holy ministry.” And again on this
 subject in the ninth head, “ In great towns we
 “ think expedient, that every day there be either
 “ sermon or common prayer, with some exercise
 “ of reading the scriptures : The day of publick
 “ sermon we do not think the common prayer
 “ needful to be used, lest we should foster the
 “ people in superstition, who come to the prayers
 “ as they come to the mass, or give them occasi-
 “ on to think that there are no prayers which
 “ are conceived before and after sermon.” By
 this last clause we see they make a distinction be-
 tween *Common* prayers and what they call *Con-*
ceived, or as the darling phrase now is, *extempore*
 prayers, and that they feared the people’s fondness
 for the common prayers, which they were acquaint-
 ed with, might, if not guarded against, lead them
 to disregard the conceived sort, which they could
 know nothing of till they heard them. We see
 too, that now when they had found the benefi-
 cial effects of preaching, it began to be thought
 more essential and deserving of greater attention,
 than about three years ago, when they presented
 their first petitions to the Regent : And in all
 this we may easily perceive the peculiar finger of
 Knox who, in little more than a year’s time, had
 turned conceived prayers and bold preaching to
 such unexpected advantage. Upon this head the
 book further adds, that “ in every church on
 “ Sunday

" Sunday in the forenoon the word must be preach-
 " ed, sacraments administered, and marriage so-
 " lemnized when occasion does offer : In the af-
 " ternoon the catechism must be taught, and the
 " young children examined upon it in audience
 " of the people : When there is neither preach-
 " ing nor catechism in the afternoon, the com-
 " mon prayer ought to be used ; four times in
 " the year we think sufficient for the ministering
 " the Lord's table, and to prevent the superstition
 " of observing Easter and such like, we appoint
 " the first Sundays of the four months of March,
 " June, September, and December for that ser-
 " vice."

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In the article concerning the punishment of those that profane the sacraments, it is said, " the Papistical Priests have neither power nor authority to minister the sacraments of Christ, because that in their mouth is not the sermon of exhortation," consonant to the 22d head of their confession, which describes lawful ministers to be only those that are appointed to the preaching of the word, or into whose mouth God hath put some sermon of exhortation. And here again, besides the lameness of the description which the meanest judgment cannot but find out, there is ground to suspect a particular touch of Mr. Knox's hand in attributing their own peculiar faculty of exhortation, as they phrase it, either to immediate inspiration, as the sound of the phrase bears, or to their own superiority of gifts, natural or acquired, above the poor Papistical Priests, whom he always vilifies as a parcel of contemptible ignorants.

In the 6th head about the *Patrimony of the Kirk*, which is the precious jewel that they still have

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have an eye to, after inveighing bitterly against some of the most zealous of their own profession on this score, they say, “ the Gentlemen, Barons, “ Earls, Lords and others, must be content to “ live on their own just rents, and suffer the “ kirk to be restored to her right and liberty. “ The sums necessary for preserving good order “ and discipline within the kirk must be lifted “ of the tenths, viz. the tenth of corns of all “ forts, of hay, hemp, lint, fish, calf, lamb, wool, “ foal, cheese, besides all things doted to hospi- “ tality, and annual rents in burgh or land per- “ taining to Priests, Chantries, Chaplainries, “ Colleges and Priors of all orders, which “ ought to be retained for the kirk within the “ towns or parishes where they are doted. Fur- “ thermore, to the upholding of the universi- “ ties and sustentation of the Superintendants, “ the whole revenue of the temporality of the “ Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons lands, and “ of all rents of lands pertaining to cathedral “ kirks whatever, ought to go.” And of all these vast revenues, with the contributions of merchants within burgh, they appoint Deacons annually chosen to be collectors, and to account for them to the Superintendants, or to the general assembly of the kirk.* This book of discipline

* Archbishop Spotswood tells us that when the Primate Hamilton heard of this strange device which a certain nobleman called a *devout imagination*, he sent a Mr John Brand to tell Mr Knox from him, “ that however he had introduced another “ form of religion and reformed the doctrine of the church, “ whereof it might be there was some reason, yet he should do “ well not to shake loose the order and policy received, which “ had been the work of many ages, till he were sure of a bet- “ ter to be seated in place thereof,” and urged his advice from the

discipline thus finished, was presented to a convention of the estates, but was not received with all that approbation which the compilers had looked for. Their high claim upon the church lands throw an odium upon the whole scheme, as the great men who had already laid their hands upon some of them, did not chuse to part with them all at once, in compliance with what they were pleased to call "a devout imagination." Yet, to humour the party as far as their interest was not concerned, and to testify their concurrence in zeal against idolatry, this convention passed an act for demolishing all such cloysters and abbey churches as were not yet destroyed, the execution of which was committed for the West parts to the Earls of Arran, Argyle, and Glencairn; for the North, to Lord James the Queen's brother; and for the incountries to some zealous Barons of best note. In consequence of this shew of authority for finishing the work, which the fury of a lawless rabble had begun, every thing almost that was sacred and venerable went to wreck; churches, libraries, vessels, registers, sepulchres, all were ruined without distinction, in compliance with Mr. Knox's sage and senatorial counsel, "that the only way to banish the rooks was "to pull down their nests." This pleasant business would give his pious heart some solace un-

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p. 174.

the way that the Highlanders take to break wild colts, by fastening them with two tethers, and as they slacken the one, keeping the other strait, till the creature be tamed and brought to bear the rider. But Mr. Knox, either trusting to his own dexterity and influence, or abominating every thing that came from the *Bloody Bastard*, as he always calls him, went on in his own way. The event shewed that the Archbishop's advice was good, and Knox himself was soon convinced of his error in not following it.

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see the glorious disappointments of his darling
 project. And that he was delighted with its ap-
 pearance from the recollection of his own account of
 it, where, after manifesting the hand of God in
 it, he breaks out into this exclamation, — O that
 “we would rightly consider the wondrous
 “works of the Lord our God.”

Another piece of honourable kindness con-
 ferred upon him, was their dispatching messen-
 gers thro' the Kingdom, to call up the principal
 of the Clergy in Edinburgh, to give an account of
 their faith and religion before the new judica-
 ture. From Aberdeen, we are told, were sum-
 moned four Divines, Alexander Anderson, Sub-
 principal of the university, who was afterwards
 deposed by the Laird of Dun, Superintendent of
 Angus; John Leslie, official; Patrick Myreton,
 treasurer; and James Strachan, one of the Ca-
 nons, to be questioned before the Council in
 the town-house of Edinburgh, by John Willocks
 and John Knox. We have two very different
 relations of this dispute, one by Knox, and the
 other by Bishop Leslie, each in favour of his
 own side of the question, but with a visible dis-
 parity in the strain and language of the two re-
 lations. Nor were these the only favours that Knox
 met with from this convention: For before they
 broke up, he got a good number of them per-
 suaded to subscribe his book of discipline, tho'
 with this unwelcome proviso, “that the Bishops,
 “Abbots, Priors, and other Prelates and bene-
 “ficed men which else have adjoined themselves
 “to us, brook the revenues of their benefices
 “during their lifetimes, they sustaining and up-
 “holding the ministry and ministers for preach-
 “ing of the word and ministering the sacra-
 “ments.”

“ments.” This was a disagreeable condition, but there was no help; better put up with something, than lose all. For tho’ this partial and limited subscription could not be thought to have the force of even such legal sanction as was current at that time, yet it gave the book in general some sort of countenance, by securing a considerable party in its favour.

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In consequence of these previous steps, they proceeded on the ninth of March to the admission of Mr. John Spotswood to be Superintendent of Lothian, at the desire of the churches in that district, and by charge and power from the Lords of the secret council. This gentleman had passed a course of regular education in the university of Glasgow about the beginning of our religious controversies, and, like many others in these doubtful and uncertain times, withdrew into England, where he became familiarly acquainted with Archbishop Cranmer, and was by him confirmed in the belief of these old truths which were now revived. Upon his return many years after to his own country, he was presented by Sir James Sandilands of Calder, who was a great pillar of the reformation, to the parsonage of Calder which then happened to be vacant, tho’ whether he was in holy orders or not, we are not told. In this station he was, when nominated to be one of the superintendents of the new erection, and now at this time formally installed in that office by John Knox as minister of Edinburgh, who has given us a full detail of all the solemnity. He appears by all we hear of him, to have been a man of great repute and esteem among all ranks, and sufficiently qualified to have born this assumed

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character in a fuller and more regular manner.* At what time, or in what manner the other superintendents of the original nomination were admitted to their respective charges we have no distinct account. Only we find them soon after this appearing upon the public stage, and distinguished by that designation viz: For Fife, Mr. John Winram, who had been subprior of St. Andrews, and whom Mr. Wishart in his last moments called “the good man” from whose hands he was willing to have received the Eucharist, if he could have got it in both kinds, which the Prelates would not allow: For Glasgow, Mr. John Willox, who had been colleague with Knox, and gave decision in the grand question of suspending the Queen Regent’s commission: For Angus and Merns, John Erskine Laird of Dun, a gentleman indeed of unblemished reputation, who had early appeared with great candor and uprightness on the reforming side, but a mere layman, without the

* I am sorry to see something that looks a little unfavourable to his memory, in an admonition which he is said to have sent to all under his charge, at the time when the Queen was at Hamilton after her escape from Lochleven, and in which he loads his then unfortunate Sovereign with the blackest epithets, and in a style too which, upon bare suspicion only would not have been expected from one of his acknowledged prudence and moderation, and will not be thought a suitable return to the degree of regard which that distressed Princess had, in the days of her glory, expressed for him. He seems indeed to have been, as most of all the then preachers were, much managed by and under the influence of John Knox: And this may serve to account for that glaring partiality which Archbishop Spotwood the superintendent’s son everywhere discovers towards Mr. Knox, and which I doubt not, had been early instilled into him by his father’s being so much prepossessed that way, as he was but 20 years of age when his father died in 1585, and could know little of himself about Knox, who died in 1572.

least

least pretence to the clerical character in any shape : And for Argyle, Mr John Carfewell, who had been rector of Kilmartine, and seems to have been a man of some consequence in the Queen's interest : For in 1566 she creates him Abbot of Icolmkill and Bishop of the isles, " as fully and " freely as if he had been provided thereto in " the court of Rome." In 1567 he joined the Lords at Hamilton who declared for the captive Queen, and sat in their Parliament as Bishop of the isles, for which he was censured by the General assembly, and died not long after. Why Mr. Knox was not appointed to one or other of these superintendencies, as there were other five to be disposed of, and which were never filled up, is somewhat surprising, and has been interpreted as a sign of his disapprobation of any thing that but looked like a Prelacy or imparity in the church : Tho' at the same time his contriving such a model and acting under it cannot easily be reconciled to such an interpretation. But the man no doubt had his own ends to serve, and would see it more conducive to the main cause, and more honourable to himself, to remain what he was, minister of Edinburgh, and placed on the watch-tower of the metropolis, from whence he could inspect all the affairs of church and state, and be, under the title of the humble John Knox, the superintendent of all the superintendents in the kingdom.

I am, &c.

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L E T T E R X X X V I I .

Reflections on the State of the Reformation in Scotland—The Rejection of Episcopacy, and Plea of Necessity for it, considered—List of reforming Bishops abroad—Sketch of Ecclesiastical Affairs in England—Account of the Council of Trent concluded—Rise and Progress of the Socinian Heresy.

HAVING now brought the history of what is called the *Reformation* in Scotland to the commonly received era of its legal settlement; before I proceed any further in my account of the new establishment, I shall take the liberty to offer a few reflections which naturally arise from, or are connected with, the ecclesiastical transactions of these last fifty years. We have seen a new form of a church arising, not like a phoenix out of the ashes of the old one, but upon the ruins of a church which, tho' not on the footing of pure antiquity, yet because of a long and splendid

did continuance, may in that sense be called an old church; and we have seen that new form set up after a peculiar manner, such as had never been seen before, and has not been altogether copied after by any denomination of church builders since. There are two capital points of ecclesiastical concern which those of the Protestant name in Scotland are divided about, and in which both sides would be appealing to the first reformers for a decision: And these are the *Mode* of public worship, and the *Form* of church-government.

As to the first of these, it is as clear as any thing can be from history, that these reformers had prayers that were read; and readers are as standing an office among them as ministers or exhorters. In all the petitions from their general assemblies to the civil authority, for the maintenance of the kirk, there is always mention of readers, and a suitable provision demanded for them: And that it was their business to read prayers in their sacred meetings, we have been expressly told thro' all the stages of their history we have hitherto touched at. Yea, as far down as the year 1563,* we find an act of the privy council ordering the reparation of kirks by an assessment upon the minister and parishioners proportionably, because, as the act bears, "thro' lack of
 " repairs the preaching of the word of God,
 " ministrations of the sacraments, and reading
 " of the common prayers ceases, and the people
 " therethro' becomes altogether without know-
 " ledge

* In the general assembly of December that year, on the question about Thomas Duncanson, schoolmaster and reader inirling, who had committed fornication, and made public resistance for it, "whether he should be restored to his office in
 " the

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“ledge and the fear of God.” What prayers they were which they read, is not material to the main hinge of the controversy; nor does it affect the question in general, that the reading of the prayers began now to be looked upon in an inferior light, in comparison of preaching, which I have endeavoured to account for already. It is enough that they had prayers read, and had a particular order of men appointed for that office; which in some places seems to have been joined to that of the schoolmaster, for want, I suppose, of a proper living for both. But tho’ this first class of reformers for some time retained both the office and officer, their pretended successors, by degrees, jostled out the prayers from the office, and only reserved a chapter or two of scripture, to be read at discretion, and before the preacher entered, by the schoolmaster, who, from that part of his employment, was still called *the Reader*. *

As to the other debateable point of church-government, this much may be gathered from what we have as yet met with, that the generality of our first reformers, especially those of the laity, who were the great body of them, seem to

“the kirk or not,” it was ordained that he should abstain from the said office, till the kirk of Stirling made request to the superintendent for him, and he present the said request in the next assembly: Which is the same formality of procedure that is observed in the same assembly with Alexander Jarden minister of Kilspindie for a like scandal, and shews that the reader was a church-officer as well as the minister.

* In many parishes the small allotment of victual-stipend that is paid to the schoolmaster, is called the *Reader Meal* to this day, tho’ in most places the scriptures have followed the fate of the prayers, and the reader reads nothing in the kirk as a part of the sacred service, unless it be the line of the psalm before he sings it.

have

have had no aversion to the order or office of Bishops, however virulently some of their preachers might have spoken against that order, or acted in opposition to it. All their public remonstrances hitherto look favourably that way, and their new-constructed fabric of *Superintendency* had no doubt been designed as a resemblance, tho' but a lame one, of the old model. How far Knox, the great champion in this cause, wished well or ill to a Prelacy of any form, I shall not enquire; as I take him, and so will every impartial person that looks into his own account of himself, to have been a man who despised all superiority, civil or ecclesiastical, which did not humour his own taste, or clashed with any of his particular notions or schemes. He was a true disciple of Calvin, and madly attached to every thing that favoured of the Geneva leaven. I know very well what has been said of Calvin's respect to pure and primitive episcopacy, and how much many of his expressions in his letters indicate that respect. But expression is one thing, and practice is another. Had he, or others of these original reformers, been sincere in such expressions, what should have hindered them from putting their professions into practice, and obtaining that true and valid episcopacy, which we are made to believe they entertained such a value for? The plea of necessity, so loudly and plausibly brought in here from almost every quarter, will not upon examination be found so satisfactory as is given out: Tho' it is the favourite argument for vindicating the orders of the reformed churches abroad, and silencing, from sympathy more than solidity, any doubts about the validity of them, when such

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doubts can be cleared up no other way. For if we are to consider what is called Episcopacy, in its genuine and original constitution, as instituted by the Apostles, and continued thro' the first three hundred years, neither hampered with the incumbrances, nor burdened with the adventitious trappings of foreign connections, which is the proper, if not the only, light in which it ought to be viewed, there is ground to think such an Episcopacy might have been found by the reformers upon the continent, if not at their first outset, yet in process of time, and before they had been obliged to encroach upon the old privileges of it in their subsequent establishments. There were Bishops at various times and in various places, true real Bishops in the undisputed order of Apostolic succession, who saw and forsook the corruptions of the church of Rome, and were capable, upon proper application, to have supplied the reformed societies with that hierarchy which so many of them pretended to hold in veneration. And as this is an observation not much attended to in discussions of this nature, and will not, I hope, be thought too great a digression from my main design, I shall beg leave to offer a list of such Bishops of this description as I have met with, in what little I have had opportunity to read of the ecclesiastical histories of these times.

Sleidan,

1. I shall begin with the worthy and well-known Herman, Archbishop and Elector of Cologne, who, about the year 1543, when the German reformation was well advanced, taking hold of a decree from both the Emperor and the Pope, for redressing the disorders complained of, called a synod of his canons and clergy, and proposed

proposed to them a system of articles, both doctrinal and ritual, which he had drawn up for that purpose. But being opposed by his clergy, and continuing by his Archiepiscopal authority to prosecute his undertaking with a truly orthodox zeal, he was first, at the instigation of the Canons of his cathedral, attacked by the Emperor in 1545, and then summoned by the Pope to appear within sixty days at Rome, to give an account of his proceedings. This citation he neglected; upon which the Pope next year excommunicated him: And Herman appealed from the Pope, whom he no longer acknowledged as judge, to a lawful general council, before which he engaged to pursue and prove his charge against the papal pretensions. But being grieved at the obstinacy of some, and double dealing of others of his clergy, and unwilling to expose his people to the hostilities of war, with which the Emperor threatened him, he soon after released the states of the Electorate from their oaths of allegiance to him as their Prince, resigned his dignity, and retired to his own paternal inheritance of Meurs upon the Rhine, where he lived privately and comfortably till the year 1552, when he died.

2. To him I shall join one of his successors, tho' <sup>Slcidan,</sup> at some distance of time: Gebhard Truiches, Archbishop and Elector of Cologne in the year 1577, who, having embraced the reformation was driven out of Cologne, but sustained himself a good while at Bonne, one of his electoral cities, till having lost it too he withdrew into Holland, and after staying some time there returned to Germany in the year 1589, where he died soon after.

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3. Gerard

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Steidan,
3. Gerard Geldenhaur, Archbishop of Utrecht, embraced the Lutheran doctrines, and retired into Germany, where he wrote the history of Holland and of the low countries, and was killed by highwaymen in the year 1542.
- Ibid.
4. Andrew Dudithius Bishop of Five Churches in Hungary, was a man of good parentage, learning and probity, and is commended by the celebrated historian Thuanus for his parts and erudition: The Emperor Ferdinand sent him to Trent as his ambassador, soon after which he turned Protestant, and went to Poland, where he died in the year 1589.
- Duret:
5. John Alasco, of noble birth, was a Polish Bishop, and turning Protestant, was called over by Edward VI. to England, where he officiated as pastor to the Dutch congregation in London.— In Queen Mary's time he removed with his friends to Denmark, from whence, being inclined to Calvin's principles about the Eucharist, he was obliged to retire, and settled sometime at Frankfort, while the divisions among the refugees subsisted there, but was soon recalled by the Protestants of his own country, where he was much respected even by the then King himself, and died in the year 1560.
- Collier's
Dict.
6. Peter Paul Vergerius Bishop of Justinianople in Istria, was bred a lawyer, and in that capacity was employed by Pope Clement VII. in 1530 against the Lutherans in Germany, where he acted with great vigour and dexterity, and to the entire satisfaction of his employer. Pope Paul III. continued him in the same office, and was so well pleased with his fidelity, that in 1536 he gave him the Bishoprick of Justinianople, and as a further reward of his services was to have made him

him a Cardinal in 1541. But some enemies having whispered into the Pope's ears that his long abode in Germany had given him some taint of the Lutheran errors, this so struck him that, to clear himself from that imputation, he went home from Rome to his See, and began a confutation of what he called the German Apostacy. This undertaking led him to turn over and examine the writings on the Lutheran side, which whilst he was engaged in, instead of discovering and confuting their errors, he found himself caught and almost convinced by their arguments. And now laying aside all thoughts of the Cardinal's hat, he applied to his brother John Baptist Vergerius, Bishop of Pola in the same country, and begged his advice what to do. The brother in a great fright lamented his situation: But upon consulting the scriptures on the controverted tenets, he too joined in his brother's conviction, and acknowledged the falsity of their former doctrines. On this they began a reformation in their own diocesses, both in doctrine and worship, and with no small success for some time. This attempt made such a noise, that the Monks and other emissaries from Rome, thinking their all at stake, run up and down among the people of Justinianople, and what with threats of the Pope's resentment, what with artifice of declamation, incited them to murder their Bishop as a work of great merit. The Bishop, to avoid this tumultuous fury, retired to Mantua to his old friend the Cardinal Gonzaga: But being persecuted here too with calumnious accusations, he went boldly to Trent, to purge himself before the council which was then begun to sit there. When the Pope heard of this, tho' ungratefully forgetting

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forgetting the man's former services, he would fain have had him in his power, yet not to give any handle of his impeding the freedom of the council, by seizing a Bishop who had come to it, he wrote to his Legates not to allow Vergerius a seat in their meetings, and to order him to be gone. Being thus driven from Trent, he returned to Venice, where the Pope's Nuncio, John de Casa Archbishop of Benevento, (the same who wrote that filthy piece in praise of the peculiar vice of Italy,) artfully advised him to go to Rome to satisfy the Pope who, he said, still had a favour for him. But Vergerius being wise enough not to trust himself in such hands, the nuncio forbade him in the Pope's name, to return to his diocese. He was therefore obliged to take shelter in Padua, one of the Venetian cities: And while he resided in it, he was witness to the miserable condition and tragical end of Francis Spira, a lawyer of Citadella: Who having some years before embraced the newly revived doctrines, and being now frightened by the bullying menaces of the nuncio on the one hand, and decoyed on the other by the persuasions of his own relations, to make a publick and solemn abjuration of them, fell into the most horrible perturbation both of body and mind, and after some weeks of inexpressible agony, in spite of all bodily remedies or spiritual consolations, dyed in the deepest despair in the year 1548. This shocking spectacle had such an effect upon Vergerius, who was one of the unhappy man's spiritual comforters, that from that moment he resolved to bid adieu to his native country, and retire to any place where he could enjoy and profess the purity of the gospel with freedom. Accordingly he left Padua,
and

and removed first to the Grisons, and then to the LETTER
 Valteline, where he got account of the death of of XXXVII.
 his brother the Bishop of Pola, whom, it was
 thought, the Monks had poisoned. After some
 years stay in that country, he accepted of an in-
 vitation from Christopher Duke of Wirtemberg
 and settled at Tubingen, where he died in the year
 1565.

7. Gerard Rousseau was first a Dominican Fri-
 ar, but quitting the habit he travelled into Ger-
 many, and became acquainted with the Protestant
 doctrines, which, on his return he preached in the
 court of the Queen of Navarre, sister to Francis I.
 This learned and religious Princess procured him
 first the Abbey of Nerac, and after that the Bi-
 shoprick of Oleron, and protected him against all
 the persecutions of his enemies. He was a man
 of good qualities, and of an exemplary life, and
 was the first in France who gave the communion
 in both kinds, but did not fully approve of either
 Luther's doctrine or Calvin's in all points: He
 dyed in the year 1551, by the means of a
 Peter Arnaud, who thereby procured the Bishop-
 rick for his son.

8. Odet, Cardinal de Chatillon, and brother to
 the famous Admiral Coligni, was Bishop of Beau-
 vais, where he held two synods against the Here-
 tics in the years 1554 and 1557, but afterwards
 adopted the reforming scheme that was going
 on, and in 1561 upon the holidays of Easter ad-
 ministered the Eucharist after the Protestant form
 in the chapel of his episcopal palace, having re-
 fused to celebrate mass in the cathedral. Pope
 Pius IV. in a private consistory deprived him of
 his purple, and he himself came over to England,
 where he died in 1571.

9. John

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9. John Antony Caraccioli, of the princely family of Melfi in Naples, was consecrated Bishop of Troyes in Champagne in 1551, and after the conference at Poissi in 1561, was convinced of the truth of the doctrine professed in the reformed churches: And being desirous to profit all the people of his diocess, which he thought could not so well be, unless the reformed preachers in it submitted to his government, and acknowledged him as their Bishop, he made an application to them for that purpose, and was cordially received and submitted to in that character. This we learn by a letter from Peter Martyr, who was then at Troyes, to Beza, in which he not only approves, but likewise rejoices in the brethren's submission to the Bishop's authority, as being so likely a mean to advance the Protestant cause: However the Popish Bishops being fretted to see a person of the same character and dignity with themselves keep his place and office, and exercise all the functions of it in the reformed way, and fearing the consequences of such an example, applied to the King against this Protestant Bishop, and got him turned out by the royal authority. On which the honest man retired to a part of his family inheritance upon the Loire, and died there in the year 1569.

10. James Paul Spifame was Bishop of Nevers, and upon the breaking out of the civil wars in France, went to Geneva, and declared himself Protestant. Soon after, Calvin sent him to Orleans to the Prince of Condè, who knowing his abilities, employed him to the diet of the German states at Francfort, to justify the proceedings of the French Protestants, and solicit the Empire's assistance. On his return to Geneva after this legation,

gation which did not succeed, he was accused of a design to betray the Protestants, and be reconciled to the church of Rome, in hopes of a new Bishoprick: For which, and some other alledged misdemeanours, probably too by some political manœuvre of Calvin's jealous spirit, he was condemned to lose his head, and was beheaded accordingly.

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Now here are no fewer than ten instances, well attested in history, besides many others perhaps that have not come so much to public knowledge, of Bishops who were men of some figure, and having renounced the errors of Popery, could have preserved the episcopal order and succession in any society that chose to accept of it. And if a calculation of numbers could be made, it might perhaps appear that, in proportion to the vast difference in this respect between the two orders of churchmen, there were as many reforming Bishops in those days as reforming Presbyters, altho' it be the common report in this country that "the reformation was carried on by Presbyters." I know the Popish party will brand all these men I have mentioned, with the odious titles of Hereticks and Apostates, and will boldly affirm, that after their sovereign the Pope had laid his Anathemas upon them, they lost their powers, and were no longer Bishops. But they should remember that when they say so, they contradict their own school divines, Thomas, Scotus, Bonaventura, Aureolus, Capreolus, Vasquez, &c. who all of them, in their commentaries upon the great text of "The Sentences," agree that "Non potest Papa Episcopo, quantuncunque degradato, ordinandi potestatem auferre," the Pope cannot from a Bishop, however much de-

Collier's
Dictionary,
Thuanus,
&c. †

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graded, take away the power of ordination.—
And as for the charge of Herefy, that is a mere
begging the question, and deserves no other treat-
ment than to be retorted on the objectors.

However it is not with them, I have to do at present: It is with people who profess an esteem for true primitive Episcopacy, and seem to lament the woful necessity that deprived them of that blessing, as the Presbyterian President of the synod of Dort, Bogermannus, said to the English Bishop Hall, when the Bishop put him in mind how fit a remedy Episcopacy is for suppressing clamour and contention, “ Domine, non fumus adeo fælices, my Lord, we are not so happy. For what was it that stood at first between them and that happiness? There were Protestant Bishops, scattered indeed here and there who, if the primitive example had been followed on all sides, might have done as the primitive Bishops did in as hot persecutions as even those to which they were exposed. Might not, for instance, the reforming Princes of Germany who protected the Monk Luther; might not the independent republic of Geneva, which received and supported the lay-preacher Calvin, have applied to and desired the favour of a Herman, a Vergerius, a Gerard Rousseau, to take them by the hand, and model their reformed church on the old, and by their own confession, venerable plan? Indeed, the more I view the strange and inconsistent proceedings of those times, I am still the more convinced that there has been a defect somewhere, I might have said every where, upon this very score; and a defect too which seems to have had its rise in that very church which now exclaims so loudly against it. The Bishops for a course
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of ages, had been accustomed to behold the patrimony and temporal endowments of the church with such an eye of affectionate admiration, that they thought, when these were at any time taken or withheld from them for whatever cause, they had nothing more to do as Bishops. From the bare and naked possession of that title, they seem to have reckoned themselves neither obliged nor even almost empowered, to ordain clergy or preserve their own order, or in a word, to perform any part of the episcopal function; which mistaken notion was one grievous impediment in the way of a regular reformation on the side of what concern any of the episcopal order had in it.

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And then from the other side, it is to be observed that, the most of the first reforming preachers, who had any right to the clerical character, having formerly been Monks, would naturally bring with them from their cloysters that indifference and want of esteem, not to call it aversion or contempt, for Bishops, which the Monastick fraternities had either by long custom or by express exemption, been used to entertain.—Hence they would naturally indulge themselves in the conceit, that as they had been in use to declaim and preach where they pleased, and to have their numbers kept up at the discretion of their Abbot or Prior, who was for the most part only in low orders, and sometimes in no orders at all, they might still carry on the old method under the new form without submission to, or dependence upon, any Bishop whatever. It may therefore be said with too much truth, that the sad defect in the reformed system, so much regretted by some, and complained of by others, has been in a great measure, if not altogether, occasioned.

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caſioned by theſe two inſtances of corruption which the Romiſh church, from her views of worldly policy, had early begun and long encouraged, an impudent ſelf-conceit in the Monks, and a ſtrange forgetfulneſs of ſpiritual character in the Biſhops. The lay-powers too who embraced and ſupported the reformation, when once they had fingered the rich patrimony of the church, would not be willing to reſtore ſuch an ample ſhare of it, as might be thought neceſſary for the ſupport of the Epiſcopal order, eſpecially to that degree of pomp and affluence, which they had been taught to look upon as eſſential to the character of a Biſhop. Theſe concurring circumſtances indeed may be ſaid to have formed a kind of accidental neceſſity, in the lax ſenſe of the word, but ſuch a neceſſity at the ſame time as had a good deal of choice in it, and might by care and circumſpection have been at laſt eaſily removed, if all parties had been ſincere and honeſt in the buſineſs.

What I have ſaid about the reformed churches abroad is equally applicable, if not more ſo, to the caſe of our own reformers at home. For their ſcheme of ſuperintendency, as it was propoſed and managed, tho' it ſeemed to carry a kindly aſpect towards Epiſcopacy, yet was at beſt but an unneceſſary mimicry of that form, which by their connections with, and obligations to England at that time, they might have obtained in reality. There were two or three nominal Biſhops who had joined the reforming party in this country, Stuart of Caithneſs, Bothwell of Orkney, and Hamilton of Argyle: I call them nominal Biſhops; becauſe, by an abuſe of long ſtanding, they were only named to, and put in a ſort of poſſeſſion

possession of the temporalities of, the See, without taking proper orders for the office, and sometimes without any orders at all. But they had likewise one real, duly ordained Bishop on their side, Alexander Gordon, of the family of Huntly, who had been first designed for the See of Glasgow, but being set aside by the Pope who preferred James Beton, was by way of amends honoured first with the empty title of Archbishop of Athens, and then provided to the Bishoprick of the Isles in 1553, from whence he was chosen for Gallo-way on the death of Bishop Durie in 1558, and in that station sat as one of the spiritual estate in the late Parliament.

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talogue,

It is true, these nominal Bishops, even with Bishop Gordon at their head, might not have been thought sufficient to have duly founded a reformed Episcopal church after the truly primitive model. But our reformers were now in a fair way of being assisted in the polity of the church, as they had been in the affairs of state, from England, if they had been as solicitous about the one as they were about the other. This requires to be more particularly accounted for, as the last view we took of church-matters in the neighbouring kingdom was far from promising any such friendly aid to the cause of reformation. The Popish Mary, who had succeeded her Protestant brother Edward in the year 1553, had early begun to discover her attachment to the exploded rites, and her indignation at the usage her mother Catharine had met with. Some of the Bishops who had renounced the Pope under Henry's strait reins, and had begun to boggle a little under the lax government of the young Edward, such as Gardiner
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LETTER of Winchester, Bonner of London, &c. now
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 clared the sentiments which they had all along
 kept lurking in their hearts. Such of that or-
 der as were sincere in their professions, and
 stedfastly adhered to the reforming scheme which
 all had once concurred in, either provided for
 their safety by a timely flight out of the king-
 dom, or if they staid, under the insidious offer
 of public disputation with their adversaries, were
 apprehended and thrown in prison. The first
 public thing that Mary did, was to send for Car-
 dinal Pool, a distant relation of the royal family,
 to whom Henry had once given a pension for
 carrying on his education, but had withdrawn
 it, and got him attainted in Parliament for pub-
 lishing a virulent invective against him on his
 rupture with Rome. Upon this welcome invi-
 tation, Pool came over in 1554, fortified with
 the character of Pope's Legate, and the next year,
 after having his attainder reversed by a Parlia-
 mentary decree, he in the Pope's name and au-
 thority absolved the whole nation of England
 from their guilt of schism and apostacy in the
 two late reigns, and solemnly reconciled them to
 the Apostolic See. And here let it be observed,
 that all this time, and at the performance of this
 so capital and peculiar act of spiritual function,
 this Cardinal Legate, who had already been one
 of the three Presidents in the council of Trent,
 was only in Deacon's orders, and was not ad-
 vanced to the high order of Bishop till some time
 after this, by three English Bishops, Heath, Bon-
 ner, and Hodgkins. This was one of the many
 new devices which the Popes had invented to
 sink the dignity of their brethren Bishops, by
 decking

decking Deacons, the lowest of the three Apostolic degrees, with red hats and affected titles, and thereby exalting them above those, who, by original institution and ancient practice, were their superiors. So many co-operating causes do we find in this corrupt system of Popery towards that disregard of, and departure from, the Apostolic plan of Episcopacy, which now so unhappily prevailed.

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After this parade of reconciliation was over, the old burning business was renewed. And tho' Pool was a good natured, humane man, and was once thought a little favourable to the Lutherans, to whom his house, when abroad, was always open, yet the impetuous and time-serving zeal of Gardiner and Bonner, taking hold of the Queen's bigotry and sourness of temper, brought numbers to the flames from different parts of the kingdom. * It is somewhat surprising, that, notwithstanding of the Queen's forwardness for having the church in England resettled upon the old footing, Archbishop Cranmer the Protestant Metropolitan should have been spared so long; for he suffered not till March 1556, and the See of Canterbury was not disposed of till his death. The expedient of lay-deprivation had not, it seems, been then thought of, tho' it was a wonder that the Pope's Bulls had not been applied to, or the hated Archbishop put out of

* It has been computed that in this combustion there perished five Bishops, Cranmer of Canterbury, Ridley of London, Latimer of Worcester, Hooper of Gloucester, and Ferris of St. Davids, twenty one inferior clergymen, eight lay-gentlemen, eighty four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, fifty five women, and four children. Enough and more than enough to disgrace the annals and blacken the memory of any people who went by the sacred name of christian.

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the way sooner: However, now upon his death Pool was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and every thing, except the best part of the old temporalities, which to the Pope's great disgust, the Queen still kept hold of, seemed to be in as flourishing and prosperous a train as could have been wished. But this fair prospect did not last long. For in little more than two years the Queen died, and Pool did not survive her many hours. Her sister Elizabeth, who had been frequently in danger, but had still been preserved, more from maxims of state-policy than any other consideration, was immediately proclaimed without the least disturbance, and crowned about two months after. The See of Canterbury, which the cruelty of Mary had opened for Pool, was now vacant by the hand of nature, if not of providence, and was canonically filled with Dr. Matthew Parker, who had been Dean of Lincoln in Edward's time, and on his nomination to Canterbury, was on the 17th of December 1559 consecrated in Lambeth chapel by the four surviving reformed Bishops, William Barlow formerly of Bath, now elect of Chichester, John Scory formerly of Chichester, now elect of Hereford, Miles Coverdale of Exeter, and John Hodgkin Suffragan of Bedford, who had all of them received the Episcopal character, thro' the same hands with some of the greatest Bishops in Queen Mary's time.*

* About forty years after this, a foolish story was trumped up under the ridiculous title of the Nag's-head consecration, to make people believe that the solemnity was performed clandestinely and in a farcical way in a common tavern, which has been again and again confuted, in a more serious manner indeed, and with more strength of demonstration, than the weakness of the calumny, or the character of its author, deserved.

Now

Now from this short sketch of the posture of LETTER XXXVII affairs in England, it is manifest that our reformers might have been easily assisted in modelling the Scottish church, upon a much nearer resemblance to the original plan, than that mixed motley scheme, which they were induced to set up in imitation of it. Yet so far were they from desiring any such foreign assistance, that they even did not make a proper use of what few helps their own country afforded them. For that very Bishop Gordon of Galloway, who had declared for them, and appears in his subsequent behaviour to have been as hearty, on what might be called the church side of the question, as any of them, tho' in end he differed from the great body of them in politics, yet tho' a Bishop he was passed by in the nomination of superintendents or chief ministers, and the superintendency of the West where his diocess lay, was given to an obscure Franciscan Friar of that country, John Willocks. Yea, not only so, but when the Bishop desired, in one of their assemblies to be admitted into that class, he was put off with a limited sort of commission for the purpose of visitation, and at another time, on some vague accusation, was even suspended for a while from the exercise of the ministry in any shape. So jarring and incongruous in its constitution is this new polity of a church, and so little encouragement had even the most primitively inclined Bishops, to accede to it, notwithstanding of that appearance of regard to prelacy which the flattering sound of *superintendency* carried along with it. Yet such as it is, we must in our historical narration put up with it for a while: And to this narration I shall very soon proceed. Only, before I begin to look into the general

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neral assemblies of the reformed kirk of Scotland, it may not be improper to take another view of the great general assembly of the Pope's kirk at Trent.

We had left the fathers of that council frightened away by the approach of the Protestant Maurice of Saxony, with a numerous body of troops, in the year 1552. After which, in terms of the treaty of Passaw, the religious differences in Germany were debated between the Emperor's agents and the Protestants, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, and to little purpose; till upon Charles's resignation in 1556, his brother Ferdinand, who succeeded him in the Empire, and seems to have been the honestest man of the two, came to some sort of terms with them a second time, and again renewed his applications to the Pope for re-assembling the council, to put a final remedy to these divisions. Upon which, the then Pope Pius IV. published a Bull in 1560, convening the council again at Trent, against Easter day the next year. However, because of the paucity of attendants at that day, the first session, which was the seventeenth from their first meeting, was not held till the 18th of January 1562, in which, besides common formalities, there was no material business done. In the eighteenth session there was a decree made concerning prohibited books, and an index of them drawn up: But it was not published while the council sat, for fear of offending the Lutherans, if they should have seen their own writings condemned. In the two next sessions the ambassadors from France embarrassed their proceedings a good deal, by insisting on some ceremonies, which were at last adjusted, and the council went on: And because it was desired that
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the points of faith should not be handled till the Protestants were heard with their objections, this matter was deferred till another meeting. In the mean time, the ambassadors from the Emperor and the King of France, from Hungary and Bohemia, and from the Duke of Bavaria; all proposed that, for gaining the Protestants, communion in both kinds should be allowed, and the proposal was debated in several meetings. Yet notwithstanding of this powerful interposition, an evasive decree passed in the twenty first session, that "it was matter of faith to believe that communicating in one kind, as to the laity and clergy who do not consecrate, is sufficient to salvation." And so, without taking further notice of this so pressing and long complained of grievance, they went on to define the sacrifice of the mass, which in the twenty second session is declared to be "a sacrifice propitiatory for the living and for the faithful departed, offered to God alone, tho' sometimes in honour of the saints, and out of regard to their memory."— The twenty third session on the 15th of July 1563 decided the doctrine of the sacrament of orders: The twenty fourth on November 11th defined marriage to be a sacrament, but not preferable to virginity or celibacy: The twenty fifth and last session on the 3d of December established Purgatory, indulgences, and invocation of saints: And then they referred all disputes and contested senses about the meaning of their decrees, to the Pope's single and absolute determination. Accordingly this Pope soon after digested all these various decisions into twelve distinct articles, which he added to the twelve articles of the Apostles creed, and published to the world under the title of *the Creed of the Council of Trent* as the only standard of the

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Catholic faith, to be received by all Catholic people, and sworn to and subscribed by every clergyman on his admission into orders.

Thus ended this famous council of Trent, the last and consummating council of the Romish church, after having sat, from first to last, eighteen years, under five successive Popes: In all which time, instead of healing any one sore, or reforming any of those disorders which their own Emperors and Kings complained of, they rather confirmed and widened the Protestant breach by their stiffness and obstinacy, and drove up the contended point of the Papal supremacy to almost a greater height than it had been at before, if the several sovereigns of that communion had been as tame and submissive as their predecessors, and had not been taught, by Protestant examples, to stand more up in defence of their royal prerogatives than had been done in former times.*

* The world has been favoured with two different histories of this council of Trent: One, under the fictitious name of *Pietro Soave Polano*, by father Paul Sarpi, a divine of Venice, and Provincial of the order of the servits (or servants of the blessed virgin, a religious order set up at Florence in the year 1232) who, at the time that Paul V. was contending about his powers with the republic of Venice, wrote a history of this council by way of answer to the insolent claims which the Pope was making upon the privileges of the republic. This work of father Paul's, by his candor and plainness in exposing the base intrigues of the Papal party for packing and overawing the council, was highly provoking to the Pope and his courtiers, but was well received by the Venetians, and indeed by the greatest and best part of the Romish communion: And such repute was the man in, for sanctity and integrity that, after his death, the people prayed at his tomb, till they were expressly prohibited by Pope Urban VIII. The other history was written about 50 years after this first one, by *Sforza Pallavicini*, who was made Cardinal by Pope Alexander VII. in 1659, and to support the Papal cause in many things contradicts father Paul's account, but was answered by a treatise on that subject

But

But while the controversy about reformation was thus carried on in an open and public manner, there started up a private and disunited sect, who, on the bare ground of their own reasoning faculties, set up a new belief, not in any of the lesser controverted articles of the times, but in the grand, and then uniformly received article of the nature and merits of that blessed Person, from whom they still took to themselves the common name of Christians. This sect appeared first in Italy, where a Lælius Socinus and his nephew Faustus were bred, and have the honour, such as it is, of giving the distinguishing name to the whole tribe, tho' neither the most conspicuous nor the most active among them. For, cotemporary with them and of the same country, were John Paul Alciate a gentleman of Milan, George Blandrata a Piedmontese physician, James Paleologus a Dominican of Rome, and fundry others, who, on beginning to vent their novelties, being forced to leave Italy for fear of the inquisition, took shelter in the Protestant countries of Switzerland and Geneva, but meeting with no favourable reception from Calvin and his associates, they went at different times and in different characters to Poland and Transylvania, where the civil broils and divisions gave them scope to publish their notions with freedom. Faustus Socinus had got possession of the papers, which his uncle Lælius had written on the subject of Christ's divinity, and these were the only materials he had to go to work with. This was a new field of contro-

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called *the new Gospel of Cardinal Pallavicini*: And to this day father Paul's history as the most genuine and authentic, has the preference among all denominations, except among the Jesuits and others of the Pope's creatures.

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verly opened, where none of the dissenters from the Romish church had hitherto appeared, and where these subtilizing gentlemen concluded she might be attacked, if not with success, at least with some share of fame and reputation.

The old heresy of Arius, which had long made a noise, was now exploded and almost forgotten, and the reformers in the several parts of Europe agreed with Rome in the old catholic doctrine of the divinity of Jesus Christ. This Arian scheme therefore, Socinus and his companions thought fit to revive, with this improvement, to make it appear their own, that whereas Arius, absurdly enough to be sure, would have Christ to be a sort of being between God and creature, or in other words, a created God, which carried inconsistency in the very sound, the Socinians maintained that he was altogether a mere man, and had no manner of existence before his incarnation; that all the design of his office was not to redeem mankind, but to instruct them; and that his death on the cross was with no other view, and had no other effect, but only to be a pattern of heroic virtue, and a confirmation of the truth of his doctrine. In consequence of this, they denied the original pollution of nature, the necessity of grace, and the efficacy of sacramental institutions. They had other strange conceits about the immensity and omniscience of God, about the operations of the human mind, and the nature and duration of a future state. But these debasing notions about the person and offices of Jesus Christ, are the distinguishing tenets of the party, and make the capital figure in all their writings, which are both numerous and artful. Yet they all continued for a while to pray  
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to Christ, and to worship him on the footing of his being, as it were, a vice-god, invested with a sovereign power over all creatures: Till within a few years after their first appearance, one of their disciples, Francis David, opposed this practice, upon the unanswerable argument, that no worship or adoration ought to be given to a creature, however high or excellent. This man created much trouble to the sect, and split them into two factions. Socinus himself died in the year 1604 near Cracow, but the party did not die with him. They maintained their ground long in Poland, where they had schools, published catechisms; and for some time engrossed most of the Protestant name. In Prussia too and Holland they had long footing, but were little heard of in England, till during the confusions of Charles the First's time, that a John Biddle broached and openly avowed their tenets, and suffered for them. After which, sundry others trod in the same paths, particularly among the dissenters from the established church. It is only of late years that some of her clergy, seized with the infection, have broke off from her communion, and formed themselves into separate societies, where their worship is conducted by a liturgy entirely agreeable to their own principles. As error is catching, and novelty always pleasing, it is probable we may soon have the Socinians added to the many other sects of this divided country. It seems already a matter of doubt, whether the real sentiments of many among us, conspicuous enough both for station and parts, be so far distant from those of Socinus, as their character and outward profession would indicate.

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## L E T T E R    X X X V I I I .

*On the Death of her Husband the King of France  
 Mary returns to Scotland—The two first General  
 Assemblies of the Kirk had been held before  
 she arrived—She issues Proclamations in fa-  
 vour of the Reformers— Little Effect of this  
 Condescension—Proceedings in the third General  
 Assembly—Augmentation of Stipends demanded  
 —Right of Patronage admitted.*

**W**HILE our reformers, after the parliamen-  
 tary decrees in their favour, were busy in  
 setting their affairs to rights, an unexpected event  
 happened, in which both parties believed them-  
 selves equally interested. On the fourth of De-  
 cember 1560 died Francis II. King of France,  
 and husband to our Queen, who was now left  
 a widow, without issue, and only eighteen years  
 of age. As soon as certain accounts of this im-  
 portant change reached Scotland, agents were di-  
 patched to the Queen from both the contending  
 parties

parties, the Prior of St Andrews from the reformers, and Leslie afterwards Bishop of Ross from the other side, to secure the royal favour as early as possible, and counteract one another. Among the instructions given to the Prior he was particularly admonished “not to condescend that her Majesty should have mass publicly or privately within the kingdom, otherwise he would betray the cause of God to the utmost danger.” The other agent was instructed to a contrary purpose; and both, we are told, delivered their several commissions with sufficient fidelity. The Queen of England too sent her compliments of condolence to our Queen, and at the same time demanded from her a formal ratification of the late treaty, which Mary, politely enough, and with great appearance of reason, evaded. Yet Elizabeth was so much offended, that she would neither allow Mary’s envoy Monsieur d’Oysel to pass thro’ England to Scotland, nor give the Scottish Queen herself any assurance of a free and unmolested passage to her own kingdom. This ungenerous behaviour made a strong impression on the mind of Mary, but did not retard her departure from France. She was accompanied to Calais by six Princes of Lorraine, her uncles, and a great number of the French nobility of both sexes, and after resting there some days, embarked on board one of the galleys which the King her brother-in-law had provided for her. All the first day she kept her eyes still towards the coast of France, till the darkness intercepted her view. At night she ordered a couch to be spread for her upon the deck, and charged the pilot to awaken her how soon light returned, if the land of France was still in sight. As they had made little way during the

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night, when morning came, she had still the satisfaction of beholding the coast of France, and fixing her eyes upon it, as long as she could distinguish the land, she was often heard to say, "Farewell France! Farewell, beloved country! "I shall never see thee more." At last the wind proving favourable, she lost sight of her dear France; and a providential fog contributing to her escape from the English ships that were sent to intercept her, she landed safe at the port of Leith on the 20th of August 1561. Such a happy arrival occasioned an universal rejoicing throughout the kingdom, and people of all ranks and denominations were eager to congratulate the return of a much extolled Sovereign, who had not been seen in her own country for more than thirteen years. But as ecclesiastical business is my principal concern, I shall now return to it, and only take notice now and then of such of the civil transactions of this agitated reign as are more immediately connected with the subject I have in hand.

The reformed society had already, under shadow of parliamentary authority, held two general assemblies of their kirk: The first on the twentieth of December 1560, consisting of forty two members, of whom only six are in the list styled ministers, viz. John Knox, Christopher Goodman, John Row, David Lindsey, William Harlaw, and William Christieson. The rest are called *Commissioners for Kirks*, and seem all to have resided south of the river Dee. At this meeting the great business seems to have been, to give in the names of such as should be appointed for reading the common prayer publicly in all kirks, and congregations, and of those who should be found further

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further qualified for the greater work of *Minif-* LETTER  
*tring and Teaching*, in consequence of which scrutiny XXXVIII.  
 we find in Kyle eight that were capable to be read-  
 ers, and only one “apt to teach;” and for mini-  
 string and teaching in Angus and Merns, are appoint-  
 ed among others, John Erskine laird of Dun, and  
 John Fullarton Laird of Kinnaber. The second  
 assembly sat down May 26th, 1561: And in both  
 these assemblies application was made to the estates,  
 who then ruled every thing as if there had been no  
 sovereign, requiring idolatry to be suppressed, and  
 sharp punishments to be inflicted on such sayers  
 or hearers of mass as should be informed upon by  
 name.

Thus matters stood in favour of the reformers  
 when the Queen arrived: Who on the very fifth  
 day after, by the advice of the Protestant council  
 whom she had chosen, issued a proclamation, strict-  
 ly enjoining all her liege subjects “that none of  
 “them take in hand, privately or openly, to make  
 “any alteration or innovation of the state of re-  
 “ligion, or attempt any thing against the same,  
 “which her Majesty found publickly and uni-  
 “versally standing at her arrival in this her realm,  
 “under pain of death.” At the same time com-  
 manding, under the same penalty, that no person  
 dare to molest or invade any of her Majesty’s ser-  
 vants and French domesticks, in any place, or on  
 any pretence whatever. It might have been  
 thought that such a gracious and early instance  
 of condescension would have satisfied the party  
 and made them easy: But it had the contrary  
 effect. The Earl of Arran, immediately and in  
 face of the very Heralds who made the proclama-  
 tion, gave in a formal protestation that, notwith-  
 standing of what thanks they owe to her Grace for  
 allowing

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allowing the true kirk of God to go forward, yet  
 “ if any of her servants shall commit idolatry by  
 “ saying mass, or being participant in it, this pro-  
 “ clamation shall be no protection nor safeguard  
 “ to them in that behalf, but that it shall be law-  
 “ ful to inflict upon them the pains contained  
 “ in God’s word against idolaters, wherever they  
 “ may be apprehended, without favour.” And  
 John Knox, on the very Sunday after, inveighed  
 bitterly against the royal proclamation, telling his  
 people from the pulpit that “ the Queen’s one  
 “ single mass was more frightful to him, than a  
 “ thousand armed enemies landing in any part of  
 “ the kingdom to suppress the whole religion.”  
 This rough and unmerited opposition, on her  
 very first entrance into government, could not but  
 vex the Queen, and prepossess her with an early  
 disgust at both the persons and principles of such  
 a discontented sect, who could so abuse such a  
 voluntary instance of lenity and moderation, by  
 which she ran the risk of disobliging her friends  
 of her own profession. For however little Knox  
 and his followers might have thought this pro-  
 clamations in their favour, or rather hurtful to  
 their cause, yet Bishop Leslie, who was to the last  
 a strict Papist and a loyal subject to his sovereign  
 in all her fortunes, saw this action of hers in  
 another light, and notwithstanding of his unshaken  
 affection to her, laments it as the unhappy source  
 “ from which all the mischievous schisms, enmities,  
 “ and seditions that followed in Scotland took their  
 “ rise.” Knox tells us, that for this sermon of  
 his he was called before the Queen, who charged  
 him with impugning her government in a formal  
 treatise on purpose, and with continuing to stir  
 up her subjects against her. To the first part of  
 which

Hist. b. iv.  
 p. 310.

which charge he answered, not by his former subterfuge of the providential right, which he did not think so necessary now as it was to pacify the Queen of England, but by boldly affirming that “to this day he reckoned himself alone more able to sustain the things laid down in that work, than any ten in Europe shall be able to confute it.” \* To the other part of the Queen’s charge Knox plainly avowed, that “subjects may resist by the sword when God gives them the power and means, and therefore he says, when Princes exceed their bounds, to take the sword from them, to bind their hands and to cast them into prison, till they be brought to a more sober mind, is no disobedience against Princes, but just obedience, because it agreeth with the word of God.” Such were the arguments produced by this great oracle of the reformers, in his zeal against Popery and arbitrary power. But was this the ready way, either by the nature of the doctrine, or the manner of delivering it, to open their sovereign’s eyes, and reconcile her to the new scheme which they were so earnest to get universally and thoroughly established? Yet so humane was the Queen, and so willing for the sake of peace to gratify these people, even by doing violence to her own principles, that within a few days she emitted another proclamation charging and commanding her lieges, “that none of them

\* At the same time he owned his having heard, that an Englishman had written against that book, but he had not read him. This Englishman was Dr. John Aylmer, afterwards Bishop of London, who had been an exile for his religion after Edward’s death as well as Knox, and immediately on Knox’s *Blasphemy*, as he called it, coming out, published a *Harbour against the Blasphemy*, in which he confuted all the Blasphemy’s sophisms with great strength of argument both from scripture and reason.

“ take

LETTER XXXVIII. **“ take in hand to purchase or send for commissions from Rome, for confirmation of any feus made of kirk lands to whatsoever persons, since the sixth of March 1559, nor to use or proceed upon any commission that might have come since that time.”\***

**A.D. 1561.** Notwithstanding all this compliance on the Queen's side, the preachers went on exclaiming on all occasions against her having mass privately in the chapel of her own palace, and in a meeting in November, they proceeded so far as to state and debate the question formally, “ Whether the subjects might put hand to suppress the idolatry of their Prince or not”? The preachers maintained the affirmative, and many of the nobility pled on the other side: To determine which difference, it was proposed to write to Geneva for the resolution of that church, and John Knox offered himself for that service.— But Lethington the secretary, who had a great sway among them, and pretended as yet to have a care of the Queen's interest, cautiously alledging, as he well might, that much lay in the manner of information, undertook the business, and so got the proposed application put off at that time. By this we see how gradually the influence of Calvin and his Genevan consistory was creeping in among our preachers, by the indus-

\* However little the preachers might think themselves obliged to the Queen, certain it is that these royal proclamations, which then had the force of law, were by the lay-part of the reforming society reckoned so strong and secure in their favour, that when the Earl of Huntly happened about that time to say in a private conversation, that “ if the Queen desired it he would set up the mass in three shires,” the lord James took him roundly up, and told him “ if he made but a mint that way, he would put the Queen's proclamation upon him.”

try

try and authority of John Knox, to the exclusion of the first proposed plan of reformation "according to the godly and approved laws of the Emperor Justinian," which Knox well knew would never have countenanced such presumption. In the present case, there was the less occasion for it, as not only by her acts of royalty, but even in her private conversation the Queen was so far from expressing an inflexible bigotry to her own opinions, that there appeared about her a moderation and mildness of disposition, which if properly and prudently managed, might have been turned to the very best account.

There had been, some months after her leaving France, a conference held by appointment at Poissy, a small village not far from Paris, about the religious disputes in that kingdom. On the one side were four Cardinals, near to forty Bishops, and some of the ablest divines in France. On the other side were twelve or thirteen Protestant ministers, with the famous Theodore Beza from Geneva to assist them. The King and his mother were present, and the controversy was fixed to two capital points, the one relating to the true church, and the other to the Eucharist. The Cardinal of Lorraine, on the one side, insisted that, as an indispensable preliminary to any accord, the Protestants should admit the reality of Christ's body in the Eucharist, in the highest sense the church had put upon it: On the other side Beza would by no means come in to that demand, and in the course of his explaining the doctrine of his party on this head he said, "that the body of Jesus Christ is as distant from the bread and wine, as the highest Heaven is distant from the earth." This expression so shocked and irritated

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tated the Prelates and Popish divines, that from that time their spirits being mutually fretted, there was nothing but jangling and ill humour among them: And the Pope, not relishing such private and partial meetings while his general council was sitting, peremptorily discharged any further proceedings in it, so that after some months of fruitless contention, the meeting broke up, as might have been looked for, without coming to a final resolution in any thing. Copies of what passed on the Protestant side in this conference were sent over to England, and one of them coming to the hands of Randolph, the English resident at our court, he presented it to the Queen who, as he tells Cecil in a letter of October 24th 1561, received it graciously and read it, with this modest observation, "that she could not reason, but that she knew what she ought to believe." In the same letter he says, that in a private conversation with our Queen upon these topics, she expressed her hopes "that the Queen her sister will not take the worse that she is not resolved in conscience in those matters that are in controversy, seeing it is neither of will nor obstinacy against God and his word." To which he answered, that he was glad to hear that of her Grace, that she was not wilfully disposed, and he trusted to see her Grace and the Queen his mistress of one mind and accord in that as well as in other matters." And speaking of Knox's behaviour he says, "I commend better the success of his doings and preachings, than the manner thereof: His prayer is daily for her, that God will turn her obstinate heart against God and his truth, or if the holy will be otherwise, to strengthen the hearts and hands of all his chosen  
and

“ and elect, stoutly to withstand the rage of  
 “ all tyrants,” &c. in words, says Randolph, <sup>LETTER</sup>  
 terrible enough. How was this Princess, how <sup>XXXVIII.</sup>  
 was any woman indeed to be pitied, in being at  
 the mercy of such a man, who had such a sway,  
 and was so violently prejudiced against her!  
 She herself declares it was not obstinacy that  
 actuated her, and yet he goes to God in prayer  
 with a charge of obstinacy against her in his  
 mouth. Was this praying in faith? Or with  
 what propriety could he pray that God would  
 turn her obstinate heart, when his rough and  
 uncharacteristic deportment to her could have  
 no tendency but to harden her still more against  
 these truths of his, which, notwithstanding of his  
 self-confidence, were in many points disputable,  
 and where they were true, might have been pro-  
 posed with more credit to himself, and more good  
 effect upon her, in a softer and more persuasive  
 way?

In December this year the third general as-  
 sembly met, and among other petitions, presented  
 to the Queen and council a grievous supplication \*  
 about a riot committed in Edinburgh by the  
 Marquis de Elbeuf, one of the Queen's uncles,  
 which I mention, only to shew how ready the  
 members of these assemblies were to lay hold of  
 every thing which they thought might affront or

\* The supplication cries out most lamentably, “ Who hereto-  
 fore has heard within the bowels of Edinburgh, gates and  
 “ doors under silence of night burst up, houses searched with  
 “ hostility, seeking a woman, as appeareth, to oppress her,” &c.  
 Yet this woman, one Alison Craig, whom they make such a tragi-  
 cal noise about, is said to have been a familiar of their friend the  
 Earl of Arran's. The English resident, Randolph in a letter to  
 secretary Cecil of December 27th expressly says in modest lan-  
 guage “ the Earl of Arran is known to have had company of a

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distress their sovereign. In this assembly too, petition was made to the Queen for due maintenance of the ministry, which she had promised to uphold, and which, they said, could not be upheld without it. It seems the zeal of their converts had not been warm enough to support their clergy, or they had still retained that part of the unreformed creed, that they could not be ministers without legal stipends. In compliance however with this petition it was proposed in council, that the benefited clergy of the old form should give up a certain proportion of their revenues, for defraying the extraordinaries of the Queen's household, and maintenance of the reformed ministry. To this proposal the Archbishop of St. Andrews, with the Bishops of Moray, Ross and Dunkeld, in name of their whole church, considering that now they held their livings only at the court's goodwill, agreed with much hesitation, and offered a fourth part. But that being found not sufficient, they were obliged to yield a third, and in order to ascertain the value, they were required to give in full and true rentals of all benefices within a limited time, those to the south of the Grampians before

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“ good handsome wench, a merchant's daughter in this town.” And the first edition of Knox's history has it in plain terms, that the riot was committed “ in despite of the Earl of Arran, whose whore the said Alison was suspected to have been.” But the supplication from the assembly takes no notice of Arran's comments with the woman, whether decent or not. It was the Queen's uncle that was the butt of their complaint. For Arran was one of the godly, and had been so zealous as to protest against idolatry, so was not to be slandered with any such infamous traffick. Yet this godly zealot, who had the vanity to propose himself for a husband to Queen Elizabeth, and upon seeing his own sovereign, conceived hopes of obtaining her, having by his foolish conduct under a mask of religion entangled his father and friends in a dangerous quarrel with others of the nobility, turned at last distracted, and after many years confinement died a complete idiot.

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the 24th of January next, and all on the north against the 10th of February thereafter. In consequence of the several acts of council to this purpose, rentals were transmitted to court of all the benefices in the kingdom, two parts whereof were to remain with the beneficed persons, and the third part to be paid to collectors nominated by the Queen, out of which her Majesty undertook to assign a sufficient maintenance for the new preachers. This appointment could not be very agreeable to the old possessors, and it was as little acceptable to those for whose benefit it was designed. The preachers declaimed against it as a corruption, and Knox said publicly of it in the pulpit, "that it could not prosper, for he saw two parts freely given to the devil, and the third divided between God and the devil."

Yet it might have been thought sufficient to keep them in some kind of temper, that the modification of their stipends was put into the hands of a committee of their own leaders, and their good friend Wishart of Pittarow appointed to be their paymaster. But, as the present historiographer for Scotland observes, "they found it to be a more Robertson's  
Hist. p. 231. easy matter to kindle zeal, than to extinguish avarice; these very men, whom formerly they had swayed with absolute authority, were now deaf to all their remonstrances." And no doubt it was abundantly mortifying to find their hopes frustrated, and all their pretensions eluded, by those from whom they thought they had reason to expect better things. Such of the old possessors as had joined them, had interest enough at the court, which was long directed by a Protestant council, to get their thirds remitted to them, and none was more forward to obtain this remission than their

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great patron the Lord James, for his rich Priors of St. Andrews and Pittenweem; the Earl of Argyll too and the Lord Erskine came in for large pensions upon the thirds, and it has been observed that the most of the pensioners upon that fund were Protestants.\* Yet they could not but acknowledge that the court had done all for them that they had any right to look for. They had now liberty of conscience, not only allowed them by connivance, but even secured to them by royal authority, and tho' the ecclesiastic estate had not agreed to their reforming scheme, they had got *them* sadly humbled, their powers crushed, their public worship silenced, and their own new forms set up over the greater part of the kingdom: And to crown all their wishes, a provision was now granted them out of the pockets of their very persecutors, and a provision too which, if their own most zealous abettors had done them justice, might have satisfied them for a while, and been enlarged, upon an increase of their numbers, in a peaceable and regular manner.

From this time therefore of an allotment of stipend being designed for them, however improperly managed for their behoof, they may in some sort be considered as a formed and constituted society, under their own officers, and possessed of something like a legal sanction. For to call them a church, in the old primitive and apostolic sense of that venerable term, carries more difficulty in


\* Besides all this, it seems, that the money received was not properly accounted for, and their own Pitarrow, who as comptroller, had the management of it, was so great an eyefore to them that they used to say of him, "the laird of Pitarrow was a good man, but the devil take the comptroller."

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It than the foundation which they built upon, puts it in our power to get over. The fabrick indeed which they raised at their first outsetting, was specious and showy enough in some particulars of a resemblance to the original building, as their superintendents represented the ancient Bishops, under a new Latin name, instead of the old Greek one. But still there was a fundamental defect in the construction, by the want of such a proper and essential mode of conveyance and succession as the pattern, which they seemed to copy after, had all along in the times of its greatest purity and simplicity proceeded upon. However, under all this defect, we must now take a view of them as if they had been a church, because from this time forward the society which had long born that name, gradually sunk into obscurity, and at last dwindled away almost to nothing. Only now and then some few of the Romish party appeared in its defence, and maintained a sort of running fight against their now authorized adversaries.

Thus in the year 1562, one of their priests, a Ninian Wingate at Linlithgow, published some flying papers addressed to the Queen upon the subjects in controversy, acknowledging, in plain enough terms, and in the strongly expressive vulgar language of those days, the necessity of a reformation, but petitioning for it in a regular way: And some little time after, the same person challenged Mr. Knox himself, and sent him no fewer than eighty three questions upon the disputed doctrines, requiring a satisfactory answer to each of them. But the people now in power crushed this ticklish correspondence by a seasonable interposition, and the officious challenger was forced to flee to Germany, where he was made Abbot of the Scots monastery

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nastery at Ratibon, and died in that station. This discouraged further attempts of the kind, especially when it was seen that not only the poor Priests, but even the churchmen in high degree were not spared; when any transgression of the new laws could be laid to their charge. For about Easter 1563, the Primate himself, the Prior of Whithorn, and some others of the dignified clergy, were delated for having said mass, and brought before a court of justiciary at Edinburgh on the twenty ninth of May, the Earl of Argyle, hereditary justice general, sitting personally in judgment, at the particular requisition of John Knox. The issue of which was, that the pannels, rather than submit to a lay court, surrendered themselves to the Queen's will, who, to humour the prosecutors, committed them to prison for a while in different places, and afterwards released them by her own prerogative, which gave great offence, and raised a hideous cry against her.

Thus the governours of this new church went on with as high a hand as their predecessors on the old establishment had done. In all their assemblies, which for the most part they held twice in the year, we find the preachers insisting strenuously and sometimes in very magisterial language, on the two capital points which they never forgot, the destruction of idolatry, and the augmentation of their stipends. In this latter article indeed they were generally put off with good words and fair promises, which, as I said, their own friends about the court took care to evade, and on which occasion it deserves to be taken notice of, that they never scruple the right of patronage, which some of their pretended successors now a days cry out so vehemently against. For in answer to an objection

tion made to their demands in the Queen's name, that she could not think of divesting her crown of its patronages, the assembly of December 1565 declared, "It is not our mind that her Majesty or any other patron of this realm should be defrauded of their just patronages, but we mean that whensoever her Majesty or any other patron does present any person to a benefice, the person presented shall be tried and examined by the judgment of learned men of the kirk, such as presently are the Superintendents appointed thereto: And as the presentation of benefices pertains to the patron, so ought the collation thereof, by law and reason to pertain to the kirk, of the which collation the kirk should no more be defrauded, than the patrons of their presentation."—

By which we see that the first reformed kirk of Scotland admitted lay-patronage, but reserved the privilege of collation to the superintendent, who in this particular was vested with all the power ever claimed by any Bishop. It is also worthy of observation, that in their assembly held in December 1563, when "for avoiding confusion in reasoning, it was agreed that a moderator should be appointed to moderate in every assembly, Mr. John Willock superintendent of the West was the first they appointed to that office." In the subsequent assemblies held for several years, little other business was transacted than what related to the planting of kirks and punishing of offenders; in both which cases they had many difficulties to struggle with, from the feeble and yet unformed state of their society. But it was not long before they obtained a considerable acquisition of strength and confidence, from a strange  
 revolution

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revolution in the publick affairs of the nation, which in my next letter I shall proceed to lay before you.

Mean time, I am, &c.

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L E T T E R    X X X I X .

*The Reformers encouraged by the ruin of the Family of Huntly—Various Proposals of Marriage to Queen Mary—She prefers Lord Darnly, and marries him—Birth of James VI.—Repeated Instances of Darnly's Misbehaviour—He is barbarously murdered—The Queen marries the Earl of Bothwell—Is imprisoned by the confederate Lords—Makes her Escape into England.*

**S** OON after her arrival in Scotland, the Queen had bestowed the honours and profits of the Earldom of Murray, which had been recovered to the crown during her mother's regency, on her bastard brother the Lord James, Prior of St. Andrews, and had also intrusted him with a great share of the public administration. He had been from the first, a principal leader among the

the reformers, and now by his high trust at court, had it much in his power to favour and support them in all their demands. On the other hand, the Earl of Huntly, by his influence in the North, where Murray's new Earldom mostly lay, and by his inclining now more to the Queen's principles than to the other side, tho' for some time he had balanced between, and even trimmed a little with both, was a powerful enemy to the reforming interest, at least in the Northern parts. This created a jealousy between him and Murray, which either by accident or design, was inflamed to such a degree, that Huntly was driven to the unhappy resource of taking up arms in his own defence. At the same time the Queen was making her progress thro' these parts, and was prevailed upon by those about her, to issue her edicts against Huntly, and to grant a commission to Murray to pursue him. Upon this, Murray drew out the militia of the neighbourhood, and came up with Huntly at Corrichie, about ten miles West from Aberdeen, where an engagement ensued, in which Huntly was defeated, and being an old corpulent man, was trodden to death in the pursuit. His second son John was carried prisoner to Aberdeen, where the Queen lay, and butchered by the executioner. His eldest son, who had no concern in the affair, was thrown into prison, and all his family and friends brought to the brink of destruction. This disaster was a double advantage to the reformers, as it destroyed an enemy, and exalted a friend who now had the whole sway, and could manage and rule the Queen as he pleased, without a rival.

About this time the Queen, now in the prime of youth and beauty, began to be addressed from

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all quarters of Europe to change her widow-state; and her uncle the Cardinal of Loſtain had made ſeveral propoſals to her, ſometimes of the Emperor's ſecond ſon, ſometimes of the Duke of Orleans, and once even of the King of France her brother-in-law, in hopes of a diſpenſation from the complying court of Rome. This intelligence alarmed Queen Elizabeth, who had already conceived a pique at her for having in her husband's time aſſumed the arms of England, and for the imprudent demand which the artful Lethington had made to Elizabeth, immediately on Mary's coming to Scotland, that ſhe ſhould be declared apparent heir of the Engliſh crown. To prevent therefore ſuch a rival's marrying again with a foreign Prince, and at the ſame time to entangle her conduct and embaras her reſolutions, ſhe in an artful manner made offer to Mary of an Engliſh ſubject, Robert Dudley Earl of Leiceſter, a man of a worthleſs character, tho' at the ſame time a great favourite with Elizabeth. In this buſineſs Mary for ſome time ſaw it convenient to counteract Elizabeth's intrigues with an equal diſſimulation, but at laſt rejected the propoſal, when it was openly made, with the indignation it deſerved. Our two hiſtorians, Knox and Buchanan, repreſent Queen Mary about this time as a fooliſh headſtrong girl, who minded nothing but ſport and paſtime, and had as little ability as inclination for attending to the public affairs. Yet the Engliſh reſident Randolph, whom Elizabeth had placed as a ſpy about her, and who was far from being partial in her favour, tells in his letters, that " ſhe for the moſt part attended the council board, and when ſhe did, was employed in ſome female work, as ſewing, embroidering, and the like." And in a letter

letter to Cecil, of the 8th of March 1564, he says, LETTER XXXIX.  
 "For expedition of poor men's causes, the Queen  
 "here hath ordered three days a week, aug- Keith, 250.  
 "menting the judges stipends for their attendance,  
 "and sitting herself, for more equity oftentimes."

Which is an instance of her attention to charity as well as equity, that the two historians might, without any hurt to their character, have transmitted to posterity in her praise, amidst the many gross calumnies which they have recorded to her prejudice.

The next year the Earl of Lenox came upon A.D. 1564.  
 the stage from England. This nobleman had been driven out of Scotland during the Earl of Arran's regency in Mary's childhood, and had taken shelter in England, where he was graciously received by Henry VIII. and married his niece the lady Margaret Douglas, whom James the fourth's widow had born to her second husband the Earl of Angus. Of this marriage there was a son Henry Lord Darnly, who in right of his mother and grand-mother was, next to Elizabeth and Mary, presumptive heir to the crown of England. On the father's return, a parliament was called to reverse his attainder, which had been an act of manifest injustice, and this raised a suspicion that Mary had some intention to marry his son. In February 1565 Darnly came down next, and presented himself to the Queen, who, it is said, was taken with him at first sight, as he was a youth of a handsome appearance and fine person. No doubt too, the consideration of his title by birth, and of his name and family, might have swayed with her, and meeting with the feelings of her own youthful heart, might have fixed her inclinations in his favour. But here again the  
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cunning Elizabeth was at work with her artifice and dissimulation, protesting by her ambassadors against this marriage, at the same time that it is well known she was wishing it to go forward. The reforming party at home likewise took upon them to be displeas'd with it, because both father and son at this time profess'd to be Papists; and these very men, both preachers and nobles, who afterwards were Mary's bitterest enemies upon Darnly's account, were Darnly's bitterest enemies, and fiercest opposers now. The Earl of Murray in particular, pretended his disgust at the match, sometimes in open language, and at other times by a fullen and affected silence. But all had no effect: For in spite of the many hypocritical remonstrances from England, and all the disloyal oppositions at home, she was married to Darnly by the Bishop of Brechin, in her own chapel at Holyroodhouse; on Sunday the 29th of July, and the next day she honoured him with the title of King by public proclamation.

This marriage may justly be reckoned the fatal source of the many misfortunes, which either by her own rash conduct, or the malicious violence of enemies, the unhappy Queen Mary afterwards fell into. For tho' the person she had now made her husband was outwardly of an amiable figure, he was proud and passionate, profuse and dissipated to an extravagant degree, and made most ungrateful returns to the accomplished Princess who had favoured him with the loveliest person in Europe, and adorned him with a share of her crown. No wonder that repeated disappointments, in a match eniurely of her own choice and from pure affection, stung her to the quick, and sunk that noble spirit of hers which had hitherto displayed such fortitude

tude and dignity. As soon as the marriage was solemnized, the malcontents, among whom her favourite Murray was the chief, flew out into open rebellion, and the whole remaining part of the year was employed by their Majesties in pursuing the rebels from place to place, till in end some of them submitted and were readily pardoned, and Murray with such as adhered to him fled to their old asylum of England, where Elizabeth, under a mask of disapprobation, secretly harboured them and gave them money. At home Mary renewed her indulgences to the preachers, who notwithstanding treated her and her husband with continued insolence, and could neither be easy nor quiet while their dear friend was in disgrace. Yet the Queen kept up the just sense of Murray's ingratitude, which she was determined to punish in a legal way, and to that purpose had summoned a parliament to meet on the twelfth of March 1566: When lo, upon the ninth of that month, a band of armed men, with her husband at their head, broke into her chamber in the evening while she sat at supper with her natural sister the Countess of Argyle, and there in her presence throwing by, not only the reverence due from subjects to a sovereign, but even the civility of gentlemen to ladies, and the common tenderness of the very rusticks to a woman in her condition of a six month's pregnancy, they brutally laid hands on her French secretary David Rizio, a poor decrepit foreigner, and violently hauling him out of the room, barbarously murdered him at her chamber-door with fifty six wounds. This horrid deed, so atrocious in itself, and aggravated by so many insulting circumstances, could not but cut any slender thread of love and regard that the Queen might hitherto

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hitherto have retained for a husband of such a disposition. But it answered the end for which it was designed. The Parliament, in the midst of the confusion that would naturally ensue, was discharged, and the Earl of Murray with his rebel associates appeared, according to a preconcerted plan, the very next day at Edinburgh, where they went boldly to the Parliament house, and took instruments of their being ready to answer to the summons which had been directed against them, and which they knew none durst now appear to pursue.

Mean time the Queen, by her own wife and prudent management, had got out of the hands of the conspirators, who had kept her confined in her own palace near two days in the utmost terror, and had escaped to the castle of Dunbar with her husband in company, who now by public proclamation disowned his having any hand in, or knowledge of the late treasonable action, and thereby lost among all parties what little remainder of esteem or credit he had hitherto preserved. Here the distressed and agitated Queen was again prevailed upon, and in a manner obliged to take Murray into favour, and once more throw herself under the influence of a man whom it was impossible, after what had already happened, that she could either trust or esteem. Upon this change of affairs the new band of rebels saw it prudent to decamp and provide for themselves. The most of them took shelter as usual, in England, and John Knox the dictator of Edinburgh, as his own phrase was, "stept west to Kyle," his old sanctuary on any dangerous emergency, thereby taking guilt upon himself of his having been, if not a contriver, at least an abettor of the barbarous

rous murder. And indeed this suspicion, heavy as it is upon his character, is justified by his own account of it, which he concludes with observing, that "by the death of David, the noble-  
 "men were relieved of their trouble, and restor-  
 "ed to their places and rooms, and likewise the  
 "church reformed, and all that professed the  
 "evangel within this realm, after fasting and  
 "prayer, were delivered and freed from the ap-  
 "parent dangers that were like to have fallen  
 "upon them." Great things these, to be sure, and all effectuated by the murder of a friendless stranger, and that murder executed on a Saturday night, by way of preparation for the work of the morrow, which Knox says was the second Sunday of their fast in Edinburgh; a fast indeed, which from this bloody scene in the midst of it, seems to answer too well the description reprobated by the prophet, of fasting "for strife and debate, and  
 "to smite with the fist of wickedness." And yet, thankful as Knox is for the deliverance of so many professors by this murder, which he dimi-  
 nutively calls "the death of David," he is forced to own that an equal number of as zealous professors were by it thrown into the very same danger from which the others had been delivered.

The Queen having thus by her own address dispersed this dangerous storm, returned to Edinburgh in April, and took up her lodgings in the castle, where upon the nineteenth of June 1566 she was, to the great joy of all her dutiful subjects, safely delivered of a son, in whose person the two crowns of Scotland and England were at last happily united, and in whose posterity they continue to this day. The news of this joyful event was formally announced to all the neighbouring Prin-  
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LETTER XXXIX. ces, and was received, wherever it was notified, with great satisfaction. But the Queen's own pleasure in it was much abated by repeated instances of her husband's increasing misbehaviour. In a letter from the privy council of Scotland to the Queen-mother of France, dated October 8th 1566, and sent in their names by Secretary Lethington to the Archbishop of Glasgow, they lament the King's imprudence and obstinacy in resolving to leave the kingdom, notwithstanding of all the Queen's intreaties and condescensions, to pacify him and bring about a reconciliation. Even Mr. Knox himself represents him in no very agreeable light; and as one instance of his impertinent folly, which the Queen could not but be displeas'd with, when it came to her knowledge, he tells us, that "the King wrote to the Pope and to the Kings of Spain and France, complaining of the state of the country, which was all out of order because the mass and popery were not again erected, and laying the whole blame thereof on the Queen, as not managing the Catholic cause aright." In this perplexing situation of her domestic concerns, the Queen, still mindful of the affairs of state, went a progress, attended by the French ambassador Le Croc, and the lords of her council, of whom Murray was one, to the borders about the end of October, and there fell into a dangerous fever at Jedburgh, which kept her, to the great fear of her court, more than a week, in all which time Le Croc complains, in his letter to France, that her husband came little near her. But it pleas'd God that she recovered of this sickness, and having settled matters on the borders, she returned with her retinue towards Edinburgh, but by the way took up her residence in the

the house of Craigmillar, where she proposed to stay till the baptism of the Prince, which was fixed to the middle of December.

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While she lay at this house, Lethington in presence of the four Earls of Huntly, Argyle, Murray, and Bothwell, made a proposal to her that, if she would be pleased to pardon the Earl of Morton, the Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, and the rest of Rizio's murderers, they then present should find means with the rest of the nobility to bring about a divorce between her and her husband, without her having any hand in it. The four Earls supported the Secretary's motion, and the Queen acquiesced in it only on two conditions, that the divorce should be gone about lawfully, and that it should no way prejudice her son, "otherwise she would endure all torments rather than give her consent." Upon which the cunning secretary having used some dark and ambiguous expressions, she positively answered in some heat, "I will that ye do nothing whereby any spot may be laid to my honour or conscience, and therefore I pray you let the matter be in the state that it is, abiding till God of his goodness put remeid thereto, lest ye, believing to do me service, may possibly turn to my hurt and displeasure." Towards the time appointed for the baptism, the Queen and court moved to Stirling, and there on the fifteenth of December, the foreign ambassadors being all arrived, the Royal infant was baptized with great pomp, and with all the rites of the Romish church, by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and his name and titles proclaimed to the people by the heralds with sound of trumpet, "Charles-James James-Charles, Prince and Steward of Scotland, Duke of Roth-

Keith, 355.

LETTER XXXIX. “ say, Earl of Carrick, Lord of the Isles, and “ Baron of Renfrew.” It has been charged upon the Queen as an unpardonable crime, that her husband was not present at this solemnity, and her enemies are pleased to assign some very ridiculous reasons for it. But if what Camden tells us be true, that Queen Elizabeth, who was always contriving to embroil matters here, had strictly enjoined her ambassador the Earl of Bedford, that neither he nor any one of his retinue should give the title or honours of King to Lord Darnly, upon that account no doubt it was thought proper that he should not appear at the baptism, because it would have been inconsistent with his and the Queen’s honour to have the regal title refused him at their own court, and it was necessary at that juncture not to quarrel with the Queen of England.

Keith, 360.

Soon after this solemnity, the King in one of his discontented moods went to Glasgow, where he was seized with a dangerous distemper, and continued in a languishing way for some weeks. On hearing of this, the Queen took journey from Edinburgh to Glasgow, and abode with him some days, cherishing and comforting him by all the means she could think of. This, with the help of proper medicines, began by degrees to work a recovery: to perfect which, and for the convenience of the best physicians, she got him transported in a litter to Edinburgh, and lodged in a house in the suburbs for the benefit of good air, near to where the college now stands, where she continued to look carefully after his health, and attended him as frequently as the cares of government would permit. But he had not been in this lodging two weeks, when upon Monday the tenth of February

ary, about one or two in the morning, the house was blown up with powder, and his body found lying naked on the ground at some distance, without any mark of violence upon it. Such was the miserable end of this unhappy youth, who, had it not been for his own cross humour, and the cursed insinuations of a set of artful seducers who made a prey of him, might have enjoyed all the honour and happiness that could be looked for, from the situation to which he had been unexpectedly raised.

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Immediately the news of this tragical affair went abroad, and various conjectures were entertained about it. Many were ready to charge the Earls of Morton and Murray with it. Some had the assurance to blast even the Queen's reputation with it: But the general suspicion was against the Earl of Bothwel, and papers were put up in several places, accusing him of the murder, and naming his accomplices. The Earl of Lenox by letters pushed the Queen for a speedy and vigorous prosecution of it, which she undertook to forward, as soon and as duly as law would permit. So the twelfth of April was fixed for the trial of the Earl of Bothwel, and a court of justiciary with the accustomed formalities was held that day, in which Bothwel appeared as pannel, and being put to an assize was acquitted by an unanimous verdict of the whole fifteen, not because of any designed blunder in the libel, as has been maliciously alledged, but as the jury express themselves, "because it was neither proved by witnesses nor notified to be probable accusation." Two days after this the Parliament met, and was held by commissioners, at the head of whom is "John Archbishop of St. Andrews, Primate of our kingdom and Legate born." And yet the first

LETTER first act of this Parliament is concerning religion,  
 XXXIX. and for security of the new form. On the nine-  
 ~~~~~~teenth it rose, and either that day or the next a  
 bond was signed by a number of the nobility in fa-
 vour of the Earl of Bothwel, bearing testimony to
 his acquittal of the King's murder, recommending
 him as upon many accounts a proper husband
 to the Queen, and pledging their joint assistance
 in defence of that marriage, "as they shall an-
 "swer to God, and upon their fidelities and con-
 "sciences, and in case they do in the contrary,
 "never to have reputation or credit in any time
 "hereafter, but to be accounted unworthy and
 "faithless traitors."

This was the most hellish trap, that could have
 been laid for the poor destitute Queen's ruin:—
 And into this trap, either by misfortune or her
 own imprudence, she fell. For on the fifteenth
 of May next, after some previous measures taken
 with that view, all which may be considered as
 deviations from her former character, she was
 married to the Earl of Bothwel by Adam Both-
 wel the titular Bishop of Orkney of the new form,
 who afterwards became one of her most violent
 enemies and bitterest accusers in England. This
 was the fatal step that completely ruined her, in
 person, peace, and reputation: a step which, with
 all the palliations that may be offered for it (and
 many such, to be sure, it may admit of,) cannot be
 fully vindicated. Indeed it can hardly be account-
 ed for, much less excused, but by attributing it to
 a certain dejection and debasement of spirit, which
 the unworthy and unmerited usage she had suffer-
 ed for two years might have occasioned in any
 woman, and which seems for a while to have inter-
 rupted that penetration and foresight of which she
 had

had till now given most conspicuous proofs, and afterwards displayed with amazing and admired lustre.

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But whatever may be said for or against this marriage, the effects of it were both sudden and lamentable: She soon had cause to repent her rashness, and the very man for whom she had both humbled and cast herself away, behaved to her in so provoking a manner, that she was often heard, in the bitterness of anguish, to threaten her own destruction. To add to her misfortunes, in less than three weeks, her old enemies, and some even of those who had so lately signed the above-mentioned bond, with the newly pardoned rebel Morton at their head, took hold of this marriage with the suspected murderer of her husband, to associate themselves under pretence of revenging that murder, and preserving the young Prince: And having gathered a body of men and possessed themselves of the city of Edinburgh, they marched out on the fifteenth of June against the Queen and Bothwel, who had also a considerable army, and came up with them at Carberry-hill. Here the Queen, averse from the shedding of blood, and trusting to Kirkaldy of Grange, who from the associated Lords gave her many fair promises, dismissed her army, and surrendered herself to Grange, who, with great professions of reverence, led her on horseback to his party. This was all they aimed at: For no notice was taken of Bothwel, the ostensible object of their indignation, nor for ten days after this was there the least public mention of such a man in the kingdom. That evening they carried the Queen into Edinburgh, exposed to the wanton insults of a tumultuous mob purposely collected on the occasion, and the next day

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day, at her own desire they removed her to the palace of Holyroodhouse, where a serious consultation was held how to provide for their own security after so daring and hazardous an attempt. To effect this, it was resolved to confine the Queen for life in the castle of Lochleven, the governor of which was married to the Earl of Murray's mother. To this fort she was conveyed in disguise that very night by the Lord Lindsay, the fiercest of all the party, and after a few days was stripped of all her princely attire, and clad in a coarse brown cassock. This done, they took an inventory of all her plate, jewels, and other moveables within the palace, broke up her cupboard, melted down the gold and silver, and converted all into coin. Not satisfied with all this, they dispatched their trusty Agent Lord Lindsay to Lochleven, who upon the twenty fourth of July by the vilest threats extorted from the solitary and friendless Queen a subscription to two papers of their own drawing, the one a resignation of the crown in favour of her son, and the other a commission of Regency to the Earl of Murray, both which she put her trembling hand to, amidst a flood of tears, and without reading a word of the contents.

Keith, 404.

Keith, 425. In this melancholy confinement she was denied all the comforts of life. The French and English ambassadors, who were sent to mediate between her and her subjects, were not admitted to her presence. Her friends and servants were shut out from her: The Earl of Murray, when he came to pay her a visit, bullied her in a most brutal manner: His mother daily insulted her; and to complete her misery, she was reduced to languish in a most tormenting state of suspense about her fate

Note Melv.
85.

fate, still uncertain what fresh barbarities, even to the length of private assassination, might be contrived against her. Yet she still entertained hopes, and, as much as she could, formed plans of escaping, which in end proved effectual. For in the evening of the second of May 1568, her Majesty, with one waiting maid, got out of the castle, and were conveyed in a boat to the south-shore of the loch, where some trusty friends received her, and transported her directly to Lord Seton's house in West Lothian, and from thence, after a few hours refreshment, to her friends at Hamilton. On this joyful news, great numbers of the nobility and gentry flocked to her from all quarters, and on the eighth of May entered into a bond of association for her defence, signed by nine Earls, nine Bishops, eighteen Lords, twelve Abbots, and ninety principal Barons. Meantime the Earl of Murray, who was acting as Regent, convened his forces with all diligence, and on the thirteenth intercepted the Queen's army, who were conducting her from Hamilton to Dunbarton, at a place called Langside, not far from Glasgow, where a battle ensued, and ended in a total discomfiture of the loyalists. The Queen herself, when she saw that all was lost, rode off at full speed, with a few faithful attendants, and never closed her eyes till she was full sixty miles from the fatal field. Then she took a resolution, contrary to the earnest intreaties of all the loyal friends that were about her, to commit herself to the protection of her good sister of England: And accordingly, on the sixteenth, she and honest Lord Harries, who never forsook her, took passage from Galloway, in a fisher boat, over the Solway Frith, and that same night landed at Wirkington on the English side, from whence she went

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went to Cocker-mouth, and remained there till the English deputy assembled the gentlemen of the county, and conducted her in great pomp to Carlisle. Thus we have seen this unfortunate Princess, ~~once the admiration of Europe,~~ driven out of her own hereditary dominions by a junto of rebellious subjects, and now landed, as she thought, in a safe asylum, out of the reach of their merciless fury. But alas! little to her comfort: For she was now fallen into hands, not indeed quite so savage as those she had fled from, but equally tenacious of their prey, and from which she could never work an escape, till a scaffold gave her that blessing. This is that strange Revolution which, I said, placed our new church upon a seemingly more secure foundation, and gave them, from that time forward, a visible superiority over their rivals of the old form. We shall therefore leave the Queen for a while in her new sanctuary, and see how the *Kirk* of Scotland improved the advantages which this Revolution held out to them. But of this in my next.

Mean time I am, &c. ¶

LETTER

L E T T E R X L .

Proceedings in the Assemblies of the Kirk—The infant Prince crowned, and Murray declared Regent—Account of the Regent's first Parliament, and Proceedings against the Queen—he betrays Norfolk, imprisons Maitland—and is himself shot on the Street of Linlithgow—Reflections on his Death, and Consequences of it.

IN the General Assembly of the Kirk held in December 1566, two things occurred that deserve to be taken notice of. Mr Knox having petitioned the assembly for leave to visit his children, who were at their studies in England, he received commendatory letters in ample form, and did also move the assembly, to take this opportunity of writing to the English Bishops, in behalf of such of their clergy as scrupled to wear the surplice, and other clerical vestments of that church. Accordingly the letter written by the assembly on this occasion, is very properly made use of, to shew in what favourable light the Superintendency in Scotland beheld the Episcopacy in England, as a pure sister church, " who had renounced the Roman

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A a

" Antichrist,

LETTER XL. “ Antichrist, and profess with them the Lord Je-
 XL. “ fus in sincerity, therefore wishing them the in-
 “ crease of the Holy Spirit.” Indeed, we are not
 Keith, 565. told that this letter was delivered, and therefore
 know not how it was received, or what acknow-
 ledgment of sisterly communion came from Eng-
 land, where Knox was well known, and where,
 however useful his intrigues might be to the state,
 his principles could not be very acceptable to the
 church.

The other affair, worthy of notice, that came
 before this assembly, was the Queen’s having re-
 posed the Archbishop of St. Andrews to his for-
 mer jurisdiction, in confirming testaments, collat-
 ing to benefices, and such other things as had
 usually been judged in the spiritual courts; against
 which, a most vehement supplication was presented
 to the nobility, that they would prevent this at-
 tempt “ to cure the head of that venomous beast,
 Spotf. 198. “ which once, within this realm, by the potent
 “ hand of God, was so banished and broken
 “ down.” But whether it was owing to this sup-
 plication, or any other cause, we do not find the
 Primate exercising this restored jurisdiction, ex-
 cept in the ill-judged instance of Bothwell’s divorce,
 which opened the door to all the miserable disor-
 ders that followed.

Before the usual time of the next assembly, the
 Queen was locked up in Lochleven. It sat down
 on the 25th of June, and for eschewing confusion,
 Keith, 572. we are told, the famous Mr George Buchanan, to
 whom the Queen had given a large pension on the
 Abbacy of Crofsraguel, and who was now Princi-
 pal of St. Leonard’s College in St. Andrews, was
 chosen Moderator. Their great employment, at
 this meeting, was to cement the divisions which
 the

the Queen's present situation was like to raise among those of their own party. For many of the principal nobility, who had no good will to Bothwell, nor to the marriage, and therefore had either joined him or stood neuter on the first appearance against him, now when they saw to what unwarrantable lengths the opposition was carried, and what horrid inhumanity had been used against their betrayed Sovereign, declared openly against these unjustifiable enormities, and convened at Hamilton to concert measures for her deliverance. The associated Lords, who called themselves the *secret Council*, tho' they were only the four Earls of Athol, Morton, Glencairn, and Mar, and the six Lords, Hume, Ruthven, Lindsay, Semple, Sanquhar, and Ochiltree, (for Murray all the time was abroad) being sensible of their own declining influence, and how needful it would be to bring over the other Lords if possible, wrote letters to them, intreating their concurrence to establish things in a perfect harmony. But the Lords at Hamilton, being at the time six Earls and fifteen Lords, of whom the greatest part were *Professors*, as the style then was, would neither admit the messenger, nor receive the letters. So the assembly was applied to for their interest with, and authority over these outstanders, and John Knox, with other three brethren, were employed in commission, with letters from the assembly, desiring their punctual attendance in Edinburgh on the 20th of July next, when the assembly was to sit down again, and concluding " With certification to all " and sundry, of what estate and degree soever they " be, that compeir not, due advertisement being " thus made, that they shall be reputed hereafter " as hinderers of this godly purpose, and as dis-

LETTER
XL.

Keith, 573

A a 2

sembling

LETTER XL. “sembling brethren, unworthy to be esteemed of
 “Christ’s flock; seeing God of his mercy, at this
 “present, has offered some better occasion than
 “in times bygone, and has begun to tread down
 “Satan under foot.”

However, this canting expostulation had no effect. These Lords were too wise, for their own safety, to trust themselves in such hands at Edinburgh, and too much concerned for their Queen, to countenance with their presence what was going on against her. They therefore sent their several excuses, at the same time declaring their unshaken resolution to abide by their Protestant profession, and to adhere to and support the present reformed polity of the Kirk within the realm. Notwithstanding this disappointment, the assembly met on the 21st of July, and were joined by Morton and his associates, to give their assembly acts the sanction of the then pretended legislature, by virtue of which, sundry articles were proposed and agreed on among them; as, that the acts of parliament of 1560 should be law in all time coming; that the ministers should be put in possession of the whole patrimony of the Kirk; that the horrible murder of the King should be condignly punished; that the young Prince should be properly educated for the high trust he was one day to execute; that the nobility should beat down and abolish Popery, idolatry, and superstition, with every thing that may contribute thereto, and for this, to convene and take arms if need require; and that all Kings and Queens, hereafter in this realm, shall, before their coronation, take an oath to maintain the true religion now profest in Scotland, and to suppress every thing contrary to it, or not agreeing with it. These articles were subscribed by three of their
 Earls

Earls, and five of their Lords, (for Athol and Semple, tho' the Queen's enemies, were Popish, and would not attend a Protestant assembly) and by several Barons and Commissioners of Burghs. LETTER XL.
Spotf. 209.

This done, the assembly rose, and another solemnity succeeded. The Lord Lindsay was by this time returned from Lochlevin, with the two important subscriptions which he had squeezed from the captive Queen, and now a resolution was taken to proceed to the coronation of the Prince. In order to which, a messenger was again sent to the Lords at Hamilton, inviting them to give their presence at Stirling on the 29th of July, for assisting on such a solemn occasion. But they rejected this proposal also, and retiring for security to Dunbarton, entered into a new association for the Queen's interest, and in opposition to these proceedings. Yet the ceremony went on; and upon July 29th, 1567, the royal infant, little more than a year old, was brought into the parish kirk of Stirling, where, after a suitable sermon by Mr Knox, and the coronation oath, as lately coined, taken by the Earl of Morton, he was first anointed and then crowned by the Bishop of Orkney. Mr Knox, we are told, repined much at the anointing, either as smelling of superstition, or because performed by a Bishop, to whose character it was thought to belong. But if this was the cause of Mr Knox' grudge, he had the pleasure to see this now honoured Bishop sufficiently humbled in the very next assembly, which publicly deprived him of all function of the ministry, for the great scandal he had committed in marrying the Queen with the Earl of Bothwell, under which scandal he was as much lying at the coronation in July, as he was at the deprivation in December. Why this scandal was

LETTER was not inquired into sooner, as there had been
 XL. two assemblies since the commission of it, is not
 ~~~~~ easy to account for, if it was not with a view to  
 spare him, guilty as he was, for this present ser-  
 vice, which they thought, it seems, could not be  
 properly done without him. However, the man  
 being useful to the party, and ready to serve any  
 turn, was, upon his submission, restored to his  
 dignity next year, and thereby enabled to appear  
 in England, as a commissioned accuser of that very  
 marriage which himself had performed, and which,  
 at the time of performing, he knew to be as cen-  
 surable as it could appear to him afterwards. At  
 this coronation, the English resident had orders  
 from his mistress not to be present, to give a sort  
 of outward testimony of her disapprobation of it,  
 while, by her underhand dealing, she had been  
 instrumental in bringing it forward. It is also  
 somewhat surprizing, that the Earl of Arkel should  
 have assented so actively as to carry the crown of  
 state at it, when, only five days before, he had  
 sent advice to the Queen, by Sir Robert Melvil,  
 not to hazard her life, by refusing her subscription  
 to any paper that should be presented to her, assur-  
 ing her, that nothing extorted from her by force,  
 or done by her in prison, could affect her title, or  
 do her any prejudice. Such duplicity and dissimu-  
 lation prevailed at that time among all ranks of  
 people, and so impossible was it for the openheart-  
 ed unsuspecting Mary to make her way, with any  
 degree of propriety, thro' the many dangerous  
 snares that surrounded her on all sides.

Things being thus in so far prepared, the Earl  
 of Murray, who, tho' absent we know not where,  
 had been the great mover of all these bold machina-  
 tions, made his appearance at Edinburgh on the  
 eleventh

eleventh of August, and after having fed his eyes with the sight of his now wretched sister at Lochlevin, was prevailed upon, by repeated entreaties and with much affected hesitation, to take on him the office of Regent, which had been by such cruel means procured for him, and which, on the twenty second, he was pleased to accept, with all the formalities of swearing, and had his acceptance proclaimed the same day at the market cross, with a charge to all the lieges, "to give obedience to the Lord Regent in all things, under pain of treason." The first thing he did, was to publish an order, the very second day of his office, for calling in and destroying all the public seals of the kingdom which carried the name and title of the Queen. Then he bought the government of the Castle of Edinburgh from Sir James Balfour, a creature, but a faithless one, of the Earl of Bothwell, and gave it to his old accomplice Kirkaldy of Grange. He next got possession of the two fortresses of Dunbar and Inchkeith, and demolished them both. Such of the gentlemen of the Merse and Lothians as he suspected of retaining their old allegiance, were either summoned to appear before him and his council, or commanded to enter their persons in such prisons as he should appoint.

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Keith, 459.

Thus the Regent went on, taking every method to distress and humble the Queen's friends, till he thought proper to call, what is styled the first Parliament of James VI. consisting of four titular Bishops and fourteen Abbots, twelve Earls, fifteen Lords, three Masters, thirty commissioners of burghs, and five officers of state, in all eighty three members. And here every thing succeeded to his mind. His regency under the young King was confirmed:

D. cr. 15,  
1567.



LETTER confirmed: The Queen's resignation was declared to be valid, and by one of the strangest blunders that could have entered into wise peoples heads, and which to their public disgrace stands upon the records to this day, they declare, that "the cause and occasion of the conventions held by the Earls, Lords, Barons, and other true and faithful subjects, and their taking arms and coming to the open fields with displayed banners, and seizing the Queen's person upon the 15th day of June last bypast, and generally all other things invented, spoken, written or done by them or any of them to that effect, since the 10th day of February that King Henry was slain, was all in the said Queen's own default, in as far as by divers her privy letters written wholly with her own hand, and sent by her to James Earl of Bothwel, chief executer of that horrible murder, it is certain she was privy, art and part of the same." Now it is a fact that the most of the nobility here present, if not all of them, except Murray who took care to be out of the way, had, little more than eight months before this, given public testimony to Bothwel's innocence of this crime, and under their hands and seals recommended him to the Queen as a proper husband. But the great blunder, so very glaring to common sense, is, that these *Privy Letters*, which are thus held forth as the original cause and foundation of all their proceedings against the Queen, were not, by their own confession, in their custody nor known to them till the twentieth of June, five days after they had seized the Queen's person, on which day the Earl of Morton, as himself judicially averred, on the twenty sixth, before two of his partners Athol and Grange,

Grange, got them by some means or other into **LETTER**  
his hands.\* **XL.**

But to proceed. The general assembly sat down about the same time with the parliament, to be at hand with their supplications, and to take care of "the one thing needful," the patrimony of the kirk. Accordingly they got an act passed, "that no other ecclesiastical jurisdiction be acknowledged within this realm, than that which is and shall be within this same kirk established presently, or which floweth therefrom, &c." And another for putting the article about the thirds into execution, which, after all the fair promises that had been made them, was all that they could get done in their favour at this time. The Parliament too had long consultation what course to take with the Queen, and after some little struggle by a few of the more moderate, it was concluded by the majority that she should be detained and kept in perpetual prison.

On the third of January four persons were executed for the murder of Darnly, viz. Dalglish, Hepburn, Powrie, and Hay, all of them servants to the Earl of Bothwell, who tho' they all charged their master and themselves, yet none of them could be influenced to asperse the Queen at the greatest distance with any foreknowledge of it. On the fourteenth of February an act of council came forth, ordering the lead to be taken from

\* The forgery and infamous design of these pauthy letters, about which so much noise has been made, even by some eminent historians, to the prejudice of this injured Princess, have of late been fully proved by our ingenious countrymen *Goodal* and *Tytler*, and last of all by the English *Whitaker*, a writer of uncommon vigour and accuracy, and who has settled the point of *Mary's* innocence, beyond all contradiction.

LETTER XL. the cathedral churches of Aberdeen and Elgin, and sold for sustentation of the Regent's army, and charging the Earl of Huntly, as sheriff of Aberdeen, and Dunbar of Cumnock, sheriff of Elgin, with the Magistrates of the two burghs, and the two Bishops of Aberdeen and Moray, Gordon and Hepburn, who were still on the Popish side, to assist and support the council's servants, Alexander Clark and William Birnie, in executing this scandalous and disagreeable order.\* The new disaster which about this time befell the Queen after her escape from Lochleven, fortified Murray's power, which for some months he exercised with great rigour and cruelty on all who had appeared on the Queen's side, but especially against the Hamiltons, to whom he had long born a mortal spite.†

\* A tradition is preserved about Aberdeen, that this William Birnie, having shipped a cargo of this lead for Holland, was lost with ship and cargo off the Girdleness, as a judgment, some will say, on such sacrilegious traffic.


† An unlooked for affair put an interruption to his proceedings for some time. Our Queen, on her landing in England, had written again and again to Elizabeth, complaining in strong terms of the usage she had met with from her rebellious subjects, and earnestly requesting her good sister's protection and assistance against them. Upon which, Elizabeth, tho' well pleased to have her hated rival now so much in her power, found herself obliged by all the ties of equity, and even rules of decency, to take notice of these complaints. Accordingly she sent a sharp message to Murray, whom she knew she had at her beck, telling him that, howsoever he and others had forgot their duty to their sovereign, she would not neglect her sister and neighbour Queen, and therefore requiring him to send commissioners to give account of his proceedings against his Queen, otherwise she would restore her with all the power she had. In consequence of this message, the Regent set out himself, attended by his associates Morton, Lethington, the Bishop of Orkney, and some more, and came to York, the place appointed, on the fifth of October. Thither  
The

The chief of that family the Duke of Chatelherault, who had been mostly abroad since the Queen's marriage with Darnly, on his coming home, wrote a letter to the general assembly, which was then sitting, recommending such measures as might tend to restore the peace of the kingdom. But the assembly were so attached to Murray, that little regard was paid to the Duke's letter: Only the superintendents laboured to bring about a reconciliation between these two noblemen, who had both been useful to them; and they so far effected it, that the Duke came to Edinburgh, in company with Lord Herries, who was still doing his best for the Queen's interest, but on his refusing the conditions which Murray proposed, both he and Herries were committed prisoners to the castle.— About this time the Lord Boyd brought a commission from Mary, desiring that the marriage between her and Bothwel might be dissolved, and she left at liberty to marry as she pleased. For now the Duke of Norfolk, who had been Elizabeth's principal commissioner both at York and Westminster, and in the course of the process had seen undoubted proofs of Mary's innocence, was

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A.D. 1569.

came also Leslie Bishop of Ross, with the Lords Boyd, Livingston and Harries, commissioners from Queen Mary, and on the 8th both parties met before the Duke of Norfolk, and some of the English nobility, empowered by Elizabeth to hear and examine the cause, but restricted to leave the final determination of it to herself. The result of all this designed farce however was, that the injured Mary met neither with civility nor justice, and on the 12th of January 1569, Murray and his party got licence from Elizabeth to return home, under pretence of providing for the peace of the country which, had Elizabeth been sincere and upright, might have been as well cared for by liberating the Queen as by dismissing Murray.

LETTER XL.  so taken with her character, that he began to form a wish, and even to entertain hopes of marrying her, in which hopes he was encouraged by some of the principal nobility of England, and these too of Elizabeth's own favourites. Some hints of this, and of Elizabeth's designs against Mary's succession to the English crown, Norfolk had in confidence communicated to Murray, when he was on his way home, and stood in need of the Duke's friendship: And Murray, to secure his favour, had promised his assistance and secrecy on the affair. But when, in order to pave the way for this project, the divorce from Bothwell was proposed in a convention of the states held by Murray at Perth, he not only got the meeting to reject the proposal, but was so base as to send a messenger to Elizabeth, with private intelligence of all Norfolk's views, and warning her, as a friend, to take care of herself in time: which was the means of bringing that worthy Protestant nobleman to the scaffold, and provoked the jealous Elizabeth to remove our Queen to Coventry, under the custody of the Earls of Shrewsbury and Huntington.

This business, which was so foully and fatally betrayed by Murray, had been much solicited and encouraged by his associate Maitland of Lethington, who, tho' he had hitherto gone all lengths with the rest in prosecuting and calumniating the Queen, yet now, either from conscience or compassion, or a natural bent he had to be still displaying his talents for plotting, began to vent about a little to the Queen's side, and to plot some distant schemes for her restoration. His new master Murray, who was as cunning as he, soon suspected something of this, and to be re-  
venged

venge of him, employed a captain Crawford, a creature of the Earl of Lenox, to appear before the council at Stirling, and openly accuse Lethington, while he was sitting there by virtue of his office as secretary, of being accessory to the King's murder. Upon this hasty charge, Lethington was seized and sent under a strong guard to Edinburgh, to be tried. But his friend Grange, another of the party, and then governor of the castle, rescued him out of the guard's hands, and took him under his own protection. In whatever view we shall behold this strange piece of business, it must exhibit the characters of those concerned, in a very odious light. If Lethington was justly accused, what shall we think of a man who could in such a public manner prosecute and distress his sovereign for a crime which he himself stood guilty of? And how does it consist with the character of the godly Earl of Murray, to have employed and been so highly obliged to such a wretch in that scandalous prosecution? If again the accusation was unjust; what shall we think of Murray, for taking such measures to ruin a man who had been so singularly serviceable in the good cause, for no other reason but because he began to see things in another light, and to shew some pity to the miseries of a persecuted Princess, who was sister to one of them, and sovereign to them all.

But while Murray was busied with the thoughts of this ticklish trial, he was, on his way from Stirling to Edinburgh, shot thro' the belly, in the street of Linlithgow, by James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, and died in a few hours after. A man of whom I shall only say, that after the most impartial view of his character or conduct, it is extremely

LETTER XL

Spotf. 234.

Jan. 23. 1570.

LETTER XL. tremely difficult to discover, from what part of it he was entitled to the honourable appellation of the *good Regent*. It is needless to mention the provocation which, it is said, the murderer had met with,† as if that could be any excuse for the barbarous action, since, in conformity to the precepts of the gospel, it is certain, that no provocation can warrant or justify private and deliberate assassination, in the eye of that Judge who has said, “Vengeance is mine, I will repay.” Only I may take the freedom to observe, with regard to those who set up for a particular degree of purity in religious profession, that they would do well to express themselves consistently in all such cases, and talk of the assassination of the Popish Cardinal Beaton, or the insignificant David Rizio, with the same abhorrence that they do of the murder of King Henry Darnly, or the *good* Earl of Murray; all which were acts of murder prohibited by the christian law, and to be had in equal detestation by all who assume the christian name.

By this unexpected blow, matters were thrown into great confusion. The Queen’s friends continued to stir in her cause, and Elizabeth, who could easily have cast the balance on either side, made it her business to keep up the contest, by a shew of friendly mediation. The Earl of Morton, who, next to Murray, had the principal management of that party, took the opportunity of this vacancy to call a meeting of his associates, in which he got his old friend Lethington purged

† Part of his estate had been bestowed upon one of the Regent’s favourites, who seized his house, and turned out his wife naked in a cold night into the open fields, where, before next morning, she became furiously mad.

*Robertson’s Hist. of Scot. B. v. p. 416.*

of

of the accusation given in by Crawford against him, and "recognized as an honest man, and a good and profitable member of the commonwealth." The General Assembly, which was sitting about the time of Murray's murder, ordered the murderer, and all that should be convicted of having a hand in it, to be excommunicated in all the chief burghs of the realm, tho' they had publicly prayed for Lord Ruthven and the other murderers of Rizio, when absconding in England, as people in distress for the cause of God and religion. It was also ordained in this assembly, "that forth of the thirds five thousand merks should be yearly paid for furnishing the King's house, and the kirk burdened with no further duty." At the first allotment of the thirds for their behoof, the necessaries of the Queen's house were first to be provided for, and the overplus only was assigned for them. But this scanty provision had occasioned many heavy complaints, and now that, by Murray's kindness, they had got the taking up of the thirds into their own hands, they assumed also the liberty of modifying their benefactor's share, and were determined that whatever became of the King's house, "the kirk should be burdened with no further duty."

LETTER  
XL.

Spotf. 235.

I am, &amp;c.

LETTER





## L E T T E R XLI.

*The Earl of Lenox declared Regent—he seizes  
Dunbarton, and puts the Archbishop of St. An-  
drews to Death—is killed in Stirling, and suc-  
ceeded in the Regency by the Earl of Mar—  
The Government of the Kirk new modelled and  
brought nearer to the Episcopal Form—Affairs  
of the Kirk under the Regencies of Mar and  
Morton—Innovation in the Government of it  
by Mr. Andrew Melvil—Rise and Progress  
of Presbytery—The Raid of Ruthven approved  
by an Assembly—Turbulent Humours in the  
Kirk.*

July 12.  
1570.

**A**FTER some months of a continued struggle between the contending parties, the Earl of Lenox, the Queen's father-in-law, and now her rigid enemy, was declared regent, who soon after his promotion, set aside Morton's purgation of Lethington, took the Secretary's office from him, and proclaimed him rebel. On the other hand, the Duke, the Earls of Argyle and Huntly,

ly, and others of the Queen's friends, held parliaments in her name, and by her commission, and directed "the Superintendents, ministers, exhorters, and readers, in their public service, to pray for the Queen as their only Sovereign, for the Prince her son, for the council, nobility, and whole body of the commonwealth." And wherever their authority prevailed, this direction, notwithstanding the assembly's prohibition, was for the most part observed. At Edinburgh, John Knox, rather than comply with it, left his pulpit, which was taken possession of by Bishop Gordon of Galloway. From Edinburgh, Knox went to St. Andrews, where he met with great opposition from two Professors of philosophy in the new College, who stood firm to the Queen's cause, and drew many of the students after them. So much did political principles, even then, separate people who agreed in most other points, and all professed an equal zeal for a religious reformation. \*

In this perplexed and divided state, matters stood a year or two, the Earl of Lenox, as Regent for his grandson, holding his parliaments where he best could, and the Queen's Lords

\* It has been said, that the protestants were all of them the Queen's enemies, and that she had no friends but among those of the old persuasion. But this appears to be a false assertion, since we find many of the papists among her bitter enemies; and on the other hand, some of her best friends and firmest supporters, the Duke of Chatelherault, and his son the Lord John of Arbroath, the Earl of Argyle, the Lords Livingston, Boyd, and Herris, Gordon Bishop of Galloway, Carswell of the Isles, and many others, were as zealous protestants, and as hearty promoters of a reformation, according to the current principles of the times, as John Knox and the furious party that were led by him.

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holding theirs with equal claims of legality, but with various success, according as the Queen of England, who had the balance in her hands, thought fit to stand neuter or throw in her weight against the Queen's scale. The most material advantage gained by Lenox in the contention, was the recovery of the strong castle of Dunbarton, which had hitherto been kept for the Queen by the Lord Fleming, but was at last surprized by Captain Crawford, and all within it except Lord Fleming who escaped, made prisoners. Among them was the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who had taken refuge in that fortress from the implacable resentment of the Earl of Murray, and now fell into as merciless hands. For he was immediately carried to Stirling under a strong guard, and there without any formal trial, but barely upon the forfeiture laid against him in one of their contendible parliaments, he was publicly hanged on a gibbet erected for that purpose, on the first day of April 1571. This was a silly and unmanly stroke of family-revenge in Lenox, who had the execution hurried on in such an unbecoming manner, lest the Queen of England should have interceded for the unhappy Prelate. There is some ground to suspect that Morton, who had been long gaping for the revenues of St. Andrews, and who managed Lenox as he pleased, had been the chief promoter of the Primate's hasty fate: For immediately upon his death, Morton solicited so strongly for the rich temporalities of that see, and, by threatening to leave the court in case of a refusal, so overawed Lenox who could not do without him, that he obtained a gift of them, which thro' all the various forms of polity that ensued, he took care not to part with.

Spotf. 252.

The possession of Dunbarton, and the death of Archbishop Hamilton, gave such spirits to Lenox and his party, that in the month of August he called a Parliament at Stirling, in which, among other things, an act passed that "all lands and possessions which had in former times been held of Priors, or Prioreesses, or of Convents of any kind, should from that time forth be held of the crown." The assembly now sitting at Stirling had got intelligence of this design while it was forming, and were not a little alarmed at it, especially after getting a letter from Mr. Knox, who was at St. Andrews indisposed, and could not attend them, in which he apprizes them of what was going on, and warns them, "as they would not be thought unfaithful to the Lord Jesus, to withstand these merciless devourers of the church's patrimony." To guard against this attempt therefore, and to preserve the prospect they had, of some time or other recovering these lands out of the hands of those who at present held them only by force or connivance, which they could not expect to do if once they were settled in the crown by law, the assembly gave commission to certain brethren, to go to the Regent and estates of Parliament, "humbly to desire and request, in name of the kirk, the granting of such heads and articles, and redressing of such complaints, as should be given in to them by the kirk."

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Spotf. 258.

But while this affair was in agitation, it happened that Lenox was slain in the street of Stirling on the fourth of September 1571, in a scuffle with a party of the Queen's friends, headed by Lord Claud Hamilton, who, to be revenged on Lenox for his disgraceful treatment of his uncle

LETTER the Archbishop, had thought to surprize him and  
 XLI. his Parliament, and make them all prisoners.—

On the death of Lenox, the Earl of Mar was immediately named his successor, and to him application was made for the same purpose just now mentioned: On which it was mutually agreed that a meeting should be held of a certain number from the kirk, and as many from the state, for adjusting matters. In prosecution of this agreement, an assembly met at Leith in January next year, and delegated six of their own number to meet with as many from the council, “to treat, reason, and conclude concerning the settlement of the polity of the church.” These delegates, after diverse meetings and long deliberation, came to this resolution, that the old ecclesiastical polity should be revived, only with such alterations as the change of religion had made necessary: That they who were to have the office and power, should have also the names and titles of Archbishops and Bishops: that the old division of the dioceses should take place, the patrimony of the church be properly applied, and every Bishop have spiritual jurisdiction in his own dioceses. In a word, excepting the neglected article of the consecration of Bishops, which was strangely overlooked, every other part of the constitution now adopted, seems to have been pretty much on the plan of true and real episcopacy.

In consequence of this settlement, Mr. John Douglas, who had been chaplain to the Earl of Argyle, and was now Provost of the new college of St. Andrews, was nominated to that archiepiscopal See, Mr. James Boyd to Glasgow, Mr. James Paton to Dunkeld, Mr. Andrew Graham to Dunblain, and Mr. George Douglas to Moray.  
 Most

Most of the other Sees had been filled before. LETTER  
 Gordon was Bishop of Galloway, Bothwell Titular XLI.  
 of Orkney, Stuart of Caithness, Hamilton of Ar-  
 gyle, Campbell of Brechin, and Carswell of the  
 Isles, none of whom had episcopal consecration  
 but Gordon of Galloway, and some of them not  
 even Priest's orders, yet acted, with consent of  
 the assembly, and in conjunction with the old su-  
 perintendents, who, as long as they lived, retained  
 the name and office, in such branches of prelatical  
 power as were committed to them. How  
 Mr. Knox relished this regulation, we are not  
 told. He was now returned to Edinburgh, on  
 the Queen's friends having left it, in terms of  
 a patched up treaty between them and the Earl of  
 Mar; but his influence seems to have been much  
 on the decline. Besides, he was now grown  
 old and infirm. The disappointments he had met  
 with from many of his party, who made a very dif-  
 ferent use of their power from what he intended,  
 had sunk his spirits, and he died on the 27th of  
 November, in the 67th year of his age.

This year, so remarkable for having introduc-  
 ed a name of protestant episcopacy into Scotland, A.D. 1572.  
 was a melancholy year to that cause in France,  
 by a general and unexpected massacre of the Pro-  
 testants over all the kingdom, which was curled-  
 ly contrived, under a mask of kindness and re-  
 conciliation, by the Queen-mother, Catharine of  
 Medicis, and in which the brave Admiral Co- Aug. 24.  
 ligny, and many thousands of different ages and  
 sexes without distinction, miserably perished. At  
 home, the Earl of Mar died in October, and was  
 succeeded in office as Regent by the Earl of Mor-  
 ton, who after much intriguing, now at last got  
 up to that pinnacle of power to which his ambi-  
 tion

LETTER XLI. } tion had been long directed. The first public-thing he undertook, was to reduce the castle of Edinburgh, which had stood out under Kirkaldy of Grange the Governor, against the three late Regents, but was now, by the force of an army and artillery from England, compelled to surrender to Morton, who soon after condemned his old intimate friend Grange, the best and bravest man of the whole faction, to be hanged at the market cross.\* His other partner in iniquity, Maitland of Lethington, whom he had lately "recognosced" "an honest man," and whose rare but mis-employed talents had been so serviceable to them all in dethroning and calumniating their sovereign, rather than be made such a shameful spectacle of, as his friend Grange had been, made away with himself by poison, and so avoided the ignominy of a public execution.

May 29,  
1573.

Spots. 272.

While Morton was thus carrying all before him, to the entire suppression of the Queen's cause in Scotland, the assemblies of the kirk were going on with great keenness upon their improved plan, still paying a certain degree of deference to the Bishops and superintendents, and putting the Regent in mind of their wants and grievances. And indeed they had need of all their wits about them to watch against his avarice and duplicity. He had with artful professions of kindness, drawn the thirds out of their hands, by promising to make the stipends of the inferior mi-

\* What an astonishing spectacle must this have been to the citizens of Edinburgh, who remembered to have seen this very Grange but a few years before, leading his Queen a captive, and delivering her up to that very Morton, who now, forgetting their former intimacy, was unfeeling enough to put his once bosom-friend on the same footing with the vilest of malefactors?

nifters

nifters local, and payable in the parishes where they served, which he made them believe would be the surest way to effectuate quick and ready payment. But when by this deceit he had got possession of the thirds, he ordered two, three or four parishes to be cast together, and served by one minister, who was to preach in them by turns, and placed in every parish a reader to read prayers in the minister's absence, with a salary of twenty or thirty pounds scots. The ministers too found greater difficulty than ever in procuring their payments, and the superintendents were neglected, under pretence that by the institution of Bishops their office was no longer necessary. To remedy these growing evils, the assembly in March 1574 enjoined the Bishops and superintendents not to encroach upon one another's jurisdiction, and decreed that the ministers who were appointed to serve more kirks than one, should take charge of that one only at which they resided, helping the others as they best could.

While Morton and the kirk were thus jarring with one another about his encroachments on the ecclesiastical revenues, a new source of contention was opened, which has not been fully closed in Scotland, even to this day. A Mr. Andrew Melvil had this year returned from Geneva, where he had studied some time under the famous Beza, and acquired a great fondness for the parity-scheme which had taken place there. Being a man of a hot fiery temper, he soon began to shew the warmth of his zeal in favour of the Genevan model, and prevailed on Mr. John Durie, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, to start the game he wished to pursue, by protesting in the assembly of August 1575, "that the  
" trial

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“ trial of the Bishops might not prejudge the  
“ opinions and reasons which he and other bre-  
“ thren had to propose, against the office and name  
“ of a Bishop.” This was immediately followed  
by a long harangue from Melvil, on the flourish-  
ing state of the church in Geneva: In conse-  
quence of which it was ordered, that the question  
now proposed should be debated and reason’d  
upon by three of every side, who came to such  
conclusions as were in the main agreeable enough  
to the established form. In the next assembly  
at Edinburgh, in April 1576, the state of the ques-  
tion was altered, and made to run, “ Whether  
“ Bishops, as they then were in Scotland, had  
“ their function warrant’d by the word of  
“ God?” But here again the faction was dis-  
appointed. For the assembly, after much reason-  
ing and disputation, adhered for the most part to  
the conclusions that had been agreed upon before.  
Yet Melvil’s party gained two points, which serv-  
ed them in good stead afterwards. One was an act  
“ that the Bishops should be oblig’d to take  
“ charge of particular congregations:” Which  
was no doubt design’d to cramp them in the ex-  
ercise of jurisdiction over a whole diocess: And  
the other was, an ill-timed message which Mor-  
ton sent to the assembly, wishing to know, “ whe-  
“ ther they would stand to the polity agreed to  
“ at Leith; and if not, desiring them to settle upon  
“ some form of government by which they would  
“ abide.”

Spots. 276.

This was giving full scope to Melvil’s designs;  
and a commission was accordingly granted to six  
delegates, of whom he was one, to draw up a  
*Second* book of discipline, which was set about  
with vigour, and compos’d entirely according to  
the

the directions which Melvil had got, and was still getting from his tutor Beza. However, two assemblies passed, before this new system of ecclesiastical polity could be completed; and even in a third assembly at Edinburgh, in October 1577, there was not one motion directly or indirectly about the lawfulness or unlawfulness of Bishops. But soon after this, a change happened, which gave them a better opportunity of carrying their design into execution, than they could have expected under Morton's administration; and that was his resignation of the Regency, in one of his sullen humours, and the young King's taking the government into his own hands, tho' then only in the twelfth year of his age. This was a lucky circumstance for the innovators: For now they had got free of a deep and dangerous politician, who could neither be trusted nor outwitted, and had only the name of a King and a divided council to deal with, who could be easily managed, and either wheedled or bullied into any measures. Under this feeble administration therefore they renewed their diligence, and step by step, under various disguises, pursued their grand design, sometimes with connivance, sometimes with a sort of discountenance from the changeable court, till at last they carried their point, and in an assembly at Dundee gave the deadly thrust to episcopacy, by a solemn act bearing, that "For as much as the office of a Bishop, as it is now used within this realm; hath no sure warrant, authority nor good ground out of the word of God, but is brought in by the folly and corruption of men's invention, to the great overthrow of the true kirk of God, therefore the whole assembly in one voice

July 12.  
1582

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 findeth and declareth the same pretended office, used and termed as aforesaid, unlawful in itself, and ordaineth that all persons who brook, or hereafter shall brook the said office, be charged forthwith to demitt, quit and leave off the same, and sicklike to desist and cease from preaching, ministring the sacraments, or any way using the office of pastors, till they receive admision anew from the general assembly, under pain of excommunication, &c.

Were we to consider this solemn act in the literal sense of the words, and detached from the design and principles of the enactors, something might be said in its vindication. It goes upon the assumption that the office of a Bishop, as then used within Scotland, had no warrant in the word of God. And this restriction, as having a certain speciality in it, is again repeated in the next assembly, held at Glasgow in April following, where, when some of the brethren expressed their scruples at that part of this act finding that the "office of a Bishop hath no warrant in the word of God," the assembly declare, "that their meaning was to condemn the estate of Bishops as they were then in Scotland." It was not therefore Episcopacy in general, as such, but that particular form and fashion of it, now for political ends erected in Scotland, which even this seemingly Presbyterian assembly of Dundee condemn, as flowing from the folly and corruption of man's invention, and having no warrant in the word of God. And indeed it will not be easy to prove from scripture, that the office of a Bishop, as there described, could properly and warrantably be exercised by any one at his own hand, without such previous

and preparatory solemnity as the Canons of scripture had appointed, and the first ages in conformity to, and interpretation of these canons, had universally and constantly practised. And could the Episcopacy which was at that time used in Scotland, either in the entrance to, or exercise of the office, claim the apostolic character or pretend to any scripture-warrant?

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XII.

But then on the other hand, what was that assembly which so peremptorily and magisterially excommunicated and condemned this pretended episcopacy? Some assemblies might have done so, upon good grounds, and by sufficient authority. But what gave this convention that authority, or what warrant from the word of God could they produce for their own office and titles, any more than the pretended titular Bishops could produce for theirs? Or did they think it more unlawful and without warrant, to assume the name and office of Bishops, than of Presbyters or ministers? However with or without authority, the act passed, and that building which our reformers had with much labour been rearing for twenty years, was now thrown down by one bold stroke, and in its place was set up the equally unwarrantable idol of Genevan parity, which under the name of the Presbyterian kirk has made a figure among us ever since.

Yet all this time we have heard little or nothing of that essential branch of this constitution, the meeting called *the Presbytery*, from which the whole fabric seems to have taken its distinguishing denomination. Indeed the first book of discipline had undesignedly paved the way to such an erection, by appointing "that the country ministers and readers should meet upon a certain day of the week, in such towns within six

D d 2

" miles

LETTER " miles distance as had schools, and to which  
 XLI. " there was repair of learned men, to exercise  
 " themselves in the interpretation of scripture."  
 Which was no doubt intended, and perhaps wisely enough, in that early scarcity of gifted men, as the phrase was, to train up and qualify the less perfect by the conversation and instruction of the more learned, but without investing these meetings with any degree of power, or authorizing the least instance of judicature of any kind in them. Of this temporary appointment Melvil's faction took hold in the assembly of October 1576, and got it enacted " that all ministers within eight miles should resort to the place of exercise, each day of exercise." They proceeded a step farther in the assembly of July 1579, where they got it proposed " that a general order might be taken for erecting Presbyteries in places where public exercise was used, till the policy of the church might be established by law," to which the assembly answered, " that the exercise was a presbytery." Notwithstanding this evasive and ambiguous declaration, there were no Presbyteries, in the modern extent of the word, within the kingdom, till the 30th of May 1581, that the Presbytery of Edinburgh was erected. Others rose up by degrees here and there afterwards, but they were not agreed to by the King till the year 1586, nor ratified by the Parliament till 1592. So long was that constitution, now flourishing under the title of *Presbytery*, in forming: Never dreamed of for the first fourteen years of the reformation, which at first began with a superintendency, and then adopted an Episcopacy: Even when brought upon the stage by its Scotch parent Andrew Melvil, obliged to work its way for five years, and thro'

ten


ten assemblies towards a first approbation: And after this, moulding itself into form for twelve years more, before it was perfectly completed by, what it now boasts of, a legal establishment.

LETTER:  
XLI.

It may be wondered indeed how these innovations were allowed to pass so quietly, and as the famous act bears, with one voice. But the reason was: The three surviving superintendents were old men, and wished to give up their charge, and the new Bishops, who, whatever other defects they laboured under, were not wanting in parts or capacity, were so harassed with personal incivilities, and the rude behaviour of Melvil and his party, that they gave up attending the meetings, where they were so disrespectfully used, and left them to their own freedom. To such lengths did Melvil carry his rough and impetuous zeal, that he proposed to the Magistrates of Glasgow, where he had got himself made Principal of the college, to demolish their fine cathedral, which the madness of the first tumults had spared, and would have effected his purpose, if the tradesmen of the city had not risen in a body, and threatened with an oath, that the man who should cast down the first stone of it should be buried under it. This coming to the young King's ears, he countenanced the opposition, and inhibited the ministers who were for the demolition, from meddling any more with it, saying "that too many churches had been destroyed already, but he would allow no more abuses of that kind."

Spotf. 304

What contributed very much to the encouragement of these turbulent humours in the kirk, was the continual distractions in the privy-council, occasioned by Morton's repenting of his hasty resignation, and perpetually plotting to thrust himself

LETTER  
 XLI.  self again into power. But in this he was miserably disappointed, and now felt a woeful but just reverse of fortune. He who had been so long and so violently active against the Queen, who had given his oath and honour that she was guilty of murdering her husband, and who had more than once sat as judge, and a severe one too, upon pannels for that crime, was, upon an accusation given in against him to the King and council, himself brought to his trial before his Peers for that very murder, on the first of June 1581, and being found guilty by the jury, was next day beheaded on the public street of Edinburgh. And so much had all his former good luck forsaken him, that his corpse lay on the scaffold covered only with a beggarly cloak, and no one expressing the least pity or sorrow for his fate, till towards sunset, when it was carried by some obscure fellows to the common place of burial, and his head fixed on the public jail. The Queen of England solicited strongly in behalf of a man who had been useful to her on many occasions; and her officious interposition, conducted by an intriguing ambassador, gave no little uneasiness to James and his counsellors. In the midst of these confusions, the new judicature of the kirk got up its head, and soon began to shew itself in its proper colours. The preachers on that side, being most of them young men, and having now no superior to direct or restrain them, made it their daily theme in their pulpit-harangues, to inveigh against the civil administration; and when they were called in question for it by the council, they pled the old Popish exemption of being accountable to no secular tribunal. The titular Bishops, tho' now thrust out from

Spotf. 314.

from the assemblies of the kirk, still kept possession of the temporalities annexed to the name, and continued to exercise such acts of the Episcopal office as were of a temporal nature, in disposing and conveying the few lands that were left them: Between these two contending parties, the young King was sadly tossed and perplexed, and often at a loss how to act, so as to keep fair with both sides, and secure the peace of the kingdom.

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XLL

He found it a difficult matter, even to provide for the safety of his own person. For on the twenty third of August 1582, a party of the nobles, who had taken offence at some of his favourites, particularly at his cousin the Duke of Lenox, suddenly placed themselves about him at the Earl of Gowrie's house of Ruthven, and detained him there a prisoner some days. From thence they carried him to Perth, where they obliged him to publish a proclamation, declaring himself satisfied with his present condition, and ordering Lenox to leave the kingdom in three weeks. From Perth they removed him to Holyroodhouse, while the General Assembly was sitting at Edinburgh, and having represented their procedure and the reasons of it to the Assembly, they obtained from them a formal act, approving it as good service, and "requiring every one who regarded the glory of God, to concur with and assist these noblemen in maintaining the good cause which they had taken in hand." And not content with this approbation of the kirk, these Lords got a convention of the estates assembled, to justify their enterprise, and grant a full indemnity to all concerned in it. Mean time, ambassadors came from France,

Spotf. 342.



LETTER France, and an envoy from England to enquire  
 XLI: into the King's situation, and offer him assistance  
 if needful. This offer was no doubt very acceptable; and to testify his sense of it, he desired the Magistrates of Edinburgh to feast the ambassadors before they departed. But the preachers appointed a fast on the day fixed for the feast, and from the pulpits thundered out their curses against the Magistrates and all that obeyed the King's directions, threatening even to excommunicate the Magistrates for not observing the fast which they had enjoined. All these and many more such insults the King seemed to take no notice of, having still an eye to his liberty, which at last, after near a year's confinement, by his own contrivance, and the assistance of a Colonel Stuart, he happily effected.

Things now began to put on a very different aspect. The ministers of Edinburgh, continuing to vindicate the *Raid of Ruthven*, as it was called, were summoned before the council and ordered to submit to the King's pleasure: The discontented Lords were committed to several prisons: And Mr. Andrew Melvil, for a seditious sermon at St. Andrews, was cited before the King, when breaking out into irreverent language, and accusing the King of having perverted the laws both of God and man, he was charged to enter himself in Blackness within ten hours; but he went off in the night, and fled to Berwick. The Earl of Gowrie, one of the principal conspirators, was apprehended in Dundee, when, in terms of the King's pardon, he ought to have been out of the country, and being brought prisoner to Stirling,

he was condemned and beheaded about the be-  
ginning of May 1584.\*

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XLI.

This commotion being thus settled, the King returned to Edinburgh, and published a proclamation, prohibiting all false, virulent, and slanderous speeches against himself, his council, and administration, under the pains expressed by law. Upon this the ministers of Edinburgh fled to England, and wrote back a letter to the town-council and kirk-session, complaining in bitter terms of the enormities of the times, and reproaching the King and his counsellors in a mixed style of railing and godliness. To this letter, the town, at the King's desire, returned a suitable answer, upbraiding them with their seditious behaviour, and cowardly desertion of their flock: Which return, when Mr. Lawson, who had been called from Aberdeen to succeed John Knox, received, he took it so to heart, that he sickened, and died at London soon after. Next year, however, the banished Lords were reconciled to the King, and all things tended once more to peace and quietness. But the ministers took offence at this reconciliation, as being in their conceits prejudicial to what they called the interests of religion, and raised fresh disturbances about Edinburgh, and in various parts of the kingdom. Such were the early effects of that turbulent spirit which had been lately imported into the nation, and which, disdain-  
ing all kind

\* Before his trial he wrote a supplicatory letter to the King, begging to be admitted to his presence, "as he had a matter of great importance to reveal," but the petition was rejected, and the petitioner met with the just reward of what his judges now interpreted to be treason, tho' the time was when it was maintained to be "good service."

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of regularity and submission, could not be at rest under any government. Yet the King went on with his endeavours to establish peace and order, as conducive to the real interests of truth: And when his secretary advised him to leave these ministers to their own refractory courses, which would soon make them intolerable to the people, his answer was, "True, if I were purposed to undo the church and religion, I should think your counsel not ill, but as my mind is to maintain both, I cannot suffer them to run into these disorders, which would make religion to be despised." Notwithstanding of this prudent and pious conduct, which, in a Prince, at his time of life, was rarely to be met with, the clamour was still kept up, that he was inclining to Popery. But so far was he from discovering the least tendency that way, that in the month of June 1586, he concluded a league offensive and defensive with Queen Elizabeth, narrating that, "seeing that divers Princes, terming themselves Catholics, and owning the Pope's authority, have joined in confederacy to extirpate true religion, not only in their own dominions, but also in other kingdoms, therefore they have thought it necessary, as well for the preservation of their own persons, on which the weal of their subjects depends, as for the better maintenance of the true ancient christian religion which they now profess, to join and unite themselves in a more strict league than hath been between any of the Princes their progenitors.

I am, &c.

LETTER

## L E T T E R XLII.

*Tragical End of Q. Mary.—Effect of it on her Son James VI.—He calls a Parliament, in which the Church Lands are annexed to the Crown.—Opposition of the Assembly to his Measures.—Parliamentary Ratification of their Discipline.—Their Persecution of the Popish Lords.—The Kirk represented in Parliament, and a Shadow of Episcopacy restored.—Gowry's Conspiracy.—Seditious Behaviour of the Ministers of Edinburgh.*

**W**HILE James was employed, as I have already mentioned, in taking proper measures for the security of the Protestant cause, both at home and abroad, his attention was suddenly called to a scene, the most trying and tragical of any he had yet met with, and which required all the fortitude and prudence he was master of, to enable him to act his part in a becoming manner. His mother, Queen Mary, after languishing upwards of eighteen years, under re-

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peated disappointments, in an unexpected and unchristian captivity, was now exposed upon the public stage, in a view indeed, which added lustre to her own character, but will reflect eternal disgrace on the unnatural hand that brought her to it. This unfortunate Princess had for many years past given over all struggling for state or dignity. She had seen her adherents quashed in Scotland, and driven into a forced obedience by successful violence. She had seen her worthy friend the Duke of Norfolk treacherously brought to the scaffold upon her account, and her faithful ambassador and counsellor the Bishop of Ross, contrary to the law of nations, first imprisoned, and then banished for her cause. And now, after such a grievous run of vexations, when she saw her son, who, tho' set up against her, was innocent of her misfortunes, wearing that crown, which from and after her was his unquestionable property, and the succession of the ancient monarchy going on in the right line, she began to sit down quietly under her melancholy situation, and to retire from a world, where she had experienced so little satisfaction. Yet the resentment of her irreconcilable cousin Elizabeth would not allow her to rest, even in this humiliating retirement. The old story of Murray and Morton, with their false oaths, and forged letters, had been long since given up as absurd and incredible. Associations therefore were formed, and sham conspiracies pretended, to destroy a miserable woman, who had neither power to hurt an enemy, nor protect herself. Hints of private assassination were sent to her keepers, who, tho' not of the most humane and polite cast, rejected the proposal with the

the abhorrence it deserved. At last a plot was fixed upon one Babington, and the poor captive Queen, by the common trick of forged letters, was brought in as a partner. Upon which, a commission was granted to a select number of English Peers and judges, the most of them her declared enemies; and contrivers of all the mischief against her, before whom she was, in October this year, formally arraigned and tried at Fotheringay in Northamptonshire, the place of her confinement. And notwithstanding her plea of being an independent Sovereign, and the noble defence she made with all becoming majesty and strength of reasoning, when she was most illegally denied the benefit of counsel, these commissioners, in obedience to the orders of their imperious mistress, were pleased to find her guilty, and pronounced sentence of death upon her accordingly.

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When intelligence of this procedure was brought to her son, he dispatched courier after courier to remonstrate with his ally Elizabeth, against the indignity and horrid iniquity of it. The foreign ambassadors too interposed: But all to no purpose: The prey which Elizabeth had so long held fast, with a pleasure peculiar to her brutal spirit, was not to be let go for a few big words. When James found his mother's death determined upon, he thought he could not do less than desire the ministers to remember her condition in their public prayers, "that God would be pleased to illuminate her with the light of his truth, and save her from the apparent danger wherein she was cast." This common office of humanity, which, in the manner proposed, no christian could well deny

Spotf. 354.

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LETTER to a heathen in like circumstances, they abso-  
 XLII. lutely refused to the mother of their Prince;  
 and one of them, Coupar, a young fellow, not  
 even in such orders as they had among them,  
 whom the ministers had put into the pulpit of  
 the principal kirk for that day, had the blasphemous  
 impudence to tell the King to his face,  
 "that he would pray as the Spirit of God  
 "should direct him."

At last, to the full accomplishment of Elizabeth's implacable jealousy and revenge, Mary, Queen of Scots, was upon the eighth day of February 1587, brought forth from her closet to the scaffold, and laying down her head upon the block, without the least sign of fear or trepidation, had it severed from her body by two strokes of the executioner, in the forty fifth year of her age. Her very enemies, among the historians, bear ample testimony to her magnanimous and christian behaviour both at her trial and execution: And when we look back to the amiable figure which she makes on that solemn and awful occasion, mounting the scaffold with that serenity and composure which innocence alone could inspire, and facing the instruments of death, and the more terrible visages of her guards, with such an heroic dignity as became injured majesty to express, we cannot but perceive the striking contrast exhibited by the poor, pitiful exit of her rival Elizabeth, tumbling herself, when death was approaching, from her chair of state to her chamber floor, and there for ten days and nights moping out her last miserable moments in alternate fits of sullen despondency or peevish discontent.

I shall only take notice of one other circumstance

stance relative to this royal sufferer; that, un-<sup>LETTER</sup>  
 der all the hardships and perils which for near <sup>XLII.</sup>  
 twenty years she was daily and hourly exposed to, she survived all her original persecutors, and might have enjoyed a certain kind of pleasure, if her forgiving spirit had been capable of such unchristian meanness, in hearing that most of them came to sudden or violent ends. Her brother Murray was designedly shot: So was her father-in-law, Lenox. Kirkaldy of Grange, who wheedled her from her army at Carberry with feigned professions of loyalty, perished on a gallows. Her secretary, Lethington, the betrayer of her confidence, and plotter of all her ruin, was his own executioner. Morton was condemned to the block. The young Ruthven, who shut her up in Lochleven, met with the same fate. And yet, after such flagrant discoveries as were made in her own time, of the treachery and wickedness of some of that party, and the manifest proofs of Morton and Lethington being accomplices in the murder which they had the baseness to charge her with, what a scandalous injustice is it to her memory, and what a lamentable instance of the force of inveterate prejudice, to be still loading her with the guilt of that murder, upon the bare presumption of her marrying the Earl of Bothwell, who, after all that has appeared against him, seems to have been but a tool to the rest for bringing their long concerted plots to perfection?

Let us next see how her son, now by right what he had hitherto been by name, King of Scotland, received the sorrowful and provoking news; which his dissembling friend Elizabeth, by an express messenger, sent him, in a style of the most



LETTER XLII. most consummate hypocrisy, and with an air of affected regret. And here, he cannot but appear to every person of natural feelings, in a truly pitiable situation: Distressed as a son, with the cruelties and barbarities exercised on a mother, whom, from her general character, misrepresented as it had been to him, he could not but admire and love: Enraged as a King, at the affront put upon majesty in general, and upon himself in particular by a pretended ally, in behaving so unhandsomely against all public equity and private intreaty, to so near and honourable a relation; and yet, tho' a King, uncertain from the experience he had of the dispositions of his own subjects, whether he should be able to avenge an injury which it had not been in his power to prevent: At the same time, as the apparent heir to the crown of that ally, and of a kingdom larger and more powerful than his own, diffculted how to act, so as neither on the one hand, by a silent indifference, to neglect personal honour or filial duty, nor on the other hand to endanger his future and not far distant prospects, by an ill-timed and perhaps unsuccessful desire of vengeance. Under such circumstances, what could he do, what could any man have done, to any effectual purpose, and with an equal eye of regard to these important and perplexing considerations? Yet, incensed and perplexed as he was, after some natural and sincere expressions of anger and vexation, prudential motives got the better of just resentment, and he was persuaded to appear satisfied with the measures which Elizabeth artfully took for her own vindication.

Indeed, if he had been otherwise disposed, and had

had thought it adviseable to keep up the quarrel, LETTER XLII. he had very soon a fair opportunity offered him of distressing the Queen of England, when the Spanish Armada, the most terrible armament that ever burdened the ocean before or since, made its threatening appearance upon her coasts. But he could not think of taking hold of this opportunity, in favour of a nation whose religion he conscientiously abhorred, and whose ambition he wisely dreaded. Instead of forming any alliance with the Spaniard, tho' much sollicitated to it, or even observing a quiet neutrality, which the remembrance of former transactions might have excused, he generously offered Elizabeth all the assistance he could give at such a dangerous juncture. And the event justified his conduct.—The elements fought against the invaders, and contributed more to the safety of England than all the prowess of Elizabeth, or vigilance of James could have done. However, tho' from this time he still kept in good terms with her, on account of his prospect of succeeding her, yet he never trusted her so much, nor was so cordial with her as he had been before; and she, for her part, was more tender and cautious in meddling with his matters than she had formerly shewn herself.

Soon after his mother's death, James had completed his twenty first year, and to solemnize his majority he called both a parliament and an assembly. In the parliament an act was passed, annexing the temporalities of ecclesiastical benefices to the crown, under pretence of increasing its patrimony, and to ease the lieges from further taxations. At the same time it was given out, that the reserving the Prelates houses and precincts, with the tithes of the

LETTER churches annexed to their benefices, would suffice to maintain their dignity and estate. This act of annexation was thought a great matter at the time, and the King was made to believe that he had been most nobly and liberally dealt with. But so dubious are the issues of all human consultations, that, favourable as it looked at first, it turned out quite differently from what the King expected, tho' not from what the original framers had intended by it. For the King himself had little benefit of it, the many lands which had been seized or given away from the church in his minority, being in this very parliament confirmed to the possessors, and temporal lordships afterwards erected upon them: And in the next reign these very acts became a handle for beginning all the troubles and disturbances which then ensued.

In the assembly of the kirk, the King did not meet with so much complaisance, nor could all his remonstrances procure him any satisfaction against two of the ministers, Gibson and Coupar, who, by their seditious and insolent behaviour, had highly offended him. They had now got hold of the popular clamour, which had so long served them in good stead, that Papists were encouraged, and Popery increasing in the kingdom. Yet we do not find that the old Bishops were much blamed for occasioning this complaint.— The Primate of St. Andrews, we see, had been long since put out of the way: All the rest, it would seem, were dead, except Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow, and Bishop Leslie of Ross, and they both were out of the country. It is indeed a little surprizing that, in all this time, when they saw how things were going on, they took no care to keep up the Episcopal order, and preserve the  
face

face of a church, which by their principles could not subsist without Bishops. But, as I have often observed, they were so taken up with the secular honours and privileges in being one of the three estates of Parliament, that they forgot their spiritual character, and left the church, as such, to shift for herself. They had likewise for a course of years been miserably restrained in the exercise of their inherent powers, by the dominion which the Popes had from time to time been usurping over them, and had been thereby overawed into a conceit that without their permissive Bulls they could not continue the succession, nor transmit to others the character which themselves had received. Yet during the primitive ages, whether of persecution or peace, it is certain that the many national churches, under their several diocessans, did keep up the episcopal succession, without waiting for previous authority from Rome, and only thought proper to notify the consecrations of their chief Bishops to their brother at Rome, as he did to them in the like case, for preserving mutual communion and catholic unity. But now the Bishops of this national church, when what they called heresy and schism began to predominate, and their worldly dignities and riches to be turned into another channel, either durst not for fear of the laws, or could not for want of the Pope's authority, exercise this essential part of their sacred office which, we are sure, no earthly terror nor extrinsic motive would have prevented the primitive Bishops from exercising, and without which the christian church must have perished in its infancy. Yea, so much did this strange and unprecedented notion prevail, that for more than a hundred years after the reformation, the Papists in Scotland had not a Bishop

F f 2

among

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XLII.

LETTER among them nor over them, till the Popes grow-  
 XLII. ing wiser, it seems, in this point, as they have  
 ~~~~~ done in many others, from that rupture, were  
 pleased to favour their adherents once more with
 residing Bishops, at a time when there was no
 need of them, and when there were Bishops in a
 lawful succession, capable to continue the christian
 church, tho' not the Popish cause, in Britain.

It was not therefore to the Popish Bishops form-
 ing or retaining the face of a church, that the
 clamour I spoke of was owing. It proceeded
 entirely from the new tribe of Jesuits taking ad-
 vantage of the confusions and disorderly state of
 our religious police, and flocking over in great
 shoals from their foreign seminaries, to their
 friends and relations among the nobility and
 gentry. Many of these still adhered to the old
 forms, and others who once wished well to a refor-
 mation, and would have concurred in any peace-
 able, regular way of redressing abuses, were so dis-
 gusted at the rude and turbulent behaviour of
 the new preachers, that they began to fall off ei-
 ther to the Popish persuasion, or to a careless in-
 difference about a church of any denomination.
 This gave the King great uneasiness. For as on
 the one hand he was entirely satisfied with the
 doctrines taught in the reformed kirk, whatever
 he thought of the present polity and rites of it,
 which he was always striving to regulate; so upon
 the other hand, to shun the rock on which he
 had been told, his grandfather James V. had split,
 he was extremely attentive to his nobility, and
 took great pains to create unity and concord
 among them, both in religious and political sen-
 timents. Of two of them he was particularly
 fond; of George Earl of Huntly, because of his
 family's sufferings in the late commotions, and
 of

of Francis Earl of Errol, for the great character that nobleman bore of integrity and valour. It is true, both these two, and the Earl of Angus, another nobleman of good reputation, had been corresponding too freely with some of the Popish powers abroad, for assistance to restore the old rites, and to protect the Catholics, as they called themselves, from the rigours of the reformers: Which, however illegal and impolitic now, was only copying after the example set them from the other side not thirty years before, when it was as illegal to apply to the Queen of England for support of the Protestant cause, as it could be now to solicit the King of Spain in behalf of the Popish. So little ground had either party to upbraid the other for using sinistrous methods to defend their religion. It was for carrying on this illicit and dangerous commerce, that these Jesuits were employed by their superiors abroad, in what has since been called *the mission*, and being related to these noble families, it was no wonder that they were well entertained, and even gladly listened to, when they made proposals for relief from the severe pressures, which their cause then lay under.

In the management of matters between these contending parties, the King was obliged to temporize a little, for the better execution of a business which he had now in hand. He had lately sent the Earl Marischal ambassador to Denmark for obtaining the Princess Ann in marriage, and being impatient of delay, he followed in person soon after, and having solemnized the marriage, was detained in that country all winter. On the 20th of May 1590, he arrived safe with his Queen and retinue at Leith, and had the satisfaction to find

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Spotf. 38a.

LETTER XLII. find that the directions he had left at his going away had been carefully attended to, and that all had been quiet, and orderly, during his absence. But it was not long before this tranquillity was interrupted by fresh provocations from the kirk. Melvil was continually raising disturbances upon some pretence or other, not only in the assembly, where he withstood the King's prerogative, but even against such of his own brethren as being more moderately inclined, had the resolution to oppose any of his turbulent measures. The King was likewise much harassed by the rebellious and restless humour of Francis Stuart, his bastard cousin, whom he had created Earl of Bothwell, and who on many occasions was either openly supported or secretly abetted by the kirk.

In June 1592, the assembly petitioned the parliament for a legal ratification of their ecclesiastical discipline, for a repeal of the act of annexation, for discharging Prelates from having a voice in parliament without commission from the assembly, and for purging the realm of Idolatry and Popery. The three last of these articles as proposed were rejected: But to the first the King was obliged, from the situation of his affairs, to give way, and to yield the ratification they demanded, however much it encroached upon his prerogative, and thwarted his other views. This is the first parliamentary sanction, at the distance of upwards of thirty years from the date of the reformation, that the Presbyterian kirk was favoured with. By this concession the King, no doubt, thought to detach them from the factious Bothwell, whom they still continued to patronize, till after repeated insurrections, the unhappy man was at last driven out of the kingdom, to which he never returned. However

However, the difficulty with the Popish Lords still continued. The King's great aim was to have them reclaimed from their foreign attachments, and brought over, by mildness and persuasion, to the profession of what he himself believed to be the true religion. He was sensible of their loyalty and affection to his person and government, while he regretted their principles, and therefore wished to have them dealt with in the way of conference and instruction, not by compulsion and legal force. But the preachers were not the men for such gentle and lenient measures. The synod of Fife summarily excommunicated the three Earls, and sent orders to the presbyteries to publish the sentence in all the kirks. Nor could the King with all his influence prevent the publication, tho' in arguing with them he produced two flagrant grounds of informality; that the persons were not subject to that synod, and that they had not been formally cited to answer. But this was not all. In a parliament held next year these Earls were forfeited, and commission granted to Argyle to prosecute them with fire and sword, which either from fear or sympathy he at first declined, but at last, by the pressing solicitations of one of the first rate preachers, Mr. Robert Bruce, was prevailed upon to undertake. This drove Huntly and Errol to the necessity of arming for their own defence: Which they did with all expedition, and having collected a choice body of their friends and vassals, came up with Argyle on the third of October at Glenlivet, and gave him a total overthrow, tho' he had an army of more than four times their number. This victory, however signal in itself, was of little service to the

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A.D. 1594.

LETTER the victors: For rather than incur the King's
XLII. farther displeasure, they asked and obtained his
 ~~~~~ permission to go beyond seas, and gave security  
 that they should not return without his licence.

About a year after, the King being extremely anxious to have peace and quietness at home, when his succession to the English crown should open, he consulted Mr. Robert Bruce, who had a great sway in the kirk, about bringing home the exiled Lords, on condition of their conforming to the established religion. To this proposal Mr. Bruce in a manner agreed as to Errol and Angus, but would not hear of favouring Huntly upon any terms. And when the King insisted on treating them all alike, the man gave  
 Spots. 417. him this saucy answer, "I see, sir, your resolution is to take Huntly into favour, which if you do I will oppose, and you shall choose whether you shall lose Huntly or me, for us both you cannot keep." However, the Lords, wearying of their situation abroad, ventured to return secretly to their own country: Which when the kirk got account of, the presbyteries fell to work with them, and ordered the ministers to warn their flocks not to harbour them, or give them any assistance. The King, still solicitous for peace, sent the officers of state to confer with some of the more moderate of the ministers on this perplexing business, who notwithstanding the opinion the King had of their moderation, told his commissioners very plainly, "that these Lords having by God's law deserved death, and being by the most sovereign court of the kingdom sentenced to lose their estates, they could not be lawfully pardoned nor restored: And if the King and his council  
 " would

“ would take upon them to do it, they had LETTER  
 “ God and the country to answer to; for their XLII.  
 “ part they would give no assent, but protest to  
 “ the contrary, that they were free thereof both  
 “ before God and man.” When the commis-  
 sioners put them in mind, that, as the bosom  
 of the church should ever be patent to repent-  
 ing sinners, they could not well refuse what was  
 now proposed to them, their answer was, “ that  
 “ the church indeed could not refuse the sa-  
 “ tisfaction of these Lords, if it were truly of-  
 “ fered, nevertheless the King stood obliged to  
 “ do justice.” This plainly shews, that if James  
 had been as much inclined to the severity of jus-  
 tice as some of his royal predecessors, the bloody  
 days of papal persecution would have once more  
 been renewed by these ministers of the pure re-  
 formed kirk.

Soon after this instance of their boldness, the  
 King met with another insult from them, in their  
 avowed protection of one of their fire-brands,  
 Mr. David Blake at St. Andrews, who had in the  
 pulpit abused the King, the Queen, the Council  
 and Lords of Session, and all the court, in most  
 spiteful and unsufferable language. The King  
 complained of this to the Assembly, but got  
 no redress. The ministers, instead of giving up  
 the criminal to be punished as he deserved, es-  
 poused his cause as the common one of the  
 whole order. Yea, to such a height was the  
 uproar on Blake's account carried, that the town  
 of Edinburgh took a part in it, and patronized  
 the ministers against the King. But the King  
 removing his family and the courts of judica-  
 ture to Linlithgow, brought the citizens to a  
 sense of their duty, and gave a severe check to

LETTER the tumultuous spirit that was then prevailing.  
 XLII. This perpetual clashing of the two jurisdictions, the civil and the ecclesiastical, was the source of all these disorders: And therefore, to provide a proper remedy, and determine the bounds and exercise of the spiritual authority, the King thought proper to call an assembly at Perth in February 1597, and sent fifty five articles in the form of questions, concerning church-discipline, to be deliberated upon. Some of these articles the assembly agreed to, but the most of them they desired time to consult about. They saw indeed how directly they pointed against the present confused model of Melvil's devising, which many of themselves were beginning to be weary of, and yet were loth to have even that licentious freedom too much controuled by the restrictions which these articles in general were designed to put upon it. The result however, was, that commissioners were appointed to hold a visitation at St. Andrews, which they did in July, and removed Blake from being minister of the town, and Melvil from being Rector of the university. In December following, the King gained another point, which he had much at heart, by the parliament's passing an act, and the commissioners of the kirk agreeing to it, "that such pastors and ministers as his Majesty should provide to the place, dignity, and title of a Bishop, or other Prelate at any time, should have voice in parliament as freely as any ecclesiastical Prelate, had in times past." At the same time a change was made in the ministry at Edinburgh, which before had been a common or collegiate charge, but was now divided into parishes, and a particular minister appointed

pointed to every parish. In the settling of this LETTER  
 business some opposition arose from Mr. Ro- XLII.  
 bert Bruce, who had preached ten years with-  
 out ordination of any kind, and now pretended  
 that the approbation of the General Assembly  
 was ordination sufficient. The first book of dis-  
 cipline had indeed dispensed with the laying on  
 of hands, but the second book, which was the  
 constitution under which Bruce acted, had re-  
 quired it; so that his scruples about it could  
 have no foundation, but that peculiar obstinacy  
 and singularity which the man affected in these  
 matters. However, being threatened with de-  
 privation, he at last got over his scruples, and  
 yielded to have his ministerial character perfect-  
 ed in the common way, by laying on of hands.  
 This year the King published his *Basilicon Do-* A.D. 1599.  
*ron*, which he had in his leisure hours drawn up  
 for the instruction of his eldest son Prince Hen-  
 ry. For Melvil having accidentally got a sight  
 of it in manuscript, and finding in it many se-  
 vere reflections on the disorderly discipline of  
 their kirk, took copies of it, and spread them  
 among the brethren. Upon which, one Dikes,  
 minister at Anstruther, threw in before the synod  
 of Fife a most seditious and ill-mannered libel  
 against it, for which he was declared rebel and  
 outlawed. The King finding it maliciously ru-  
 moured that he had given directions to his son  
 which were prejudicial to the true religion,  
 thought fit to submit the book to public in-  
 spection, as the best vindication both of the au-  
 thor and of the work. And the event answer-  
 ed his expectation: For the book being car-  
 ried into England, raised such an universal esteem  
 of his piety and wisdom, that it contributed


LETTER XLII. more to his peaceable succession to that crown a few years after, than all the many treaties that came abroad on that subject.

The next year died Mr. John Dury, the principal instrument employed by Melvil to bring his idol of parity upon the public stage: And I mention this man's death, not upon his own account, but for his death-bed opinion of the present state of affairs. For when some brethren came to visit him, he requested them to tell the ensuing assembly as from him, "that there was  
 Spot. 457. " a necessity of restoring the ancient government  
 " of the church, because of the unruliness of  
 " the young ministers, who would not be advised by the elder sort, nor kept in order:  
 " And since both the state of the church did  
 " require it, and the King did labour for it, he  
 " wished them to make no trouble therefore,  
 " but only to insist with the King, that the best  
 " ministers and of greatest experience might be  
 " preferred to places." Such were the sentiments which the experience of twenty years had taught this zealous patron of presbytery to form concerning it. Many more of its former friends began to be of the same opinion, and in the assembly of March this year, the church's voice in parliament was ratified under certain restrictions and cautions, which indeed favoured a good deal of the former leaven, but which the King and wiser part yielded to, with a view to get all rectified at a more convenient season.—So there remained nothing now but to nominate persons to the bishopricks that were void. Aberdeen and Argyle had their own incumbents, Mr. David Cunningham and Mr. Neil Campbell, both actual preachers. St. Andrews was in the hands

A.D. 1660.

hands of the Duke of Lenox. The temporalities of Glasgow had been restored by the King <sup>LETTER</sup> XLIII. to the old Archbishop Beton, who was still alive in France. Dunkeld, Brechin and Dunblain had titulars, Mr. Peter Rollock, who was a Lord of session, Mr. Alexander Campbell, and Mr. Andrew Graham, who only preached sometimes. Moray was possessed by the Lord Spynie, and Orkney by the Earl of Orkney. Galloway and the Isles were so dilapidated, that they were scarcely remembered to have been. In Ross and Caithness there was some provision left: To the first of these, now vacant by the death of Bishop Leslie, Mr. David Lindsay, minister at Leith, was named, and to the other, Mr. George Gladstones at St. Andrews, who both, notwithstanding of this nomination, continued to reside on their former cures. Thus a shadow of Episcopacy was once more restored in Scotland, and the King appeared to be satisfied for the present, till he could get the substance properly and regularly recovered, which he seems all-along to have had in his eye.

But while he was thus labouring for order in the kirk, and quiet in the state, he fell into a wicked and unexpected snare, which had it not been for a visible hand of an interposing providence, would have been fatal to him. The Earl of Gowrie, son to him who had been executed for treason in 1581, had invited the King, then at Falkland, to do him the honour to dine with him at his house in Perth, on the fifth of August 1600, under pretext of having a particular secret to communicate to him. This invitation the King, suspecting nothing from a man whom he had so indulgently restored to his father's

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XLII.  ther's forfeited estate and honours, readily accepted; and came with a small retinue at the time appointed. After dinner, the King was artfully decoyed into a private chamber at a considerable distance from the public hall; and there Alexander Ruthven, the Earl's brother, laid hands on him, and upbraiding him with the execution of his father, bade him prepare for instant death. Immediately another person appeared, who was to have been the assassin, but tho' clad in armour for the purpose, stood amazed and motionless. Mean time the King, recovering a little from the surprize of the first shock, had the presence of mind and strength of body too, while struggling with Ruthven, who held him by the throat, to drag him to a window, and getting it opened, called out to the street for help. On this, some of his retinue, who luckily were below, forced their way thro' private doors and back stairs, (for the main passages of the house were guarded by the Earl's servants,) into the room whence the cry came, and in rescuing the King, it happened that both the brothers after a dangerous scuffle were killed on the spot. The rumour of what was doing, being by this time spread thro' the town, of which the Earl was Provost, the townsmen took arms and surrounded the house, crying "to give them out their Provost, otherwise they would blow them all up with powder." But some of the Baillies and principal citizens getting entrance to the King, and finding out the truth, returned and pacified the people. After which the King took horse, and posted back with his company to Falkland, where he was welcomed with great acclamations of joy. On the morrow advertisement was sent to the council at Edinburgh, with

with an order that the ministers should convene the people, and give public thanks to God for his Majesty's deliverance. But they excused themselves, as not being acquainted with the particulars, nor how the thing had happened. And when they were told that there was nothing required of them, but to signify how the King had escaped a great danger, and to stir up the people to thankfulness, they peremptorily refused, under this strange pretence, "that nothing ought to be delivered in the pulpit, but that whereof the truth was known, and that all which is uttered in that place should be spoken in faith." For this obstinacy they were commanded to leave the town in forty eight hours, and prohibited to preach within his Majesty's dominions under pain of death. But in a few weeks they all acknowledged their offence, and upon certain conditions were pardoned, except Mr. Robert Bruce, who, with the old spirit of perverseness and pride, said, "he would re-  
 "rence his Majesty's report of that accident,  
 "but could not say he was persuaded of the  
 "truth of it," and was therefore banished the kingdom, and went to France. Yet even of the rest, there were none but one who performed the conditions enjoined them: For which refractory behaviour, the next assembly, in May, transported them from the ministry in Edinburgh to such country charges as were thought meet for them, till the King, out of his wonted clemency, allowed them to settle in Edinburgh again, and even permitted Bruce himself to return to the country, upon promise of better behaviour.\* Indeed the King had the pleasure to

\* What an unaccountable and unprecedented principle do these men's consciences appear to have been actuated by, who find



LETTER XLII find that the assemblies were now beginning to be a little more temperate in their proceedings, and to shew some regard to the overtures he was always laying before them, for regulating their discipline, and removing the cause of that perpetual jarring between the civil and ecclesiastical state, which their levelling system had occasioned. We shall soon see what measures were afterwards taken for this purpose, when the King had it more in his power to render his proposals effectual. Mean time, I am, &c.

would neither pray for one Sovereign when in apparent danger, nor thank God for delivering another out of it? And how provoking must it have been to the King, to have his own royal word, and the solemn declaration of so many of his nobility, thus impudently called in question; as if nothing less than his being actually murdered would have convinced these men that there had been a design to murder him? So much indeed had this spirit of peculiar perverseness infected the succeeding generations of that character, that for many years the story of Gowrie's conspiracy was sneered at, and ridiculed by them as an idle tale, devised by the court to ruin that nobleman, whose father and grandfather had done their cause such signal services, till about the beginning of this century, the Earl of Cromarty, then Lord Register, published a full and authenticated account of it from the public records, which his office afforded him the inspection of, and evinced the reality of it beyond any reasonable possibility of contradiction.

LETTER



## L E T T E R XLIII.

*Accession of K. James to the English Throne—  
He prohibits a seditious Assembly at Aberdeen  
—The Scottish Parliament restores the tem-  
poral Estate of Bishops—Proceedings of two  
Assemblies in favour of Episcopacy—Consecra-  
tion of three Scottish Bishops in London—  
Episcopacy fully established in Scotland, and all  
the Sees filled with real Bishops—Trial of a  
Jesuit—Absolution of the Marquis of Huntly  
—Acts of Assembly in favour of a Liturgy,  
&c.*

**O**N the twenty fourth day of March 1603,  
died Elizabeth, Queen of England, in the  
70th year of her age, and 45th of her reign:  
And the same day, the King of Scots, as un-  
doubted heir, was proclaimed King, first at the  
palace of Whitehall, and then at the cross in  
Cheapside, with a vast applause of all sorts of  
people. The Pope had been very busy to pre-  
vent this succession, and upon hearing of the  
Vol. II. H h Queen's

LETTER Queen's illness, had sent over his Bulls, warning all  
 XLIII. the Papists in England not to admit or acknowledge any heretic, however near in blood, till he should swear to maintain the Catholic faith with all his power. But these threatenings were ineffectual, and our King got possession of a throne which was his birthright, without the least obstacle from any quarter. On the fourth of April, after having taken an affectionate leave for a while of his native subjects, he began his journey towards London, attended by a splendid company of his own nobility; and hearing, by the way, of the death of his ambassador the Archbishop of Glasgow at Paris, he immediately nominated one of his chaplains, Mr. John Spotf-  
 wood, to that See. On the seventh of May he was joyfully received in London, and on the 27th of July he and the Queen were solemnly inaugurated in the abbey-church of Westminster by John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Spotf. 478.

The first ecclesiastical affair of consequence, after his accession to the English throne, was the conference held at Hampton court, in the beginning of next year, between some Bishops and divines of the established church, and some of the most eminent of the nonconformists, who objected to the sign of the cross in baptism, kneeling at the Eucharist, bowing at the name of Jesus, and some others of the received rites, and endeavoured to make the King believe that they were a much more numerous body than they really were. For after this conference, which discovered to them both the King's knowledge of, and aversion to their principles, there were so few of them who stood out against the decent ceremonies of the church, that, when the Canons were put in execution

ecution by Archbishop Bancroft some years after this, only forty five were ejected for nonconformity, of all the clergy in England, who are reckoned to be nine thousand and upwards: Such a noise will a few disturbers make in any society, when they are not properly taken notice of.

The remains of Mr Melvil's faction, in Scotland, laying hold of the King's absence, began to bestir themselves for recovering the ground which they had lost by his management, while among them. The last assembly which had been held before his departure, had appointed the next meeting to be at Aberdeen, on the last Tuesday of July 1604. But because of the union intervening, and some other weighty considerations, it was prorogued to the same month in the following year. And now the party over all the kingdom made great preparation for keeping of this meeting, intending to call in question, and set aside the articles that had been agreed on in the former assemblies, for settling episcopal government, and other regulations of discipline. The King, being timely informed of these preparations, and determined to prevent the overthrow of the good foundation which he had laid, directed the commissioners of the kirk, who were constituent members of every assembly, to desert the diet, and to make intimation of his pleasure to all the Presbyteries in the kingdom. The far greater part resolved to obey: Nine Presbyteries only of the whole fifty sent their delegates, so that when the day came, there were only twenty one ministers convened at Aberdeen, of whom Mr. John Forbes at Alford, and Mr. John Welch at Ayr, were the principal ringleaders. The Laird of Lauriston, who was the King's commissioner, discharged

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XLIII.

LETTER charged their assembling, and in his majesty's  
 XLIII. name commanded them to dissolve. In contempt  
 of which, they chose Forbes their moderator, and  
 then continued the assembly to the last day of  
 September. For this mutinous procedure, Forbes  
 and Welch were imprisoned in Blackness, others  
 that were obstinate in different places, and  
 thirteen who confessed their fault were dismissed  
 and suffered to return to their charges. This  
 necessary severity raised a prodigious clamour, but  
 made no impression on the offenders. For being  
 brought before the council on the 24th of October,  
 to account for their disobedience, they justified  
 what they had done, and declined all submission  
 to the council's authority. Upon this fresh pro-  
 vocation, Forbes and Welch, with other four of  
 the most conspicuous of them, were criminally tri-  
 ed before a court of justiciary at Linlithgow, on  
 the tenth of January, and being found guilty of  
 treason by a jury, were remanded back to prison  
 till his Majesty's pleasure should be known. But  
 while these factious spirits were disputing the  
 King's authority in Scotland, another tribe of  
 malcontents of a different denomination were car-  
 rying on a most horrid conspiracy against his per-  
 son in England. The Papists there, finding no  
 hopes of relief from this new King, who, they  
 saw, was as capable to combat their religion by  
 argument, as to suppress it by law, had contrived  
 a hellish plot to blow up the Parliament house,  
 with the King and three estates in it, and for  
 this diabolical purpose had got every thing ready  
 against the first meeting of that august assembly.  
 In the mean time an ambiguous letter, sent with  
 a friendly design to the Lord Mounteagle, and by  
 him communicated to the King, raised a suspi-  
 cion

ction of what was going on : And a search being made, the plot was discovered on the 5th of November, only a few hours before the intended mischief, and the villain Guy Fawkes, who was to have fired the train, was caught at the door with his lantern in his hand.\*

The next year the Parliament of Scotland met in July, and passed two important acts, one for confirming his Majesty's prerogative, and the other for restoring the temporal estate of Bishops, as it was now seen how much the act of annexation impeded his design of having that order brought back to its former station both in church and state. When the Parliament rose, the King called up a select number of the ministers to London, both of such as favoured his views of restoring episcopacy, of whom Spotswood the titular Archbishop of Glasgow was one, and of such as stood up for the Genevan parity, with their great patron Mr. Andrew Melvil at their head. On the 20th of September they all attended at Hampton court, where the King had appointed four English Bishops, Barlow of Lincoln, Buckridge of Rochester, Andrews of Chichester, and King of London, to preach upon the subject of church

\* The King expressed a moderation and magnanimity on this occasion which does honour to his character, and conducted the punishment of this damnable design with as much mercy and lenity as was consistent with the indispensable execution of necessary justice. Yet the Jesuits have attempted to deny this plot, or at least to lessen the horror of it, as if it had been only the impracticable fancy of a crack-brained madman, tho' the Popish Priest Blackwell, who lived in England at the time, and had many contests with that seditious order, fairly acknowledges the fact, and in a monitory letter to the Catholics under his inspection, dated the 28th of November, condemns it as a most detestable and damnable crime.

government,

LETTER government, hoping thereby to remove the pre-  
 XLIII. judices of the Scottish faction, and to convince  
 them of the reasonableness of what he had been  
 so long proposing to them. In a day or two  
 after, they had audience of the King, who, among  
 other pertinent questions, asked them what their  
 opinion was of the meeting at Aberdeen, and if  
 they thought it a lawful assembly. But tho' he  
 argued with them in person, and put his question  
 into various forms, they either shifted him with  
 evasive answers, or gave him to understand that  
 they approved it: At which the king was so pro-  
 voked, that permitting the other clergy to go home  
 when they pleased, he forbid Melvil and his ad-  
 herents either to return to Scotland, or come near  
 the Queen's or Prince's court. This put an end  
 to Melvil's influence. For being now in his  
 old age as insolent and self-conceited as he had  
 been in his youth, and having dispersed some  
 scurrilous invectives against the rites used in his  
 Majesty's chapel, he was committed to the Tower  
 of London, and was kept there three years and  
 more, till at the Duke of Bouillon's request he was  
 sent over to Sedan in France, where he lived  
 some time in no great respect, and died in a  
 distressed condition. Mean time the affair of the  
 six imprisoned ministers was brought to a final  
 determination. The sentence against them hav-  
 ing expressed a reference to the King's pleasure,  
 his orders were that they should be banished from  
 his dominions for life; though they were only  
 sent to some remote parts of the kingdom, and with-  
 out any tumult or commotion, notwithstanding  
 the great sway they once had over the deluded  
 multitude.

These turbulent humours being thus dispersed,  
 by

by the King's prudent measures, he called a general assembly to meet on the 10th of December at Linlithgow, and appointed the Earl of Dunbar, his commissioner to attend it. Thither came an hundred and thirty six ministers, and of the nobility, and other lay-members, thirty three, before whom the King's letter was read, and an overture from him, that for remedying the disorders of former times in their church-judicatories, the Bishops who are resident should preside in the meetings within their bounds, and in all other presbyteries the oldest, gravest and most experienced minister should be fixt and constant moderator, for the encouragement of which scheme, and to defray any extraordinary expence, he was willing to allow them an hundred pounds Scots, or two hundred merks, according to the quality of their charge. This proposal of a constant moderator was variously thought of, according to their various notions of the views which they all knew the King had, and to which they saw very well this overture was a designed introduction. But at length, after long deliberation and much conference, it was agreed to by a great majority of the assembly, under certain provisions and regulations, which were thought necessary to guard against any usurpation that these moderators might assume over brethren of the same rank and order. Yet, as the King suspected, it met with opposition. The synod of Perth first, and then the synod of Fife, declared against it, and inhibited the presbyteries within their bounds from submitting to the decree of the assembly, and acknowledging the moderators appointed for them, under pain of the censures of the kirk. For which unconstitutional arrogance, in thus so  
openly



**LETTER XLIII.** openly flying in the face of their own supreme court, the Privy Council discharged these two fynods from further meeting, and ordered all the burghs within their districts not to admit their convening in any of them.

All this time the three Popish Lords were both giving and getting disturbance. The officious zeal of the kirk, in pushing prosecutions to extremity against them on the one hand, and the King's tender care of having them reclaimed from their prejudices by gentle methods on the other hand, had hitherto kept matters in a kind of suspense: And the noblemen, harrassed by frequent attacks from the kirk, sometimes seemed desirous of coming to an agreement with them; and at other times, when pressed by the inward reluctance of their own consciences, they retracted even the appearance of compliance which force had extorted from them, and fell back to their former profession. The consequence of all which was, that Huntly, whom the kirk had always considered as the most obnoxious, was excommunicated anew, and all the three were shut up in different prisons, Huntly in Stirling, Angus in Edinburgh, and Errol in Dunbarton, till after some time Huntly renewed another sham submission to the kirk for his liberation; Errol was on the King's account treated with some appearance of lenity; and Angus, for the free exercise of his religion, went over a voluntary exile to France, where he died.

These were harsh measures, not dictated by the forgiving spirit of the gospel, but agreeable enough to the rules of worldly policy, which leads people to take all proper measures for securing themselves against dangers which they had

had once felt. In a religious view such severities will not bear a vindication: As however LETTER XLIII. much a Protestant state may see it expedient and even lawful to keep a watchful eye over its Popish subjects, it looks not well in a Protestant church to exercise that spiritual tyranny over others, which they loudly complained of when exercised against themselves, and thus to fight Popery with the very weapons which they condemned when in Popish hands. Yet the excommunication, which the assemblies at this time thundered out against these outstanding noblemen, was, like the Papal edicts, designed to throw the objects of their displeasure under the penalty of secular laws, and to expose them, if not to death, at least to banishment or imprisonment, and to the forfeiture of all their worldly goods. For so an act of parliament passed in January 1609. ordains, “ that persons excommunicated for not conforming to the religion presently professed, should neither in their own names, nor covertly in name of any other, enjoy their lands or rents, but that the same should be introduced with, and uplifted for his Majesty’s use.” Yea, so far was the abuse of excommunication carried, that it was the usual practice of the kirk, when any person was declared fugitive for a capital crime, to cite such person before the ecclesiastical judicatory, and on his not appearing, which they knew he durst not do, for fear of his life, to excommunicate him for contumacy: And this inconsistent stretch of discipline continued among them, till the King, observing the absurdity as well as inhumanity of it, insisted on having it abolished.

He had now for many years been striving, by  
 Vol. II. I i a

LETTER a prudent and peaceable mixture of advice and  
 XLIII authority, to bring the kirk, if possible, under  
 a regular and permanent plan of government,  
 and to this purpose he had, with consent of the  
 Assembly, nominated certain persons of their own  
 body for the several bishopricks of the old estab-  
 lishment. That these men, thus nominated to  
 that office, might take upon them the adminis-  
 tration of church-affairs in an orderly manner,  
 with the knowledge and approbation of the mi-  
 nistry, without which they were unwilling to  
 make any change, he now appointed an assembly  
 of the kirk to meet at Glasgow on the 6th of  
 June 1610, and commissioned the Earl of Dun-  
 bar to represent his royal person in it. In this  
 assembly Mr. Spotswood the nominal Archbishop  
 of Glasgow was chosen moderator, and after three  
 days spent in reasoning upon the several points  
 of discipline laid before them, it was with great  
 unanimity agreed, “ that the calling of all Ge-  
 “ neral Assemblies did belong to his Majesty by  
 “ the prerogative of his crown: That synods  
 “ should be kept in every diocess twice in the year,  
 “ in April and October, to be moderated by  
 “ the Bishop, and where he cannot attend, by  
 “ such of the ministers as he shall appoint for  
 “ that turn: That no excommunication or abso-  
 “ lution be pronounced against, or for any per-  
 “ son, without the knowledge and approbation  
 “ of the Bishop of the diocess, and the sentence  
 “ to be pronounced at his direction by the mi-  
 “ nister of the parish where the offender has his  
 “ dwelling: That in time coming all presenta-  
 “ tions be directed to the Bishop of the diocess,  
 “ with power to him to confer all benefices  
 void after the lapse, *Jure devoluto*: That in  
 “ the

Foot. 512.

“ the suspension or deprivation of ministers, the  
 “ Bishop is to call in some of the neighbouring LETTER  
 “ ministers, and in their presence to try the fact, XLIII.  
 “ and pronounce sentence: That the visitations  
 “ of the dioceses be made by the Bishop him-  
 “ self, or by such worthy minister as he shall  
 “ depute in his place, and every minister, who  
 “ without leave or just excuse shall be absent  
 “ from the visitation or diocesan synod, be sus-  
 “ pended from his office and benefice; and if  
 “ he does not amend, be deprived: And that  
 “ every minister at his admission swear obedi-  
 “ ence to the King and to his ordinary, accord-  
 “ ing to the form agreed upon in 1571.”

In consequence of these conclusions, when the assembly rose, the King called up the moderator, Spotswood, to London, and desired him to bring with him any other two of his brethren titulars whom he should think fit. Accordingly he made choice of Andrew Lamb of Brechin, and Gavin Hamilton of Galloway, and with them arrived at London about the middle of September. At their first audience the King told them, “ that he had with great charge recovered the “ temporalities out of lay-hands, and bestowed “ them, as he hoped, upon worthy persons: But “ as he could not make them Bishops, nor could “ they assume that honour to themselves, he had “ therefore called them to England to receive re- “ gular consecration from the Bishops there, “ that on their return home they might commu- “ nicate the same to the rest, and thereby stop “ the mouths of adversaries of all denomina- “ tions.” To this truly sensible speech Spotswood answered in name of them all, “ that their “ only fear was, lest this might be taken for a

LETTER XLIII. “ sort of subjection to the Church of England, “ because of old pretensions that way.” But the King had provided against that danger, by secluding both the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the only pretenders to that subjection, from having any hand in the office, and nominating the Bishops of London, Ely, and Bath to perform the consecration: Which was done accordingly on the 21st of October, in the chapel of London-house, and thereby the Scottish Bishops obtained the reality of that high character which they had hitherto borne only in name. We are told, that before the consecration, Bishop Andrews of Ely proposed their being first ordained presbyters, as they had received no ordination from a Bishop, but was answered by Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was present, that the orders they had, being of necessity for want of Bishops, were sufficient, “ otherwise the vocation “ of the foreign reformed churches might be called in question.” That this popular argument was made use of by Bancroft, Archbishop Spotswood himself tells us, and rests there, without taking notice of any thing further. But we have information from other hands, that Dr. Bancroft added a more convincing solution, and the only solution which could give satisfaction to a man of Ely’s strict principles, that according to many examples in the primitive church, the Episcopal order included all below it, and consequently the regular conferring of it supplied every real or supposed defect.

Heylin,  
Collier, &c.

Upon this occasion too the King instituted a court of *High Commission* in Scotland, for ordering of all ecclesiastical causes, and gave directions to the clergy, which they all approved of,  
as

as agreeable to the conclusions that had passed among themselves in their late assembly in June. The three consecrated Bishops, on their return home, conveyed the Episcopal powers, which they had now received in a canonical way, to their former titular brethren, to Mr. George Gladstones in St. Andrews, Mr. Peter Blackburn in Aberdeen, Mr. Alexander Douglas in Moray, Mr. George Graham in Dunblain, Mr. David Lindsay in Ross, Mr. Alexander Forbes in Caithness, Mr. James Law in Orkney, Mr. Alexander Lindsay in Dunkeld, Mr. John Campbell in Argyll, and Mr. Andrew Knox in the Isles. Thus after fifty years of confusion, and a multiplicity of windings and turnings, either to improve or set aside the plan adopted in 1560, we see an Episcopal church once more settled in Scotland, and a regular Apostolical succession of Episcopacy introduced, upon the extinction of the old line which had long before failed, without any attempt, real or pretended, to keep it up. The King had been long projecting this settlement, and had gone on by gradual advances, from one step to another, with much patience and great perseverance to the last. Yet it cannot be said, that the education he had received in his youth was such as would prejudice him in favour of Episcopacy, or that it was the ambition of the clergy which prompted him to the re-establishment of it. It is true, many of them were, even in the times of the greatest confusion, well inclined to the primitive Episcopal model, and sufficiently acquainted with early antiquity to see the expediency and necessity of it: But a few turbulent incendiaries, such as Melvil, Blake, and Bruce, who, when they appear, will always find some

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LETTER XLIII. some abettors and followers, were perpetually raising such clamour and disturbance, as deterred the quiet lovers of truth from entering the lists, to struggle with such fiery and unmanageable tempers. And had not the King been able by his learning to confute their licentious principles, as well as steady to the resolutions he had formed, these few fanatical levellers would have kept both church and state in a continued ferment. But his constancy carried his point, and he was happy enough to see the good effects of it. The persons now invested with the Episcopal character, made it their business, both by their example and authority, to stem the tumultuous torrent of former times, and to preserve peace and harmony among all ranks of people under their charge: In so much that a Presbyterian historian, cotemporary with this solemn restoration of real Episcopacy, makes a heavy complaint, that by far the greatest part of the nation submitted quietly to it, neither was it in the power of the late democratical spirit for a long time to create any opposition to it, or disturbance under it.

Goldswd.

But tho' the weak remains of that party did not, or could not for a while, give much uneasiness to the now restored church, there was another set of malecontents pursuing the same design under other colours, which kept her in agitation, and occasioned some trouble to her governments. In the end of the year 1613, one Ogilvy, a Jesuit, from the College of Gratz in Hungary, was apprehended at Glasgow, and being brought before the High Commission, had these questions put to him, "Whether the Pope as  
"supreme judge has power over the King in  
"temporals

Spotf. 523.

“ temporals in order to spiritual concerns? Whe-  
 “ ther the Pope may excommunicate or depose LETTER XLIII.  
 “ his Majesty? Whether the Pope hath power to  
 “ absolve the subjects from their native and sworn  
 “ allegiance to the King? And whether it be  
 “ lawful to slay a King, if once excommunicated  
 “ and deposed by the Pope?” To all which the  
 man was cunning enough to give evasive answers,  
 tho’ upon the main, they seemed to be on the  
 affirmative side, and when at his trial Archbi-  
 shop Spotswood pushed him with the question,  
 “ Whether the King, if deposed by the Pope,  
 “ might be lawfully killed?” He boldly replied,  
 “ It is a question among the Doctors of the  
 “ church: Many hold the affirmative not im-  
 “ probably: But as that point is not yet deter-  
 “ mined, so if it shall be concluded, I will give  
 “ my life in defence of it, and to call it un-  
 “ lawful I will not, tho’ I should save my life  
 “ by saying it.” He had, in his speech before  
 the King’s judges, declined their authority in  
 matters of religion, with which he said the King  
 has nothing to do, and which assertion, he ad-  
 ded, “ the best of your own ministers do main-  
 “ tain as well as I, and if they be wise they  
 “ will continue of the same mind.” The con-  
 clusion was, that the unhappy man, for this dan-  
 gerous and unchristian doctrine, was found guilty  
 of treason, and publicly hanged in the street of  
 Glasgow the same day. But another of his  
 party taking a safer course, and denying Ogilvy’s  
 positions, was suffered to depart out of the country,  
 the King always declaring that he would never  
 hang a Jesuit for his religion, tho’ his own per-  
 sonal



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XLIII. sonal safety required his keeping a watchful eye over them.\*

Soon after this trial the Archbishop of St. Andrews died, and was succeeded by Spotswood of Glasgow, to which See Bishop Law was removed from Orkney. The next public matter of ecclesiastical cognizance was the absolution of the Marquis of Huntly, which, on account of some circumstances attending it, deserves to be taken notice of. He had been lying these eight years past under a sentence of excommunication, and tho' he had made several appearances of offering satisfaction, had still, on some pretext or other, avoided the actual performance of what was required. At last, being impatient to see the King, whom he knew to have been always his friend, he took journey to London in the year 1616, but when so far on his way, he met a messenger from the King ordering him to return, and satisfy the high commission in Scotland. The Marquis, unwilling to be thus disappointed, begged the messenger to let the King know, that his coming was on purpose to give his Majesty contentment in every thing, and to beseech his Majesty, now that he was so far on his journey, not to deny him his presence. The King was much pleased with this declaration, and permitting him to come to town, directed him to the Archbishop of Canterbury, with whom the Marquis voluntarily offered to communicate. But his excommunication standing in the way, and it being against the

\* The late instance of his brother King Henry IV. of France, first wounded by one, and then finally murdered by another of that frantic fraternity, was a melancholy warning to all Kings to be on their guard against such authorized cut-throats, and keep them at elbow-length as much as possible.

Canons,

Canons, that a person excommunicated in one church should be absolved in another, without the consent of the church he belonged to, application was made to the Bishop of Caithness, who happened to be in London about business, that he would consent to, and witness the absolution in name of the church of Scotland, which was judged to be warrant enough for their proceeding. Upon which the Marquis was solemnly absolved in Lambeth chapel, by Dr. Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, in a form compiled on purpose, and expressing, among other things, “such an agreement and correspondence between the churches of England and Scotland, that what the Bishops and pastors of the one, without any earthly respect, shall accomplish to satisfy the christian and charitable end and desire of the other, cannot be distasteful to either.” When accounts of this affair were brought to Scotland, great exceptions were taken by the church here; and what the Archbishop of Canterbury had done, was interpreted to be a sort of usurpation. But this fear was soon removed by a letter from the King, and another from Canterbury, both addressed to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and both acknowledging in the plainest and strongest terms, the full authority and absolute independence of the church of Scotland upon any other church whatever.\* These letters

\* In considering the Marquis of Huntly's conduct, it appears somewhat strange, that he should so long have scrupled to communicate with the church of Scotland, even under the late regular settlement upon the English plan, and yet on his first appearance in London should have agreed so readily to join in communion with the church there. This will no doubt be imputed to inconsistency and a time-serving disposition: But there is a passage in the King's letter which may be made use of, to account for it

LETTER XLIII. being shewn to the clergy of Scotland, gave universal content, and the Marquis himself, on his return from court, appearing in the next assembly at Aberdeen, had his absolution ratified, and was received into the bosom of the church here by their own form.

In this assembly, where the Earl of Montrose sat as commissioner, it was ordained “that the acts of assemblies should be collected and put in order, to serve for Canons of discipline, that children should be carefully catechised, and confirmed by the Bishop, or in his absence, by such as were employed in visitation of churches, and that a liturgy, or book of Common Prayer should be formed for public use.” These acts were sent up and presented to the King for his royal assent, by the Archbishop of Glasgow and Bishop of Ross: And the King, along with his approbation, recommended to them the following articles, to be inserted among their Canons, “that the holy communion should be received by all kneeling; that it should be given to dying persons on their desiring it, at home; that bap-

another way. Among other arguments, the King desires the church of Scotland to consider, that tho’ the Marquis had sworn and subscribed all the other articles of religion, and had frequently heard sermon, yet “his absolution at home was deferred upon the scruple he made about the presence of our Saviour in the sacrament.” From this it would appear, that the doctrine of the Eucharist in the church of England, where he had no scruples about the presence of Christ in it, was at that time different from the doctrine of the church of Scotland, which kept him back from partaking of it with them: And if this was the case with this nobleman, as we have the King’s word it was, it shews that he had all along been more honest and conscientious in a point of so high importance, than many of his persecutors had been willing to believe, or perhaps capable to perceive.

“ tism

" time, in cases of necessity, might be adminif-  
 " tered in private houses; and that the yearly  
 " commemoration of the birth, passion, resurrec-  
 " tion and ascension of our blessed Saviour, and  
 " of the coming of the Holy Ghost, should be  
 " observed on days set apart for that purpose."  
 But the difficulty of admitting these articles, how-  
 ever expedient in themselves, being represented  
 to his Majesty, by the Archbishop of St. An-  
 drews, and a reason given why they could not  
 be inserted among the Canons, as having at no  
 time been mentioned to the church, nor pro-  
 pounded in any of their meetings, the business  
 was not further pressed at present, but referred  
 to a more convenient season.

I am, &c.

K k 2

LETTER

## L E T T E R XLIV.

*K. James comes to Scotland, and holds a Parliament—Proceedings of the Clergy in Ecclesiastical Matters—Articles proposed by the King—Agreed to by an Assembly at Perth, and ordered to be observed—Account of the Synod of Dort in Holland—The Ministers of Edinburgh put under proper Regulations—Character and Death of James VI.*

A.D. 1617. **T**HE King having been now thirteen years in England, was determined to make a visit to his native country, and among other preparations for his reception, he gave orders to repair the chapel of Holyroodhouse, and sent down some portraits of the Apostles, to be set up in proper places, as ornaments to it. But it being signified to his Majesty, by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishops of Aberdeen, Galloway, and Brechin, in a joint letter, how ready the people would be to take offence at a thing so uncommon among them, tho' he was much displeas'd with such unreasonable grumbings, and

and even in some measure with these Bishops LETTER who, he thought, humoured the people in them, XLIV. yet for the sake of peace, he condescended to recall his orders, but cautiously put it upon the footing of want of time to get the work properly done. In prosecution therefore of his design, he took his journey from London, and in the beginning of May came to Berwick, where he was met by the Privy Council of Scotland, and by their advice summoned a Parliament to convene at Edinburgh on the 13th of June. On the day appointed the Parliament was held, and the King in a long speech recommended to the Estates the establishment of religion and justice, neither of which, he said, could be looked for, unless due regard was had to the ministers of both. The first article proposed to public deliberation was, touching the royal authority in causes ecclesiastical, concerning which he desired it might be enacted, "that whatsoever conclusion was taken by his Majesty, with advice of the Archbishops and Bishops, in matters of external policy, the same should have the power and strength of an ecclesiastical law." But Spotswood tells us, that the Bishops interceding, humbly intreated that the article might be better considered, as in making ecclesiastical laws, they said, the advice and consent of presbyters was also required: Upon which, the King, with much reluctance, agreed that the article should pass in this form, "that whatever his Majesty should determine in the external government of the church, with the advice of the Archbishops, Bishops, and a competent number of the ministry, should have the strength of a law."

So

LETTER XLIV. So far were the Bishops, we see by these two instances, from humouring or flattering the King in all his proposals, as a few malignants falsely upbraided them; and so cautious were they in this last instance, not to stretch the prerogative inherent in their character, to too great a height above their brethren of the lower clergy. For, however willing they might be, for the sake of peace, to admit their presbyters to some share of legislative power, they could not but know that in the primitive and uncorrupted ages this was neither demanded nor practised. There were many councils or church-assemblies held then, where, tho' presbyters might be present, which was not always the case, they neither sought nor were allowed a decisive vote, nor was their consent required to give sanction to any Canon, however much their advice might be asked in some circumstances, and from personal considerations. Whether the condescension of our Bishops at this time, in thus parcelling out their legislative authority among their inferiors, answered any good end now, or produced any good effect afterwards, is a question to be determined by events, not by arguments; and they themselves soon saw the disagreeable consequences of what they had done. For the article, even thus modified, was taken hold of by a few malecontents among the ministers to raise a clamour, as if the whole fabric of the church was to be demolished at once: And to such a height did they carry their inconsiderate zeal, that, while the parliament was sitting, they drew up a protestation against passing the article into a law, pleading the purity of their reformation, the liberty and tranquillity of the church, and the many royal assurances

assurances given them, that no innovation or alteration should be imposed upon them, without the previous concurrence of the whole clergy, convened in a General Assembly of the church.

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Yet these protesters and their modern abettors, if they would bear to be reasoned with, might be put in mind, that the article, as admitting "a competent number of the ministry into council with the King and Bishops," was no infringement of any of their privileges, nor in the least, contradictory to their darling boast of the purity of the reformation. For even in the times of its greatest purity, when, as one of their capital historians flourishes upon it, "mercy and truth, righteousness and peace, had never, since Christ's coming in the flesh, a more glorious meeting and amiable embracing upon earth;" even then it was ordained by an assembly in 1562, "that no minister leave his flock for coming to the assembly, except he have complaints to make, or be complained of, or at least be warned thereto by the Superintendent." And in another assembly in 1563, it was enacted, "that none have place to vote in the assembly but Superintendents, commissioners for visiting the kirks, and ministers brought with them, presented as persons able to reason, and having knowledge to judge." Yea, as far down as the year 1576, the very year to which Petrie applies his flaming panegyric, we find by a letter from the Chancellor, Lord Glamis, to Beza, that it had been the custom ever since the reformation, for the Superintendents, or Bishops, as Glamis calls them, who were standing and necessary members of assembly, to nominate and appoint such ministers as were to sit in assembly with



LETTER with them. This was a distinguishing branch of  
 XLIV. Episcopal privilege then, and was reckoned no  
 encroachment on the liberty and unity of the  
 church, which, Petrie says, "could not at that  
 time be paralleled by the best reformed churches  
 in other places." And it will not be easy to  
 assign a valid reason why the Bishops afterwards  
 should not enjoy the same privilege of calling in-  
 to their consultations, when his Majesty proposed  
 any thing to them that concerned the church,  
 such ministers as they knew "were able to rea-  
 son, and had knowledge to judge," which may  
 very well be supposed to have been what was  
 meant by "the competent number of the mi-  
 nistry" specified in the article.

It is true, after Melvil's levelling system had  
 been rashly adopted, the former orderly custom  
 soon fell into desuetude, and every fiery forward  
 orator took care to get himself, or one of his  
 own temper, pushed into the assemblies, with no  
 other view but to make a noise, and have the  
 glory of contending with the civil power. And  
 it was against that kind of packed and promif-  
 cuous meetings, that the King expressed his dis-  
 gust, when he told them, that "to have matters  
 ruled as they had been in such general assem-  
 blies, he would never agree, tho' he was not  
 against a competent number of the gravest  
 and most learned of the ministers being called  
 in to assist the Bishops with their advice."—  
 However, the protestation, tho' it discovered the  
 restless spirit of the contrivers, was not present-  
 ed: And the King, to stop any further cavilling  
 on the subject, did not insist on having the ar-  
 ticle brought into parliament, as necessary to be  
 enforced by that sanction. Yet some of its most  
 violent


violent opposers continued to make an outcry about it, and the famous Calderwood, for his singular obstinacy and insolence on the occasion, got himself first imprisoned, and then banished the kingdom, in which exile he remained, till the commotions of his party in the next reign brought him again on the stage. At last the King having, in some measure, tho' not fully to his mind, dispatched the business for which he came to Scotland, began to think of returning to his English capital, and having called the Bishops and principal ministers to attend him at St. Andrews, and put them in mind what he had done both for the external advantage and internal order of the church, and what further regulations he wished to be introduced among them, he gave his permission to the meeting of an assembly at St. Andrews in November next, and so took an affectionate and final leave of them.

When the day came for the assembly's meeting, and all were convened, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, as President, exhorted them, for the glory of God, the honour of the gospel, and their own good, to take a prudent course, and not to thwart the King's good intentions, by courting the vain applause of a factious few. Yet the assembly thought the matters laid before them of such importance, that they judged it proper to defer the full conclusion of most of them to another meeting, and only came to a determination of these two points, "that the communion might be administered to sick persons in private, at their own houses; and that the ministers in the public celebration of the Lord's supper, should give the elements out of their own

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XLIV.  “hands to the people.” The King was so far from being pleased with this dilatory way, which was quite contrary to what he was made to expect, that besides writing two sharp letters to the two Archbishops, he sent peremptory orders to the Privy Council, for inhibiting the payment of stipend to any of the contumacious ministers either in town or country, till they shewed their conformity, and had it attested either by the Primate or ordinary Bishop. This opened their eyes, and brought them to such a temper, that they were fain to promise compliance, and begged the Primate to intercede with his Majesty for them, which he did accordingly, and obtained a conditional revocation of the alarming order. Most of the next summer was taken up with this business; and in the diocesan synods things were carried with reasonable quietness, and with such a fair prospect of union in sentiment, that at the joint intreaty of all the Bishops, the King, notwithstanding of what he had lately threatened, was prevailed with to give way to another meeting of assembly in August following.


Accordingly it sat down at Perth, on the 25th of August 1618. The Lords Haddington, Carnegy, and Scoon were his Majesty's commissioners; and here, after long conference and mature deliberation, the five articles proposed by the King two years before, and seriously and frequently canvassed since, were in open and full assembly concluded upon, and an ordinance made, 1. “That  
“ the holy sacrament be received meekly and re-  
“ verently by the people upon their knees. 2.  
“ That if any good christian known to the pas-  
“ tor, be by long visitation of sickness unable to  
“ resort to the church for receiving the holy  
“ communion,

“ communion, and shall earnestly desire to receive the same in his own house, the minister shall not deny him so great a comfort, but shall administer it to him, with three or four to communicate with him, according to the form prescribed in the church. 3. That in cases of great need and danger, the minister shall not refuse to baptize an infant in a private house, after the form used in the congregation, and shall, on the first Lord’s day after, declare such private baptism to the people. 4. That for stopping the increase of Popery, and settling true religion in the hearts of people, it is thought good that the minister of every parish catechize the young children of eight years of age in the belief, the ten commandments, and the Lord’s prayer, and that children so instructed shall be presented to the Bishop, who shall bless them with prayer for the increase of their knowledge, and continuance of God’s heavenly graces with them. 5. That considering how the inestimable benefits of our Lord’s birth, passion, resurrection, ascension, and sending of the Holy Ghost, were commendably and godly remembered at certain particular days and times by the whole church of the world, and may be so now, therefore it is thought meet, that every minister shall upon these days make commemoration of the said inestimable benefits from pertinent texts of scripture, framing his doctrine and exhortation thereto, and rebuking all superstitious observation, and licentious profanation thereof.”

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These articles thus concluded, orders were given to intimate them to all the parish-churches, and the ministers were enjoined to instruct their

LETTER XLIII.  flocks in the lawfulness of them, and to exhort them to obedience. Most of them indeed observed the injunction : But the factious and seditious party paid no regard to it. They even published calumnious and malevolent libels, both against the articles themselves, and against the competency and authority of the assembly that enacted them.\* And because the synod of Dort in Holland did about this time pass sentence upon five points of abstruse theology in dispute between the Remonstrants and them, our malecontents here were at pains to make people believe that the Dutch synod, which was cried up as a standard of orthodoxy, had condemned the assembly of Perth and its five articles, and by that means they for some time fostered the ignorant vulgar in their prejudices, till the imposition was discovered, and the authors of it put to the shame they deserved.

As this synod of Dort was much spoken of at the time, and by our King's countenancing it with the presence of some of the ablest of his divines, came in a few years to possess no small influence, and to create lasting divisions in all the churches in his dominions, it will be proper that we take some notice of it, and even go back a little, and touch at the causes that occasioned it. The reformation made its first ap-

\* These libels no sooner appeared, than they were answered and confuted, by two eminent writers on the other side, first by Dr David Lindsay Bishop of Brechin, and then by the singularly learned Dr John Forbes professor of divinity at Aberdeen, and son to the worthy Patrick Forbes of Corse, the then Bishop of that See, both which defences are sufficient to vindicate the lawfulness and obligation of the Perth-articles, as they are called, from all the noisy and insignificant clamours that ever were, or ever will be, raised against them.

pearance


pearance in the Low Countries, and in what is now called Holland, according to the Lutheran model, both in discipline and doctrine. Among other doctrinal tenets, that of predestination had long been much agitated in the Romish church, between the Dominicans on the one side, and the Franciscans on the other. The Lutherans too divided upon this article: The rigid part of them, with Flaccius Illyricus at their head, joined the Dominicans, who boasted of Thomas Aquinas and the great St. Augustin as their patrons: But the greater number followed Melanchthon, and the Greek church, upon this dark and disputable subject. When Calvin came first upon the stage of action, he struck out a way for himself, which neither Augustin nor Aquinas had thought of, by supposing that God had laid on Adam an unavoidable necessity of falling into sin and misery, in order that he might shew his mercy in electing some few of his posterity, and his justice in the absolute rejection or reprobation of all the rest. This scheme appeared so shocking to most of the Lutherans, that they expressed a greater readiness to return to Popery, than come into it. Yet Calvin's disciple and successor Beza improved upon it, by fixing the decree of predestination before the fall, which Calvin himself had placed in the corrupted mass of mankind, as viewed after it. And their joint authority had influence enough to get this doctrine, with all its consequences, and without examination, received and established, not only at Geneva their metropolis, but even by degrees imposed upon all the reformed churches in the Low Countries where the French Protestants, who were all Calvinists, had any footing.

Yet

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 XLIV. Yet there were numbers, especially in the province of Utrecht, who still adhered to the other side of the question, and could not digest Beza's harsh doctrine, and in this state matters continued among them, without any great ferment, all the time that Beza lived. But soon after his death in 1605, people began to speak their minds with greater freedom, and his Supralapsarian system was attacked from different quarters. At this time, the well known Arminius was Professor of Divinity at Leyden, and being a man of great reputation for universal learning, and acuteness in controversial management, was employed to defend the established doctrine against the rising opposition. But it happened to him, as to several others in like cases, that upon examining and balancing the reasons on both sides, he was brought over to the opinions which he proposed to confute, and became a keener and more formidable adversary than any that had yet appeared on that side of the question. He was immediately taken up by his brother-professor Gomarus, a fierce austere man, but inferior to Arminius in every thing except in rigour and ill-nature. Thus the flame broke out, and was kept up with mutual violence and animosity. Numbers of learned men declared for Arminius, and his party found themselves so strong, that, about the time of his death in 1609, they presented to the States of Holland a writing, which they called a Remonstrance, and from which they have got the title of Remonstrants, containing their belief upon these five points: 1. That God in election and reprobation has regard to faith and perseverance in the one, and to unbelief and impenitence in the other. 2. That Jesus Christ died

died for all men. 3. That by the assistance of LETTER divine grace the commandments of God may be XLIV. kept. 4. That this grace is not irresistible. 5.  That the regenerate may fall into deadly sin: All in opposition to the five distinguishing tenets of rigid Calvinism, absolute election and reprobation, the irresistibility of grace, the impossibility of keeping the commandments, the certain perseverance of the regenerate, and that Christ died only for the elect.

It was to allay these heats, and prevent further mischief, that the States of Holland, after some years of contention, called this national synod of Dort, which decided against the Arminians, but did neither convince nor silence them. However, reasons of state were more hurtful to the Arminian cause, than strength of argument. In the republic at this time were two factions.—Maurice, Prince of Orange, whose family had long been at the head of the Protestant interest, was beginning to claim more authority than was thought consistent with the constitution, and on that account was opposed by Barneveldt and Grotius, two of the greatest men that ever Holland bred. These two favoured the Arminians, while the other party was supported by the Prince of Orange, and by our King James, who sent over a Bishop and some divines to attend the synod, but without taking any share in the business of it. By the superior weight of this influence the Arminian divines were synodically condemned, and severely treated by the civil power. Barneveldt was seized and beheaded; and Grotius was imprisoned for trial in a castle belonging to the Prince of Orange, but fortunately made his escape, and



LETTER and lived in great esteem in foreign countries  
 XLIV. till the year 1645 that he died.

~ This dispute, thus begun in Holland, was brought over into Britain, and fondly cherished by the malecontents of the next reign. The reformed church of England had but lightly touched at predestination in her seventeenth article, and seems designedly to have left that thorny question undetermined. The Confession of Faith drawn up by our reformers in 1560, was still more modest on this head than even the Church of England, and tho' it speaks, in some places, of the elect and reprobate, it is still in a sense different from Beza's, and such as an Arminian would not altogether disapprove. But when the seditious humour of Puritanism had infected the churches of Britain, this decision of the synod of Dort was laid hold on as a powerful precedent, and by a most heterogeneous association, every friend of monarchy was called an Arminian: And to this day Arminianism, as something of a hateful sound, supplies the place of Popery in the mouths of many who know little what either of them means.

To this foreign assembly at Dort the Scottish malignants applied for redress under the grievances they pretended to complain of, about Episcopacy and the five articles of Perth: But their application was to no purpose. That convention meddled with nothing but those abstruse points of speculative divinity which were before them. They entered into no extraneous discussion of any kind: And with regard to Episcopacy, we need no other proof of their sentiments, than their repeated offers of the president's chair to the British Bishop of Landaff, and their always addressing him  
 by

by the title of reverend Prelate and Lord Bishop. This alone may shew what little ground the enemies of Episcopacy either then or since had to appeal to the synod of Dort, granting its authority to have been more decisive than it is, upon that question.\*

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But to return to Scotland; the articles of Perth were cordially received in most places of the kingdom, except in Edinburgh, where a few both of clergy and laity pretended to find fault with them, yet were so conscious how little ground there was for their discontent, that when they were questioned about it, they all excused themselves, and mutually blamed one another. To remedy this evil, the two Archbishops, by the King's direction, gave orders to the Magistrates to make out the division of the town into separate parishes, as had been often proposed, and to provide four other ministers, besides those that were in

\* It was not among Protestants only that the predestinarian controversy with its appendages was tossed at this time. The Romanists, under their common head the Pope, were as much divided about it, as the Protestants were in all their different denominations. Jansenius, a Spanish divine of Louvain, who was made Bishop of Ipres in 1635, and died in 1638, appeared about this time on Beza's side of the doctrine, with as much keenness as any Calvinist of them all, and in his book, called *Augustinus*, goes all the lengths that either Calvin or Beza could have gone. On the other hand the Jesuits, under two of their famous doctors Lewis Molina and Peter Fonseca, took up the opposite side of the question with equal stiffness and acrimony. And tho' the Popes successively interfered, and peremptorily enjoined silence upon both parties, without venturing to decide for the one, for fear of disobliging the other, yet the paper war continued with unrelenting animosity for more than a century, and the Epithets of Molinists and Jansenists were as disgusting to the community, and as hateful to one another in the infallible church of Rome, as the Arminians and Calvinists were or could be in the Protestant churches.

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LETTER present service. At the same time, to prevent  
 XLIV. the usual consequences of that popular licentious-  
 ness which had been so long indulged in the  
 metropolis, it was ordained that every minister  
 should reside in, and have charge of his own pa-  
 rish; that every vacancy should be supplied by  
 the presentation of the town council; that the  
 several kirk-sessions should be chosen yearly by  
 the Magistrates and ministers for the particular  
 parishes, and that the foolish and indecent custom  
 of the people's meeting before the communion to  
 censure their ministers, should be totally laid aside  
 in all time coming. Thus by the pious care of  
 the King, and the prudent attention of the Bi-  
 shops, who were all sensible, well-respected men,  
 things went on calmly and regularly; and with  
 such an uniformity of sentiment, that, in a full  
 Parliament held in 1621 by the Marquis of Ha-  
 milton, as commissioner for the King, the acts of  
 the Perth-assembly were ratified, and divers other  
 constitutions for the good of both church and  
 state proposed and enacted.

But of all the instances of the King's tender  
 regard for the peace and honour of the church  
 of Scotland, none was more conspicuous than his  
 constant method of filling up such Bishopricks as  
 fell vacant in his time. For upon every such  
 event he appointed the Archbishop of St. Andrews  
 to convene the rest of the Bishops, and all of  
 them to name three or four whom they thought  
 sufficiently qualified for that high office, so that  
 there might be no error in the choice which he  
 reserved the privilege of to himself, out of that  
 approved list. This was keeping up such a har-  
 mony between the rights of the church on the  
 one hand, and the prerogatives of the crown on  
 the

the other, now that they were so intimately connected and as it were intermixed with one another, that neither of the two could be aggrieved, either by the weight of Royal authority bearing hard upon the freedom of the one, or the claim of total exemption encroaching upon the dignity of the other. And if any failure or mistake was to slip into the management of church-matters, which the greatest caution cannot always prevent, the blame would by this means fall where it properly ought, upon those who, by the original constitution of the church, were the spiritual governors of it.

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While the King was thus providing for the interests of religion at home, and the peace and quiet of his own subjects, he was unavoidably engaged in a quarrel abroad, by means of his connection with the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, who had married his only daughter Elizabeth, and infatuated by a ruinous ambition, had brought himself and family into the greatest distress. To relieve this unfortunate Prince, and give some check to the haughty cruelty of the Austrian family, a war with Spain was resolved on, and to strengthen his hands for carrying it on, James concluded an alliance with France, by proposing a marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Princess Henrietta, the French King's sister, which was readily agreed to. But in the midst of these preparations for war, which, however necessary, was very contrary to his pacific disposition, the King was seized with a slight touch of the gout, and then fell into an ague, which in four or five fits carried him out of this world, on the 27th of March 1625, after he had reigned over England twenty

LETTER ty two years, and over Scotland, from his mother's death, thirty eight. Without regard to the many various opinions that have been formed of this first monarch of Great Britain, it may justly be said, that to every sincere lover of ecclesiastical order and purity, his memory will be precious: And no person who reads his history without prejudice, can well deny him the character which has been often given him, of *James the Peaceful and the Just*.


I am, &c.

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L E T T E R XLV.

Accession of Charles I.—Situation of Affairs in England—A Liturgy proposed for Scotland—And an Act of Revocation or Surrendry of the Church Lands—Both opposed by a discontented Party—The King visits Scotland, and erects the Bishoprick of Edinburgh—He authorizes a Book of Canons, and consents that a Liturgy be prepared for the Scottish Church—Proceedings in that Affair.

ON the death of James, his only surviving son and heir Charles was immediately proclaimed, with the usual solemnities in both kingdoms, and began a reign, the most disastrous in the latter part of it, and most tragical in the conclusion, both to church and state, that is to be met with in the British annals. His first public transaction was solemnizing his marriage with the Princess Henrietta of France, which had been agreed upon in his father's lifetime: And this connection with one of the Popish religion, tho' otherwise a Princess of great virtue and good sense,

LETTER XLV.  sense, may be said to have laid the foundation of the many troubles in which he was afterwards involved. As soon as the parliament met, the House of Commons, among other grievances, took concern in matters of religion, and summoned a Mr. Montague before them, for having, in a book which he had published at the late King's command against the Papists, warped, as they thought, towards Popery and Arminianism, thus artfully classing together these two heterogeneous denominations, and designing to throw odium on the one, by such a malevolent conjunction with the other. Succeeding parliaments went on in the same strain, till at last they undermined and destroyed that very Church of England which at first they artfully pretended to support and defend. The Commons would pass no money-bills, nor grant any subsidies, till the King should redress what they were pleased to call grievances, and consent to such alterations in the religious establishment as they from time to time should point out to him. So that by the exigencies of government he was driven to throw himself on the benevolence of his people by way of loan, to be repaid out of the first parliamentary grants; and to desire the clergy in their several districts to encourage the chearful contribution of this loan as much as they could. On this occasion, however much the court might have erred in bearing hard on those who refused to lend, it certainly was equally wrong and arbitrary in the Commons to revile those who were willing, and to censure the preachers who thought it their duty to recommend it. Nor was this the only opposition which the King met with from the Puritan party, even in the beginning

ning, and apparently peaceable part of his reign. LETTER

The five articles of rigid Calvinism, established XLV. in the synod of Dort, had made their way over  to England, and found encouragement even among some of the Episcopal clergy, under the patronage of the then Primate, Dr. George Abbot, who, tho' not an open espouser, was a secret favourer of them. This awakened the attention of the other Bishops and clergy, who, to prevent the flame from rising to too great a height, procured the reprinting the thirty nine articles, with a declaration from the King at the head of them, in which he "prohibits all public disputations on these dark points, and orders all such disputes to be shut up in God's promises, &c." Upon this the Calvinist faction took fire, and exclaimed bitterly about Arminianism, and against the cruel restraint laid on them from preaching the sweet saving doctrines of God's free grace in election and predestination, and from executing their commission, by declaring the whole counsel of God. The Commons too in their next session took up this controversy, and in direct opposition to the King's declaration, were bold enough to pronounce on the sense of the thirty nine articles, by this declaration of their own; "We the Commons in Parliament assembled, do claim, protest, and avow for truth the sense of the articles of religion established by Parliament in the thirteenth year of Q. Elizabeth, which by the public act of the Church of England, and by the general and current exposition of the writers of our church, have been delivered unto us: And we reject the sense of the Jesuits and Arminians wherein they differ from
" us,"

Collier, vol.
ii. p. 747.

LETTER "us." It was surely a business quite foreign to
 XLV. a House of Commons, to decide so peremptorily
 in a controversy where the most learned clergy
 were divided, and where, as their professions did
 not qualify them, so neither did their commif-
 sions empower them to enquire or determine.
 However, the King's declaration, notwithstanding
 the clamour against it at that time, has
 stood its ground ever since, and appeared in its
 original position at the head of the thirty nine
 articles, in every edition of them to this day. So
 much was it the misfortune of this good man, to
 be reviled and contradicted in things, in which
 his successors, even acknowledged Protestants and
 deliverers from Popery, have copied after his
 precedent, and met with no opposition.

About this time, offence was also taken at re-
 viving the observance of some decent rites and
 ceremonies, which, as having been of primitive
 practice, had been retained at the Reformation,
 but afterwards laid aside or neglected, from the
 fanciful fear of superstition. But that which
 raised the loudest outcry, was the King's publish-
 ing a declaration, allowing and almost enjoining
 the use of certain sports and recreations on the
 Sunday afternoons, at the close of evening prayers.
 Such an indulgence had been granted by autho-
 rity in his father's time, but for whatever rea-
 son, had not been much either observed or
 found fault with. The revival of it now opened
 the mouths, and employed the pens of all the
 partizans of Geneva in England, tho' it is cer-
 tain that even in Geneva itself, at the beginning
 of their reformation, and for many years after,
 they were not so strict in this article as their
 friends in Britain, but permitted all manner of
 lawful

lawful amusements, and many works of necessary labour on the Sunday, provided that the people gave attendance in the church at the time appointed. Yet, "this declaration, as Mr. Collier observes, whether on the score of indulging too much liberty, or of dispensing with a late act passed in the first parliament of this reign, was not well received, and gave the people a further disgust at the administration: And some of the clergy who scrupled the reading of it in their churches, were suspended by their ordinaries, and prosecuted in the High Commission: These rigours, tho' not very frequent, heightened the complaint, and diserved the government both in church and state."

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Hist. vol.ii. p. 758.


Thus matters stood in England during the first eight or nine years of this unhappy reign: A period full of secret murmurings and discontents, hatched originally by the remains of the Puritan faction, and fostered by the connivance or remissness of even some of the Bishops and clergy, such as Abbot of Canterbury and Williams of Lincoln, and a few more leading men among them. From this short view of the disposition of the neighbouring church, let us now return to the situation of our own affairs at home, where we shall soon find commotions bursting forth to an amazing degree of open violence: and that violence abetted and encouraged by the powerful concurrence of the English malecontents. When King James died, he left our matters, outwardly at least, and to appearance, peaceably settled both in church and state. A regular Episcopacy by canonical consecration had been admitted by the General Assemblies of the church, and confirmed by un-

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questionable

LETTER XLV.  questionable acts of parliament. The five articles of Perth, after full and free debate, had been almost unanimously agreed to, and for some years uniformly practised, except by a very few of the inferior clergy, who shewed as much superstition in opposing, as ever was, or could be shewn in defending the decent rites of primitive antiquity. The King had claimed, and was allowed a certain measure of ecclesiastical supremacy, or power, with advice of the Bishops and such ministers as he should choose for that purpose, to dispose of and regulate the externals of ecclesiastical polity, which power he had always exercised in such a way as gave offence to none but those who were resolved to be offended at any thing that a King should do in these matters. The Bishops too were pious and prudent men, and by the method which he took in the nomination of them, were well acquainted with, and mutually agreeable to one another. The Archbishop of St. Andrews, Spotswood, for his good sense and singular moderation, had been always a particular favourite with King James.— The other Archbishop, Law of Glasgow, was likewise a valuable man for his learning and other Episcopal accomplishments. The see of Aberdeen was filled with the famous Patrick Forbes of Corse, who in the 48th year of his age was prevailed upon to take orders, and was first minister at Keith for six years, and then in 1618 made Bishop of Aberdeen, in which station he gained the esteem of all ranks, and died universally regretted in 1635. The rest of the sees were all full. John Guthry was Bishop of Moray, David Lindsay of Brechin, Adam Ballenden of Dunblain, Alexander Lindsay of Dunkeld, Patrick Lindsay

Lindsay of Ros, John Abernethy of Caithness, LETTER
 George Graham of Orkney, Andrew Lamb of XLV.
 Galloway, Andrew Boyd of Argyle, and Thomas 
 Knox of the Isles.

Thus was the Church of Scotland quietly and regularly governed at the time of King James's death, very much no doubt to his satisfaction, who had done so much, and struggled so long, to accomplish this desirable end, and to bring the church in his native kingdom as near as possible to a conformity with the church of England, with which, the more he was acquainted, he declared he was still the better pleased.— Yet there remained one flagrant defect in that plan of uniformity which he so ardently wished for between the two churches, and that was, the visible bareness of the worship in our church, for want of a public and authorised liturgy or form of common prayer, whereby every minister was left to the freedom of his own conceptions, and to the effusions of a spirit not always the most orderly or pacific. He had indeed attempted to remedy this inconvenience, which himself in his own person had oft felt the fruits of, by proposing and procuring an act to be passed in a General Assembly at Aberdeen in August 1616, that a liturgy or form of common prayer should be composed for the use of the church; and to pave the way for the more cordial reception of it, he gave orders next spring, that the English liturgy should be daily used in his own chapel at Holyroodhouse from that time forth. Accordingly a form was drawn up and sent to the King, who, after a serious perusal of it by competent judges, gave it his approbation, and returned it to be properly digested, and recom-

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mended

LETTER XLV. mended to public use. Which, as matters then stood, would in all probability have taken effect, if the breach with Spain, and his own death, which happened not long after, had not unfortunately interrupted the success of the business at that time.

In this posture of affairs the present King succeeded to the crown, and inheriting his father's zeal for the church of England, had it equally at heart to unite his three kingdoms in one form of public worship. But being embarrassed with the Spanish war, which the last Parliament of King James had entailed upon him, and engaged on his own account in a new rupture with France, he was not in a proper condition for the first four years to prosecute the undertaking. At last, having extricated himself out of these political difficulties, and being now at leisure to attend to other things, he thought fit to put the Scottish Bishops in mind of his father's resolution, and pressed them to set about the business of the liturgy with the utmost application. Upon this they sent up Dr. John Maxwell, then one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and afterwards Bishop of Ross, who waiting on his Majesty to know his pleasure, was by him directed to Dr. Laud, at that time Bishop of London, and much in the King's confidence for his piety and careful attention to church order. After many conferences on the subject, Bishop Laud gave it as his opinion, "that if his Majesty would have a form of worship in Scotland different from what they had already, it were best to take the English liturgy without any variation, that so the same service book might pass thro' all his Majesty's dominions." To which Dr. Maxwell

well replied, "that the Scots would be better LETTER
 "pleased to have a liturgy of their own, but XLV.
 "such an one as should come near to the Eng-
 "lish book both in matter and form; because,"
 as he urged in name of the Scotch Bishops,
 "a liturgy made by themselves, and in some
 "things different from the English service, would
 "be most acceptable to their countrymen, whom
 "they found very jealous of the least dependence
 "on the church of England." This difference of
 opinion brought the cause before the King, who
 having weighed the arguments on both sides, de-
 clared for the English book. This happened in
 1629, and here the business rested till four years
 after, when we shall hear more of it. In the
 mean time, we must take notice of another af-
 fair which employed the King's thoughts, and
 may be considered as a principal cause of the
 disturbances which followed.

During the late King's minority, the greater
 part of the lands belonging to the cathedral
 churches and religious houses, which at the re-
 formation fell to the crown, and were annexed to
 it by act of Parliament, had been, by the artful
 contrivance of Murray and the other Regents,
 parcelled out among the great men of the king-
 dom, to fix them to the reforming side. Num-
 bers of the old nobility had got surreptitious gifts
 of some of these lands; and what remained were
 mostly bestowed upon younger sons of great fa-
 milies, and other favourites, who from this settle-
 ment were called "Lords of the new erection,"
 such as Torphichen, Blantyre, Lindores, Balme-
 rino, Kinloss, and others; so that little or no-
 thing remained to the crown of what, by the
 reformed constitution, ought to have belonged to
 it.

LETTER XLV. it only. This had been long complained of as a heavy loss to the Sovereign, and at the same time a prodigious grievance to the generality of the nation. For these men being now possessed of the church lands, with the regalities and tythes which had belonged to the old ecclesiastic corporations, lorded it with much avarice and insolence over the inferior gentry, who held of them in their newly acquired territories, and kept the poor peasants in a most miserable vassalage and subjection. The condition of the parochial clergy under these masters was equally wretched and servile: For instead of receiving the tythes of the parish originally settled upon the cure, they had only some pitiful sum in name of stipend paid them, by their new Lords, which for the most part was not easy to be extorted out of such avaritious hands.

King James intended to have revoked these impoverishing grants; but falling into years and troubles, he left the prosecution of this business to his son and successor: Who finding himself pinched for want of money by the refractory humour of his English Parliaments, was advised by his Scottish council to resume into his own hands these lands, tythes, and regalities, which the present occupants could pretend no other title to, but the unjust usurpation or fraudulent acquisition of their predecessors. To effect this, he resolves upon an act of revocation, and for that purpose grants commission to the Earl of Annandale and Lord Maxwell, afterwards Earl of Nithsdale, to hold a Parliament in Scotland for contribution of money and ships against the Dunkirkers, with secret instructions to Maxwell to get the act of revocation passed, if he found it practicable. But when

when come to Berwick, Maxwell was informed LETTER XLV. that his chief errand being known, had put all Edinburgh in an uproar, and that a rich coach, which he had sent before him to Dalkeith, had been broken to pieces, and the horses killed by the mob, who regretted that they could not serve the master the same way. Things being in this situation, it was suggested to the King by Sir Archibald Atchison, Solicitor general for Scotland, “ that the act of revocation had been represented by those that were like to be sufferers under it, as principally intended to revoke all former acts for suppressing Popery and settling the reformed religion, and therefore it would not be safe to proceed further in it : But that a commission might be issued under the great seal of Scotland, for taking the surrendries of all such superiorities and tythes within the kingdom at his Majesty’s pleasure, and that such as refused to submit might be impleaded one by one, beginning with such of the occupants as might be thought most willing to yield, or least able to contend : In which case he could assure his Majesty, that having the laws on his side, the courts of justice must and would pass judgment for him.” This proposal was agreed to, and a commission of surrendry accordingly passed the Great Seal on the 26th of June 1627.

Upon this legal authority the prosecutions were begun and carried on to the King’s advantage so effectually, that some of the impleaded parties being cast in the suit, and the rest seeing, that tho’ they could raise the people against the King, they could not raise them against the laws, it was thought the best and safest way to compound the

LETTER XLV. the business. Accordingly in the year 1630, commissioners were chosen and sent up to London, with the Lord Napier, then treasurer-depute, at the head of them, who, after a long treaty with the King, did at last agree, that the commission should go on as formerly, and that all such superiorities and tythes as had been or should be surrendered, should be re-granted by the King on these conditions, "that they who held hereditary sheriffdoms, with power of life and death, should quit these royalties to the King: That they should give their tenants permanent leases for some certain term, for encouraging the improvement of the country: That proper provision should be made for augmenting the stipends of the clergy: That they should double the yearly rents reserved to the crown by their first grants: Upon performing of which conditions, their estates should be settled upon them by act of Parliament." It might have been expected that these concessions and abatements of right on the King's side would have given universal satisfaction, especially when all that was done in this weighty business was ratified and confirmed in the next Parliament in 1633. The inferior gentry indeed thought themselves so sensibly obliged by these surrendries, that they made a public acknowledgment to the King for delivering them from an intolerable bondage, which they and their ancestors had groaned under ever since the reformation: And the parochial clergy were no less transported with joy, and extolled the King as the founder and protector of their churches. But this fit of gratitude did not last long. Within a few years, many of these, who had been thus signally relieved, both clergy and

and laity, turned against their royal benefactor, and blindly followed their once arbitrary patrons into rebellion, thus, as Mr. Collier expresses it, "besides making themselves remarkable for their ingratitude, proving false to their own interest, and discovering both treason and folly at the same time."*

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Hist. vol. ii
p. 756.

On the other hand, the discontented part of these surrenderers, finding both their power and profit much curtailed by this legal transaction, took hold of the agitation that was then beginning about a liturgy, and made that a pretence to stir up the people and mutinous party of the clergy against the Bishops, whom they looked upon with an evil eye for the King's favour to them, in excepting their superiorities and rights of regality out of the general commission of surrendry. The offence at the liturgy, therefore, was but a device of some crafty heads to draw in the lower sort of people, who are easily wrought upon by religious clamour, and thereby to form a party to enable themselves to execute their revenge for the diminution of their worldly honour and interest. And it answered the designed end. There were still among the inferior clergy a few, who continued to grumble at the Perth-articles as not suiting their particular humours, and even entertained a secret grudge at Episcopacy itself, as being a strong and ready check upon their unruly spirits. But finding that the present King

* It is strange to observe how much some of the nominal successors of these clergy still delight in throwing odium upon the memory of this unfortunate King, who expressed such an affectionate care for the prosperity of their predecessors, and upon whose salutary provisions they themselves have all-along founded their stipendiary claims of present aliment or future augmentation.

LETTER was resolved to maintain the government which
 XLV. his Royal father had established, they saw it prudent to lie quiet, till some favourable opportunity should offer, and in the mean time to increase the number of their profelytes, wherever they had any influence. In this they succeeded but too well, especially in Fife and the West country, the two capital stages of John Knox's religious knight-errantry, where his memory was dear, and a portion of his turbulent spirit still remained. In these parts the ministers used to keep a fast on the first Sabbath of every quarter, of which they gave no public intimation, but only in private desired such of their flocks as they could confide in, to observe the solemnity. And upon these days of fasting, they used in their sermons to throw out distant hints about the danger of religion from Prelacy and its dependencies, and in their prayer to supplicate for remedy, with a blessing on all good means which Providence should afford for that end. This was a precious freedom peculiar to their extempore method of praying, and of which a pre-composed liturgy, they well knew, would deprive them. No wonder that they could not bear the thoughts of having their godly fervency controuled by a dead insipid form, or the overflowing of their mournful hearts kept in from praying, as they saw proper, against their governors in church and state, and calling loudly to God and the people for a reformation of what they should be pleased to say was amiss. Yet all their zeal and rhetoric would have had little effect, if this affair of the surrendry had not brought over a considerable number of the nobility to their party: among whom were the Earls of Rothes, Cassilis, Lothian and Eglinton, with

with the Lords Lindfay, Loudon and Balmerino. LETTER.
 The Bishops saw well enough what was going on; XLV.
 but waited in patience for the King's coming
 to Scotland, who, they hoped, by his presence
 and prudence would set all to rights, and put
 things on a more peaceable footing.

At last the general expectation of the royal
 visit was gratified. On the 13th of May 1633
 the King set out from London, and by easy jour-
 nies came to Dalkeith on the 9th of June.*
 Next day he entered Edinburgh in great pomp,
 and upon the 18th was solemnly crowned by
 Archbishop Spotswood in the Abbey-kirk of Ho-
 lyroodhouse. Ten days after the coronation, the
 Parliament sat down, and besides ratifying the
 commission of sursendries, passed two acts relative
 to the church, the one continuing a provision
 made in 1609, but which determined with the
 life of the late King, "that the power of pre-
 scribing the habits of churchmen should remain

* The discontented party having beforehand drawn up and
 subscribed a petition to the King and Parliament for redress of
 grievances, they gave it to their leader the Earl of Rothes, to shew
 it to the King in private, and in a manner steal his approbation
 of it, before it should be presented in public. For this end, Ro-
 thes went to Dalkeith, and imparted the business to the King.
 But his Majesty having read the paper, gave it back to him
 with a positive command to make no more noise about it: Which
 Rothes having communicated to the rest of the party, it was
 agreed to suppress the petition: And so nothing more was done
 in it till next year, when for making some bad use of it, and vent-
 ing other libels of a criminal nature, Lord Balmerino, the
 treacherous son of a treacherous father, was called in question
 before the privy-council, and by an assize of his Peers con-
 demned to die, but was by the King's clemency first reprieved,
 and then fully pardoned, which undeserved favour, tho' he re-
 ceived it at the council-table on his knees, yet like a true child
 of faction, he soon requited with perfidy and rebellion.

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“ with

LETTER XLV. “with his Majesty and his successors:” And the other, “ratifying and approving all and whatsoever acts and statutes made before, anent the liberty and freedom of the true kirk of God and religion presently professed within this realm, and ordaining the same to stand in full force and effect, as if they were specially mentioned and set down herein.” Both these statutes, the one as leaving room for bringing in the English surplice, and the other as confirming the privileges of Episcopacy, which was then the professed religion, were strenuously opposed by the discontented party, particularly by the Lords Lindsay and Loudon, who were considered as leaders of it.

Before the King left Scotland, he resolved to leave behind him a lasting monument of his love and esteem to the church in it: And therefore, with the full consent and approbation of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, he erected Edinburgh, the metropolis of the kingdom, into a Bishoprick, assigned to it a competent and convenient jurisdiction, out of the nearest bounds of the diocese of St. Andrews, appointed the fairest church in the town, that of St. Giles’s, to be the cathedral, settled a sufficient revenue upon the See, out of the church-lands which he purchased from the Duke of Lenox, provided a Dean and chapter for it, of some of the ministers of the city and neighbouring parishes, and placed a very eminent scholar, Dr. William Forbes, of the family of Corsinday in Aberdeenshire, as the first Bishop of it.*

* * This worthy man had been some time Principal of the Marischal college in Aberdeen, next in succession to Mr. Andrew Auld, who was so confounded at being baffled in a public disputation.
It

It was no doubt with a view to this erection, and the settling of other matters relative to the worship and discipline of the church, that the King brought along with him Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London, who being appointed to preach before his Majesty in the Abby-church, took care to commend the beauty and benefit of uniformity, and a reverence to the laudable ceremonies of antiquity, and was heard, says Lord Clarendon, "with all the marks of approbation and applause imaginable." This was a good introduction to the King's design, and produced a conference between Laud and such of the Scots Bishops and clergy as were at hand: At which meeting Laud could not help lamenting the strange and almost singular nakedness of the Scottish manner of worship, for want of a liturgy and a proper collection of Canons, which he thought would supply all defects. The Archbishop of St. Andrews replied, "that in the late King's time a motion had been made to frame a liturgy, and collect some Canons for the church, but was deferred at that time, because of the stir at first about the Perth articles; and he still had apprehensions, that the attempting of it even yet might have some disagreeable consequences." But the other Bishops pressing the undertaking, and declaring there was no

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putation about prayers for the dead, which Dr. Forbes defended, that he left his place and family, and went to England, where he died: In 1618 Dr. Forbes was by King James appointed one of the four ministers who were then added to the Edinburgh clergy, on the partition of the city into distinct parishes, and was such a celebrated preacher, that King Charles, after he had heard him, was pleased to say, "he had found a man who deserved to have a See erected for him."

danger

LETTER danger in it, the King consented that there
 XLV. should be a liturgy for the church of Scotland.

And here again both he and Laud insisted for the English book: But the Scots Bishops, who better knew the humours of the people, tho' for their own part they had no scruple at the rites and ceremonies of the English church, and could willingly, if with safety, submit to and practise them, yet they had no mind that the very identical book of England should be brought in upon them. For which, besides some few little improprieties that they objected to in the book itself, they still urged the prudential reason which Dr. Maxwell had offered four years before, "that by his Majesty's continual residence
 " in England, the Scots were become jealous of
 " being by degrees reduced to be but a pro-
 " vince to England, and entirely subjected to
 " English laws and government, which they
 " would never submit to, nor would any man
 " of honour, who loved the King best or respected
 " England most, ever consent to bring such disho-
 " nour on his native country: And therefore it
 " might look too like an arbitrary imposition
 " from England, and a designed beginning of
 " trampling upon all the laws and privileges of
 " Scotland, if a form settled in Parliament at
 " Westminster should, without any alteration by
 " ourselves, be tendered, tho' from the King's
 " own hand, to be immediately submitted to
 " and observed in this independent church and
 " kingdom." This consideration made an im-
 pression on the King, and prevailed with him to
 drop his attachment to the English book. So it
 was agreed, that a new liturgy, with some proper
 variations from the English, should be composed,
 and

and also a collection of Canons put together, to regulate and enforce the ecclesiastical discipline: All which were to be transmitted from time to time to England, to be approved by the King, after having been revised by Dr. Laud, who in September 1633 was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and by two other divines, Dr. Juxon Bishop of London, and Dr. Wren of Norwich.

Thus the great work was begun, which, if all those concerned had done their part honestly and uprightly, according to the King's pious intentions, might have been gradually and peaceably accomplished without those tumults and commotions, of which, by treachery and double-dealing, it was made the ostensible cause. The book of Canons was first undertaken, for which these strong reasons were assigned, "that by this means
 " there might be a fixed measure for stating the
 " power of the clergy, and the practice of the
 " laity: That the acts of the General Assemblies
 " being only in manuscript, could not reach the
 " generality, and being not easy to be transcribed
 " because of their bulkiness, or to be removed
 " from place to place because of the risk of it,
 " few of the inferior clergy knew where to apply
 " for information: That in consequence of
 " this, not one in the kingdom governed his
 " practice by these acts of General Assemblies:
 " And therefore that by reducing these regulations
 " to a lesser compass, and laying them
 " open to public view, nobody could miscarry
 " thro' ignorance, or complain of being over-
 " charged." The Canons being with great deliberation among our Bishops at home, and by the singular activity of Dr. Maxwell, lately made
 Bishop

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LETTER XLV. Bishop of Ross, drawn up with this view, and presented to his Majesty, he signed a warrant to Laud and Juxon to examine the draught, and bring it to as near a conformity as possible to the English code of 1603: Which being done, and a book prepared for the press, the King confirmed it by letters patent under the Great Seal, at Greenwich May 23d 1635, "enjoining all Archbishops, Bishops, and others exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Scotland, to see them punctually observed." These Canons were printed at Aberdeen in 1636, and as soon as published, became the subject of much clamour and criticism: which indeed was no more than might be expected, as any rules, however innocent and useful, will for a while be apt to give offence to people who have long been accustomed to no rule, or rather to be all rulers promiscuously or alternately, over one another.

It was about the time of forming these Canons, that, on the death of the old Chancellor the Earl of Kinnoul, the King was pleased, out of love and esteem to Archbishop Spotswood, whose fidelity both the late King and himself had long experienced, to intrust him with that highest office of State in the kingdom, by a commission under both the seals in customary form, January 14th 1635, constituting and creating John, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland during life, being the first and only Protestant churchman that ever bore that high dignity. And as a further testimony of his royal affection to the church, he ordered six or seven of the other Bishops to be admitted into the Privy Council, hoping, by thus giving them a legal share of power in the civil government and judicatories of the kingdom,

kingdom, to put them in a better capacity of regulating and settling the polity of the church. ^{LETTER XLV.} But in this, both he and they were sadly disappointed: For this unseasonable accumulation of honours, to which their functions did not entitle them, exposed them, as Lord Clarendon remarks, to the envy of the whole nobility, many of whom wished them well as to their spiritual character, but could not bear to see them possessed of those offices and employments which they looked upon as naturally belonging to themselves. But however foreign these secular engagements might have been to the Episcopal character, surely the business of the liturgy which was now going on, will be acknowledged to have been quite suitable to it, and peculiarly within the province of the Bishops. This business had been long upon the anvil even in Scotland, tho' it has often been pretended, that Archbishop Laud was the principal forger and contriver of it. But he has with his own hand, fully and fairly rid himself of either the glory or ignominy of such an imputation, and has discovered to us the wary and judicious steps, which our own Bishops took for some years in carrying on the work; and that all the hand he had in it, was only, at the King's command, to give from time to time his brotherly assistance to it, and his approbation of it when it was perfected. For however contemptibly our Scots Bishops at that time may have been represented, it appears that some of them were sufficiently capable of themselves, without Laud's assistance, if the King had not thought proper to offer it, to have composed a liturgy upon the purest and most primitive models.

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Dr. Forbes, the first Bishop of Edinburgh, who was no disciple of, Laud's, as Laud himself tells us, had in a treatise of his, called *Modest Considerations*, given the preference to the first liturgy of Edward VI. which was the plan that our Bishops went on, in their communion-office, and had expressed a wish "that the church of England, which deserves great praise for her singular moderation in many things, had in this point, of commemorating the dead, and in several others, rather conformed to the most ancient practice of the universal church, than because of the errors and abuses that had crept in, totally to have rejected these rites, and thrown them out." And then he adds, "it had been irrefragably demonstrated by numbers of learned men, Greeks, Protestants, and even Romanists themselves, that no argument for the Popish Purgatory can be drawn from the prayers and oblations for the dead so frequently mentioned by the fathers." And another of our Bishops, Dr Wedderburn, lately made Bishop of Dunblain, on Ballenden's removal to Aberdeen, who was one of the actual compilers of our liturgy, and whom Archbishop Laud describes as a mere scholar and book-man, seems to have had both capacity and desire for restoring what he thought the commendable practices of antiquity.* The Bishop of Ross too, Dr. Maxwell,

* Laud, in his answer to that part of the accusation against him, of the Scottish book leaving out the remembrance clause in the distribution, which is in the English book, as if it had been done for Popish ends, says in his own defence, "Whatever this omission may be thought to work, it cannot reflect upon me, who always laboured to have the English book sent them, without any omission or addition at all, this or any other: who

who was the principal channel of correspondence in this business of the liturgy, is acknowledged to have been a learned and knowing man, and even Bishop Guthry, who seems to have had no good will to the younger Bishops, as he calls them, whom he describes as reckoned "not generally gifted for the office," excepts Bishop Maxwel, of whom he says, "it cannot be denied but he was a man of great parts." So we may conclude that the liturgy intended for Scotland, if not entirely composed, was yet carefully examined, and arranged by the Scottish Bishops, who from their acquaintance with the old liturgical forms of Eucharistic service, thought proper to make the first book of Edward VI. the model which they copied after, in preference to what was then used in England. And to those who yet find fault with that preference, which is still kept up by the Episcopal church in this kingdom, I would beg leave to recommend the opinion of Archbishop Laud, whose praise is and ever will be in the English church, and whose

LETTER XLV.

" But some of the Scottish Bishops prevailed against me herein, and some alterations they would have from the book of England, and this was one: As I have to show under the Bishop of Dunblain, Dr. Wedderburn's hand, whose notes I have yet by me, concerning the alterations in that book; and concerning this particular his words are these, The body, &c. The blood, &c. to everlasting life, whereunto every receiver answered Amen: there is no more in Edward 6th's first book, and if there be no more in ours, the action will be much shorter: Besides, the words which have been added since, Take, eat in remembrance &c. may seem to relish somewhat of the Zuinglian tenet, that the sacrament is but a bare sign taken in remembrance of Christ's passion. So that for my part, says the Archbishop, first I see no hurt in the omission of these latter words, none at all: And next, if there be any, it proceeded not from me."

P p 2

approbation

LETTER approbation in these points on which he was so
 XLV. well versed, it is to be hoped every true son of
 that church will always revere.* If it shall be said,
 as I know it will be by some, tho' I hope by
 none of the Episcopal persuasion, that Laud was
 of Romish principles, and aimed at introducing
 Popery, there needs no other justification of his
 character than the attestation of one of his bitter-
 est persecutors, Sir Edward Dering, who com-
 menced the prosecution against him in the be-
 ginning of the long Parliament, and yet was so
 ingenuous as to confess, "that the Archbishop's
 writings had smote the Papist under the fifth
 rib, and wherever his grave should be, St.
 Paul's church would be his monument, and

* In his refutation of the charge brought against him, speak-
 ing of the Scottish book, he says, p. 109. "I like the book
 exceeding well, and hope I shall be able to maintain any thing
 that is in it, P. 113. These variations were taken either from
 the first book of Edward 6th, which was not Popery, or
 from some ancient liturgies, which favoured not of Popery."
 P. 121. speaking of the prayer of invocation, he says, "it is
 true, this passage is not in the prayer of consecration in the
 service book of England, but I wish with all my heart it were:
 For tho' the consecration of the Elements may be without
 it, yet is it much more solemn and full by that invocation."
 P. 124. "As for the oblation of the elements, as it is in the
 Scottish book, that is fit and proper, and I am sorry for my
 part that it is not in the book of England." And with regard
 to the order of the prayers, he says, P. 115. "Tho' I shall
 not find fault with the order of the prayers as they stand in the
 communion-book of England, for God be thanked it is well,
 yet if a comparison must be made, I do think the order of the
 prayers, as now they stand in the Scottish Liturgy, to be the
 better and more agreeable to use in the primitive church, and
 I believe they that are learned will acknowledge it: And
 these men do bewray a great deal of will and weakness to
 call this a new communion, only because all the prayers stand
 not in the same order." In his general account of what
 his

“ his book against Fisher the Jesuit his epi-
 “ taph.”

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 XLVI.


I am, &c.

hand he had in the construction of our book, he says, p. 109. “ I
 “ do verily believe there is no one thing in that book which
 “ may not stand with the conscience of a right good protestant.”

L E T T E R XLVI.

The Scottish Liturgy authorized by a royal Proclamation—Reflections on the Opposition it met with—Riots in Edinburgh occasioned by it—A Covenant of Association entered into against the Government—The Marquis of Hamilton sent to appease the Tumults—A General Assembly meets at Glasgow, but is dissolved by the Marquis—It continues to sit, condemns Episcopacy and the Liturgy, and deposes the Bishops.—War resolved on, and both Parties take the Field.

THE Scottish liturgy being now arranged and Dec. 20.
 examined, as I have mentioned in the pre-1636.
 ceding letter; was immediately published, and at
 the same time fortified by a proclamation from
 the

LETTER XLVI.  the King, narrating, "that he had oft recommended to the Archbishops and Bishops, in that his ancient kingdom of Scotland, to have a public form of worship for uniform observance; which now, with consent of the clergy, was condescended on, and therefore enjoining and commanding the due use of it, &c." But no sooner did the book make its appearance, than the discontented party immediately raised a clamour against it, and easily inflamed the minds of the undiscerning populace with dreadful apprehensions of Popery being introduced into the church, and tyranny into the state. And to such a height was the ferment artfully wrought, that it is said the two Archbishops supplicated the King to have the book kept back, till the nation was better prepared to receive it. Bishop Guthrie in his Memoirs tells us, that the old Bishops, as he distinguishes them, were generally against the measure, and lays all the blame upon the violence and forwardness of the younger ones. Yet in this account, which coming from a contemporary author has been followed by others, there seems to be as much of declamation as of argument. For among the old Bishops of the late King's promotion, which is Guthrie's meaning, we find Archbishop Spotswood corresponding with Laud about the liturgy; we find Bishop Lindsay of Brechin, now of Edinburgh, keen for it, and as Ballenden of Aberdeen had been Bishop of Dunblain, and Dean of the Chapel-royal, where a liturgy had been used for many years, it may be supposed that he would not be much against it. A fourth of these old Bishops, Guthrie of Moray, suffered much from the malecontents, perhaps as much for the liturgy as any thing

thing else: And other two of them, Graham LETTER of Orkney, and Lindsay of Dunkeld, by their ab- XLVI. juring their character, and submitting to the Covenanters, need not, I think, be taken into the reckoning on either side. Neither do we find these old men in the least favoured for their moderation, but all of them involved in the general complaint about the liturgy. And then as to the younger Bishops, they are held forth to us not as young Bishops only, but as if they had been young men of no prudence or experience, which yet does not seem to have been the case, as some of them had been long in the ministry, and men of character and esteem.

Bishop Guthrie likewise tells us, that the Earl of Traquair, having got letters from the younger Bishops to the Archbishop of Canterbury, posted to court, and told him that there was no danger to be apprehended; only the old Bishops were timorous men, and feared where no cause of fear was, assuring his Grace, that if the King would lay his commands upon him, he would undertake upon his life to carry thro' the business without any noise.* Upon which, Laud, not thinking it proper that a work of this nature should be committed to a layman, procured to himself a warrant from the King, to command the Bishops at all hazards to go forward

* Archbishop Laud, who had sufficient opportunity to know Traquair's conduct in this affair, complains of him in his history, p. 95. where he tells us, that he himself had prevailed with the King to get the abbey lands of Arbroath joined to the see of Brechin: "But things," he says, "were so carried by the Earl of Traquair, the Lord Treasurer for Scotland, that the poor Bishop of Brechin could never get that settled upon his see; Which was not the only thing in which that Lord played fast and loose with me."

in

LETTER XLVI. in it, "threatening them withal, that if they lingered in it longer, the King would turn them out of their places, and fill the same with vigorous and resolute men, who would not be afraid to do him service." This is the story as given us by Guthry, and from him by Collier and others. Yet, in the charge against Laud by the Covenanters at London, where they omit nothing that could render him odious, and are particularly severe upon him for bullying and laying his commands upon the Scottish Prelates, there is not the least mention of this threatening order by Traquair, which, had it really been as represented, they would not have passed by without making some use of it.

However, as Guthry goes on, the wise old Bishops saw now that there was nothing left them but either to do or die, upon which they cast away all fear and went to work: "And now," he says, "it is remarkable that after this, they acted so far contrary to these rules of prudence and policy, whereby they had been accustomed to manage their affairs, that all men began to spy a fatality in it." A strange and sudden change indeed, from wisdom to folly, in a whole body of men, on the receipt of a single letter! But wherein lay this folly? Why, he says, "they laboured not now to have their book brought in by ecclesiastical sanction, but having got it authorized by an act of Council, they proceeded without more ado to urge the practice of it: Whereby they provoked against themselves, the most part even of these ministers that were episcopal in their judgment, who thought it a very sad matter that a liturgy should be imposed on the church, without her knowledge
" and

“and consent, and judged it such a dangerous LETTER
 “preparative, that the civil power might in af- XLVI.
 “ter times introduce any thing, tho’ ever so
 “hurtful to religion, and the church never get
 “one voice in it.” But this does not appear
 to have been altogether a fair and candid stating
 of the case. The book had been seriously and
 deliberately composed and examined by church-
 men, had been laid before and approved by the
 King, whose privilege of consent in these matters
 was not as yet discarded, and it had got his war-
 rant to bring it into practice. What more was
 either in law or reason necessary? The King’s
 proclamation supposes a prior sanction from the
 church; such a sanction as all sound principles
 would have deemed competent in such matters;
 since, as Bishop Guthry and his men of Episco-
 pal judgment might have known, not only all the
 Bishops of a province, but even every single Bi-
 shop in his own diocese had power to order a
 liturgy for his own church, provided he kept up
 to the Catholic creed, and did not depart from
 the analogy of faith, of which not his presby-
 ters, but his brethren Bishops, were judges.—
 And what was that ecclesiastical sanction, which,
 it seems, it should have further got? Was every
 individual minister to be consulted, and his vote
 obtained, to ratify the decision of the King and
 the Bishops? If so, why not every individual
 of the laity be indulged the same authoritative
 privilege, from the great Earl of Rothes, down
 to the meanest cobbler in the kingdom? And
 when or how would this have ended?

Many other instances of misconduct have been
 found out in the prosecution of the business,
 such as fixing the first use of the book to be at

LETTER XLVI. Edinburgh, where there was the greatest probability, and would be the fittest opportunity of raising disturbance, and then deferring it from Easter-day, the day first proposed, to the 23d of July, which was said to be designedly done by Traquair, to give the party more time to confederate against it. But indeed it is easy for after critics to discover mistakes, and suspect plots, where originally there might have been neither error nor design. And therefore, to leave inquiring into causes, let us proceed to effects, which we shall find to have been most lamentably fatal: For wherever the fault shall be thought to have lain, if there must be a fault somewhere, whether in the rashness of the young Bishops, or imprudence of the old ones; in Traquair's double dealing, or the violence of Rothes and his associates; so it was in fact, that the affair, whatever way it was managed, had a most unsuccessful and tragical issue.

A D. 1637. When the twenty third of July came, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, with two or three more Bishops, the Lords of the Council and of the Session, the Magistrates of the city, and a great auditory of all sorts of people being convened in the high church, no sooner had the Dean in his surplice begun to read the prayers from the desk, but immediately a multitude of the meaner sort, most of them women, with clapping of hands, clamours and outcries, raised such a hideous noise, that not a word could be distinctly heard, and then a shower of stones and sticks was let fly at the Dean's head. The Bishop of the place, who was to preach that day, stepped into the pulpit, with a view to appease the tumult, by putting them in mind of the sacredness of the place, and

and their duty to God and the King. But this ^{LETTER} enraged them the more, and a Janet Geddes, who, ^{XLVI.} like the wretch that burnt the temple of Ephesus, would never have had her name mentioned but for some villainous exploit of this kind, struck up the prologue to the subsequent tragedy, by throwing her folding-stool at the Bishop, to the great danger of his life. Upon this the Archbishop, as Chancellor, called upon the Provost and Magistrates to suppress the riot by their authority, which with great difficulty was done, by thrusting the most unruly out of the church, and shutting the doors: After which the Dean went on with the service, but was still disturbed by the mob without, who pelted the doors and windows with sticks and stones, crying, "A Pope, a Pope! Antichrist! Pull him down, stone him," with all the signs of ungovernable fury. When the Bishops, at the conclusion of the worship, were going home, the rabble followed them with the most opprobrious language, and treated Bishop Lindsay so rudely, that had he not providentially got into a private house, after they had torn his habit, he had undoubtedly fallen a sacrifice to their cursed rage. The same spirit appeared, tho' not to such a violent degree, in the other churches of the city, where the ministers who read the book, which they all did except two, Ramsay and Rollock, were assaulted with the most bitter execrations against Bishops and Popery.*

* One of these two, Ramsay, was at the time one of the Bishop's chapter, and Sub-dean of the chapel-royal, where by his office he had often both heard and read a liturgical service. And Rollock, the other, who was of the chapter too, had in his late synod-fermon before the Bishop, and in his sermon in the college-kirk on the 16th of July, by way of intimation of the book, high-

LETTER XLVI. Hitherto no person of note or distinction was seen to countenance the opposition: It was all the work of the rascally multitude, who had been well tutored and set on to it, and the malignant preachers from their pulpits extolled the actors in it; "as the most heroic spirits that ever God inspired and raised up in this last age of the world, and as the happy mouths and hands which he had honoured with the beginning of such a blessed work." The Bishops, not knowing well how to proceed, dispatched an express to the King with a full account of all that had happened: And not thinking themselves secure in Edinburgh, where the Magistrates either were not willing or not able to protect them, they retired to their own dioceses, to the great strengthening of the adverse party. Yet the Archbishop of St. Andrews resolved to make a trial in his own diocess, and charged Mr. Alexander Henderson at Leuchars in Fife, who came afterwards to be the head of the party, to read the book under pain of legal prosecution. Against this charge Henderson applied to the Privy Council, and on the twenty third of August petitioned their Lordships for a suspension. The Council received the petition, and wrote to the King about it, wishing to know his mind against the twentieth of September, to which day the petitioners were referred for answer.

ly magnified and recommended it, and on the day of reading it, he carried it with him to the church with a design to read it as he had promised, till hearing of what was begun in the high church, he chose rather to expose himself to the censure of God and all sensible men, for his levity and breach of promise, than offend the giddy multitude, whose favour was the only element in which such time-serving creatures wished to breathe.

Mean

Mean time, the Edinburghers taking the late **LETTER** tumult into consideration, began to fear the effects of the King's resentment, in distressing their trade by his fleet; to prevent which, their four **XLVL** Baillies on the nineteenth of August wrote a fawning letter to Archbishop Laud, with strong asseverations of their abhorring the late disorders, and promising all due assistance to the reading of the book. But on the nineteenth of September, there came to Edinburgh the Earls of Rothes, Cassilis, Eglinton, Hume, Lothian and Weems, the Lords Lindlay, Loudon, Yester, Balmerino, Crauford and Lorn, with several burghers and ministers from Fife and the West, who all on the morrow gave in a supplication to the council against the service book; in framing of which they were principally assisted and directed by Sir Thomas Hope, who, tho' he held the lucrative office of King's advocate, was the grand oracle in all the consultations against him. Upon this increase of strength the Edinburghers veered about, and on the twenty sixth of September the Baillies wrote a second letter to Archbishop Laud, excusing their not being able to fulfill their former promises, because of the unexpected change of people's tempers, but still supplicating his Grace's intercession and good offices for the continuance of his Majesty's favour. The same day they addressed the council, that the book might not be pressed upon them till the King's pleasure should be further known: And their acting in this manner made such an impression on the other boroughs, that all of them, except Aberdeen alone, came over to the cause, and strengthened the hands of the opposition to a great degree.


At

LETTER XLVI. At last the King's answer came, and on the seventeenth of October a proclamation was issued at the market cross, "commanding the service book to be practised in Edinburgh and the places adjacent, the Court of Session to remove from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, and all the stranger supplicants to leave the city within twenty four hours, under pain of horning." This was like throwing oil upon the flame: For next day the rabble fell to work again, and assembled by hundreds in the High Street, where meeting with Bishop Sydsers of Galloway going to the council house about business, they would have torn him in pieces; if a gentleman who was with him, had not drawn him out of their hands, and got him with much ado into the house.— The Earl of Traquair, who had been his pupil, coming to his relief, and forcing his way thro' the press, was soon in as bad a condition as the Bishop, the multitude and noise increasing with terrible imprecations, "God defend those that defend God's cause! God confound the service book, and all the maintainers of it!" The Provost and Magistrates were now called upon for their assistance: But they pretended to be in as bad a plight themselves. For another party had beset the town-house where they were sitting, and threatened to burn them in it, if they would not sign a promise to join in opposing the service book, and to restore their two ministers, Ramsay and Rollock, who had been silenced for not reading it. The Treasurer, getting no protection from this quarter, ventured into the street again, but the mob were still so outrageous, that they barbarously pulled him down, took his hat, cloak, and white staff from him, and so dragged him to the council house.

house. The Lords of the Council, finding themselves in such imminent danger, applied for safety to the disaffected nobility and gentry, by whom they were quietly conducted to the palace, and the Bishop got to his lodgings. LETTER XLVI.

While things were in this situation, Mr. Henderson, by advice of his two directors Hope and Balmerino, presented to the ministers, who notwithstanding the proclamation still remained in town, a proposal that, "whereas they had formerly petitioned only against the service-book, they might now tax the Bishops also, as underminers of religion, and crave justice to be done upon them." But to this many of the ministers would not agree, declaring, "that they came there only to be freed from the service-book, and otherwise had no quarrel with the Bishops." Which being reported to the leaders, they sent to them Rothes and Loudon, who by long speeches mixed with threats and promises, prevailed so much with these temporizers, that the charge against the Bishops (being prepared before-hand,) was instantly subscribed by them all, and formally delivered to the clerk of council; While copies were given them to be carried home to their several Presbyteries and parishes, to be subscribed by all ranks, and returned against the next council-day, which was to be the 15th of December.

In consequence of this extorted paper, the Lord Loudon, in name of the whole association, which now took the title of "Noblemen, Barons, Ministers, Burgesses and Commons," did on the 19th of December lay before the council, then sitting at Dalkeith, a long complaint about grievances, with a protestation, "that the Bishops hereafter should not be permitted to sit as judges,


LETTER XLVI.  “ judges, untill the cause was decided, both because they were parties, and because by their number they might easily preponderate in any debate, as was the case in the act approving the service-book :” And concluding in these words : “ Our desires tend to no other end but the preservation of the true religion, the lawful liberties of the subject, and the Bishops, and Prelates delinquent taken order with, according to justice : We crave neither their blood, nor any harm to their persons, but that the wrongs and abuses done by them may be truly remonstrated to his Majesty, that after due trial, such order may be taken as may effectually restrain their exorbitant power for the time to come.” In this sederunt of council the Bishops had no friends who spoke openly for them, but the clerk-register Sir John Hay alone, and the result of all was, to send the treasurer to court with an account how matters stood, and to what a pass the administration was reduced.

All this time the combination was going on, and by the continued industry of the pulpit-orators of the faction, numbers of armed men, from almost all parts of the kingdom South of the Grampians, were daily flocking to Edinburgh to serve their noble friends, and be at hand upon any emergency. Upon this sad prospect of affairs, the treasurer was remanded back to Scotland in February, and arriving on the 19th at Stirling, where the council had remained since December, he there published the King's proclamation, “ setting forth the piety of his intentions in the matter of the liturgy and Canons, and charging the opposers with having incurred the penalties of law, but promising to pardon


“ don the error of a preposterous zeal, on con-
 dition they retire themselves as dutiful subjects ;
 “ and therefore interdicting all such concourse for
 “ the future, and commanding all strangers to
 “ quit the town of Stirling where the civil courts
 “ were sitting, upon six hours notice, under pain
 “ of treason :” concluding with this gentle de-
 claration, “ that he would not shut his ears
 “ against any petition upon that or any other
 “ subject, provided the matter and form of it be
 “ no way prejudicial to his royal authority.”
 Against all this, the Earl of Hume and Lord
 Lindsay, as had been pre-concerted, took instru-
 ments in the hands of a publick notary, and
 boldly insisted on their former demands against
 the Bishops, and for redressing their pretended
 grievances. By four o’clock in the afternoon the
 rest of the noblemen had reached Stirling, and
 before midnight the town was full of armed men
 from all quarters, who among other instances of
 brutality, threatened to butcher the good old
 Archbishop Spotswood, but were kept back by
 their more cautious masters. And now the party
 broke out into open defiance, and being resolved
 to go thro’ with their enterprize, in despite of the
 government, they drove back to Edinburgh, where
 after having consulted with Hope the advocate,
 and some others of that profession, they set up a
 counter-authority consisting of four *Tables* ; the no-
 bility made one, the Barons another, the ministers
 a third, and the Burgeses a fourth. These four
 were to prepare and digest matters for the *Ge-
 neral Table*, which was formed of a select num-
 ber of commissioners from all the rest : And here
 the ultimate and binding resolutions were taken.
 The first production of this new and extraordi-
 nary

LETTER nary tribunal was a *National Covenant*, which
 XLVI. they framed upon a model given them by the
 late King James in his minority, the occasion of
 which was this :

On the coming over of his favourite cousin Lenox from France, and his embracing the reformation in Scotland, the clergy took the alarm, and gave it out that the Pope had granted dispensations to this nobleman and many others, allowing them to go what lengths of outward profession should be required of them, provided their mind did not go along with their practice, but continued inwardly firm and stedfast to the old cause. These dispensations, whether genuine or forged, being shewn to the King, he desired his own chaplain Mr. John Craig, to draw up a short confession of faith in a negative form, with an abjuration of the Popish tenets, and a particular clause to combat these ill-looking dispensations. This was accordingly done, and the confession, thus framed to answer the exigencies of the times, was immediately ordered to be subscribed by all persons of distinction; and to set an example to the subjects, the King himself, then only fourteen years of age, with the whole court and council, publickly swore to it and subscribed it on the 2d of March 1581. Nine years after this, when the Spanish Armada had frightened the whole island, and the terrors of another attempt of the same kind were strong on peoples minds, there was added at the end of this confession a "General Band for maintenance of the true religion, and the King's person." In which, after having passed a suitable encomium on the King's religious disposition, the subscribers say, "We have therefore, in the presence of Almighty
 " God,

“ God, and with his Majesty’s authorizing and LETTER
 “ allowance, faithfully promised and solemnly XI.VI.
 “ sworn, likeas we hereby faithfully and solemnly 
 “ swear and promise, to take a true, effault and
 “ plain part with his Majesty amongst ourselves,
 “ for averting the appearing danger threatened
 “ to the said religion, and his Majesty’s state and
 “ standing depending thereon, by whatsoever fo-
 “ reign or intestine plots and preparations: And
 “ to that effect faithfully and upon our truth and
 “ honours, we bind and oblige us, &c.”

Such was the tenor of that *General Band* or *Covenant* drawn up in the reign of King James, not only with his concurrence, but designed for his honour and security, in language that would admit of no evasion. So it would not answer the purpose of our new association. For tho’ they adopted the negative confession from beginning to end without the least variation, that they might impose upon the people with that plausible sound, they took care to make out a new band, very different from the old one, in which after mentioning the “ danger of the true reformed
 “ religion, of the King’s honour, and of the
 “ public peace of the kingdom, by the manifold
 “ innovations and evils generally contained and
 “ particularly mentioned in their late supplica-
 “ tions, complaints and protestations, they add,”
 “ We do hereby profess, and before God, his
 “ angels, and the world, solemnly declare, that
 “ with our whole hearts we agree and resolve
 “ all the days of our life constantly to adhere
 “ unto, and to defend the said true religion,
 “ forbearing the practice of all innovations al-
 “ ready introduced in the matters of the worship
 “ of God, or approbation of the corruptions of

LETTER XLVI.  “ the public government of the kirk, or civil
 “ places and power of kirkmen, till they be tri-
 “ ed and allowed in free assemblies and parlia-
 “ ments : To labour by all means lawful to re-
 “ cover the purity and liberty of the gospel, as
 “ it was established and professed before the fore-
 “ said innovations : And because after due ex-
 “ amination we plainly perceive and undoubtedly
 “ believe, that these innovations and evils have
 “ no warrant in the word of God, are contrary to
 “ the articles of our confessions, to the intention
 “ and meaning of the blessed reformers of religi-
 “ on in this land, and to the foresaid acts of
 “ Parliament, and do sensibly tend to the re-esta-
 “ blishment of the Popish religion and tyranny,
 “ and to the subversion and ruin of the true re-
 “ formed religion, and of our liberties, laws and
 “ estates : We therefore declare, that the fore-
 “ said confessions are to be interpreted, and ought
 “ to be understood, of the foresaid innovations
 “ and evils, no less than if every one of them
 “ had been expressed in the foresaid confessions,
 “ and that we are obliged to detest and abhor
 “ them amongst other particular heads of Papist-
 “ ry abjured therein : And therefore we promise
 “ and swear by the great name of the Lord our
 “ God, to continue in the profession and obedi-
 “ ence of the foresaid religion, to defend the same,
 “ and resist all these contrary errors and corrup-
 “ tions, according to our vocation, and to the
 “ uttermost of that power that God has put into
 “ our hands, all the days of our lives :” And
 “ then, after engaging not to be divided or disunit-
 “ ed from one another, and making a solemn pa-
 “ rade about private reformation, they conclude,
 “ In Witness whereof, we have subscribed with
 “ our hands all the premises.”

Thus

Thus was this famous *National Covenant* mould-
 ed into a proper shape, and with this mutinous
 band "of mutual defence" sent abroad among
 the deluded people, under the specious title of
 "The Confession of Faith of the Kirk of Scot-
 land, subscribed at first by the King's Majes-
 ty and his household in 1581, and again, by
 all sorts of persons in 1590, with a General
 Band, &c." And yet, notwithstanding of the
 great stress laid upon King James having sub-
 scribed this negative Confession, it is certain, that
 when he was come to more knowledge in these
 matters, and had got out of the trammels in
 which his Scottish Kirk had long kept him, he
 looked on this composition in another light, and
 had no very high opinion of it. For in the
 conference at Hampton-Court, in answer to a
 proposal by the Dissenters, to have some more
 negative propositions inserted into the English
 book of articles, he observes, that Mr. Craig's
 expedient of this kind, with his disclaiming forms
 of "abhorring, renouncing, and detesting," did
 so amaze and overset the understandings of the
 vulgar, that they either continued in their for-
 mer ignorance, or relapsed into Popery. "And
 for my part, he says, if I had been obliged
 to run the whole length of this minister's
 creed, I must have carried my faith in my
 pocket book, for my head would not have
 held it."

However, such as it was, being now sanctified
 with the new name of a *Covenant*, as its inter-
 preters called it, between God and the nation,
 and directed to their own ends by their addi-
 tional *Band*, it made its first public appearance
 on the first of March 1638, in the Grey Friars
 kirk

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kirk at Edinburgh, where, after being once read over, accompanied with a flaming panegyric on it by Lord Loudon, and a long prayer for success to it by Mr. Henderson, it was eagerly subscribed by almost all who were present; and a vast concourse there was, both in the kirk and kirk-yard. Thro' the rest of the country, especially in the South and West, the minister's commendation of it was all that the people sought before subscription. In the North indeed it did not meet with a very favourable reception, at least for some time, which was thought to be owing to the influence of the town and clergy of Aberdeen on the adjacent countries. To remove this obstacle, Mr. Henderson and Mr. David Dickson, minister at Irvine, were sent North by the *Tables* at Edinburgh, and were desired to call to their assistance Mr. Andrew Cant, minister at Pitligo in Buchan, the only one in these parts that favoured the cause. With these three came the Earl, afterwards the renowned Marquis of Montrose, to strengthen the arguments of the divines by the terror of his presence, and overawe such as would not be convinced. But neither the terror of Montrose, nor the rhetoric of Henderson could get the better of the Doctors of Aberdeen, who at that time were men eminent for learning, and highly respected in the churches abroad. The dispute was drawn to a considerable length, and replies and duplies passed on both sides. However, for what scholastic disputation could not effectuate, lawless Might soon took a sweet revenge: For as soon as the Covenanters, as we shall now call them, got actual hold of that power which they were now aiming at, they persecuted these obstinate Doctors

tors with such unrelenting fury, that to save their lives, they were forced to leave the country and go into voluntary exile. *

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It is true, these “three Apostles of the Covenant,” as they were called, thus fortified by the authority of so great a man as Montrose was even then known to be, prevailed with numbers of the citizens of Aberdeen, and by their example with fundry ministers and people in that neighbourhood, to subscribe their Covenant: And so, attended with a multitude of profelytes, his Lordship and his colleagues returned in triumph to Edinburgh about the beginning of June, to give account of their commission, and see what

\* Of these the most conspicuous were the two professors of divinity, Dr. Robert Baron in the Marischal, and Dr. John Forbes, in the King’s College. Dr. Baron, who made the principal figure in the debate, was obliged to fly to Berwick, where he was nominated by the King to the See of Orkney, vacant by Bishop Graham’s apostacy, but died before consecration. Dr. Forbes was son to Bishop Forbes of Corse, and retired to Holland, where he published his *Instruktionen Historico theologicæ*, a work of vast compass and great erudition: When he was professor, he purchased a house in Old Aberdeen, and disposed it to the use of his successors in office in all time coming, but in the disposition had forgot to secure his own liferent: On which the covenanters, when they declared his place vacant, took hold of this omission, and basely turned the man out of the house which he had bought with his own money: And not satisfied with harassing him in life, they would not allow his dead body to be buried beside his father in Bishop Dunbar’s isle, tho’ he had earnestly desired it, and his friends asked it as a particular favour. Besides these two, they expelled likewise the two Principals, Dr. William Leslie of King’s college and Dr. Patrick Dun of the Marischal, Dr. Alexander Scrogie minister in the Old Town, Drs. Alexander Ross and James Sibbald in the New town, John Forbes parson of Auchterless, Andrew Logy parson of Rayne, John Ross parson of Birse, John Gregory rector of Drumoak, John Logy rector of Rathen, and Thomas Thoirs minister of Udney.

further



**LETTER XLVI.** further was to be done, The Bishops all this while were sadly perplexed, and truly in a pitiable condition, not knowing how to act, or whom to trust. The old Primate Spotswood, being in Edinburgh when the Covenant was first signed, lamented "that all that they had been doing these thirty years was now thrown down at once," and suspecting danger to his person from the madness of the bigotted mob, took a mournful leave of his native country, and withdrew for refuge to Newcastle, where he resigned the office of Chancellor, and had from the King an ample and honourable acknowledgement of his fidelity and good services. The rest of the Bishops took the best care of themselves that they could, and gave intimation from time to time to the Primate how things were going on, and what tumultuous steps were taken, to abuse and distress the non-subscribing clergy throughout the kingdom.

Mean time, the King, alarmed at these rebellious proceedings, sent the Marquis of Hamilton, another nobleman of a suspicious character, as his High Commissioner, with full powers to settle all these disturbances; and this, it is said, he did, contrary to the advice of some honest men, who recommended the Marquis of Huntly to that important station. On the tenth of June, the new commissioner came to Dalkeith, and after some days stay there, to the palace at Holyroodhouse. There the heads of the Covenanters condescended to wait on him, and being asked, "What they would expect to hear in the King's name for the redress of grievances, and what he might expect from them as to renouncing their Covenant, and returning to their obedience?"

To

To the first they replied, "that nothing but a LETTER  
 "General Assembly and a Parliament would give XLVI.  
 "them satisfaction," and to the other their an-  
 "swer was, "that they had never departed from  
 "their obedience, nor failed in any part of lóy-  
 "alty; and as for the Covenant, they would as  
 "soon renounce their baptism, as abate one word  
 "or syllable of it, accounting it more useful  
 "and available than all the laws that had been  
 "enacted since the time of Fergus their first  
 "King," boldly telling his Grace, with insolence  
 "enough, "that it was a proposal, which, tho'  
 "they had now heard, they were resolved never  
 "to hear a second time." Their next step was  
 "to place guards on the Castle of Edinburgh, and  
 "to issue a prohibition against reading the English  
 "service in the King's own chapel; on the very  
 "first Sunday of the Commissioner's being there,  
 "with this unchristian menace, "that whosoever  
 "should read it, should never read more; and  
 "that there were a thousand men provided to  
 "prevent it." All which outrages, the Com-  
 "missioner either overlooked, or durst not resent.

Yet, to soften them, if possible, he recalled the  
 Court of Session to Edinburgh, at the pressing  
 desire of the citizens, on the 2d of July: But  
 this did not content them, unless he would re-  
 move Sir Robert Spotswood, the President, and  
 Sir John Hay the Register, because of their  
 aversion to the Covenant, and attachment to  
 Episcopacy; which was such an extravagant de-  
 mand, as his Grace neither would nor could yield  
 to. So on the 4th of July he caused to be pub-  
 lished at the market cross, his Majesty's proclama-  
 tion, declaring "his resolution to maintain the  
 "true Protestant religion, and that he never  
 "intended

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“intended to press the Canons and service-book, but in such a legal way as might be agreeable to all his loving subjects, and therefore warning them all to beware of disobedience.” This was immediately attacked by a protestation, and instruments taken in presence of many thousands, by the Earl of Cassilis, and read by Johnston of Warristoun, in name of all who adhered to the Covenant. Of all this the Marquis gave intelligence to the King, and himself on the 19th took a journey to court for further instructions, where he and some other counsellors advised the King to renew the old Confession of Faith, ratified in 1567, to call a General Assembly, and to discharge the Canons, service-book, and High Commission. On the 8th of August he returned, and in a meeting with the Covenanters, proposed to them some preparatory articles, as the condition of his granting their demands of an assembly and parliament. These articles, as first proposed, were ten in number, which being rejected by the other party, as quite destructive of their scheme, he very condescendingly contracted into two, “That no laicks shall have voices in chusing the ministers to be sent from the severall presbyteries to the assembly, nor none else but the ministers of the same presbytery; and that the assembly shall not go about to determine of things established by acts of Parliament, otherwise than by remonstrance or petition to the Parliament, leaving the determining of things ecclesiastical to the assembly, and things settled by act of Parliament to the Parliament.” But these being still disagreeable to their views, they threatened to proceed to business, and it was with difficulty

difficulty that he got them prevailed upon to wait till he should consult the King a second time, and obtain his final determination. LETTER  
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The result of this delay was still unsatisfactory. For when his Grace, at his return on the 17th of September, produced the original *Confession* of King James in 1581, with the genuine *Band* in 1590, which made a part of the title of their own Covenant, they gave out to the people, “that what the Marquis brought tended “to the subversion of their liberties and religion, “that a new Covenant was set on foot to destroy theirs, and that if they did not resist manfully now, all was lost.” However, the Commissioner and Privy Council did proclaim and subscribe that old *Confession*, and gave orders for a general subscription of it throughout the kingdom. This done, they next on the 22d of September, publicly at the cross, discharged the Canons, service-book, High Commission, and Articles of Perth, and summoned a General Assembly to meet at Glasgow on the 21st of November next, and a Parliament at Edinburgh on the 15th of May following. It was now hoped that all malecontents would have been satisfied, as this was granting them all that they had hitherto sought. But the leaders, whom the rest durst not contradict, instead of acquiescing, went boldly to the cross with a protestation against the proclamation, as being faulty in some particulars, and not full and explicit enough in others, that is to say, not to their taste in any. And here again the protestation was read by Warriston, and instruments taken now by the Earl of Montrose and the delegates from the other *Tables*, “in name of all who adhered to

S f 2

“ the

LETTER “ the Covenant.” And on the Sunday following, all the pulpits in Edinburgh resounded with virulent invectives and declamations against the King’s declaration, and subscription of the old Confession, branding it with no milder epithet than the “ depth and policy of the Devil,” while their prayers begged of God “ to scatter them in Jacob, and divide them in Israel, who had been the authors of that scattering and divisive counsel.” Yet, wherever the declaration was published, before the Covenanters of Edinburgh had time by their emissaries to poison people with their venom against it, it was received with all expressions of joy and thankful acknowledgment : And at Glasgow in particular, it met with such a cordial reception, that the Provost and town-council wrote a letter, and the ministers and masters of the College another, to the Commissioner, full of thanks, and expressing the highest satisfaction in his Majesty’s clemency and fatherly care of his people.

But these good dispositions did not long continue. For the assembly being now summoned, the *Tables* at Edinburgh were busy preparing matters against the day of meeting, and employing all their wits to have the assembly constituted to their mind. They saw that the far greater part of the ministers inclined to peace, and were ready to rest quietly under his Majesty’s late concessions. All pains therefore were to be taken to exclude such moderate men, and to have no members sent to the assembly, but such as they knew would go all lengths. To this purpose orders were issued from the *Tables*, that every particular parish should send to their presbytery a layman, under the title of a Ruling Elder, and he,

he, if possible, to be a Nobleman or great **Baron**, to have equal vote with the ministers, in choosing the delegate from that presbytery.—  
 This step was at first strongly opposed by the ministers, even Covenanters as well as others, as having been in disuse among them for forty years, and likely to bring the clergy under as great subjection to these lay-elders as ever they had been to the Bishops. But in favour of the scheme, it was represented, that by this means there would be a fair prospect of having the decisions of the assembly ratified in the ensuing Parliament, where these lay-elders, if Noblemen, had a seat by birth-right, and if of the gentry, had a chance of being elected, and consequently might sway the Parliament as they pleased. The necessity of unity too was urged, and the obligations they were under by their Covenant, not to break out, or divide from one another at this critical juncture. And where neither of these fallacious arguments could induce the ministers to yield to what they thought such an unconstitutional encroachment, these lay-elders, according to instructions from the *Tables*, forced themselves into the presbyteries, and gave their votes, as they were directed from Edinburgh, whether the ministers would or not, so that in most presbyteries, the laity chose the members of the assembly, and thereby got a considerable majority to be of the fiercest and most rigid kind.

Every method likewise was thought of to recommend their own Covenant, and to cry down the one which the Commissioner and Privy-council had lately subscribed : And among other stratagems to effect this, they took hold of a poor hysterical girl, of the name of Mitchelson, who  
 in

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in her vapourish fits used to blab out, with a wonderful appearance of godly zeal, the reproaches and bitter invectives which she had so frequently heard from the pulpits, against the Bishops and the service-book. To this sickly creature there was an incredible concourse of all ranks and characters in Edinburgh, who stayed by her day and night, watching her motions, and admiring her raptures and extasies as so many inspirations from heaven. And to such a pitch of blasphemy was this farce carried, that, when in one of her canting speeches the spectators desired Rollock the minister, who was always at her elbow, to pray with her and speak to her, he told them, "that he durst not do it, as it would be bad manners in him to speak to her while his master was speaking in her." Her current theme was in praise of the Covenant, about a Covenanted Gospel and a Covenanting Jesus, and that it was revealed to her from God, that their Covenant was approved and ratified in heaven, and would be protected by God the author of it against all opposition, but that the King's Covenant was an invention of Satan, and it and all its adherents would in end be confounded and brought to nothing. Such pitiful shifts, even to the imitation of Romish forgeries, will men fly to, in support of a cause, which they are determined to maintain at all hazards.

But the principal object of the party's care was how to get the Bishops kept out from having a seat in the assembly, where, for so many years past, the ecclesiastical constitution had given them the chief place. The Commissioner's proclamation had "warned all and sundry Archbishops, Bishops, Commissioners of Kirks, and
" others

“ others having place and vote in the assembly,
 “ to repair and address to the city of Glasgow, LETTER XLVI.
 “ on the 21st day of November next to come, ~~~~~
 “ and to attend the Assembly during the time
 “ thereof, and ay and while the same be dissolv-
 “ ed, and to do and perform all which to their
 “ charges in such cases appertaineth, as they
 “ will answer to the contrary at their highest
 “ peril.” This, tho’ usual form, gave great of-
 fence; and the fear was, lest if the Bishops
 should take their seats, the strength of their rea-
 sonings and weight of their characters might sway
 the assembly, and much disturb, if not entirely
 defeat, the designs that were in hand. To guard
 against this danger, the *Tables* addressed the Com-
 missioner for his warrant, to cite the Bishops be-
 fore the assembly as pannels, and thereby cut off
 their right of either judgment or suffrage; which
 impertinent demand his Grace peremptorily re-
 fused, as being without his commission, and con-
 trary both to law and reason.

Finding themselves frustrated in their hopes
 from this expedient, they next drew up a most
 false, odious, and scandalous libel against the Bi-
 shops in general: In which the great point of
 accusation, is their violating the acts of the gene-
 ral assembly at Montrose in 1600, and exercising
 the office and authority of Bishops otherwise than
 according to the cautions and restrictions laid
 down at that time; but no notice taken of that
 assembly’s being exauctored by following assem-
 blies, especially by the assembly of Glasgow in
 1610, which invested the Bishops with all the
 powers of office they had exercised from that
 time: And then, by way of epilogue, they sum-
 up all with this personal charge, “ Besides all
 “ these

LETTER XLVI. “ these faults, the said Mr. David Lindsay, pretended Bishop of Edinburgh, with his colleagues respectively, in his life and conversation is slandered constantly as guilty of excessive drinking, whoring, playing at cards and dice, swearing, profane speaking, excessive gaming, profaning of the Sabbath, contempt of the public ordinances and private family-exercises, mocking of the power of preaching, prayer, spiritual conference and sincere professors, besides bribery, simony, selling of commissary’s places, lies, perjuries, dishonest dealings in civil bargains, abusing of the vassals, adulteries, incests, with many other offences, of which we shall give the particulars in our particular accusations.”

This infamous paper, thus framed and prepared, was put into the hands of a junto of twelve noblemen, thirty three barons, five ministers and six burgeses, not chosen to be members of assembly, and therefore competent to be accusers, with directions to lay it before the Presbytery of Edinburgh, as a libel and petition for justice. Accordingly these tools of the cabal did upon the 24th day of October present it to that Presbytery: and the same day the Presbytery by a formal sentence, as had been concerted, “ did “ and do refer the same to the next general assembly to be holden at Glasgow the 21st of November. And we ordain the publishing of this complaint and our reference, to be fully read by all the pastors of the Presbytery upon the next Sabbath before noon out of their pulpits, with a public warning and citation to the offenders complained on,” naming all the Bishops as in the libel, “ to be present at the said assembly

“ assembly, to answer to the said complaint in general, and to all the particular heads of it: and to undergo the trial and censure of it: And requiring all parties who have interest either in pursuing, specifying, or proving the above complaint, to be present at the assembly for that purpose.” In obedience to this tyrannical ordinance of a judicatory no way competent to such a high stretch of authority, the whole was read from all the pulpits in Edinburgh on the next Sunday, and that too with such a zealous punctuality that in the College kirk, where Rollock preached, it being a communion day, and afternoon before the people had all received, the ordinary thanksgivings after the communion, and the usual prayer and reading of the scripture before the afternoon sermon, were all omitted, to make room for this more important piece of service.

Thus all things being as properly adjusted as human wit could devise, to admit sure friends, and keep out open or suspected enemies, at last on the 21st of November 1638, this renowned assembly sat down, a motley convention of Presbyters and laymen, of which last there were seven Earls, ten Lords, forty Gentlemen, and fifty one Burgeffes. The first day, after the usual formalities, the royal commission was read, and the commissioner made a speech, exhorting them to a peaceable and moderate carriage, and touching a little at former disorders. On this day a lay-elder, the Earl of Rothes, sharply answered “ that they had given his Grace content for all their proceedings,” which his Grace objected to, and took God to witness, “ that he had never yet received satisfaction from them in any part of their procedure.” The next day, when they

LETTER were all met, a paper was presented to the
 XLVI. Commissioner by Mr. Robert Hamilton, minister
 of Glasford, procurator for the Bishops, protesting
 against this assembly, and *declining* the authority and judgment of it for the following reasons. 1. Because the *Tables* at Edinburgh had ordered the members to be chosen before the assembly was indicted, which was against law. 2. Because the assembly consists of numbers of laymen, who are allowed a decisive vote no less than the clergy, whereas such persons are legally disabled, and many of them otherwise unqualified to act in such a sphere. 3. Because many even of those who pretend to be ministers, have disqualified themselves from being members of a regularly constituted assembly, by their neglecting to take the oaths required by law, and by their seditious behaviour against his Majesty's authority, and their mutinous adhering to their covenant of mutual defence against all persons whatever. 4. Because the Presbyteries, by setting aside the moderators appointed by the Bishops, have broken the acts of the assembly of 1610, and of the Parliament of 1612, and thereby forfeited their privilege of election. 5. Because the lay-elders from every parish, by their influence and numbers above the ministers, have overawed the canonical elections, and thus the representatives of the clergy are, contrary to all order and practice, chosen by the laity. 6. Because most of the members of this meeting are schismatical and perjured persons, by departing from their sworn obedience to their several ordinaries, and many of them are either under the actual censures of the church of Scotland or Ireland, or deserve to be so, for many scandalous irregularities, which stand condemned by the general

neral assemblies of this church: Besides fundry personal blemishes which they could charge them with, but in charity forbear to mention. 7. Because the most of the members of this pretended assembly have already declared themselves against Episcopacy, and so being professed enemies, cannot be adequate judges, which was the main reason, and a very just one too, why the reformers protested against the council of Trent. 8. Because of the rudeness and falsehoods of the scurrilous libel from the Presbytery of Edinburgh, and the injury done to the episcopal character, in denying the Bishops the privilege of presiding in ecclesiastical assemblies, confirmed to them by so many repeated acts of both church and state.— 9. Because of the manifest contradiction to reason and primitive practice that Bishops should be judged by Presbyters, and which carries the absurdity further, by a mixed company of Presbyters and lay-men, since by all the canons of the ancient church, Bishops are to be tried by none beneath their own order. 10. At the same time they are content to wave this ancient privilege, and to submit to modern constitution, declaring that for any charge relating to life or doctrine they are willing to abide by the trial of a general assembly lawfully constituted, or of his Majesty's high commissioner: Concluding all in these terms, “ We embrace and hold that the religion presently professed in the church of Scotland, according to the confession thereof, received by the estates of this kingdom, and ratified in Parliament in 1567, is the true religion bringing men to eternal salvation, and do detest all contrary error. And we protest in the sight of God, to whom we must one day give account

LETTER XLVI. “ count, that we make use of this *Declinator*
 “ and protestation, out of the conscience of our
 “ duty to God and his church, and not out of
 “ fear of any guiltiness whereof any of us is con-
 “ scious to himself, either of wickedness in our
 “ lives, or miscarriage in our callings: Humbly
 “ intreating his Grace to intercede with the
 “ King’s Majesty, that he may appoint a free and
 “ lawful general assembly, such as God’s word,
 “ the practice of the primitive church, and laws
 “ of this kingdom do prescribe and allow, with
 “ all convenient speed: But *declining* always this
 “ assembly, for the causes above written, likeas
 “ by these presents, We and every one of us
 “ *decline* the same, the whole members thereof,
 “ and commissioners foresaid directed thereto, and
 “ every one of them. In witness whereof, as we
 “ are ready with our blood, so with our hands
 “ we have subscribed these presents at Holyrood-
 “ house, Newcastle and Glasgow, the 16th, 17th,
 “ and 20th days of November 1638. Signed,
 “ John St. Andrews, Patrick Glasgow, David
 “ Edinburgh, Thomas Galloway, John Ross,
 “ Walter Brechin.”

This paper being in form put into the com-
 missioner’s hands, he desired that it might be read
 and recorded, but was told, that could not be
 done till a moderator was chosen: So they pro-
 ceeded to that business, and, as had been ordered
 at Edinburgh, the choice fell without one dis-
 senting voice, on Mr Henderfon, and Johnston of
 Warilton was named clerk, in opposition to Mr.
 James Sandilands, commissary of Aberdeen, who
 had been appointed clerk to the assembly for life.
 The two or three next federunts were taken up in
 examining controverted elections, rejecting all
 suspected

suspected members, and either evading or throw-
 ing out sundry protestations from several presby-
 teries, even one from the presbytery of Glasgow
 itself, against the irregularity of the lay-elders
 votes in elections. They likewise appointed a com-
 mittee of eight ministers to inspect four large vo-
 lumes of acts of assemblies, which Wariston pre-
 tended to have discovered, and upon the commit-
 tee's approbation, which was given in two days
 time, the assembly confirmed them by an act,
 "ordaining these books to make faith in judgment
 "and outwith, in all time coming, as the true
 "and authentick registers of the kirk of Scot-
 "land."

At last, after a great deal of wrangling be-
 tween the Commissioner and them, they carry-
 ing every thing with a high hand, and his Grace
 protesting against their violent measures, they
 were prevailed with to give the Bishops *Declina-*
tor a hearing, and it was publicly read by their
 clerk on the 27th. The reading of this paper,
 which was the only point of importance the
 Commissioner had hitherto gained, raised great
 heats among them; the majority, especially of
 the lay-elders, ridiculing it with much contempt,
 and a few defending the force and solidity of
 it, till in end the moderator shut up the de-
 bate with this magisterial declaration; "Since
 "we see both the competency and constitution
 "of this judicatory and assembly is thus openly
 "impugned, it is high time to clear this point,
 "of which none can be judge but the assembly
 "itself; and therefore I will presently put it to
 "voices, Whether this assembly be the lawful
 "and competent judge of the libel against the
 "Bishops, notwithstanding the reasons contained
 "in

LETTER “ in their *Declinator* ?” The Commissioner, now
 XLVI. plainly seeing what they were driving at, and
 that they were unalterably resolved to overturn
 the ecclesiastical constitution established by law,
 which he had positive orders to prevent their
 meddling with, he made a pathetic speech to
 them, against the illegality and manifest injustice
 of their proceedings, and upon the morrow, by
 the advice of the Privy-council, then sitting at
 Glasgow, did, in his Majesty’s name and autho-
 rity, dissolve this assembly, and discharge their
 further sitting, under pain of treason. Against
 this dissolution, which they had all along been
 looking for, and even making necessary, a pro-
 testation, ready formed, was read, and instru-
 ments taken by their trusty friend the Earl of
 Rothes, “ declaring for the freedom of unin-
 “ terrupted sitting, and that for his Majesty to
 “ countermand, was to prejudge the prerogative
 “ of Jesus Christ, and the liberties of the kirk.”


Guthry’s
 Memoirs.

Being now freed from the incumbrance of
 royal authority, and from any appearance, real
 or dissembled, in favour of Episcopacy, they
 drove on for twenty days longer without any
 controul, till they had gone through all their
 affairs, and were pleased to dissolve themselves,
 in which time they had passed seventy five ca-
 pital acts, besides lesser ones, which their clerk
 did not think worth the while to put into their
 register. The main things transacted were these:
 All the assemblies, since that at Aberdeen in
 1605, were declared void; the service-book, the
 book of Canons, the book of Ordination, the
 High Commission, and the five articles of Perth,
 were all annulled and condemned: And the
 Covenant which they had now taken, was au-
 thoritatively

thoritatively declared to be substantially one and the same with that which had been allowed by King James in 1581, in which, they now affirm, Episcopacy was abjured.* Having gone thus far, they proceeded next, in opposition to many standing acts of both Assembly and Parliament, to condemn Episcopacy as Antichristian, and to depose and excommunicate the Bishops for refusing to submit to them: And it was ordained, that the sentence should be pronounced in the High Church of Glasgow, by the Moderator, on the 13th of December, which was done accordingly. A copy of this sentence follows:

* Yet it is well known, that at the first introduction of this new covenant, great pains were taken by its authors, to make the nation believe that they might very well swear it without prejudice to episcopacy. To the Marquis of Hamilton himself they oft protested that their meaning was only to regulate, not to abolish episcopal government: In the famous dispute with the doctors of Aberdeen, when they refused it for fear of any plots in it, or sinister interpretations of it against episcopacy, these are Henderson's very words, in answer to the 4th reply of the Aberdeen-clergy, " You will have all the covenanters, against their intentions, and whether they will or not, to disallow and condemn the articles of Perth and episcopal government: But it is known to many hundreds, that the words were purposely conceived for satisfaction of such as were of your judgment, that we might all join in one heart and one covenant." And now, for this very man, from his usurped chair of infallibility, to condemn Episcopacy, and notwithstanding of his insinuations to the contrary only a few months before, to declare with such brazen effrontery, " that it was abjured in the covenant," whatever it may say for Mr. Henderson's talents in conducting such business, is so flagrant a reflexion on his honesty as cannot well be removed even by that strange tenet which they have invented, in a defence of their proceedings, published by Wariston in February next year, " That the swearer is neither bound to the meaning of the prescriber of the oath, nor to his own meaning who takes the oath, but to the reality of the thing sworn, as it shall be afterwards interpreted by the competent judge."

" The

LETTER XLVI.  “ The General Assembly, having heard the libels
 “ and complaints given in against the foresaid
 “ pretended Bishops, to the presbytery of Edin-
 “ burgh, and fundry presbyteries within their
 “ diocies, and by the said presbyteries referred
 “ to this assembly to be tried; The saids pre-
 “ tended Bishops being lawfully cited, oftentimes
 “ called, and not compearing; Proceeded to the
 “ cognition of the libels and complaints against
 “ them, and finding them guilty of the breach
 “ of the cautions agreed upon in the assembly
 “ at Montrose in 1600, for restricting of the
 “ ministers votes in Parliament, from encroaching
 “ upon the liberties and jurisdictions of this
 “ kirk, which was set down with certification of
 “ deposition, infamy, and excommunication, and
 “ especially for receiving consecration to the of-
 “ fice of Episcopacy, condemned by the Confes-
 “ sion of Faith and acts of this kirk, as having
 “ no warrant nor fundament in the word of
 “ God, and by virtue of this usurped power,
 “ and power of High Commission, pressing the
 “ kirk with novations in the worship of God,
 “ and for their refusing to underly the trial of
 “ the reigning slander of fundry other gross
 “ transgressions and offences laid to their charge:
 “ THEREFORE the Assembly, moved with zeal to
 “ the glory of God, and purging of this kirk,
 “ ordains the said pretended Bishops to be de-
 “ posed, and by these presents doth depose them,
 “ not only of the office of Commissioner to
 “ vote in Parliament, council, or convention, in
 “ name of the kirk, but also of all function, whe-
 “ ther of pretended Episcopal, or ministerial cal-
 “ ling: And likewise, in case they acknowledge
 “ not this Assembly, reverence not the consti-
 “ tutions

" tutions thereof, and obey not their sentence, LETTER
 " nor make repentance according to the order XLVI.
 " prescribed, ordains them to be excommunicat
 " ed, and declared to be of those whom Christ
 " commandeth to be holden by all and every
 " one of the faithful as ethnicks and publicans :
 " And the sentence of excommunication to be
 " pronounced upon their refusal, in the kirks
 " appointed, by any of those who are particular-
 " ly named to have the charge of their repen-
 " tance or impenitency ; and that the execution
 " of this sentence be intimate in all the kirks
 " within this realm, by the pastors of every
 " particular congregation, as they will be answer-
 " able to their presbyteries and synods, and in
 " case of their negligence, to the next General
 " Assembly."

In this presumptuous sentence we have a strik-
 ing instance of their double dealing and artful
 procedure : For, tho' the Edinburgh libel had
 specified a black list of heinous immoralities,
 which not only deserved spiritual censure, but
 some of them even death by the civil law, the
 Assembly here huddles all up, under the gen-
 eral term of gross transgressions and offences,
 and founds its judgment upon the alledged cri-
 minality of office, without particularizing any vi-
 ciousness of personal character, or neglect of mi-
 nisterial duty in the execution of that office.—
 And this method of smothering an accusation,
 which, if openly tried and proved, would have
 had more weight with the sensible part of the
 nation than any other part of the charge against
 them, is certainly a fuller vindication of the in-
 nocence and blameless behaviour of those persec-
 uted Prelates, than any laboured defence that
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LETTER
 XI.VI. could have been made for them. But this was not the only instance of arrogance, as well as artifice which this Assembly exhibited. For on the morrow after the proclamation for dissolving them, they had the boldness, publicly at the market cross, to "summon and cite all those of his Majesty's council, or any others who have procured; consented, subscribed, or ratified this proclamation, to be responsible to his Majesty and three Estates of Parliament, for their counsel given in this matter so highly importing his Majesty and whole realm, protesting for remedy of law, against them and every one of them" And to crown all, before they rose, which was not till the 20th of December, they very confidently ordered a letter to be drawn up and sent to the King, for obtaining his royal assent to what they had done, as if in flighting his proclamations, and obstinately continuing their judicatory against his will, formerly notified to them by his Commissioner, they had done nothing but what became good and dutiful subjects.

To this letter an answer was received on the 29th of January 1639, bearing, "that for the better settling the affairs of Scotland, the King would be at York against the first of April, and would call his Scotch council there for advice." But the Covenanters, not trusting to this, and pretending to have got intelligence from their friends in England, that the King was to come upon them with a military retinue, they called a general meeting of their party to be held at Edinburgh upon the 20th of February, for resolving upon a defensive war. This was no sooner proposed in the convention, and enforced by

by Henderfon's influence, than they immediately agreed to the raising of an army, and voted their countryman General Alexander Leslie, whom they had lately called home, from the Swedish service in Germany, to have the chief command of it. Next day they seized on the Castle of Edinburgh, and two days after, on the King's palace at Dalkeith, with a large store of powder and arms, which Traquair had brought from London. But while they were thus busied in the South, a report came from the North, that the people of Aberdeen were fortifying their town, and the Marquis of Huntly drawing men together for the King. Upon this, the Earl of Montrose was dispatched with orders to levy troops by the way, to suppress that rising: Which he very soon effected, and so far prevailed over Huntly, that he carried him and his son the Lord Gordon, prisoners to Edinburgh, where they were confined in the Castle.

Mean time, accounts of all these hostile preparations being sent to court, it was advised in council at London, that a fleet should sail immediately to chastise the Edinburghers, by distressing their trade, and that the King himself should follow in person with an army, to suppress the rebellion. Accordingly, on the 27th of March he began his journey northward, attended by the flower of the English nobility and gentry, and in a few days came to York, where was to be the general rendezvous of the army. At the same time a fleet of twenty large ships was equipped, and about the middle of May arrived in the road of Leith, under the Marquis of Hamilton, Commander in Chief, with three thousand soldiers on board, for land service. On hearing of this, the Lord Aboyn, second son to

LETTER the Marquis of Huntly, took the field with the
 XLVI. Gordons, and other loyalists in the North, and
 wrote to Hamilton, soliciting a junction of their
 troops, which the Marquis who, it seems, had
 views of ending the contest without blows, did
 not think fit to grant. However, Aboyn went
 on with his design, and was as far advanced as
 the Bridge of Dee, with two thousand foot and
 three hundred horse, where he was encountered,
 and after a sharp engagement of some hours, en-
 tirely defeated by Montrose, who had been again
 detached with a command of double Aboyn's
 number, to quell these Northern attempts in the
 King's favour. * I am, &c.

* It is but too obvious that this early and vigorous appear-
 ance of Montrose in defence of the covenant, put more life in-
 to the rebellious cause, and did more prejudice to the King's
 affairs, than all his activity and many wonderful victories af-
 terwards, could or did retrieve. And it is therefore to be la-
 mented, not so much for his own character, since it is no shame
 to go over to a right cause at any time, as for the good of the
 King and nation, that this magnanimous and justly celebrated
 nobleman, whose memory will be ever dear to all true hearted
 Scotsmen, had not begun his days with the same principles,
 with which he ended them: In which case, his King and coun-
 try would have found an able supporter, and the world have seen
 a complete portrait of virtue, and true heroism, without any blemish thro' the whole piece.

LETTER

L E T T E R XLVII.

Proceedings of the Covenanters—Account of the ejected Bishops—And of the Treaty with the Scots at Rippon—Rise of the Independents—Meeting of the Long Parliament in England—The King holds a Parliament in Scotland, and makes every Concession to the Covenanters—Rebellion in Ireland—The King passes the Bill for disqualifying the English Clergy—The House of Commons vote down the Bishops—A Commission appointed by the Scotch Assembly, to correspond with their English Friends—This mutual Friendship produces the Solemn League and Covenant—Approved by the Assembly in Scotland—And by the Synod of Divines at Westminster—Violently enforced in both Kingdoms.

THE Covenanters having now got all things ready, began their march to the borders, and by the way sent flattering addresses to the King,

LETTER King, "lamenting that their enemies had per-
 XLVII. "suaded his Majesty to believe them disobedient, which could never have entered into their
 "loyal hearts, and protesting, that they desired
 "nothing but to be admitted to the presence of
 "their gracious Sovereign, to lay their grie-
 "vances at his feet, and leave the determina-
 "tion of them entirely to his wisdom and plea-
 "sure." Tho' the King was pleased with these
 specious appearances of submission, yet finding
 them increasing their preparations, he judged it
 necessary to draw nearer to them, and so came
 to a field near the Tweed, called the Birks, two
 miles west from Berwick, where he encamped and
 lodged in a tent with his army. By this time
 General Leslie had brought his forces to Dunse,
 about seven miles distant, where they pitched on
 the 20th of May. In this position both armies
 lay till the 11th of June, when the Scots having
 discovered the pacific disposition of the English
 Generals, sent a supplication to the King for a
 treaty, which he readily granted. And after a
 few days debate, the Commissioners on both sides
 came to this conclusion on the 18th, "That his
 "Majesty should confirm whatever his High-Com-
 "missioner had last year granted in his name,
 "and that henceforth all ecclesiastical matters
 "should be determined by the Assemblies of the
 "kirk, and all matters civil by the Parliament,
 "to which end a General Assembly should be
 "held on the 6th of August, where his Majes-
 "ty designed to be in person, and a parliament
 "upon the 20th, in which an act of oblivion
 "should pass, for the common peace and satis-
 "faction of all parties. In return for which,
 "the Covenanters were to disband their troops
 "in

“ in forty eight hours, to discharge their tables
 “ and meetings, to render up the King’s castles, LETTER
 “ and to make restitution to all his good sub- XLVII.
 “ jects of the liberties, lands, houses, goods, and
 “ means whatever, taken and detained from them
 “ since the first of November: On which the
 “ King was to recal his fleet, and withdraw his
 “ land forces.”

Such was the nature of this first pacification,
 which, however favourable to the covenanters,
 was not received by them as might have been ex-
 pected. For no sooner was it proclaimed in their
 camp, but the Lord Lindsay protested, “ that
 “ neither the Bishops nor any of their clergy,
 “ were or should be included in this pacification,
 “ or entitled to the benefits of it.” And tho’
 upon their return home, they gave up the castle
 of Edinburgh to General Ruthven for the King,
 by which Huntly and his son got their liberty,
 yet on the first of July they published a protesta-
 tion at the market-cross by the Earl of Dalhousie,
 “ that they would maintain the late assembly at
 “ Glasgow as most lawful, free and general, and
 “ would adhere to their solemn covenant with
 “ God, whereby the office of Bishops who yet
 “ usurp the title is declared to have been abjur-
 “ ed: And that therefore, if they return to this
 “ kingdom, they be used as accursed and given
 “ over to the devil and out of Christ’s body, as
 “ ethnics and publicans, and that all who harbour
 “ them shall be prosecuted to excommunication
 “ likewise.” At the same time they issued a scan-
 dalous paper, under the title of “ some condi-
 “ tions of his Majesty’s treaty with his subjects
 “ of Scotland before the English nobility,” re-
 flecting upon the King’s integrity, as having in his

LETTER XLVII his private discourse expressed himself better pleased with their proceedings than what was given out in his public declaration: Which paper being complained of, and disavowed by the English commissioners, was burnt at London by the hands of the public executioner; tho' the covenanters, in their usual equivocating way, attempted a sorry kind of vindication of it.

On these insolent breaches of the agreement while the King was in the North, he thought proper to call up fourteen of the heads of the party to his court at Berwick, to consult with them about his coming to hold the Assembly and Parliament in person. But matters were so managed, that the persons whom he had called were made so believe that it was not safe for them to go, lest they should be made prisoners, and a message was sent to apologize for their not obeying his Majesty's call. This fresh instance of rudeness so provoked the King, that he left Berwick in disgust, and on the 29th of July set off for London, having before his departure constituted the Earl of Traquair his high commissioner, an office which the Marquis of Hamilton now wisely declined. Among Traquair's instructions, positive orders were given him, not to yield to any ratification of the last Assembly, nor to enter into any dispute about the King's power in calling or voting in assemblies: To take care that in giving way to the abolishing of Episcopacy, if it be found necessary, no respect be had to the determination of the point in the last Assembly, nor any conclusion formed in prejudice of Episcopacy as unlawful in itself, but only in satisfaction to the people, for settling the present disorders, and other reasons of state: To take some proper method for recovering the Bishops.

shops rents to be paid to them, or any having warrant from them: And in a paper of further instructions, the King says, " We allow that the covenant of 1581 be subscribed, provided it be so conceived, as that thereby our subjects be not forced to abjure Episcopacy as a point of Popery, or contrary to God's law, or to the Protestant religion, but if they require it to be abjured as contrary to the constitution of the church of Scotland, you are to give way to it, rather than make a breach: And for the service book and the book of canons, tho' we are content they be discharged, we' will never give our voice nor assent that they be condemned, as entertaining any thing of Popery or superstition, nor that the five articles of Perth, tho' discharged with our approbation, be condemned as contrary to the foresaid confession."

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See Records
Collier

All this time the Bishops were not in a capacity to do much either for their own or the King's interest. They wrote however to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to offer their humble advice to his Majesty to prorogue the assembly and Parliament. In answer to which, the King writes with his own hand to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, to be communicated to his brethren, " approving their advice as reasonable enough, but not finding it expedient to follow it at this time: Telling them what directions he had given to Traquair, to take care of their Lordships and the loyal clergy: Dispensing from their meeting to treat about the affairs of the church, as in any part in Scotland he cannot promise them a place of safety, and in any other of his dominions he does not think it convenient, all things considered, and assuring

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" them

LETTER XLVII. “ them that, tho’ perhaps he may for the pre-
 sent give way to what may seem prejudicial
 both to the church and to his own government,
 he shall not leave thinking how in time to re-
 medy both: In the mean time expressly pro-
 hibiting any of them from being present at the
 ensuing Assembly, but advising them to re-
 main in England till further order, where he
 promises to provide for their subsistence,
 tho’ not in that measure as he could wish, yet
 in such a way as they should not be in want.”
 By this we may see how the King’s inclina-
 tions stood, and to what difficulties he was al-
 ready reduced, in struggling between his own
 inward sentiments and the exigences of state.

At last, the Assembly sat down on the 12th
 of August, and Mr. David Dickson was chosen
 Moderator, with Mr. Henderson, as the abler
 brother, at his elbow, by way of co-adjutor.—
 And here so little weight had his Majesty’s in-
 structions, owing either to Traquair’s insincerity,
 or his want of power, that all that had been
 done at Glasgow was now confirmed; Episco-
 pacy utterly extirpated, the Service-book, Canons,
 and Articles of Perth abolished, and their own
 Covenant ratified, and ordained to be sworn to
 and subscribed by all the subjects in the king-
 dom. As a pattern to others, Traquair sub-
 scribed it himself, with a particular form of mo-
 difying explication as his Majesty’s Commissioner,
 a favour allowed to no other subject, and which
 he declared he did not pretend to as Earl of
 Traquair. And thus having finished the business
 for which they had met, they rose on the 30th
 in triumph. The next day the Parliament con-
 vened, and as had been concerted, ratified all
 the

the acts of the Assembly, the Commissioner assenting to their proceedings, till at last they encroached so far on the rights of the crown, that he was obliged to prorogue them to the month of June next year. We are told by Bishop Burnet, that the King was highly displeas'd with Traquair for subscribing the Covenant, and that all the excuse he could make was, that without such a compliance he could have had no assistance from the Covenanters, in any thing else that related to the King's service. But what service it was that either he or they did the King, we are yet to learn, unless derogating from his prerogative, and encroaching on his property, may be called doing him a service.

LETTER
XLVII.Mem. of
the Dukes
of Hamil-
ton.

Before we proceed farther to trace the violent progress of the Covenanted kirk, let us see what became of the suffering Bishops, thus insulted and thrown down by a set of revolting sons.—The old Primate Spotswood did not long survive this repeated shock: For he died on the 27th of December following, and was buried with great funeral solemnity in Westminster-abbey, near the body of his beloved Sovereign King James. The other Archbishop, Lindsay of Glasgow, tho' a popular preacher, and a man of acknowledged moderation, had no better treatment than his brethren, but was forced to take sanctuary in England, and died at Newcastle in two or three years after. Bishop Lindsay of Edinburgh died in England too, in the time of the following troubles, tho' we are not told where. So did Bishop Ballenden of Aberdeen, Whitford of Brechin, Wedderburn of Dunblain, Abernethy of Caithness, and Campbell of the Isles, all of them in exile, and within a few years, Bi-

LETTER XLVII. shop Maxwell of Ross, against whom, it is said, Traquair had a personal grudge, was one of the five whom the Covenanters retained in the condemned list of incendiaries, and always excepted out of every act of oblivion or indemnity: Yet the King preferred him to the bishoprick of Kilalala in Ireland, where he was again a sufferer from the Irish Papists in the time of their rebellion, and with great difficulty got out of their hands to Dublin. After this he waited on the King at Oxford, who was so well pleased with his distinct account of the posture of religious affairs in Ireland, that on the Archbishoprick of Tuam falling void, he was nominated to it by the King in 1645, and took possession of it soon after: But hearing of the King's misfortunes in England, he was so affected with the melancholy news, that on the 14th of February 1647, he was found dead upon his knees in his closet, and was, by the care of the Marquis of Ormond the King's deputy, interred in Christ's church in Dublin.—Bishop Sydeserf of Galloway survived the troubles, and saw both church and state resettled. * Lind-

* In the time of the confusions we find him exercising his Episcopal office in the chapel of Sir Richard Brown the King's ambassador at Paris, by ordaining priests, and amongst the rest the laiticus Mr. John Durel, a native of the island of Jersey, who with his ordination from a Bishop whom the Scotch Presbyterians had excommunicated, officiated in some of the most respectable Protestant churches in France, and was still a strenuous assertor of both the Hierarchy and Liturgy. This divine, in his "View of the reformed churches beyond the seas," tells us that the French churches made a consistorial act not to pay any regard to the Scotch excommunications of those days, without a particular specification of a sufficient cause, which they did not admit Episcopacy to be: And he quotes a letter written by the well known Frederick Spanheim, one of the ministers of Geneva, to the Irish primate Usher, to the English Earl of Pembroke, say

say of Dunkeld, Graham of Orkney, and Fairly of Argyle, submitted to the Assembly's censure, abjured their Episcopal character, and accepted of parochial charges, neither respected nor much taken notice of by either side. But Bishop John Guthry of Moray bravely stood the brunt of all their malice; and tho' he was fined, plundered, and imprisoned, still maintained the validity and rights of his order, till at last, being old, and not likely to give the prevailing cause much trouble, he was suffered to die in quiet in his own house of Guthry in Angus.

and to two young Scotch noblemen, Lord Angus and Lord Maitland, with all whom he had been acquainted when in Britain; In which, speaking in name of his church, Spanheim has these words, "With singular affection to all the British churches, we reverence and love their illustrious Prelates, and we pray to God for the prosperity of these kingdoms, and of all them that sit at the helm, as well in the church as in the commonwealth, that God may ever have his glory, tie King his just right, and the Prelates of your churches their due authority." This letter, Mr. Durel says, was written in October 1638, and printed at Geneva: The date is observable, and shews us that, at the very time when the Scotch Presbyterians, who glory in Geneva as their mother-church and standard of reformation, were scheming against their Prelates both in person and office, that mother-church was reverencing and praying for those Prelates in both respects. To this let me add another letter, tho' some years later, from the same quarter, by the pen of another Genevan minister, the learned John Diodati, to the Assembly of divines at Westminster in 1647, the whole strain of which is in praise of the church of England, sadly lamenting the unnatural tumults which were then rending that once beautiful and pure church, "that fair eye of the reformed churches, where the needy had been in use to find assistance, and the afflicted a refuge to fly to, &c." This famous letter in the original Latin is preserved entire at the end of Archbishop Usher's life by Parr, and is quoted in favour of Episcopacy not only by this Mr. Durel, but likewise by our countryman Dr. George Garden, in his "third part of the case of the Episcopal clergy," and by many others.

Thus

LETTER XLVII. The Bishops thus disposed of, and the office abolished by both Assembly and Parliament, the next business which the new kirk of the Covenant set about, was to purge the Universities, and mould them to their own taste. In Edinburgh they had not much to do, as Adamson the Principal was violent on their side, and they had got their champion, Henderson, transported from Leuchars, to be one of the Ministers of the town. To Glasgow they brought Dickson their late Moderator from Irvine, to be Professor of Divinity, which, from the pragmatical spirit and fiery zeal of the man, was thought sufficient to keep all right there. At St. Andrews they placed the famous Mr. Samuel Rutherford in the Professor's chair in the Divinity College, and to strengthen his hands they expelled the two Episcopal Ministers, Gladstones and Wishart, and filled their rooms with Mr. Robert Blair, who many years before, being extruded from the College of Glasgow, where he was one of the Professors, for instilling seditious and anti-monarchical principles into the students, had taken sanctuary among the malecontents in Ireland, till on the present prospects he returned, and violently thrust himself into the pulpit in the town of Ayr. And as for Aberdeen, till they could find a new set of masters to their mind, it was agreed to remove Mr. Andrew Cant from Pitligo, to be one of the Ministers there, which was accordingly done, and sufficiently answered their purpose.

Some time after the prorogation of the Parliament, against which the Covenanters had protested by their friends, Rothes and Warrinton, a letter to the King of France, was by some means

means or other intercepted, and being produced LETTER against them, threw them into confusion. This XLVII. letter was acknowledged to have been written by Lord Loudon's own hand, and was addressed "Au Roi, To the King," which is the French style from the subjects to their natural Prince, "beseeching his Majesty as the refuge and sanctuary of afflicted Princes and States, to give credit and faith to the bearer Mr. Colvil, whom they had sent to represent the candour and ingenuity of their proceedings, and to implore the assistance of his wonted clemency. Signed, your Majesty's most humble, most obedient, and most affectionate servants, Rothes, Montrose, Leslie, Mar, Montgomery, Loudon, Forrester." To reconcile such an application to a Popish Prince, with their repeated professions and solemn appeals to heaven, against every the least appearance of Popery, must be left to the casuistry of these Covenanted Protestants. But it was the treasonable part of the application that was laid hold of, and on this just ground the Lord Loudon, as writer of it, was on the 11th of April sent to the Tower of London; yet, after two or three months confinement, was, at the Marquis of Hamilton's sollicitation, dismissed without further censure, and allowed to return home in triumph.

Thus a new breach was begun between the King and the Covenanters, and both sides prepared for war. The Scots seem to have been most busy, and were first ready: For on the 10th of March, in a convention at Edinburgh, they resolved to raise a new army, and on the 16th of April old Leslie was again named Commander in chief, with proper officers, among whom Montrose

A.D. 1640

LETTER trose was one, to serve under him. And so forward were the people to rise, at the daily instigation of their thundering preachers, that before the middle of July the whole levies were completed, and all the regiments on the 27th brought together at the appointed rendezvous, where it was unanimously resolved to march into England; having first sent before them a declaration, wherein “ they obtest the all-seeing God, that they intend not the least diminution of the King’s honour and greatness, nor any prejudice or hurt to England, but only to seek their own peace.” On the other side, the King, after dissolving his English Parliament, which would give him no assistance on the present emergency, made a shift to collect a sufficient army, and with all expedition marched to meet the Scots invaders, who, by the time he reached York, were advanced to the very borders. On the 21st of August they entered England, and a few days after a detached party of them routed a body of the King’s horse, that had been sent under the Lord Conway, to dispute the passage of the Tyne.— Upon the 30th, being Sunday, their whole army took possession of the town of Newcastle, where, after sermon in the High-church by Mr. Henderson, the General and principal officers were sumptuously feasted by the Mayor. From this place they sent a supplication to the King at York, or rather a peremptory demand, “ that the acts of their two last Assemblies should be ratified: That no oath or subscription, contrary to their national oath and Covenant, should be required of their countrymen in England or Ireland: That the common incendiaries between the King and them may
“ be

“ be duly punished: That a proper compensa-^{LETTER}
 “ tion be made them of all their losses: And ^{XLVII.}
 “ that the Parliament of England may meet
 “ as soon as possible, as the only means to
 “ settle peace, and stop the further advancing of
 “ their army.” These demands the King referred
 to his great Council of Peers, assembled at York,
 by whose advice he agreed to nominate Com-
 missioners, to treat with them, and accordingly
 sent fifteen of the English nobility, most of
 whom were in concert with the Scots, and soon
 declared themselves the King’s bitterest enemies.
 From the Scots army came the Earls of Ro-
 thes and Dunfermlin, the Lord Loudon, and six
 others of inferior rank, among whom were Wa-
 riston and Henderson. On the first of October
 they all met at Rippon, about sixteen miles from
 York, where Loudon, who was always the mouth
 of the party, made a long speech, declaring
 “ their affection to the kingdom and people of
 “ England, whose liberties and privileges they
 “ regarded as they did their own: That there-
 “ fore this present attempt of the Scots to de-
 “ fend themselves, may prove a benefit to the
 “ English, by affording them such a fair opportuni-
 “ ty of vindicating their liberties and laws from
 “ the evil designs of a few wicked men, who
 “ had too great influence on his Majesty’s coun-
 “ cils, and ought to be removed from his pre-
 “ sence.” This artful speech, very suitable to
 the plots that were in agitation, had the in-
 tended effect: For on the 16th it was conclud-
 ed on both sides, that there should be a cessa-
 tion of arms for two months, that the treaty
 should be adjourned from Rippon to London,
 to be prosecuted there in the time of Parliament,

LETTER XLVII. and that till all differences should be fully and finally settled, the Scotch army should remain where they were, and have maintenance from the day they crossed the Tweed, which was to be levied out of the three northern counties of England, and, as the English historians say, was exacted with great rigour and oppression. Thus was the King decoyed into a second fatal step, and the Covenanters once more carried their point.

About this time, however, they were beginning to split into factions among themselves, which, tho' cunningly kept down for some time, broke out at last into an open rupture, and contributed, more than all the royal edicts, to humble the pride and power of Presbytery. When Episcopacy was thrust out of Scotland, there came down from England a taylor and a surgeon, and from Ireland a swarm of Scotch fugitives, mostly lay-men of low life, who all meeting in the western counties, got a number of the common people there to comply with their new way of seeking edification, by private conventions for religious exercise, and were countenanced in their pretensions to superior godliness by Dickson, Blair, Rutherford, and other great patrons of the Covenant. This was thought to favour too much of the Brownistical, or Independent scheme, which had been formed in England in Queen Elizabeth's time, on a plan of this kind, by one Robert Brown, in opposition to Cartwright and the other Puritans of the common Presbyterian stamp, and which, in a few years after this, rose to such a height in England, as to prevail over Prelacy and Presbytery both. The greater part of the Covenanters were alarmed at this first appearance

pearance of such a divisive and dangerous spirit breaking out among them. But by the mediation of some prudent friends, and the skilful management of their Primate Henderson, the flame was smothered at this time, and a conclusion mutually gone into, "that whatever had been the effects of these private meetings in times of trouble and corruption, when many things may be commendable, which otherwise would not be tolerable, yet, now when God had blessed them with peace, and with the purity of the Gospel, such meetings should be forborn, as tending in end to the renting of the whole kirk, besides other offences, to the hardening of the hearts of natural men, and to the great grief of the godly." And in a General Assembly, which they held at Aberdeen in July this year, without any commission from the King, an act was made, discharging these conventicles or private meetings in all time coming. Yet they still gained ground insensibly, even in the city of Edinburgh itself, and the high affectation of particular piety and devotion in their adherents, met with such a favourable reception in most places, that the subsequent Assemblies would not meddle openly to condemn them, but agreed to deal warily and tenderly with them, "for fear of giving offence to their friends the good people of England, who favoured those ways."

On the 3d of November 1640, the Parliament of England met, that long Parliament which proved so cruel to the nation, and so fatal to the King. They fully granted all the demands of the Scots at Rippon, with the addition of a gift of three hundred thousand pounds, "as a friendly assistance and relief, thought fit to

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LETTER XLVII. "be made toward the losses and necessities of *our Brethren* of Scotland." The Scots Commissioners now at London, as a proof of their gratitude, presented an accusation against the King's two favourites, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Earl of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Their long charge against the Archbishop was given in on the 14th of December, and the next day they added a codicil to it, not only against the persons of the then Bishops of England, but even against the office of the prelatial hierarchy, as they call it, in general, concluding with their earnest request, "that not only the firebrands may be removed, but likewise the fire itself provided against, that there may be no more combustion afterwards."

On the 18th the Archbishop was impeached of treason by the Commons, and ordered into the custody of the Black Rod, from whence he was sent prisoner to the Tower, and lay there four years before he was brought to his trial. But the Earl of Strafford had quicker measure dealt to him. On the 11th of November he was impeached at the bar of the House of Lords, and sent to the Tower on the 25th: On the 22d of March next year his trial began, and continued till the end of April, when, after long debates the Commons drew up a bill of attainder against him, which was at last agreed to by the Lords, and with much reluctance signed by the King: And so, upon the 12th of May 1641, this accomplished Nobleman and faithful servant of the crown, was beheaded on Tower-hill, to the astonishment of all honest men, and to the irreparable

irreparable detriment of the King's affairs ever after. * LETTER
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Notwithstanding the disgusting behaviour of the Scots Commissioners, the King agreed to hold a Parliament some time this summer in Scotland, in his own person, and desired them to notify his resolution to their constituents, that proper preparations might be made for his reception. Accordingly on the 14th of August he came to Edinburgh, attended by the Prince Palatine his nephew, by the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Hamilton, and a small train of the English nobility. On the nineteenth the Parliament sat down, and the King made every concession which could be desired; that in case he should be forced to come to a rupture with the English, which he had too just ground to fear, he might leave no room for their expecting any support from Scotland. With this view he gave way to the ratification of the Assembly in 1639, which condemned Episcopacy as contrary to the word of God, tho' he still affirmed that his reason for dispensing with it in Scotland was, not from his own judgment about it, but merely to comply with the opposition which he then saw prevailing against it. He could not however so easily comply with the

* This woful compliance of his Majesty, which he always declared was against his conscience, and into which he was overborn by the time-serving casuistry of some eminent divines whom he consulted, lay heavy at his heart to his dying day, and needs no other either criticism or censure, than what his own pathetic meditations have passed upon it. It has been observed too, that with the same penful of ink with which he signed Lord Strafford's death, he signed the bill for the two houses of Parliament sitting during their own pleasure, and thereby in one moment threw away the two greatest supports of his crown and dignity.
article

LETTER XLVII. article of the incendiaries, as it was called, which, if admitted in its original extent, would have exposed a very great number of his true and faithful subjects to the rage and fury of their enemies. Against this iniquitous procedure the King argued long, and with great force, from every principle of prudence, honour, and conscience. But such was the inveterate malice of the Covenanters, who were the majority in Parliament, that they would by no argument be prevailed with, to pass from five of their *black list*, the Earl of Traquair, Bishop Maxwell of Ross, Sir Robert Spotswood, the late Archbishop's son, and President of the Session, Sir John Hay the clerk Register, and Dr. Balcanqual, who drew up the King's large declaration in 1639, all of whom they pretended their national oath obliged them to pursue, and bring them to condign punishment: And altho' they agreed, that after legal trial, the censure of these supposed delinquents should be remitted to his Majesty, yet it was with this restriction, that he should not employ any of them in his service, without consent of Parliament.

Besides this, they likewise extorted from him the three following important concessions; that the Parliament should meet once in three years, without any summons from the King, if he should neglect to publish any in that time; that the Privy-council and all the officers of State should not be appointed but by consent of Parliament; and that the Parliament when sitting, or in the interval, the Privy-council, should be conservators of the peace between the two kingdoms. To all these disagreeable articles the King assented, and was even graciously pleased to confer offices, and titles

titles of honour on the leaders of the Covenanted party. * At last, on the 17th of November the Parliament rose, having finished their business, so much in appearance to universal satisfaction, that it was said, "a contented King was to depart from a contented people," and the next morning early, his Majesty began his journey to London.

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About this time the Irish Papists took the opportunity of the religious confusions in Britain, to form a powerful confederacy, and while they were seizing the King's castles and magazines, they were at the same time publishing declarations of the loyalty of their hearts and uprightness of their intentions, and like the covenanters in Scotland taking God to witness that they designed not the least diminution of his Majesty's greatness, but only to seek their own peace. Among the first sufferers from this new confederacy, were the Bishops and established clergy of the Protestant persuasion, whose houses were plundered, their goods carried off or destroyed, their persons abused, with all manner of outrage, and many of them

* The Earl of Argyle was made a Marquis, Lord Loudon Earl of Loudon and chancellor, Lord Lindsay Earl of Lindsay and one of the Lords of the treasury, General Leslie Earl of Leven and keeper of the Castle of Edinburgh, Lieutenant-General Livingstone Earl of Calendar, the Laird of Arbuthnot, one of their most zealous ruling-elders, Viscount Arbuthnot, Johnston of Wariston was knighted and made a Lord of Session; Mr. Henderson got the rents of the Royal chapel, esteemed formerly a sufficient morsel for a Bishop; Gillespie, another of their principal demagogues, had a large pension settled on him; the new professors in the universities had their provisions liberally augmented out of the Bishops revenues; and to humour the rest of their clergy, a commission was appointed to sit in January next to enlarge their stipends, and bring them up to a competency.

barbarously

LETTER XLVII. barbarously put to death. In a word, whatever the Episcopal clergy suffered from the prevalency of covenanted godliness in Scotland, their brethren met with the same from the fury of Catholic zeal in Ireland. And this persecution continued, till on the King's return to London, and laying the matter before his Parliament there, an army of Scots was raised upon English pay, and transported under the Earl of Leven, for the defence of the Protestant cause in Ireland. This army put a stop to the Popish attempts for a while: But being called back in a short time to assist against the King in Britain, the Irish insurgents renewed their depredations, and continued to keep their country, for several years, in a most miserable state of anarchy and disorder.*

The English Parliament having at the instigation of the Scots destroyed the Earl of Strafford, and locked up the Archbishop of Canterbury in the Tower, their next attempt was upon the liturgy, and against the Deans and Chapters. At the same time they presented a petition against the Bishops having vote in Parliament; and because twelve of the Prelates then in town, finding themselves insulted by the mob in coming to the House to take their seats, had the courage to protest in a legal way for the preservation of their privileges, they were voted to the Tower on the 30th of December, and lay there till May next year, when they were liberated without a trial. Mean time the disqualifying bill against the clergy

* After the murder of the King, the victorious parliament, having now nothing to fear at home, sent over Cromwell with a numerous and well disciplined army, who in a few campaigns put an end to the Irish insurrection, but with as much barbarity and bloodshed, as had been committed on the other side.

was

was pushed on with great keennes, and at last having passed in the house of Lords, was on the 14th of February 1643 assented to and signed by the King. We are told that no persuasion would have induced him to it, if the Queen, whom he tenderly loved, and who was made to believe that her personal safety depended on the success of that bill, had not by repeated importunity prevailed with him to sign it at Canterbury, whither he had accompanied her, on her way to Holland with her eldest daughter the Princess Mary, who had been lately married to the Prince of Orange.

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Collier,
vol. ii. p.
820.

Yet even this did not satisfy the faction: For on the 1st of September the House of Commons voted down the Bishops altogether, which, as a matter of triumph, was solemnized with bonfires and ringing of bells. And having thus, as far as they could, set aside the antient and settled government of the church, they proceeded to pass an ordinance on the 12th of June 1643, that a synod of divines, not chosen by the clergy, but named by the two houses, should meet on the first of July, and continue during pleasure of Parliament, for the improvement of religion, and reformation of every thing amiss either in the worship or polity of the church. To such lengths of arrogance did this seditious Parliament stretch that exorbitance of power which the King had put into their hands, when he parted with his inherent prerogative of dissolving them, and thereby checking their licentious career. All this time, the Scottish malecontents were not idle. The Irish business had given them a handle for sending up a fresh troop of commissioners to London to transact the bargain for the army with the

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English Parliament, which was the avowed errand, and at the same time to be ready with their advice there, and their intelligence here, whenever it might be useful to the common cause. The persons pitched upon for this purpose were, of the nobility, the Earls of Lothian and Lindsay, and the Lord Balmerino, and of the gentry the newly-knighted Wariston with five more, all violent for the covenant, and well capable to manage any plot entrusted to them. From these commissioners the party at home had due notification of all that passed in England, and were taught to regulate their procedure accordingly.

Thus, when the General Assembly sat down at St. Andrews in July 1642, and the Earl of Dunfermlin the commissioner had presented the King's letter, "craving no more, in recompence for all his favours, but that the ministers would by their doctrine and example labour to keep his subjects in their duty," the Assembly at first resolved to return his Majesty a letter of thanks, with a sincere promise of obedience to his commands. But the next day, having got accounts from London what appearance there was of a thorough reformation in England, and that the Parliament there had begun to exert themselves with vigour against Episcopacy and all that belonged to it, the Assembly changed their resolution, and forgetting their obligations of both duty and gratitude to the King, agreed to express their concurrence with these measures, and their earnest wishes for the prosecution of them. It was likewise moved and carried in this Assembly, that a *Commission* of certain of their number should be chosen to sit monthly at Edinburgh, for corresponding with the friends in England, in furthering

thering the *Good Work*; and this is the original of that peculiar sort of judicatory, which has been kept up to this day, and in the intervals of Assembly manages all their ecclesiastical concerns. By this means preparations were made for the first favourable opportunity of declaring themselves openly in support of their scheme of reformation, in which all the King's concessions, large and extensive as they were, had not given them entire satisfaction. With this view, and to proceed in as legal a way, as the nature of their design would admit, they had sent the chancellor Loudon to solicit the King for a Parliament, which his Majesty absolutely refused, as the three years agreed upon in the last Parliament were not yet expired. And therefore, to remove this obstruction, by the advice of Sir Thomas Hope, who, tho' King's Advocate, was the constant director in every measure against him, it was resolved to call a convention of the estates to meet at Edinburgh on the 22d of June 1643, and the lately erected commission of Assembly appointed a solemn fast to be kept throughout the kingdom on Sunday the 11th. of June, and on the Wednesday following, for a blessing on the meeting, and good success to its determinations.

The King having laboured in vain to prevent a rupture with his Parliament at Westminster, and finding the insolence of the factious mob daily increasing, saw it necessary at last to retire from London, and to provide, by all the means which God and the laws had put in his power, for the honour of his crown and the security of his person. To this purpose he had on the 22d of August 1642, set up his standard at Nottingham, and on the 23d of October he attacked and de-



LETTER feated the Earl of Essex, the Parliament's General, at Edgehill in Warwickshire. This first victory was followed by a train of successes in most parts of England, especially in the West, where the Loyalists were much superior to the rebels; and it is generally believed that, if he had marched straight to London, after taking the city of Bristol in July next year, his adversaries would have met him in the most suppliant manner, and submitted to his mercy. But instead of this, he was led by treacherous counsel to besiege Gloucester, and by this fatal delay the Parliament had leisure to look about them, and fall upon many ways to recruit their strength, which then was reduced very low. Among other means of relief, they thought proper to apply to their trusty friends in Scotland, with this sweetening assurance to draw them in, "that now they were in earnest to extirpate Episcopacy root and branch, and to introduce what should be found most agreeable to the word of God."

The motley synod of Westminster, appointed and named by the two Houses, had according to direction met on the 1st of July this year, consisting of six Earls, four Lords, sixteen other lay-members of Parliament, and a hundred and eighteen preachers, mostly Presbyterians, with some Independents, and a few Episcopalians in the nomination, none of whom, except Dr. Featly alone, ever attended, and to each of these divines was allowed the sum of four shillings a day for maintenance, with a parliamentary security against the penalties of non-residence. The General Assembly of Scotland sat down likewise on the 2d of August, where Sir Thomas Hope appeared as King's Commissioner, and Mr. Henderson

derfon was again chosen Moderator. To this Af-
 fembly the English Parliament sent four Com-
 miffioners, and the Westminster fynod two Mi-
 nifters, Nye, an Independent, lately come over
 from New-England, and the famous Stephen
 Marshal, who had laft year absolved five hund-
 red foldiers, taken prifoners by the King at
 Brentford, from their oaths not to carry arms
 againft him any more, and ordered them back
 to their former fervice. When thefe fix Com-
 miffioners produced their letters in the Af-
 fembly, the Moderator made a long difcourfe upon the
 fubject of them, and then asked the brethren in
 general, what answer fhould be returned to them.
 Upon which, one of the members, afterwards
 Bifhop of Dunkeld, obferved, " that thefe letters
 " were clear and particular concerning the pri-
 " vative part of extirpating Epifcopacy; but as
 " to the pofitive part, what they meant to bring
 " in, they huddled it up in ambiguous and ge-
 " neral terms, fo that whether it would be Pref-
 " bytery or Independency, or any thing elfe,
 " no man could know: Therefore, fo long as
 " they flood there, and would come no further,
 " he faw not how this church, which holdeth
 " Prefbytery to be of divine right, could take
 " them by the hand: For which reafon he
 " wifhed that, before further proceeding, the
 " Afsembly would deal with the English Com-
 " miffioners, to obtain from their conftituents
 " as explicit a declaration, what they were to
 " introduce, as they had done in what was to
 " be removed." Tho' this was certainly a fen-
 fible and pertinent motion, it was neither fe-
 conded nor relifhed by any in the Afsembly,
 and the mover himfelf was ill looked upon for
 his

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Memoirs.

LETTER XLVII. his pains. So the management of the business was committed to the Moderator and a select junto of the leaders, Dickson, Blair, Cant, Rutherford, &c. with the assistance of the Marquis of Argyle, the Earls of Cassilis, Glencairn, Eglington, Lindsay, and Loudon, the Lords Balmorino, Burleigh, Arbuthnot, and others, under the specious title of Ruling Elders, who having treated several days with the English Commissioners, resolved in the end upon a mutual league and religious Covenant, to be sworn and subscribed by both nations. Accordingly, a paper being framed upon a preconcerted draught, was brought into the Assembly on the 17th of August, and twice read over: And tho' another of the members, Mr. Brisbane at Erskine, desired, "that before men were urged to vote about it, leisure might be given them for some few days, to have their scruples removed," yet, without any regard to such a necessary caution in a matter of such moment, the question was immediately put, "Approve, or not?" And the roll being called, it was by a plurality of voices carried, "Approve." This is that famous *Solemn League and Covenant*, which made such a noise at the time, and tho' now forgotten by the Presbyterian establishment, is still the darling creed of an increasing party in our country to this day: For which reason, and as it has such a connection with church affairs, I have set it down *verbatim* as follows:

' We Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen,
' Citizens, Burgeses, Ministers of the Gospel,
' and Commons of all sorts in the kingdoms of
' Scotland, England, and Ireland, by the providence of God living under one King, and
' being


' being of one reformed religion, having before LETTER
 ' our eyes the glory of God and the advance- XLVII.
 ' ment of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour
 ' Jesus Christ, the honour and happiness of the
 ' King's Majesty and his posterity, and the true
 ' public liberty, safety, and peace of the king-
 ' doms, wherein every one's private condition is
 ' included: And calling to mind the treacher-
 ' ous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts and
 ' practices of the enemies of God, against the
 ' true religion and professors thereof in all places,
 ' especially in these three kingdoms, ever since
 ' the reformation of religion, and how much
 ' their rage, power, and presumption are of late
 ' and at this time increased and exercised, where-
 ' of the deplorable state of the church and king-
 ' dom of Ireland, the distressed state of the church
 ' and kingdom of England, and the dangerous
 ' state of the church and kingdom of Scotland,
 ' are present and public testimonies: We have
 ' now at last, after other means of supplication,
 ' remonstrance, protestations, and sufferings, for
 ' the preservation of ourselves and our religion
 ' from utter ruin and destruction, according to
 ' the commendable practice of these kingdoms
 ' in former times, and the example of God's
 ' people in other nations, after mature delibera-
 ' tion, resolved and determined to enter into a
 ' mutual and *Solemn League and Covenant*, where-
 ' in we all subscribe, and each one of us for
 ' himself, with our hands lifted up to the Most
 ' High God, do swear,

I. ' That we shall sincerely, really, and con-
 ' stantly, thro' the grace of God, endeavour in
 ' our several places and callings, the preservation
 ' of the reformed religion in the Church of
 ' Scotland,

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 Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches: And shall endeavour to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms, to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in Religion, Confession of Faith, form of Church-government, directory for worship, and catechising; that we and our posterity after us may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

II. That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, (that is, church-government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy,) superstition, heresy, schism, prophaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness, lest we partake in other mens sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues: And that the Lord may be one, and his name one, in the three kingdoms.

III. We shall, with the same sincerity, reality, and constancy, in our several vocations endeavour, with our estates and lives, mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms: And to preserve and defend the King's Majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence

‘ defence of the true religion and liberties of LETTER  
 ‘ the kingdoms: That the world may bear wit- XLVII.  
 ‘ nefs with our consciences of our loyalty, and   
 ‘ that we have no thoughts nor intentions to  
 ‘ diminish his Majesty’s just power and great-  
 ‘ nefs.

IV. ‘ We shall also, with all faithfulness, en-  
 ‘ deavour the discovery of all such as have been,  
 ‘ or shall be incendiaries, malignants, or evil in-  
 ‘ struments, by hindering the reformation of re-  
 ‘ ligion, dividing the King from his people, or  
 ‘ one of the kingdoms from another, or mak-  
 ‘ ing any faction or parties among the people,  
 ‘ contrary to this League and Covenant, that they  
 ‘ may be brought to public trial, and receive  
 ‘ condign punishment, as the degree of their of-  
 ‘ fences shall require or deserve, or the supreme  
 ‘ judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or  
 ‘ others having power from them for that effect,  
 ‘ shall judge convenient.

V. ‘ And whereas the happiness of a blessed  
 ‘ peace between these kingdoms, denied in for-  
 ‘ mer times to our progenitors, is by the good  
 ‘ providence of God granted unto us, and hath  
 ‘ been lately concluded and settled by both Par-  
 ‘ liaments, we shall, each one of us, according to  
 ‘ our place and interest, endeavour that they  
 ‘ may remain conjoined in a firm peace and  
 ‘ union to all posterity, and that justice may be  
 ‘ done upon the wilful opposers thereof, in man-  
 ‘ ner expressed in the precedent article.

VI. ‘ We shall also, according to our places  
 ‘ and callings in this common cause of religion,  
 ‘ liberty and peace of the kingdoms, assist and  
 ‘ defend all those that enter into this League  
 ‘ and Covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing  
 ‘ thereof,

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 thereof, and shall not suffer ourselves, directly
 nor indirectly, by whatsoever combination, per-
 suasion, or terror, to be divided and withdrawn
 from this blessed union and conjunction, whe-
 ther to make defection to the contrary part,
 or to give ourselves to a detestable indifference
 or neutrality in this cause, which so much con-
 cerneth the glory of God, the good of the
 kingdoms, and honour of the King: But shall
 all the days of our lives zealously and constant-
 ly continue therein against all opposition, and
 promote the same according to our power a-
 gainst all lets and impediments whatever, and
 what we are not able ourselves to suppress or
 overcome, we shall reveal and make known,
 that it may timely be prevented or removed:
 All which we shall do as in the fight of God.
 And because these kingdoms are guilty of ma-
 ny sins and provocations against God and his
 son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest, by our
 present distresses and dangers, the fruits there-
 of, We profess and declare before God and
 the world, our unfeigned desire to be humb-
 led for our own sins, and for the sins of these
 kingdoms, especially that we have not, as we
 ought, valued the inestimable benefit of the
 Gospel; that we have not laboured for the
 purity and power thereof; and that we have
 not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts,
 nor to walk worthy of him in our lives, which
 are the causes of other sins and transgressions
 so much abounding amongst us, and our true
 and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour,
 for ourselves, and all under our power and
 charge, both in public and private, in all du-
 ties we owe to God and man, to amend our
 lives,

° lives, and each one to go before another in the LETTER
 ° example of a real reformation, that the Lord XLVII.
 ° may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these churches and kingdoms
 ° in truth and peace. And this Covenant we
 ° make in presence of Almighty God the searcher
 ° of all hearts, with a true intention to perform
 ° the same, as we shall answer at that great day,
 ° when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed: Most humbly beseeching the Lord to
 ° strengthen us by his Holy Spirit for this end,
 ° and to bless our desires and proceedings with
 ° such success, as may be deliverance and safety
 ° to his people, and encouragement to other
 ° christian churches groaning under, or in danger
 ° of the yoke of antichristian tyranny, to
 ° join in the same or like association and
 ° Covenant: To the glory of God, the enlargement
 ° of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the
 ° peace and tranquillity of all christian kingdoms
 ° and commonwealths."

Tho' these Covenanters plead "the example
 "of God's people in other nations," it is well
 known that the example is not peculiar to
 such as they affect to call "God's people," for
 the *Holy League* in France which was first projected
 by the Cardinal of Lorraine, a plotter on
 the Popish side, fully as zealous as Mr. Hender-
 son on the Puritan; had the same pretext of
 religion, and held forth the same insinuating pro-
 fession of "rendering due obedience to the King
 "in maintaining the exercise of the true reli-
 "gion." A like imitation of the Romish pat-
 tern is but too observable in the fourth ar-
 ticle about the discovery of malignants, which
 seems to be neither more nor less, than setting

LETTER up a Court of Inquisition in every corner, per-
 XLVII. haps in every family, of the kingdom, and ob-
 liging the son, if he shall think his father a
 malignant, to inform against him, and prosecute
 him to death. In short, it is easy to see up-
 on the very face of this studied composition of
 hypocrisy and impudence, that under the mask
 of reformation, the main design of it was aimed
 against the King, whom, with all their pretend-
 ed loyalty of heart and fallacious engagements
 of defence, they could not but, in conformity
 to their expressions, look upon as one of "the
 enemies of God," being then in open war
 against "the professors of the true religion,"
 who were thus *Solemnly Leaguing and Covenanting*
 together. Yet such as it was, it passed without
 hesitation in the Assembly, and was the same day
 joyfully received and ratified by the convention
 of the Estates which had met at the King's sum-
 mons: On which Bishop Burnet in his Memoirs,
 &c. remarks, that "wise observers wondered to
 see a matter of that importance carried thro'
 upon so little deliberation and debate: It was
 thought strange to see all their consciences of
 such a size, and to agree so exactly as the se-
 veral wheels of a clock, which made it be
 suspected that there was some first mover that
 directed all these other motions. This, by the
 one party, was imputed to God's extraordinary
 providence, but by others, to the power and
 policy of the leaders, and to the fear and
 simplicity of the rest."

The next thing the assembly did, was to ap-
 point commissioners to go to London, and concur
 with the Westminster synod in promoting this
 new combination; and the men pitched upon
 were Henderson, Bailey, Rutherford and Gilles-
 pie

pie ministers, and Lord Maitland and Wariston ruling-elders. Upon the 30th of August these new delegates set off, and on the 25th of September the two houses of Parliament, and the synod of divines convened with them in the church of St. Margaret's, Westminster. At this solemnity one White a minister of the synod prayed an hour, to prepare them for taking the covenant: Then Nye the Independent mounted the pulpit, and harangued upon it, endeavouring to justify it by scripture-precedents, and to shew the benefits that the church has received by such combinations. This panegyrick was seconded by Henderfon, who added a complaint of the King's being governed by wicked counsel, and a promise of assistance from the states of Scotland to the Parliament of England, in the cause they had undertaken. When Henderfon had done his part, Nye read the covenant from the pulpit, and all the audience held up their hands, in token of their assent. At last being engrossed on parchment, it was subscribed by the Lords and commons in their respective houses, and by the assembly of divines and the Scots delegates in the consistory-room of the synod. Immediately after, the Scots commissioners were admitted members of that Assembly, with the same powers and provision that the English had, and in this capacity we find them soon after signing a letter from the Assembly, by order of Parliament, to the reformed churches abroad, "to inform them of the great artifices and disguises of the King's agents in these parts, and of the state of their own affairs at home."*

* The subscriptions to this canting address stand thus, "your most affectionately devoted brethren in Christ, William Twisse Prolocutor, Coraelius Burgess, John White Assessors, Henry In

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XLVII.
A. D. 1643.

LETTER XLVII. In Scotland, the work of the covenant went rapidly on, the commission of the Assembly having decreed, and sent peremptory orders to all the Presbyteries, that without delay it should be sworn and subscribed throughout the whole kingdom, under pain of excommunication. Accordingly on the 13th of October it was solemnly sworn and subscribed in the high kirk of Edinburgh by the members of the commission themselves, and by the convention of Estates, in presence of so many of the English delegates as had stayed here for that purpose: And on the 22d the convention by an express act ordered it to be sworn and subscribed by all the subjects, “under pain of being punished as enemies to religion, his Majesty’s honour, and the peace of these kingdoms; and to have their goods and rents confiscated, and they not to enjoy any office or benefit within the kingdom, and to be cited to the next Parliament, to receive what further punishment his Majesty and the Parliament should inflict upon them.” Yet his Majesty had, by his authority, which was not yet disclaimed, expressly prohibited what was here enjoined, under pain of treason, and therefore a few of the principal nobility stood out against this new covenant, and either fled to the King’s standard, or trusted to the interest of their friends in the convention. But over the inferior gentry and common people matters were carried with the utmost violence, especially by the preachers, who, under pretence of the oath of the co-

“Roborough, Adoniram Byfield Scribes, John Maitland, Archibald Johnston, Alexander Henderson, Samuel Rutherford, Robert Bailey, George Gillespie, Commissioners of the church of Scotland.”

venant,

venant, erected a most tyrannical tribunal over all sorts of men and all families in the kingdom; so that; as Lord Clarendon expresses it, "the preacher reprehended the husband, governed the wife, chastized the children, and insulted the servants in every house."

In England, where the clergy had hitherto escaped the rage of covenanting reformation, they were now the principal sufferers. Such of them as refused to enter into this *Solemn League* were either obliged to retire to places under the King's protection where, tho' their persons were safe for a while; they could expect but scanty provision, or to run the risk of being plundered and imprisoned, and exposed to every kind of lawless outrage. In London alone, about a hundred and fifteen clergymen were turned out of their livings, their houses rifled, and their wives and families driven to the streets; from which may be conjectured the greatness of the calamity thro' the rest of the kingdom. All these violent proceedings gave such spirit to the faction in England, that Essex got his languishing army quickly recruited, and was enabled to raise the unhappy siege of Gloucester, and fight the King at Newbury on the 23d of October, where his Majesty had rather the disadvantage. In Scotland, the convention of estates were no less active, and having got down a liberal supply of money from London, they soon raised a powerful army, more zealously attached to the cause now than ever. Old Leslie Earl of Leven once more accepted the command, and now for the third time drew his sword against his Sovereign. Next to him was preferred another Leslie, David of the family of Lindores, who soon made a figure, and overtopped his namesake both

LETTER XLVII. both in fame and fortune. In levying this third army, the commission of the kirk, to shew their zeal, and set a good example, ordained every minister to furnish a foldier for that service, which all complied with, some willingly, and others by constraint. So all being got ready, the army began their march, no fewer than 18000 foot and 3000 horse, and by the 16th of January 1644 they had pushed as far as Newcastle, where I shall leave them for a while in their military employment, and proceed in my next letter to the operations of the two covenanted kirks of Scotland and England, in their now applauded union.

Mean time, I am, &c.

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L E T T E R XLVIII.

Proceedings in the Scotch and English Parliaments against the Loyalists, Episcopacy, &c.—Montrose successful on the King's Side—Obliged to disband his Forces, by the King surrendering himself to the Scots—Consequences of this Surrender—The King sold to the English, falls into the Hands of the Independents—Escapes to the Isle of Wight, but is again delivered up to the Parliament—The Scots, in Opposition to the Kirk, raise an Army for his Rescue, which is entirely routed by Cromwell—The King brought to a mock Trial, and murdered at Whitehall.

AMONG the first fruits of the Covenant in Scotland, was an excise scheme, projected by Lord Balmerino, for the maintenance of the army, which was ill received thro' the whole kingdom, particularly by the citizens of Edinburgh. But the powerful oratory of the pulpit soon silenced the opposition, and by authority of

LETTER XLVIII. the Estates the excise was enacted, and proclaimed at the market cross. Soon after, the party were alarmed with the news of the old Marquis of Huntly rising in arms for the King, which they took care to revenge in all haste, by the summary excommunication of the Marquis himself, and four of his chief adherents, the Lairds of Drum, Haddo, Skene, and Tipperty. But what provoked them most of all, was the now open desertion of their once good friend Montrose, whom they had been suspecting for some time, and whom the King, to fix him on his side, had lately honoured with the title of Marquis. For which heinous offence, since they could not as yet reach him with the temporal sword, the spiritual one was let loose on him, and on his faithful companions, the Earls of Crawford and Nithsdale, and the Lords Aboyne, Harries, and Rae, who were all excommunicated in the High Kirk of Edinburgh, on the 26th of April, and orders sent to intimate this sentence in every kirk of the kingdom. However, what vexation the falling off of Montrose gave them, was in a good measure allayed by the coming in of Duke Hamilton's brother, the Earl of Lanerk, who, tho' raised to that honour by the King, and made his Secretary, appeared now before the Commission of the kirk, and with strong expressions of sorrow for his former adherence to the King, begged to be admitted to the Covenant, and soon rose to be a Ruling Elder.— On the 29th of May 1644 the General Assembly sat down at Edinburgh, without any Commissioner from the King, and passed an act for sending a fresh recruit of Ministers to relieve those that attended their army in England, and for taking

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ing course to strengthen it and keep it up. And LETTER XLVIII. whereas the military Presbytery had sent them word, that the city of York was blocked up by a "swarm of obstinate Papists in it," for so they called all the King's friends; the Assembly returns this encouraging but impudent answer; "That sanctuary which your enemies and the enemies of your God have taken, shall not save them."

At this time too, after waiting the three years of intermission, the Convention of Estates turned themselves into a Parliament, and sat down as such, of their own heads, at Edinburgh on the 4th of June, without the least notice of, or from the King. Mr. Cant preached the opening sermon, and satisfied their expectations to the full. The main point he drove at, was to state an opposition between King Jesus and King Charles, as he was pleased to express himself, and upon that account, to press resistance to King Charles for the interest of King Jesus. This was preaching to the times, without regard to the scriptures, and shews what sense these men had of the pretended oath in their Covenant, to defend the King's person. In this Parliament, the loyal Sir John Gordon of Haddo, ancestor to the Earl of Aberdeen, having joined the Marquis of Huntly under the King's commission, and being basely betrayed into Argyle's hands, was condemned by a strange act of their own devising, "that treason might be committed against the States of the kingdom, as well as against the Sovereign himself," and upon this stretch of parliamentary despotism, was beheaded at the cross of Edinburgh on the 10th of July, as was likewise soon after, the Laird of Logan in Dumfriesshire,

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The rigorous work began now without mercy, because without controul. The commission of the kirk took the lead, and under pretence of censuring such of the ministry as had not mourned for Montrose's victory at Kilsyth, they took the opportunity of examining into the private behaviour of those, however learned or pious otherwise, who in that time of darkness, as they called it, had shewn any signs of disaffection, which without any other fault or further inquiry was judged sufficient ground for deposition. And not satisfied with thus wreaking their resentment on malignants of their own tribe, they sent three of their number to the committee of estates, to press the speedy execution of what prisoners they had. * In the mean time, Montrose, tho' disappointed, was not disheartned by his last misfortune, but having by uncommon activity, and from various parts of the North, got together a considerable army, and made preparations for another cam-

* In compliance with this bloody demand from these pretended ministers of the gospel of peace, the committee caused to be executed at the cross of Glasgow on the 28th of October, three hopeful young gentlemen who had been with Montrose, Sir William Rollo, Sir Philip Nisbet, and Sir Alexr. Ogilvy, at which sight Mr. Dickson, the godly professor of divinity, cried out, "the work goes bonnily on," which Mr Guthry his contemporary says, passed afterwards into a proverb. At the same instance, were executed at St. Andrews in November, the worthy Sir Robert Spotswood, William Murray brother to the Earl of Tullibardin, Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, and Andrew Guthry, son to the honest Bishop of Moray. The kirk would have had more of them sent the same way: But the Parliament which was now sitting refused, and desired advice of the kirk how the rest might be punished without blood, to which Dickson, in his rustick style of unfeeling pleasantry, proposed "to shame them and herry them." So a grand committee was appointed to sit at Linlithgow in February next, and to it were referred the remainder of these unhappy men to be deeply fined.

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73d year of his age. At the same time an ordinance passed both houses, for abolishing the book of Common Prayer, and establishing the Directory for public worship, which their Assembly of divines had lately framed. By this directory it was appointed, "that ordinarily one chapter of each Testament be read at every meeting for public worship, and sometimes more when the chapters be short, and the coherence of the matter requireth it, and that all the canonical books be read over in order, beginning the next Lord's day where it ended the last. It lays down rules for managing the sermon, and for the method of prayer, both before and after it: It recommends the use of the Lord's prayer, not only as a pattern, but also as a most comprehensive form of devotion: As to baptism, it forbids the unnecessary delaying it, and the administration of it, by any private unordained person, or any where but at church, and in the face of the congregation: At the receiving of the Lord's Supper, the table, being decently covered, is to be so placed, that the communicants may sit about it, but the posture of the Minister, or when, or how he is to communicate, is not prescribed: The dead are to be buried without any religious ceremony, and the other ministerial offices of marrying, visiting the sick, &c. are referred for the most part to the Minister's own pleasure." But thro' the whole composition, there is not the least mention of the creed and the ten commandments: For when that point was agitated in the House of Commons, where all these theological questions were debated before a final decision, there was a majority of votes

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1677 votes for leaving them out, and the Lords did
 XLVIII. not think it prudent to insist on their being in-
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About this time too, a treaty was proposed between the King and the Parliament, which began at Uxbridge in Middlesex on the 30th of January 1645, and was managed by Commissioners from both sides. The Parliament demanded,  
 " That Episcopacy should be abolished by law :  
 " That the sitting of the Assembly of divines be confirmed by his Majesty, and the Directory established as the legal standard of uniformity :  
 " That his Majesty take the Solemn League and Covenant : And that an act of Parliament be passed, for enjoining it on all the subjects of the three kingdoms." The King had empowered his Commissioners to go all lengths consistent with his conscience and dignity : But the demands from the other side were so insolently extravagant, that after a debate of several days upon the religious part of the controversy, between Dr. Stewart, the clerk of his closet, for the King, and the Scottish Mr. Henderson for the Parliament, the treaty broke up on the 24th of February, without the least agreement in any one point whatever. The decisive affair of Naseby happening soon after, so flushed the two houses, that without troubling themselves any longer about the royal sanction, they began now to enforce their religious ordinances with severe penalties, enacting, that if any person should preach, or print against the Directory, that he should be fined in any sum between five pounds and fifty ; and whoever should read the Common Prayer, either in a church or in his own family, should forfeit five pounds for the first offence, ten pounds

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pounds for the second, and suffer a year's imprisonment for the third.

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Thus matters went swimmingly on with the Covenanters in England, to which, their Scotch friends, both in council and camp, did not a little contribute. But in Scotland, the party had not of late been so successful. The Marquis of Montrose, after the unlucky affair of Marston-moor, had returned to his own country, where he produced the King's commission, and with a supply of twelve hundred men from Ireland, joined to the handful of troops which he had raised at home, on the first of September 1644, obtained a complete victory over a superior body of the Covenanters at Tippermuir near Perth, and on the twelfth, overthrew another army of them under the Lord Burleigh at Aberdeen. This unexpected opposition so incensed his adversaries, that they forfeited his estate, and imprisoned all suspected persons whom they could lay hands on, but durst not proceed to greater extremities, for fear of retaliation. Mean time Montrose having scoured the country for some months, at last met with Argyle at Innerlochy, on the 2d of February, and defeated him, with no great slaughter on either side. His next encounter was with General Hurry, at Auldearn, on the 4th of May, where he gained another complete victory: And on the 2d of July he came up with General Baillie at Alford, and got the better of him too, with little loss on his own side, but of his brave friend the Lord Gordon. These repeated successes, in so short a time, put the Covenanters to their wits end, and all engines, civil and ecclesiastical, were set a-going, to stop such a dangerous career. The Parliament ordered levies

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LETTER XLVIII. to be raised thro' all the kingdom with the utmost speed, and the Assembly issued out a solemn exhortation to all ranks and degrees, "to mind their Covenants, and to pay their vows and taxes, and public burdens, for conscience sake, that the enemy who had displayed a banner against the Lord, and against his Christ, might be suppressed."

By these methods they collected another numerous army, and thought to surround Montrose, in such a way, that it should not be possible for him to escape them. But he took the start of them, and falling upon their new raised army at Kilsyth, between Stirling and Glasgow, on the 15th of August, gave them the most bloody overthrow they had met with, no fewer than seven thousand of them lying dead on the field.—Upon this unforeseen blow, their leading men saw it prudent to provide for their own safety.—Glencairn and Cassilis, who had been busy recruiting in the West country, got over to Ireland, and Argyle, Loudon, Lindsay, Lanerk, and the rest of them that escaped, run in all haste to Berwick. The country now came in to Montrose, with submissive acknowledgments and large promises: And the city of Edinburgh, whither he had sent a party to relieve the loyalists who were prisoners in the castle, made the most sacred protestations, even with curses and imprecations, of their future allegiance, and in the most suppliant manner, begged to be taken into his protection.

At the same time the King sent Sir Robert Spotwood with a royal commission, constituting Montrose Captain General and Governor of Scotland, with ample powers to confer Knighthood, and

and summon Parliaments. Whereupon he appointed a Parliament to meet at Glasgow on the 20th of October next, and caused it to be proclaimed at the market-crofs of Glasgow, Linlithgow, and Edinburgh. But providence had designed otherwise: For the covenanters, seeing their all now at stake, and finding their own internal strength unable to cope with Montrose, called home their countryman David Lesly, with the whole body of horse he commanded in England. And Montrose, being perhaps too secure in his late victory, and deceived by some in whom both the King and he too much trusted, was so decoyed into a snare, that, tho' he began to see his error at last, yet before he could properly retrieve it, Lesly by forced marches was up with him, and attacking him with his whole power of horse, entirely routed him, notwithstanding all the efforts that Montrose made to stand the shock of such a sudden assault. This battle, so unlucky to the King's cause, was fought at Philiphaugh on the 13th of September 1645, and had most tragical effects. Montrose himself, with a few followers got off safe, but a great number of them, missing their way, were seized by the country people and delivered up to the victors, who sent them to several prisons: The remainder of them with Stuart the adjutant at their head, drew up in a little fold, and by his means got quarter from Lesly, till the preachers thought proper to remonstrate against giving quarter to such wretches, and declared it an act of the blackest impiety to spare them; upon which the army was let loose upon them, and cut them all in pieces, except Stuart who was kept prisoner.


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paign, in all probability he would have given the Covenanters more trouble than ever, if the woful declension of the King's affairs in England had not put a final, because authoritative, stop to his proceedings. After the gloomy day of Naseby, the King with his broken troops wandered from place to place for some months, till at last with much difficulty he got safe to Oxford, where he hoped to remain till matters should take another turn in his favour. But when the next spring set in, being informed that Fairfax and Cromwell were preparing to lay siege to the place, and unwilling to fall into their hands, he left Oxford early in the morning on the 27th of April 1646 in disguise, and attended only by Dr. Hudson one of his chaplains, and Ashburnham of his bed-chamber, came thro' by-ways on the 5th of May to the Scots army, then lying before Newark upon Trent. Here he was received at first with every shew of respect, till Leven the General should receive instructions from his masters at home, who immediately upon getting the agreeable intelligence, dispatched the Earls of Lanerk and Callender, and Lord Balmerino, to Newcastle, to which place Leven had on the 13th brought both the King and the army. At the desire of these messengers, the King sent orders to his garrisons every where to surrender, and to Montrose in particular to disband and capitulate with the enemy. This order, repeated to him in a letter by a private bearer, cut down all Montrose's projects at once: So having obtained liberty to go beyond sea, he left his own country in the end of August, and went to France to offer his service to the Queen.

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LETTER XLVIII.  The King being now in the hands, and at the disposal of the Scots, the English were obliged to court them, by concessions and offers which otherwise they would not have thought of. The independent scheme was beginning to prevail among them by the address of Cromwell, who for his own ends encouraged that way, and had influence enough in the army to spread the spirit of it there. In the synod at Westminster the divines of that persuasion were perpetually bustling, and clogging the Presbyterian measures, and had even formal debates, and threw out proposals in support of their own scheme. Besides, the two Houses of Parliament, by whom that synod had been called, having once got a taste of ecclesiastical power, were not very fond of the Scotch discipline; and did not chuse to be fettered in their pride or interest with any plan of church-government whatever. For when the Scots commissioners objected to some particulars in the Parliamentary reform, and insisted on the absolute authority of Kirk-sessions and Presbyteries, as well as provincial Synods, and General Assemblies, which they said was the settlement most agreeable to the covenant, notwithstanding of this remonstrance the House of Commons testified their unwillingness to part with their spiritual empire, by a public declaration, in April this year, "that they could  
 " by no means consent to the granting an unlimited jurisdiction to ten thousand judicatories;  
 " that such arbitrary sway was inconsistent with  
 " the fundamental laws of the nation, and by  
 " necessary consequence excluded the Parliament  
 " from having any share in ecclesiastical jurisdiction."

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This was a bitter pill to the Scots, who with great grief of heart wrote to the General Assembly at Edinburgh in June, "that they saw but little hopes of settling the Presbyterian discipline in England." The Assembly indeed was wise enough to put the best gloss they could on this mortifying intelligence, and went on with a high hand about their own business. For on the 17th of June they made an act, ordaining "all of high or low degree who had assisted Montrose, to be censured, by acknowledging their offence upon their knees first before the presbytery, and then before the congregation; suspending them in the mean time from the Lord's supper, and if they did not satisfy in the foresaid manner, to be excommunicated." And next day they wrote a congratulatory letter to the English Parliament, telling them, "it was a matter of great refreshment to them, that the enemy had fallen every where before them," at the same time magnifying their own constancy to the *Solemn League*, and exhorting the two houses to the like. Yet under all this mask of complaisance it is more than probable that, had matters continued with the King as they were the preceding year, this material difference in discipline would have produced an open rupture, and disjointed the two great limbs of the covenant from one another. But now that his Majesty had thrown the weight of his person into the Scotch scale, which it is generally thought he had been artfully decoyed into by the French envoy Montreville, at the instigation of the Scots agents, the English Parliament saw it necessary to be more compliant than otherwise they would have been. Accordingly they now gave out an ordinance, "for the present

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LETTER XLVIII. “ present settling of the Presbyterial government without delay,” but still with this limitation, which discovered their secret bias, “ that this settlement should be but for three years, unless the two houses should think fit to prolong the term.” However, precarious as it was, the London ministers of that way took hold of it, and published, “ Certain considerations and cautions agreed upon June 19th, 1646, for putting the Presbyterian government in execution, according to the late ordinances of Parliament.”

This timely condescension closed the threatening breach: And both English and Scots united in reviving their old demands upon the King, that he “ should take the Covenant, ratify all their acts, and abolish Episcopacy in England, as he had done in Scotland,” besides other equally unreasonable propositions in matters of state, to the number of nineteen in all, which left him neither conscience, character, nor credit. The Scots Assembly had sent up four of their Ministers, Douglas, Cant, Blair, and a James Guthry, the most uncivilly zealous of them all, to Newcastle, to assist in managing their cause.— But the main stress of convincing his Majesty was laid on their principal chieftain Henderson, who was dispatched from the Westminster synod, as the only man capable to bring the King to a compliance with the two Houses. The controversy was begun about the end of May 1646, and by mutual consent, was carried on in writing.\* The great point of church government

\* The King’s first paper, in answer to Henderson’s introductory discourse, is of date May 29th, and was answered by Henderson on the 3d of June: The King replied on the 6th, and Henderson on the 17th: The King’s third paper was  
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was very fully discussed, and by the King's manner of writing, one would think that he had been in one of his royal palaces among his books, and in the midst of his chaplains, disputing at his ease, with all the weight of personal character in his favour. But when we remember what a melancholy situation he was in, little better than a prisoner, among people whom he could not trust, distressed in his mind about the perplexities of state, and harassed in his conscience about what he thought important points of religion, without books and divines to direct and assist him; and when we observe too, from the several dates, how much readier he is in his defences, than Henderson in his attacks, we cannot but admire the temper and penetration of the arguer, whatever force we may allow to the argument.

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Mr. Henderson did not long survive this honourable, but unsuccessful employment, and it is said, that on his death bed, before four of the brethren who had come to see him, he deeply regretted the part he had acted in the public commotions; "Taking God to witness, that he proposed nothing when he began, but the se-

given in on the 22d, and Henderson's on the second of July. The next day the King wrote a 4th paper, and a fifth on the 6th, and on the 16th of July the debate was closed with this judicious declaration by the King, that, "altho' he never esteemed any authority equal to the scriptures, yet he believes the unanimous consent of the fathers and the universal practice of the primitive church, the best and most authentic interpreters of God's word, and consequently the best qualified judges between himself and his antagonist: As for example, he says, "I believe you Mr. Henderson to be at present the best preacher in Newcastle, yet I believe you may err, and a better preacher may come: But till then I must retain my opinion."

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LETTER XLVIII.  curity of religion and the kirk, in opposition to Popery, which, he was made to believe, was at the bottom of the King's designs, but now he was sensible all his fears were groundless: He had conversed frequently with the King, and was fully satisfied that he was as sincere a Protestant as was in all his dominions: For which reason he gave them his advice, as from a dying man, that they should break off in time, for they had all gone too far already, and nothing now was so proper for them as to retreat and return to their duty to his Majesty, who was the most learned, the most candid and conscientious, the most religious, and every way the best King that ever did sit upon a throne in Britain. Repeating it again to one of the brethren, who, not relishing such discourse, would have had it pass as the ravings of a man in a high fever, that he was not raving, but had the use of his reason as much as ever, and therefore desired them, in the name of God, to believe that what he spake, was from his heart, and with all the sincerity and seriousness that became a dying person.\*

\* This account, so highly in the King's favour, and upon the main, no way reflecting on Mr. Henderson's memory, the author of "The Cyprianic age" tells us he had from one of the four, a Mr. Robert Freebairn, who was afterwards minister of Gask and Archdeacon of Dunblain, and tho' coming thro' such hands, it may appear suspicious to some who will not believe any good thing of this injured prince, yet that it was no late invention of the narrator's own head, we may rationally conclude from this consideration, that the English Dr. Heylin, who died within 15 years after Mr. Henderson, in the conclusion of his "Aerius redivivus," which he wrote during these troubles, mentions the story as current even then, "that Mr.

Upon



Upon the finishing of Henderſon's undertaking, without any impreſſion on the King, the English Commiſſioners declined any further reaſoning, and peremptorily demanded his ultimate answer to their propoſitions. But theſe were ſo unconſcionably extravagant, that he could give them no ſatisfaction: So on the 2d of Auguſt they left Newcaſtle, and returned to London, to form new reſolutions, and effect by force, what they could not obtain by treaty. The Scots Commiſſioners had been moſt earneſtly preſſing with him likewiſe to grant the English demands, however hard and ſevere, and the Chancellor Loudon had the aſſurance to tell him, "That the conſequence of his answer was no leſs than the ruin or preſervation of his crown and kingdom: That the Parliament of England was carrying all before them: That they neither deſired himſelf, nor any of his race, longer to reign over them: That if he reſuſed his conſent, he would loſe all his friends every where, and all England would join as one man, to depoſe him, and ſet up another government, ſo that both kingdoms would agree, for their mutual ſafety, to ſettle religion and peace without him, to the ruin of his perſon and poſterity:" And concluded with this rough declaration, "That if he left England, he would not be admitted to come and reign in Scotland." To all this bullying the King replied, with great ſpirit and magnanimity, "That no condition they could reduce him to, could be half ſo miſerable and grievous to him, as that to

"Henderſon died a convert, frequently extolling thoſe great abilities which, when it was too late, he had found in his Majeſty."

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LETTER XLVIII. “ which they would persuade him to reduce himself, and therefore they might proceed their own way, for tho’ all had forsaken him, God had not.” However, to keep up the farce, Loudon, Argyle, and Dunfermline set out for London, to interpose with the two Houses for a mitigation of the articles. And when there, Loudon, in a flaming speech before them, did, in the name of the kingdom of Scotland, put in a claim to a joint right of disposing of his Majesty’s person, and enforced it by all the arguments of duty, honour, and honesty, that the subject could not but present to him. But after all this fine speech, for which he has been sufficiently extolled by the historians, he was easily satisfied, and sat down, he and his colleagues, with great composure, under this bold and evasive assertion of the two Houses, “ We do affirm, that the kingdom of Scotland has no right of joint exercise of interest, in disposing of the person of the King in the kingdom of England.”— As if he was not as much King of the Scots, if their King at all, when at London as when at Edinburgh; or as if the Scots army might not have brought him from Newcastle, over the Tweed, before the English Parliament could have interfered; in which case, by their own doctrine, the English could have had no claim in the disposal of him. The whole appears therefore to have been nothing but collusion among the great ones on both sides, to amuse and pacify such as were not in the concert, and cannot at the same time but raise some degree of indignation, to see a set of subjects, pretended friends as well as avowed enemies, talking with as much unchristian freedom, and unfeeling indifference, about disposing

posing of their King's person, as they could have done about a piece of contendible property, or a stray that had wandered from its former owner. LETTER XLVIII.

On the 18th of August the Committee of Estates and Commission of the kirk both convened, to debate the question, "Whether to own the King, or call home the army and leave him to the English?" and at this first sederunt it was concluded to send nine Commissioners to him, to deal with him to sign the English propositions. On the 16th of September they returned, and gave in their report to the Committee, that his Majesty had refused to sign. Upon which, the debate was resumed, and the few who appeared for the King, not daring to mention his interest, for fear of malignancy, pled from this argument, that "as the reason for carrying the army into England at first, was to pursue the reformation; how could they withdraw it, when that end was not yet obtained?" But the Commission of the kirk soon solved this difficulty, and desired the Committee not to delay the calling home of the army on any account of reformation; because, say they, "we cannot force mens consciences!" Forgetting, like true time-servers, their own doctrine and practice some years ago, when they forced people to swear and subscribe their Covenants against conscience and inclination both.

However, the decision of the question was again suspended, till the meeting of the Parliament on the 3d of November. At their first sitting down, they were immediately saluted with a remonstrance from the Commission of the kirk, complaining

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plaining of the Committee of Estates for ratifying the agreement with Montrose and his followers, being all excommunicated persons, and exclaiming bitterly against the King's adherence to Prelacy, and of the danger religion was in, from the malignants setting up their heads again. This early appearance of zeal was no good omen in the King's favour. And when they were consulted by the Parliament, "Whether, if the King should come to this kingdom, on his being excluded out of England for his refusing to sign the propositions, it would be lawful for this kingdom to receive and assist him," they answered, "that in regard of the engagement of this kingdom by Covenant and treaty, it was not lawful."

About the middle of December, notice was sent from the agents at London, that they had so far agreed in their accounting with the Parliament of England, as to receive £. 200,000 sterling in hand, and the public faith for as much more to be paid at terms, "provided the Scots would retire their army, and surrender the King without any conditions for him." The two Houses had been preparing for a bargain of this kind: For in October they had passed an ordinance for abolishing the office and title of Bishops, and selling their lands to pay the public debts, and against the 8th of December they had received the most of the money. This intelligence was most cordially received, and the Commission backed it with a "seasonable warning to keep in with the Parliament of England, and not to own the King." Yet for form's sake, there was a new delegation appointed to him on the 29th of December, to require him

him to sign the propositions, with certification of what would follow, if he did not. On the 14th of January these delegates returned with his Majesty's last refusal. And so upon the 16th of January 1647, it was concluded by a vast majority of the House, "that according to the agreement of their Commissioners, the army should retire, and the King be left to the English, without any conditions for him, or this nation's interest in him." This shameful act, against which there appeared only six of the Nobility, four Barons, and three Burgeses, being immediately sent up to the Commissioners at London, the stipulated money was without delay paid to the Commissary General of the Scots at Newcastle, having been sent off from London to York on the 16th of December, in thirty six carts. On the 3d of February, the Earl of Pembroke, who had received the King, took his departure with him, and by easy journeys brought him under a sure convoy, on the 16th, to Holmby-house, one of his own castles in Northamptonshire, which the Parliament had destined for his lodging. The Scots army with their treasure left Newcastle on the last day of January, and on the 11th of February their rear crossed the Tweed at Kelso, where six regiments of horse were disbanded, after having been sworn to be true and faithful to the Covenant and cause of both kingdoms.

This disgraceful transaction will admit of no apology, and must stand on record as a lasting monument of the abominable principles of those concerned in it. However, the English Parliament did not long enjoy the pleasure, which they had so dearly purchased, of having their

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LETTER XLVIII. Sovereign under their command. For on the 4th of June, their army, which Cromwell had by this time taught to set up for itself, sent Cornet Joyce with 500 horse to Holmby, who carried off the King, and brought him to the camp at Newmarket. The news of this alarmed the Covenanters in Scotland, and made them begin to think what would be the issue of these strange revolutions. Yet they went on with their judicatories, both civil and ecclesiastical, and exercised their authority as if there had been no disorder nor confusion in the island. The General Assembly met on the 3d of August, and on the 20th directed a brotherly exhortation to their brethren in England, "that they may give a testimony to the truth of God, and to the kingdom of his son Jesus Christ, so much resisted and opposed, and beseeching them, as ambassadors for Christ, to put the two Houses, and all that have taken the Covenant, in mind, not to suffer themselves, directly nor indirectly, to be drawn from it to any sinful compliance, or making peace, till Presbytery be settled, and Prelacy abolished." And indeed there was need at this time for all this fervency and zeal: For two of their countrymen, Baillie and Gillespie, who had been members of the synod at Westminster, laid before them a copy of the Prolocutor Twisse's speech, at their taking leave of the synod: In which, to remove the suspicion which it seems Gillespie had hinted of the synod's defection, Twisse laments "the bad observance of the Directory, the Assembly's want of power to censure offenders, and that the Lord was pleased still to exercise them with many wrestlings: He  
" confesses

“ confesses their affairs to be much embarrassed, and in a kind of chaos at present: In the end, he puts them in mind of the restraint the synod lies under from the Parliament, and that this is no proper juncture to apply for relief, it being a time of general darknesses and sad apprehensions.” The meaning of all which seems to be, that he feared the Independents would prevail against them, and pull their darling scheme of Presbytery to pieces, which happened accordingly.

At the same time Gillepie produced the Confession of Faith, Catechism and Directory lately drawn up by the synod, all which this Assembly approved, and ordered to be made use of. This Confession, so well known by the name of the *Westminster Confession of Faith*, had been at first a work of chance, and not originally intended in its present form. The two houses had last year ordered their synod to examine and rectify the *Thirty Nine Articles* of the Church of England, in obedience to which order these divines had reviewed the first fourteen, and altered them to a tolerable conformity with their own notions. But finding the rest to be too stubborn for their purpose, they gave over the mending business, and thought it more convenient to make a new confession, than reconcile the old one. In this performance it is observable, that their pretensions to ecclesiastical authority fall much short of the claim which was then set up in Scotland. They yield to the civil magistrate a power of convening Church-assemblies, and superintending their proceedings: And as to the independence of the church, the divine right of the presbyteries, and the setting Christ upon his

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his throne, which was the common style of those times, they are altogether silent. It would seem they had felt the pulse of the two Houses, and found it beat too high for such a regiment.— This Confession, tho' thus imperfectly drawn, was offered by way of "humble advice to the Lords and Commons" for the sanction of an ordinance, to make it pass for the doctrine of the Church of England: And then they broke down the contents of it into a Catechism, for spreading it the more readily among the people: But finding this first draught to be too bulky for schools, or common use, they contracted it into an abridgement called the *Lesser Catechism*, which has been used in Scotland ever since:— Tho' even in this abridged state, it has more the appearance of a system of divinity for students, than of a catechism adapted either to the memory or understanding of children.

The Assembly too, before they rose, appointed a fast throughout the kingdom, and assigned several reasons for such a national humiliation:

- " That notwithstanding their solemn engagements,
- " a multitude of sins abounded in the land:
- " That religion and civil government was in danger,
- " from the prevalency of the sectaries in England: That there was a fearful defection every where from the Covenant: That the good people in England, who are zealous for the work of God, are miserably oppressed by those, who under pretence of liberty, are aiming at no less than tyranny and arbitrary power:
- " And therefore, the people are to be instructed to pray, that God would preserve the King from further snares, and bow his heart to the obedience of his will, in all things that concern



“*cera religion and righteousness.*” Such was their method of praying for the King, not as a King, for the preservation of his sacred person and royal authority, both which they had already contributed to ruin, but as a dignified tool for them and their brethren to work with, for the full and complete accomplishment of their favourite plan, which sectaries were laying ‘snares’ to countermine and defeat. The present posture of affairs in England filled their minds with sad apprehensions, and gave them sufficient ground for these grievous complaints. For when the Presbyterian branch of the Covenant there had disabled the King in the field, and got his person into their custody, when they had battered down the church, expelled the regular clergy, and now thought of nothing less than dividing the spoil which they had rapaciously torn, both from the crown and the church, they saw themselves sadly disappointed, and the prey which they had set their hearts upon, violently wrested from their hands by their covenanted brethren the Independents.

Under the sense of this heavy disappointment, the first thing which gave them any relief, was the King’s escape from the army on the 11th of November, and getting safe to the isle of Wight, where Hammond the Governor perfidiously detained him, and sent notice to the Parliament of what had happened. This sudden turn, which seems to have been the result of a new plot, set the Presbyterians upon their legs again, and both English and Scots fell to work once more with their artful applications and bold demands upon their still distressed Sovereign. The Scots, on hearing the agreeable news, sent the Earls of Lou-



LETTER XLVIII. don and Lanerk, to concur with Lord Maitland, now become Earl of Lauderdale, in taking care of their national interests, and to bring the King over to their side. With this view, they now represented to him, that if he agreed to the four articles which the English parliament proposed for entering into a personal treaty with him, it would be granting more than was fit or just; and would be an entire resignation of his regal authority, rather than which they said, "it were better for him to make some farther steps in giving Scotland full contentment anent their reformation, in which case they would undertake the whole kingdom should engage for his restoration."

Upon these assurances, repeated again and again with most solemn protestations, the King was persuaded, on the 15th of January 1648, to agree to all their demands, and they solemnly engaged that all Scotland should unite and take arms for his re-establishment with honour.—Matters being thus transacted with the Scots, the King called for the English commissioners, and dismissed them with a final negative to their four propositions: Which so incensed the two Houses, that they broke out into the most virulent language against him, and passed an act declaring it treason "to hold any further correspondence with the King, or make any more addresses to him without their leave," and at the same time they sent a peremptory order to Hammond, to shut him up in close confinement, which was instantly obeyed. The Scots agents, on their return, gave in their report to the committee of estates, who were well enough pleased with it: But the commission of the kirk began to grumble at  
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at the King's concessions as not satisfactory, and warned the committee to take care that religion <sup>LETTER XLVIII</sup> sustained no damage. On the 2d of March the Parliament sat down, and on the 25th the commission sent six ministers and three ruling elders with a paper of eight articles, remonstrating against the King's concessions, and protesting that there might be no such grounds of war as to break the covenanted union of the two kingdoms, and disoblige the Presbyterians of England.

Thus the contention was begun, and a continued train of altercations and opposition carried on by the kirk, till the 3d of May, when the Parliament appointed a levy of 30,000 foot and 6000 horse, and soon after declared Duke Hamilton commander in chief, against all which the commission solemnly protested, and sent copies of their protestation to all the presbyteries, with strict orders to keep a public fast on the last Sabbath of May against that course. The chancellor London, tho' he was one of the three who brought the King into the present snare, thought proper to break off from his engagements, and not only joined the violent party, but even, to testify his zeal, submitted to do penance in the high-church of Edinburgh for his sinful compliance with these unlawful doings. The Marquis of Argyle, the Earls of Eglinton, Cassilis and Lothian, the Lords Balmerino and Burleigh, with many others, appeared active against, and did what they could to suppress the Parliamentary levies. The General Assembly met at Edinburgh on the 12th of July, and on the 24th emitted a declaration,

“ that there is no possibility of securing religion,  
 “ if this engagement for the King be carried on ;  
 “ that his concessions are not sufficient, and that  
 “ before

LETTER XLVIII. "before he be assisted, he must give assurance under his hand and great seal, to settle religion in all his dominions according to the *Solemn League and Covenant.*" To strengthen this declaration, they make an act on the 28th against the foresaid acts of Parliament and committee, and against all oaths and bonds in the common cause, imposed without consent of the kirk: And on the last of July they remonstrate against the sinfulness of the Engagement, as being a notorious breach of the covenant in all the six articles of it, and therefore they charge all to be no way accessory to it, "as they would eschew the wrath of God, and escape the censures of the kirk."

To these declarations of the Assembly the Committee made answer in a long letter, proving that it was their bounden duty commanded by God, to assist and deliver their King out of captivity, and requiring the Ministers every where to stir up the people by their prayers and preachings, and by every other means of their calling, to obey the public orders for this business. But the Assembly continued obstinate in their resolutions, and on the 2d of August they supplicated the Committee to forbear that undertaking, "as being a snare to mens consciences, to involve them in guiltiness, and to withdraw them from their former principles and vows in the *Solemn league.*" Yea, they had the assurance at last to present an address to the King himself on the subject, in which among other base insults, they tell him, "that in all that had befallen him, it would be his wisdom to read the right hand of the Lord writing bitter things against him, as for all his provocations, so especially for resisting his work of the Covenant,

" Covenant, and shedding the blood of God's  
 " people, for which it was high time to repent :  
 " That if he had hearkened to their counsels  
 " anent their League and Covenant, he might  
 " have been sitting in peace in his own house :  
 " That if he will yet hearken, he may yet be  
 " restored, tho' they are afraid their counsels now  
 " will be in vain and without success, because  
 " of the wrath of the Lord of hosts, who bring-  
 " eth down the mighty from his throne : But  
 " they shall mourn in secret for it." This lan-  
 " guage needs no comment, and plainly shews the  
 " dispositions of these men, and what infamous li-  
 " berties they took with that ambiguous Covenant-  
 " oath of their own devising.

Yet, notwithstanding of all this opposition from  
 the kirk, the army was raised as proposed, and  
 on the 8th of July began their march to Eng-  
 land; but upon the 18th of August they were  
 met by Cromwell and Lambert, with all the  
 force of the English army, near Preston in Lan-  
 cashire, and utterly routed with a prodigious  
 slaughter. The Duke was taken in his flight,  
 and sent prisoner to Windsor Castle, where, in  
 a few days, he got a number of fellow-lodgers  
 from other parts of England for the same cause.  
 And now the Scottish malecontents had full scope,  
 with the Chancellor Loudon at their head, to  
 wreak their resentment on all those who had shewn  
 any sign of favouring the *Unlawful Engagement*,  
 as it was now called. Cromwell after his victory  
 marched a part of his conquering troops as far as  
 Edinburgh, but was soon called back to London  
 by a new treaty between the King and the Par-  
 liament, which was begun at Newport in the  
 Isle of Wight on the 15th of September, but to

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LETTER as little purpose as any of the former. For the  
 XLVIII. two Houses, tho' not a little humbled by the  
 overbearing insolence of Cromwell and his mili-  
 tary partizans, were yet as stiff and supercilious  
 as ever, and would not allow the King's divines  
 and other assistants to be present in the room  
 when their Commissioners were debating any  
 point with him. And these Commissioners were  
 so rude and boisterous, that two of them told  
 him with great bitterness, that, unless he took the  
 Covenant, and consented to the utter abolishing  
 of Episcopacy, he would certainly be damned.  
 Under all these buffetings, his Majesty stood firm  
 and unshaken as a rock. The inward regret which  
 he felt in his mind, and so pathetically expres-  
 ses in his meditations, for the concessions a-  
 gainst Episcopacy in Scotland, which had been  
 by force or fraud extorted from him, had such  
 an effect upon him now, that tho' he was wil-  
 ling to admit certain regulations and limitations  
 of the exercise of the temporal power which had  
 long been annexed to the Episcopal order, he  
 was inflexibly determined not to give the sanc-  
 tion of his name or authority to the total aboli-  
 tion of the order itself, which they had already,  
 as far as they could, laid aside without him.  
 So the treaty was spun out, without any pros-  
 pect of accommodation, till the 20th of Novem-  
 ber, when Cromwell having got to London, put  
 a final stop to it, by the usual terror of a re-  
 monstrance from the army. On the 30th, the  
 King was taken from Colonel Hammond, and  
 carried to Hurst Castle, by an order of a coun-  
 cil of officers, and on the 23d of December  
 was removed to Windsor, where Duke Hamilton  
 was permitted to wait on him. And now a so-  
 lemn

lenn fast was held at Westminster, to seek the Lord, and beg his direction in their future proceedings against the King: On which occasion that abominable buffoon Hugh Peters, their chaplain, told the audience, that, "upon a strict scrutiny, he had found there were in the army five thousand saints, no less holy than those who now conversed in heaven with God Almighty:" And kneeling down, begged, in the name of the people of England, "that justice might be executed on that great Barabbas at Windsor."

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All this time there were Scots agents at London, the Earl of Lothian and Mr. Robert Blair, to keep up an hypocritical appearance of mediation, and transmit proper intelligence to their constituents. On the 4th of January 1649, a sort of Parliament sat down at Edinburgh, and ordered a fast to be kept on the 10th, the result of which was an act for purging of judicatories, ordering, that malignants should be divided into four classes, the first to be secluded from all public offices during life, the second for ten years, the third for five, and the fourth till the next Session of Parliament. With respect to the King's concerns, which, it might have been thought, at such a crisis, deserved their attention, they only sent instructions to their agents, "that they should not debate the question about the King's life, but only labour for a delay, and that they should in no case say or do any thing that might occasion a national quarrel." Accordingly the agents addressed the Commons, who had now excluded the House of Lords, and taken all the power into their own hands, that they would not proceed to try and sentence the King,

King, till the advice of the Scottish nation was first had upon it. The Presbyterian Ministers too, in and about London, drew up a spirited remonstrance against what they saw in agitation, directed to the Lord General Fairfax, and signed by forty seven of them, on the 18th of January. But all this interposition was too late: For his Majesty's fate was now determined. The mock-trial began on the 20th, and was finished on the 27th. It is not for a pen like mine to attempt a description of this unparalleled scene of brutality on the one hand, and magnanimity on the other. I shall therefore make use of the simple, but pathetic narration of Bishop Guthry, who was alive at the time, and closes his Memoirs with it; "The next news we had, was concerning his Majesty's arraignment, how, being several times brought from St. James's before that committee in the Painted Chamber at Westminster, he did still except against the authority of the court: Yet, upon the 27th day of January, was he sentenced by them, to be, upon Tuesday the 30th, beheaded before the gate of Whitehall: Which was accordingly performed; and being dead, his faithful cousin, James Duke of Lenox, had the permission to convey the royal body to Windsor Chapel, where it was interred. So ended the best of Princes, being cut off in the midst of his age by the barbarous hands of unnatural subjects."

The character of this unfortunate Monarch has been drawn by many an able hand. I shall content myself with giving that admirable abridgment of it by the noble historian Clarendon, who knew him well, and was a good judge of men,



men, " that he was the worthiest gentleman, the  
" best master, the best friend, the best husband,  
" the best father, and the best christian that the  
" age in which he lived produced. \* **LETTER XLVIII.**

I am, &c.

\* If any thing could be added to this comprehensive description, it might be said, " and the best writer too." His *Eikon Basilike*, or meditations on his own sufferings, which has been clearly proved and is now almost universally acknowledged to have been his composition, from the masterly elegance of the style, and the beautiful vein of mild but majestic seriousness that runs thro' the whole of it, would warrant this addition.

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LETTER

## L E T T E R XLIX.

*Proceedings against the Loyalists—The Marquis of Montrose betrayed and executed—An Army raised in Scotland for the King—Weakened by the Kirk, and defeated by Cromwell—Division among the Presbyterians—Charles II. crowned at Scoon—Marches into England, and his Troops being routed at Worcester, escapes to France—Instances of Cromwell's Tyranny in Scotland—His Death, and Consequences of it—Measures taken by General Monk for a Restoration—The King proclaimed at Westminster—He embarks for England, is met by Monk at Dover, and makes a magnificent Entry into London.*

**A**FTER the fatal 30th of January 1649, the triumphant party in England had nothing to fear, and could now, with boldness, execute the same wrath upon the servants that they had done upon the master: For on the 9th of March they sent the Duke of Hamilton after his Sovereign, in whose service he had been always

ways so unlucky, as to be either suspected or disappointed. This was uniform and self-consistent procedure in England, where the Commons had, on the 7th of February, resolved, "that the office of a King is unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous, and ought to be abolished." But in Scotland the public transactions bore a very jarring and unaccountable kind of aspect. Immediately upon the news of the King's murder, a convention assembled by way of a Parliament, in which the Chancellor Loudon presided, and which proclaimed the now King Charles II. and sent over Commissioners to treat with him at the Hague, where he was residing. The treaty was soon concluded, tho' under most ungenerous and mortifying limitations. For, taking advantage of his reduced and dependent situation, as well as of his youth, for he was then but in the 19th year of his age, they obliged him to take their covenant himself, and would allow none to be about him but such as took it likewise. Yet, under all this outward appearance of duty and affection to the royal family, they still retained their old rancour to the faithful friends of it: For on the 30th of March, they brought to the scaffold and beheaded the Marquis of Huntly, who from first to last had been steady to the crown, amidst all the changes that had happened. And not satisfied with the destruction of this old and open enemy, they proceeded to wreak their vengeance upon such of their own former associates as had joined in, or declared for the last year's unsuccessful attempt under Duke Hamilton. And the more effectually to reach these malignants, it was enacted, that all who had served or assisted in that undertaking, should be incapable of bearing any office

LETTER in the state, or sitting either in Parliament or  
 XLII Council, "till they had first satisfied the Kirk, by a  
 "public profession of their repentance for having  
 "been accessory to that *unlawful engagement*.\*

The state being thus purged and modelled, to the true covenanting taste, the Kirk had full scope to rule and tyrannize at pleasure, and exercised its power, to all the extent of Episcopal or even Papal rigour. The few ministers who were suspected, not of disaffection only, but even of moderation, were deposed; numbers of the laity, for but grumbling at the covenant, were fined and imprisoned; the very Noblemen and Barons were obliged to take young probationers into their families in quality of chaplains, but in reality to be spies upon them, and to report their private behaviour to the Presbyteries; and to enforce all these severities, they had parties of Highlanders at their command here and there, whom the few concealed episcopalians used to call *Argyle-Apostles*. The General Assembly met in July, and on the 20th they passed an act "that the engagers in the war for relieving the King, make public satisfaction in sackcloth, or be excommunicated,"

\* By this judgment, the Earl of Glencairn was deprived of the office of Justice-General, and the Earl of Lindfay removed from being treasurer, tho' both these noblemen had taken the covenant, and the last of them had been from the beginning a violent stickler for it. The Earl of Lauderdale too, another of that party, had been commissioned upon some business to the present King when Prince, and was now with him in Holland: And the Earl of Lanerk, having under all his compliances and shiftings backward and forward, incurred the displeasure of Argyle and Loudon who now governed all, had been apprehended by them, but got out of their hands and escaped also to Holland, where he soon became Duke Hamilton, on the death of his brother without male-issue.

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ordaining even such as submitted to their censures to "subscribe a declaration of the unlawfulness of that engagement, and of their sorrow for their sin and guilt by their accession to it, and solemnly to promise never to own the like courses again." They likewise ratified an act of the last Assembly, "that all persons whatever should take the covenant at their first receiving of the Lord's supper," and confirmed an order made by the commission in December, "that such seducers as had dissuaded people from petitioning against the unlawful engagement, should be debarred from the covenant." Yea so spitefully were they set against this engagement for the King's relief, that in "a seasonable and necessary warning," emitted by them on the 27th, they call the defeat of the army, tho' attended with the death of thousands of their countrymen, "a mercy and deliverance which ought to be remembered with thankfulness and praise." They likewise wrote a letter to the King, in which they reprimand him for adhering to the counsels of James Graham, (so they contemptuously called the Marquis of Montrose) and his accomplices; they require him to settle the Presbyterian Government and worship in all his dominions, and upon that condition they promise him their assistance, otherwise they tell him "all the blood shed by his father will be laid to his charge."

In the motley Parliament too of this famous year, the kirk obtained a singular favour, by an act abolishing the heavy grievance of patronages, and setting up what they called the gospel-right of popular elections. And this is the first time that ever this favourite claim, which has made  
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LETTER XLIX. so much noise among them even to this day, had the least countenance from any thing that could be called civil authority. For notwithstanding some ambiguous murmurings in the books of discipline at the beginning of the reformation; which at that time for prudential reasons seemed to favour and court the people, it is certain in fact, that no man was ever thought to have a just title to a kirk or legal benefice, unless he had a presentation from a patron, and collation either from the Bishop when episcopacy was established, or from the Presbytery, when that form prevailed. Even the Parliament of 1592, leaves this right of patronage as it stood, and while it rescinds all former acts in favour of Bishops, orders, "that in all time coming presentations to benefices be directed to the respective presbyteries." And this method continued to be both law and practice, till towards the end of this civil war, when the kirkmen, sensible of their now acquired strength, took upon them to dispose of kirks at their own pleasure, by amusing the deluded populace with a sham election, but in reality imposing ministers upon them by their own usurped authority.

Mean time the King kept his little court at the Hague, and found it very difficult to preserve peace and quiet among the few that came to wait on him, tho' they all made equal professions of duty and service to him. The Marquis of Montrose having, since he left Scotland in 1646, travelled thro' France, Germany and Flanders, soliciting assistance for his distressed Sovereign, but to no purpose, came now to the Hague, where the King most cordially received him, and presented him with the ensigns of the most noble order

order of the Garter. But this reception highly displeas'd the other two attending parties, the commissioners from the kirk and council, and the new Duke of Hamilton and his adherents: \* and Montrose, like a dutiful subject, rather than embarrass his Sovereign, took his leave of that divided court, and having got proper credentials and a formal commission from his Majesty, went again thro' Germany, and as far as Denmark, in hopes of obtaining succours of men and money for his Master's service. In this laborious employment he spent most of the winter. But finding himself disappointed of the large supplies he had been made to expect, he at last set sail for Hamburg with only five hundred soldiers and about an hundred officers, and landed safe in the Orkneys on the 15th of April 1650. Here he met with as kind entertainment as that poor country could give him, and the whole presbytery unanimously drew up a declaration of their loyalty, and their firm resolution to adhere to their allegiance to the King. Upon this account they were all deposed by the next General Assembly, and their moderator Dr. Aitkin minister of Birsa, who had presented the paper to the Marquis, was excommunicated, and an order of council was sent to apprehend him and try him for his life, which he got notice of, and escaped to Holland, where he resided till the restoration; and returning then,

\* Tho' both these parties were jealous of, and looked sour upon one another, yet they united in their animosity against Montrose, even to that degree of rudeness, that when at anytime he came into the room where they were, tho' the King himself was present, they immediately withdrew and left the room, unless James Graham was ordered to retire because; forsooth he stood excommunicated by the kirk, and forfeited by the civil judicatory of the kingdom.

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LETTER was in a few years made Bishop of Galloway. XLIX. From Orkney Montrose went to Caithness, where he published his commission, and invited all the loyal subjects to join him for the King's service. But here again being deceived by fair promises, he was on the first of May overpowered by a strong body of horse which had been sent against him, and being betrayed by a gentleman to whom he had fled for shelter, was delivered to his old adversary David Leslie, who carried him in great triumph to Edinburgh.

On the third day after, he was brought before their Parliament, where the president Loudon made a most bitter and virulent speech against him, telling him, " that he had broken all the  
 " covenants by which the nation stood obliged;  
 " had impiously rebelled against God, the King  
 " and the kingdom, and had committed many  
 " horrible treasons, murders and impieties, for  
 " all which he was now brought to suffer con-  
 " dign punishment," with many personal re-  
 proaches which he durst not have uttered from any other place. To all this the Marquis heroically answered, " that he had indeed taken the  
 " first covenant, and had been as faithful to it  
 " as any of them, so long as the avowed design  
 " of it was observed: That the *Solemn League  
 " and Covenant* he had never taken, so could  
 " not break it, tho' now it was known over all  
 " Europe what monstrous mischiefs it had pro-  
 " duced: That he had the King's commission  
 " for his first appearing in arms, in which service  
 " he had acted always as a gentleman, and never  
 " suffered blood to be shed, but in the heat of  
 " battle: That he saw many persons there, whose  
 " lives he had saved: That at the King's com-  
 " mand



"and he laid down his arms and left the  
 "country, which all their force could not have  
 "compelled him to: That he had now returned  
 "by the present King's orders, and with his au-  
 "thority, and whatever fortune he might have  
 "had, was always willing to have obeyed his  
 "commands: Wishing them therefore to con-  
 "sider well the consequences of their present  
 "procedure, and requiring that all his actions  
 "might be examined and judged by the law of  
 "the land, or by the law of nations." But without  
 "any regard to his spirited and legal defence, the  
 "President, after some deliberation, told him,—  
 "That on the morrow, being the 21st of May,  
 "he was to be carried to Edinburgh-Cross, and  
 "there to be hanged on a gallows thirty feet  
 "high for three hours, then to be taken down,  
 "and his head to be taken off and set upon the  
 "tollbooth, and his legs and arms to be hanged  
 "up in other public towns in the kingdom, and  
 "his body to be buried at the place of execu-  
 "tion, except the kirk should be pleased to take  
 "off his excommunication, in which case it  
 "might be buried in the common place of bu-  
 "rial." This savage and iniquitous sentence,  
 "which he heard with the greatest magnanimity  
 "and firmness of soul, was accordingly executed,  
 "with all the appointed circumstances of cowardly  
 "revenge, and thus put an end to the short but  
 "active life of this truly admirable man, in the 38th  
 "year of his age. After his death, the scaffold  
 "which was set up at the Cross for the mangling of  
 "his body was, contrary to all former custom, kept  
 "unremoved near two months, for the execution  
 "of the Scots officers who were taken with him,  
 "and other worthy men who had embarked in the  
 "same.

LETTER. same cause. So that it became all covered with  
 XLIX. blood and gore, and was called "the ministers  
 altar," of whom it was sarcastically observed  
 on this occasion, "that they delighted not in  
 unbloody sacrifices."

Yet while they were thus butchering the King's friends, for acting in his service and under his commission, they were treating with himself, and both inviting and expecting him over from the place of his exile. And his necessities were such, and his condition so low, that he was obliged to overlook such unaccountable behaviour, and take these rigid bigots as he found them. So he left Holland with his small retinue, and arrived in the Moray-firth on the 23d of June 1650, but was not permitted even to come ashore till he had taken the Covenant: nor would they allow Duke Hamilton or his adherents to remain near the King's person, and even prohibited his being supplied with money by such wellwishers as were inclined to have given him a present on his arrival. They indeed raised an army under David Leslie, but were so far from trusting the King with the command of it, that he was never consulted in any public measure, nor called to assist at any council, and never saw the army when gathered, but once.

The news of the King's being in Scotland soon reached England, and the Parliament there, which now from its broken and disjointed state began to be in derision called the *Rump*, taking the alarm, ordered their army to march northward. But Fairfax, not willing to fight against the covenanted Scots, laid down his commission. So Cromwell, who had no such scruples, was appointed commander in chief of all the forces of England,

land, and setting out from London on the 20th of June, crossed the Tweed with his army on the 22d of July, and came in sight of Edinburgh without any opposition. This hostile invasion made no alteration among the Scots Politicians: For the prevailing party, under the influence of the kirk, continued as obstinate as ever, and published a proclamation, banishing all malignants, (so they called all that had been concerned in the *Unlawful Engagement*) from their armies, which foolish order drove away no fewer than four thousand as good men as the King had. The kirk too, at this critical juncture, was busy with its officious zeal, and was daily calling upon the King to be deeply humbled for the transgressions of his father in following evil counsels, shedding the blood of God's people, opposing the covenanted work of reformation, and tolerating in his house the idolatry of the Queen. The *Commission*, to give a public testimony of their principles, on the 13th of August, emitted the following declaration, which was approved the same day by the committee of estates, and has been called the *Act of the West-Kirk*: “ The commission of the General Assembly considering, that there may be just ground of stumbling, from the King's Majesty's refusing to subscribe and emit the declaration offered to him by the committee of estates and commissioners of the General Assembly, concerning his former carriage and resolution for the future, in reference to the cause of God, and the enemies and friends thereof, doth therefore declare, that this kirk and kingdom, do not own nor espouse any malignant party or quarrel or interest, but that they fight merely upon their former grounds

3 G 2

“ and

LETTER “ and principles, and in defence of the cause of  
 XLIX. “ God and of the kingdom, as they have done  
 “ these twelve years past: And therefore, as they  
 “ do disclaim all the sin and guilt of the King  
 “ and of his house, so they will not own him  
 “ nor his interest, otherwise than with a subor-  
 “ dination to God, and so far as he owns and  
 “ prosecutes the cause of God, and disclaims his  
 “ own and his father’s opposition to the work of  
 “ God, and to the Covenant, and likewise all  
 “ the enemies thereof: And that they will with  
 “ convenient speed take into consideration the  
 “ papers lately sent unto them from Oliver Crom-  
 “ well, and vindicate themselves from all the  
 “ fallhoods contained therein, especially in those  
 “ things wherein the quarrel between us and that  
 “ party is mistated, as if we owned the late King’s,  
 “ proceedings, and were resolved to prosecute and  
 “ maintain his present Majesty’s interest, before  
 “ and without acknowledgment of the sins of  
 “ his house and former ways, and satisfaction to  
 “ God’s people in both kingdoms.”

In this artful paper, we have an authentic expli-  
 cation of their former views and future purposes,  
 and from the whole strain of it, may easily see  
 what their sentiments were of the late King’s fate,  
 and how indifferently they stood affected to the  
 young Prince whom they had amongst them.  
 Mean time the two armies were advancing towards  
 one another, and Cromwell being straitened for  
 provisions, retreated towards Dunbar. Lally fol-  
 lowed him with caution, till, by the influence of  
 the enthusiastic preachers, who, by blasphemously  
 pretending revelations from heaven, promised cer-  
 tain victory to their army of saints, he was prevail-  
 ed upon, contrary to his own judgment, to offer  
 the

the enemy battle, which Cromwell readily accepted, and on the 3d of September gave them a total defeat, killing three thousand on the spot, and taking nine thousand prisoners, with all their colours, artillery, and ammunition. The remnant of them fled to Stirling, and the preachers impudently ascribed this calamity to the manifold provocations of the King's house, and to the secret malignants who had still remained in the army. Cromwell after his victory took possession of Edinburgh; and the ministers of the city, not thinking themselves safe, took refuge in the Castle, from whence they wrote to Cromwell, who had invited them back with assurances of freedom to preach, "that they found nothing expressed from which they could infer security to their persons, and therefore they resolved to reserve themselves for better times, and wait upon him who had hid den his face for a while from the Sons of Jacob." This enthusiastic language was lost upon Cromwell, who was as much master of cant as they were, and in answer wrote back to the Governor of the Castle a long letter, in which he vindicates himself from the imputation of insidious dealing, charges the ministers with laying the foundation of their reformation in worldly mixtures and acquisitions of power, and concludes with an observation which is worthy to have come from a better pen, that "When ministers trust purely to the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, which is powerful to bring down strong holds, and every imagination that exalts itself, which alone is able to square and fit the stones for the New Jerusalem, then, and not before, and by that means, and no other, shall Jerusalem which is to be the praise of the whole earth, the city of  
" the

LETTER  
XLIX.

LETTER: "The Lord be built, the Zion of the Holy One of  
 XLIX: "Israel."

The Governor had likewise charged Cromwell and the Westminster junto with departing from their first principles, and not being true to the ends of the Covenant, and further objected, that in England men of secular employments usurped the office of the ministry, to the great scandal of the reformed kirks. To the first part of this charge Cromwell replies, by desiring to know, whether the Scots bearing witness to themselves was sufficient evidence of their having prosecuted the ends of the Covenant, and whether their own bare affirmative be enough to justify their conduct, since every doctrine and practice must be tried by the touchstone of God's word. To the other point, of indulging the use of the pulpit to the laity, he answers in these words, "Are ye troubled that Christ is preached? Does it scandalize the reformed kirks, and Scotland in particular? Is it against the Covenant? Away with the Covenant, if it be so. I thought the Covenant, and these men, would have been willing that any should speak good of the name of Christ. If not, it is no Covenant of God's approving, nor the kirk you so much magnify, the spouse of Christ." And where the Scots, after their defeat, had pled for themselves, "that they had not so learned Christ, as to hang the equity of a cause upon events," which indeed is sound doctrine, tho' they had not always kept up to it, he retorts upon them, "Did not you solemnly appeal and pray? Did not we do so too? Were not your expectations, as well as ours, renewed from time to time, whilst we waited upon God; to see how he would manifest himself upon our  
 "appeals

“appeals? And shall we, after all our prayers, fastings, tears, expectations, and solemn appeals, call these bare events? The Lord pity you.” Thus Cromwell fought our zealots with their own weapons, turned their own artillery of the Covenant upon them, and shewed himself as able for them with the pen as he had been with the sword.\*

LETTER  
XLIX.

After this defeat of the Scots at Dunbar, the vanquished party resolved to admit the King and his friends to the service of their country, and to take a share in the common measures for that purpose; tho' there was still a stiff discontented set, both in the Parliament and General Assembly, who opposed this loyal as well as beneficial resolution; and formally remonstrated against it. This gave rise to the two Presbyterian Parties of public *Resolutioners* and *Remonstrators*, who after this would never unite in any business, but continued jarring and counteracting one another, till their division proved their downfall. Besides these political

\* It was during this extraordinary period of pretended illumination, that George Fox, a mechanic in England, preached up his new invention of the “Inward light,” and began the sect of the Quakers, which was soon after greatly supported by our countryman Robert Barclay of Urie, who, under all his boastings of the light within, fought their battles with the carnal weapons of a liberal and accomplished education. His Apology, which he dedicates with great plainness and becoming simplicity to Charles II. and which upon such an untenable subject is not a contemptible, tho' a very cunning composition, joined with the activity and secular influence of the English William Penn, who was Urie's great intimate, kept the quaker brotherhood in countenance and some degree of reputation for a while, till upon the death of these two champions, they sunk gradually into obscurity, and now are considerable for nothing, but their superstitious continuance of their fundamental opposition to the very elements and outward profession of christianity.

squabbles,

LETTER squabbles, they began likewise to split among  
 XLIX. themselves about religious rites and practices.  
 ~~~~~ The Lord's Prayer, which hitherto had been of  
 constant use in the public worship, thro' all the
 various modes of church polity, and stood parti-
 cularly recommended, almost to a positive injunc-
 tion, by the new Directory, became offensive to
 the more enlightened brethren, who, not daring to
 abrogate it by a formal sentence, let it fall into de-
 fuetude, with all the epithets of blasphemous con-
 tempt. The Doxology too, tho' not of divine
 original, yet of high antiquity in the church, and
 of continued practice in Scotland from Knox
 down to the Covenant, met with the same fate,
 and was jostled out after the same manner, not by
 any shew of authority, but by affected omission of
 the old custom.*

Mean time the King, being put under Argyle's
 inspection, who wished well to none of his family,
 found himself little better than a prisoner, and was
 daily exposed to all the rudeness and malevolence
 of the preachers, who were perpetually clamour-
 ing and praying against the sins of the King and
 his household. To free himself from this unplea-
 sant thraldom, he made a sudden start to the
 North Highlands, where some of the loyal clans
 were ready to receive and assist him: And after
 this, being treated with more respect, he was at
 last, on the first of January 1651, crowned at
 Scoon, with all the pomp and signs of joy that the

* Several other decencies, such as the men's uncovering their
 heads when they enter the church, and putting up a short peti-
 tion in secret, the minister's kneeling in the pulpit for the same
 purpose, which even the first covenanting assemblies had retained
 as laudable practices, were now ridiculed, and thrown out of
 use, as not suiting the purity of this refined age.

divided

divided state of the nation, and the weight of such an enemy as Cromwell lying in the metropolis with a victorious army, could admit of.*

The coronation thus over, all parties had access to his Majesty, and a Parliament being called to meet at Stirling, the Hamiltonian malignants were admitted to sit in it, having been previously obliged, as Lord Clarendon tells us, "to wipe off the stain with which the engagement had defiled

* At this solemnity the young Earl of Rothes carried the sword of state, the Earl of Eglinton the spurs, the Earl of Lindsay the sceptre, and the Marquis of Argyle the crown. The canopy over his Majesty from his apartment to the church, was born by the eldest sons of the six Earls of Perth, Southesk, Dalhousie, Hartfield, Panmure and Tweedale. We have an account of the whole solemnity from one who was present, the famous Mr. Robert Baillie, who had been one of the Scots commissioners at the Westminster synod, and writes thus. "This day we have done that which I earnestly desired and long expected, crowned our noble King with all the solemnities at Scone, so peaceably and magnificently as if no enemy had been among us. This is of God: For it was Cromwell's purpose, which I thought he might easily have performed, to have marred by arms that action, at least the solemnity of it. The Remonstrants with all their power would have opposed it. Others prolonged it, so long as they were able. Blessed be God, it is this day celebrated with great joy and contentment, to all honest-hearted men here. The King swore the covenant, the league and covenant, and the coronation oath. Mr. Douglas, from 2 Kings Ch. ii. Joash's coronation, had a very pertinent, wise and good sermon.— When Argyle put on the crown, Mr. Douglas prayed well. When the chancellor set him on the Throne, he exhorted well. When all was ended, he with great earnestness pressed sincerity and constancy in the covenant on the King, declaring at length K. James's breach of the covenant, pursued yet against the family, from Nehem. v. 13. God's casting the King out of his lap, and the 34th of Jeremiah, many plagues on him, if he did not sincerely keep the oaths now taken. He closed all with a prayer, and the 20th psalm." Baillie's Letters.

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them

LETTER XLIX. “ them, by submitting to stand publicly on the
 “ stool of repentance, in acknowledgement of their
 “ former transgressions,” with which rigorous
 imposition they had no help but comply. Soon
 after this the King set up his standard at Aberdeen,
 and in a short time collected a considerable army
 which, under himself, he gave the command of
 to David Leslie, as Lieutenant General. This
 put Cromwell in motion, and after a skirmishing
 kind of war for some months, a detachment of the
 Scots was attacked and defeated in Fife by a party
 of Cromwell’s, with the loss of two thousand kill-
 ed, and twelve hundred made prisoners. On this
 Cromwell came over the Frith with the rest of his
 forces, and marching on till he had got to the
 north of the royal army, the King suddenly de-
 camped and moved for England, Argyle and
 many others of his stamp having left him and re-
 turned home. On the 6th of August the King
 entered England by Carlisle, with a gallant army
 of sixteen thousand men, at the head of which
 he was proclaimed King of Great Britain. Here
 he expected that great numbers would have flock-
 ed to his standard: But such is the influence of
 power, when once established by whatever means,
 that the Rump Parliament, tho’ founded in usur-
 pation the most unjust and even unpopular, had
 authority enough to raise the militia every where,
 and prevent any considerable junction.

Besides, the expedition was much hurt by the
 committee of Scots ministers that were in the
 army. These men having observed or suspected
 that, after their entrance into England, the King
 and his intimates seemed cooler in their regards
 to the Covenant, they of their own heads, without
 acquainting the King, sent a messenger to General
 Maffie,

Massie, who led the van always a day's march ahead for inviting in the neighbouring gentry, and was himself a zealous Presbyterian, desiring him to publish a declaration "of the King's and the army's attachment to the Covenant, and their fixt resolution to prosecute the true intent of it," and forbidding him to receive any new soldiers, but such as would subscribe an obligation to the same purpose. This officious and unseasonable overflow of intemperate zeal for their unhappy Covenant, discouraged the loyalists in these parts, where the Covenant-heat was neither so general nor so warm, and made many people less forward to join than otherwise they would have been. Yet under all these disappointments, casual or designed, the King held on his march as far as Worcester, where he made a halt to refresh his troops. Here Cromwell, who, upon finding that he had given him the slip, was following him at the heels, came up with him, and falling on him with a much superior force on the 3d of September, gave him a total and decisive overthrow. The King himself did all that could be expected on the occasion; but his troops being overborn by numbers, were, after a stout resistance, broken and routed. Three thousand of them were killed, and near seven thousand taken. Duke Hamilton was wounded in the action, and falling into the victors hands, died of his wounds the next day: The Earls of Rothes and Lauderdale, and the Generals Middleton and Massie, were taken and carried to London. The King himself providentially escaped, and having skulked in different places, and for some days been forced to hide himself in a tree, called from that time the Royal Oak, at last, on the 22d of October, got safe over to France, after

LETTER XLIX. fourteen months enjoyment of a kind of mock royalty among the Covenanters in Scotland.

When Cromwell marched after the King, he left General Monk, with seven thousand men, to manage matters in Scotland against the King's interest; and this able commander fulfilled his commission with amazing activity and success.* After he had brought the whole kingdom under his obedience, an act was passed at London, for incorporating Scotland into one commonwealth with England, to which act of encroachment the Scots were forced to yield, and for form's sake to choose twenty one members, to represent the whole nation in the English Parliament. In consequence of this mortifying surrender of privilege, the Commons at Westminster appointed eight Commissioners to govern and administer justice in Scotland, the two Generals Monk and Lambert being two of the members; in virtue of which commission, Monk sent five of his Colonels to reform the King's College at Aberdeen, and these

* He first seized the Castle of Stirling, where he found the records of the kingdom, and sent them to London: He then took the town of Dundee by assault, and following the example and instructions of Cromwell, put a number of the defenceless inhabitants to the sword. The garrison which he placed here was a great annoyance to the King's cause in that neighbourhood. For while the King was on his march thro' England, a party of them sallied out on the 28th of August, and at a place called Eliot, apprehended the Earls of Marischal, Lindsay, and Levin, with several gentlemen of note, who had met to consult about forwarding the levies in these parts for the King's service, and were all sent prisoners to London, to keep company with the unhappy captives from Worcester. This unexpected blow, joined to the terror of Monk's success and severity, wrought such an effect every where, that no place of strength stood out against him, and in less than ten months all Scotland was reduced and bridled by his garrisons.


military

military reformers turned out Dr Guild the Principal, and Mr Middleton the Sub-principal, putting Gilbert Rule in room of the latter, and bestowing the Principal's place on the Independent minister of Aberdeen, Mr John Row, who kept it till 1661. Nor was this all the length that Monk went with his new powers. He even brandished his sword over the General Assembly itself, and published an ordinance, that neither the Covenant, nor any other religious oath, should be imposed on any person, without direction from the state of England; threatening to treat them as enemies, if they did not acquiesce. He likewise gave orders to the civil judges, not to meddle with the goods or estates of such as the Assembly should excommunicate, nor to prohibit correspondence with them, or put them to any other trouble, as had been the cruel custom hitherto. This check on the arbitrary discipline of the kirk was highly displeasing to some, but as satisfactory and welcome to others.†

The disappointed party had recourse to their old way of remonstrating, and wrote to General Lambert, “ Confessing indeed, that they are justly punished for their late treaty with the King, but complaining of the English army for countenancing deposed ministers and allowing them the pulpit, for silencing ministers on the score

† The Laird of Drum wrote Monk a polite letter of thanks for restoring conscience to its just freedom, and rescuing people from the intolerant tyranny of the Presbyteries. This gentleman, who had suffered much for his loyalty, being cited on a suspicion of Popery by the Presbytery of Aberdeen, summoned them in return to appear before Colonel Overton, one of the English judges, declared himself under the protection of the Parliament of England, and refused to acknowledge any other jurisdiction.

“ of

LETTER XLIX.  “ of their meddling in their sermons with matters of state, for tolerating the gathering of churches as is done in England, for lessening the authority of kirk-assemblies, and putting magistrates on them of unsound principles, and concluding with an offer of compliance as far as their consciences, and the liberty of the kirk, will give them leave, and with their earnest requests to Lambert, to interpose with the other English Commissioners in their behalf.” This letter shews how differently matters went with them now, from what they did formerly. But it was of no avail : Their patron, Lambert, was indeed equal with Monk in civil authority, but Monk was possessed of the military power, and by that means had most weight in the administration. So they had no help but do the best they could, and go on with their curtailed jurisdiction, as far as people were inclined to submit to it, since they could no longer enforce it by temporal penalties upon the refractory. And Cant, who was one of the triumvirate that spread the first covenanting infection, saw it necessary now to prepare his adherents for suffering ; and to secure the dignity of the Covenant, he now began the custom of requiring a promise from parents, when they brought their children to baptism, that they should educate them in the belief of that sacred engagement, as being, in his estimation, of more consequence to the true faith, than any of the received symbols of early antiquity.

In July 1653, the General Assembly met at Edinburgh, and after sermon were beginning, as usual, to enter upon business, when Lieut. Colonel Cotterel, who commanded there under Monk, broke in upon them, and mounting a bench, made proclamation,

proclamation, "That no Judicature ought to fit, LETTER
 "which had not authority from the Parliament of XLIX.
 "England." This done, he ordered them to retire, and guarded them off till they were past the West Port. Then he commanded them to form into a circle, and surrounding them with his troops, after he had reprimanded them for the presumption of their meeting, he took away their commissions, and enjoined them, under severe penalties to disperse, and not to meet three of them together, but to quit the town immediately, and repair to their respective dwellings.†

This was a severe blow to the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland, thus to have their General Assembly, which had maintained its ground so long, and acted in defiance of even sovereign authority, scattered like chaff, by the wind of command from a petty English officer. What was become now of their Loudons, and Lindsays, and Waristons, and Henderfons, these daring heroes of holy chivalry, who could outbrave Kings and Commissioners, and combat royal edicts with bold protestations? The times seem to be strangely changed, and the men now in power were neither to be bullied by big words, nor flattered by deceitful promises.

† Cromwell had lately been playing the same game with the Parliament in England: For on the 20th of April this year, he had gone to the Parliament House with his guards, and after having with buffoonery and opprobrious language abused the members, most of whom were his intimate acquaintances, and had been his accomplices in villainy, he ordered his soldiers to turn them all out with disgrace, and locked the doors. And with them expired the Assembly of Divines, which had been such an oracle to our Covenanters, and after ten years labour, at great expence and to little purpose, except making a Creed and a Catechism, had dwindled down to a scanty committee, and was now dissolved with contempt.

They

LETTER
XLIX. They had learned, from experience, the proper method of curbing unruly tempers, and it may truly be said, that Charles I. had taught Cromwell how to manage the Assemblies of the Scottish Kirk.

The usurper having now got to the height of his ambition, by being declared Lord Protector in December last, was willing to have peace and quiet, if possible, established under his newly-acquired sovereignty; and to begin his reign in the usual form, had been pleased in April this year to pass what he called an "act of grace and pardon" to the people of Scotland.*

A D. 1654

About the same time the French court having entered into a treaty with him, and by their ambassador complimented him in a strain of the most fulsome and even blasphemous flattery, he made it an article, that neither the King nor his two brothers, should be harboured in any of the French dominions. And now Cromwell, elevated with the friendship of such a powerful nation, carried all before him, and by his *Tryers* and Major-Generals ruled over the three kingdoms, especially over Scotland, with a rod of iron.— Yet the kirk, tho' grievously restrained in their

* Out of this act, or any of the benefits of it, are expressly excepted the Queen Dowager and her two eldest sons Charles and James Stuarts, the two deceased Dukes of Hamilton, 9 Earls, 2 Viscounts, 8 Lords, and the two Generals Dalryell and Middleton, who are all forfeited, and their estates sequestered into the protector's coffers: Of the rest whom he pardons and allows to keep their estates, there are heavy fines laid upon the Marquis of Douglafs, 20 Earls, 1 Viscount, 12 Lords and 38 inferior Barons, to the amount in whole of English money 162200 pounds, to be paid to George Bilton Treasurer at Leith, the one half on the second day of August, and the other on the second day of December, 1654. To such a miserable state of slavery and oppression was Scotland now reduced.

public

public judicatories, could not agree in private among themselves. The *Protesters* or *Remonstrators*, who were the party that had always insulted the King, and with the Covenant in their mouths had still cried out against having any thing to do with him at all, were perpetually contending with and harassing the *Public-Resolutioners*, who still professed to entertain some degree of affection to the King's person and cause. Many of them went even so far as to correspond with his Majesty and his friends in their exile, and endeavoured to keep up a little zeal for his service among their brethren at home. The *Remonstrators* were aware of this, and sending up a representation of the case to the Protector in 1657, for the more security deputed to that office, the famous Mr. James Guthry preacher at Stirling, who Shimei-like had cursed the King to his face, and afterwards for his seditious behaviour was condemned in the Parliament 1661, and hanged at Stirling as a traitor. The *Resolutioners*, on the other hand, commissioned Doctor, afterwards Archbishop, Sharp, then minister of Grail in Fife, and a man of address, who thro' the influence of Lord Broghill one of the Scottish governors, so wrought upon the Protector, by the description he gave him of the other party's turbulent and levelling principles, that he was favourably dismissed, and his antagonist disappointed in his aim.

From this time the *Resolutioners* got the ascendant, and by a majority for the most part in the synods and presbyteries, kept the *Remonstrators* in a great measure under the hatches; and this contributed not a little to the great change which was soon after brought about. For now Oliver's



BETTER hypocritical severity was beginning to make his ad-
XLIX. ministrations odious even in England. His wild
 independent notions had opened a door to the
 most exorbitant licentiousness in religious pro-
 fession. The new Quaker light of George Fox
 blazed out with still more intolerable extrava-
 gance in a James Nailor at Bristol, who had the
 impudence to personate our Saviour, and was
 guilty of other hideous enormities consequential
 to that horrid presumption. The Socinian pe-
 culiarities too were about this time brought into
 England by a Mr. John Biddle, a man of good
 parts, and who had got his education at Oxford.
 In 1644 he began to vent his notions in public,
 against the true deity of Jesus Christ and of the
 Holy Ghost, which Archbishop Usher in a per-
 sonal conference with him in 1646, and then the
 Westminster synod by a decree in 1648, thought
 to reclaim him from, but without effect. In Oli-
 ver's time he published several short tracts in de-
 fence of his opinions, under the shelter of the li-
 berty of conscience which then prevailed, and
 makes use of the same objections and arguments,
 both from scripture and the fathers, that were
 afterwards adopted by Whiston, Clarke, and the
 other English writers of that stamp, and are now
 so current and fashionable among the refined ra-
 tionalists of the present age. The old established
 Episcopal clergy were the chief objects of Crom-
 wel's wrath, and to them he would never be pre-
 vailed with to grant any favour. For tho' he pre-
 tended at first to have a more than ordinary regard
 for the universally esteemed Archbishop Usher,
 and once gave him a promise to allow the Epis-
 copal clergy a share in the common indulgence,
 yet when the primate put him in mind of his pro-
 mise,

mise, he told him, that "upon advising with
 " his council, it was not thought safe to grant li-
 " berty of conscience to those men who were de-
 " clared enemies to his government:" And im-
 mediately he enforced his former orders against
 them, by which they were prohibited to manage
 or teach in private schools, or officiate in noble-
 men's or gentlemen's families, under pain of im-
 prisonment.

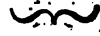
These and many such like instances of dissimu-
 lation and cruelty, which were Cromwel's two
 predominant qualities, by degrees united the bulk
 of the nation against him, after the first heat of
 the contagious madness was over; and the dis-
 covery of this change in peoples humours, which
 he was sagacious enough to find out, kept him
 now in a racking agony of mind, under a continual
 terror of plots and assassinations. So that, had
 his life been spared a little longer, it is more than
 probable, as matters were turning about, that
 this scourge of Britain would either have sunk
 back into his original obscurity, or met with the
 fate, which his infamous carcase was doomed to,
 in little more than two years, of being hanged
 on a gallows at Tyburn. But he died in good
 time, if not for his eternal, at least for his tem-
 poral interest, on the 3d of September 1658, in
 the 60th year of his age, and was succeeded in
 his ill-gotten power by his son Richard, who did
 not long keep possession of it. Being either not
 able from weakness, or not willing from principle
 to act the Usurper as his father had done, within
 a few months he resigned the protectorship, and
 retired to a private condition, in which he lived
 quietly to the uncommon age of 90, and died on
 the 12th of July 1712, without meeting with the

LETTER XLIX. least trouble all the time, from the posterity of that King whom his father had brought to the scaffold.*

Upon Richard's retirement, in May 1659, General Monk, who seems to have had a personal affection for Cromwell, being now disengaged from any such obligation, saw himself at liberty to be a little more open in indulging his bias towards the old constitution, and tho' he still found it necessary to act with caution and reserve, went so far as to correspond with some of the principal royalists, that he might take advantage of the confusions, which were now breaking out at London. The Rump-remainder of the Long Parliament, sensible of Richard's inactivity, immediately assumed the reins of government which Oliver had wrested out of their hands, and published their edicts and ordinances in a very high strain. But Lambert, and the other republican officers, not pleased with this intended diminution of their power, erected a junto of their creatures into what they called a *Committee of Safety*, and in a few months turned the Rump out of their seat. These proceedings gave Monk a handle for appearing in support of his old masters, and, at the same time, opened up to him a fair prospect of crushing Lambert, whom he had always been jealous of, as an obstruction to his designs. To this purpose, in November he summoned a Convention of the Estates in Scotland, and to suit the canting style

* It is said, he kept in the hall of his country-house a great chest full of the many fawning and servile addresses that had been presented to his father, which he used to sit upon, and tell those who came to see him, that "low as his condition now was, he had beneath him the lives and fortunes of all the good people of Britain."

of

of the times, told them, " he had a call from LETTER
 " God and man to march into England to settle XLIX.
 " the peace there," requiring them to provide 
 money for the subsistence of his troops, and to
 keep the peace of their own country in his ab-
 sence. At this meeting, sundry of the nobility,
 particularly the Earl of Glencairn, were urgent
 with Monk to declare for a free Parliament, which
 was generally understood to be the same thing as
 declaring for the King : And this application, tho'
 he seemed to take little notice of it at the time,
 yet he afterwards owned, made such an impresson
 on him, as mightily encouraged him to prosecute
 the design which he soon so happily accomplished.

On the 18th of November, Monk began his
 march towards England ; but hearing, by the way,
 that Lambert was at Newcastle with twelve
 thousand men, he stopped at Coldstream, near
 Berwick, to deliberate what was to be done.
 While he lay here, he dispatched a messenger to
 Crail, desiring Dr Sharp to come to him with all
 possible expedition, as he had something of the
 greatest importance to consult with him upon.
 When the Doctor arrived, Monk told him both
 the design and uncertainty of his undertaking, as
 he stood in doubt of the inclinations of his own
 officers, and Lambert, his avowed enemy, was in
 the neighbourhood, with a superior force. Upon
 which Sharp fell to work, and after mature weigh-
 ing what he had heard, drew up a declaration
 in Monk's name, shewing the reasons of his pre-
 sent posture, and proposed march into England.
 Which declaration, without mentioning the King,
 or his interest, was so accommodated to the tem-
 pers of all the contending parties, that, being read
 next day at the head of the army, it confirmed
 them

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XLIX. them all in their duty and obedience to the General: And at last reaching Lambert's head quarters, it wrought such an effect there, that the most of his men deserted him, and either joined Monk, or went over to Fairfax, who lay at York, and corresponded with Monk.

So, on the first of January 1660, Monk entered England, with this additional supply of strength which Dr Sharp's management had procured to him, and without encountering any opposition, or discovering his intentions to any one by the way, he marched into London on the 4th of February, and took up his lodgings at Whitehall. Here he was caressed and courted by all sides; and some of the Presbyterian ministers of Scotland sent up Dr Sharp, whom they knew he had an esteem for, to manage their matters with him. Yet, with all this seeming command, Monk had need of all his caution and courage about him. The Rump put him upon several disagreeable employments, which he artfully executed, without any dangerous consequence to his own designs, and even got them to pass a vote, on the 23d of February, for a new Parliament, to meet on the 25th of April. At the same time, he procured the releasement of the Earls of Lauderdale and Lindsay, and the rest of the King's friends, who had lien in prison many years, and were all liberated on the 3d of March; as was likewise, old Bishop Wren of Ely, who had been confined in the tower since 1645.

Thus, by playing off the Rump's artillery against themselves, and now and then shewing some favourable propensity to the other side, he by degrees brought his main point to a proper bearing: For on the 10th of March the rebellious engagement, to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth

wealth without a King or House of Lords was re-
 pealed; and on the 16th an act passed for dissolving
 this Parliament, which had now continued, in vari-
 ous forms, some months more than nineteen years;
 with a special proviso in the act, not to infringe the
 rights of the Upper House any longer. This was in
 effect declaring for the King, and accordingly his
 friends, in both kingdoms, ventured now to shew
 themselves without fear or reserve. His Majesty
 had, in expectation of something favourable, left
 Cogn some time ago, and was residing at Bre-
 da in Holland, where he was publicly waited
 upon by deputations from all parties. From Eng-
 land the Nobility sent six, the Commons twelve,
 and the city of London fourteen, as a committee
 to offer him their submission. The Presbyterians
 too of that nation deputed some of the most emi-
 nent of their divines to catch his favour in time,
 by endeavouring to persuade him, “ that they
 “ had always, pursuant to the obligation of the
 “ Covenant, wished his Majesty very well, that
 “ they were happy to hear of his Majesty’s con-
 “ stancy in the Protestant religion; that for them-
 “ selves they were no enemies to a moderate
 “ Episcopacy, and only desired not to be pressed
 “ with such things in God’s worship, as by many
 “ were reckoned indifferent, and by tender con-
 “ sciences unlawful.”

About the beginning of May, General Monk
 sent over his friend Dr. Sharp to inform his Ma-
 jesty of the state of affairs, and how successfully
 for the Royal cause every thing was going on.
 The Doctor was graciously received on such a
 welcome errand, and tho’ he was commissioned
 only by Monk, to whom he had been sent up
 by but a small number of his brethren, yet in
 many

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LETTER XLIX. many conferences with the King, he took the opportunity to address his Majesty in name of the body of the ministry of the kirk of Scotland, which he said, "had persevered in her integrity and loyalty in all revolutions." The King heard all with great attention, and told the Doctor, "He would reserve a full communing about these matters till his coming to England." In one of these conferences the discourse having turned upon the divisions between the *Remonstrators* and the *Passive Resolutions*, which had so much vexed the King when he was among them; and his Majesty having asked, What should be done with these Remonstrators, the Doctor answered, "Tho' it be not fit that your Majesty give them countenance, or put power in their hands, yet I think we will all be suitors to your Majesty, that pity and pardon may be their measure." To which the King with a smile replied, "Were they in your case, they would not allow you such measure; We have sufficiently found evidence of their malice against us, I pray it may not be charged upon them." And indeed it is not to be wondered at, that the King should express himself in such a way about a set of men, whose factious principles he was so sensibly acquainted with, and who had not only insulted him with personal incivilities, but had likewise by their turbulent humours been the ruin of the best laid schemes for his success. However, to give all the general satisfaction that he could, consistently with his own sentiments, he published a declaration in Holland, "Promising liberty to tender consciences, that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for difference of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom."

“ dom, and that he shall be ready to ratify such **LETTER**
 “ acts of Parliament as shall upon mature delibe- **XLIX.**
 “ ration be offered to him, for the full granting
 “ that indulgence.” This was going as far as
 could reasonably be desired in his present situation,
 and could not but give content to all who wished
 to see peace and quiet once more restored to the
 troubled land. Accordingly the Convention-Parliament
 having in consequence of the former vote met at
 Westminster on the 25th of April, and settled the
 necessary preliminaries, the King was solemnly
 proclaimed in presence of both Houses on the 8th
 of May, and on the 10th a day of public thanksgiving
 was joyfully observed in London, and the Common-
 prayer again read before the Lords. And now,
 every thing being thus got ready, his Majesty
 embarked for England on the 23d of May, was met
 at Dover on the 25th by General Monk, whom he
 cordially embraced, and on the 29th, being his
 birthday, when he was complete 30 years of age,
 made a magnificent entry into London, amidst the
 loud acclamations of his rejoicing subjects.

I am, &c.

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L E T T E R L.

Effect of the King's Restoration on the Church of England—State of Affairs in Scotland—Acts of Parliament during the Usurpation rescinded—Patronages restored—Loyal Address from the Synod of Aberdeen—General Desire of Episcopacy—Four Scottish Bishops consecrated at London—Restoration of Episcopacy confirmed by Parliament—Various Acts against the Covenants, and in favour of Episcopal Government.

A.D.166c.

ON the happy restoration of Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors, the church of England immediately revived, and recovered the splendour of her former legal settlement. Nine of her Bishops had survived the late calamities, of whom the worthy Bishop of London, Dr. Juxon, who had attended the late King on the scaffold, was preferred to the See of Canterbury, which had been vacant since Laud's death. The other eight took possession of their former sees, and the rest of

of the Bishopricks were soon regularly filled with learned and able Prelates. The King too, in terms of his declaration, desired a conference between a select number of Episcopal clergy and Presbyterian divines, which was accordingly begun at the Savoy on the 25th of March next year, but broke up as usual, without any accommodation. Only, to remove some trivial objections made by the Presbyterian Dr. Reynolds, who afterwards accepted a Bishoprick, the Common Prayer was reviewed, and amended in some few improprieties of language, and with the addition of some general prayers was brought to the form in which it has remained ever since.*

* On this occasion Mr. Robert Baillie expresses his disappointment, in a letter of January 31st 1661—"But as nothing is perfectly blessed on earth, some water was quickly poured in the wine of many: I am sure in mine, as I expressed it in a sharp and free letter to Lauderdale. Bishops and liturgies were every where set up in England and Ireland without contradiction, our league and covenant by a number of printed pamphlets was torn to pieces. This was the more grievous, that at the beginning it appeared most easy to have been remedied. His gracious Majesty was ready to have been advised by his parliament. The leading men there were avowed covenanters and presbyterians. Lauderdale and Mr. Sharp, both at Breda and London, had very much of the King's ear.—Monk was for us in that at the beginning, firm enough. The Queen and her party was on our side. The Episcopal men were sundry of them as evil as before: Bramhall, Wreh, Heylin, Thorndike, Cofins, Sydserf, Hammond, Piercc, none of the best or most orthodox: Juxon and Duppa smally learned: Sheldon, Morley, able indeed, and very wise men. But the overturning of all the reformation of England without a contrary petition, to me was strange, and very grievous, and I suspect we know not yet the bottom of that mystery. I wish all our friends, Scots and English, have been honest and faithful; sure they have not been so prudent and industrious as I think they should have been." From this account it appears that the Queen and the papists were on the side of the co-

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L.

But in Scotland, tho' the civil establishment quickly and without noise followed the English example, in owning the restoration of their exiled King, yet the affairs of the church were not so smoothly and speedily resettled. The Presbyterians here had long been the prevailing party. Their two covenants had seduced most of the people either by persuasion or terror, and the shattered remains of the Episcopal church had been more cruelly persecuted by the Scotch Covenanters, than the English clergy had been even by Cromwell and his independents. Our Bishops had been early driven away by repeated threats and acts of barbarity, and all of them except one had died before the late King. Of the leading men of the nation, some were still attached to their old engagements in favour of Presbytery, and others were afraid to appear too forward in pushing a change, as being uncertain from present circumstances what might be the event, and unwilling from past experience to risque the resentment of former oppressors. Indeed the rupture between the *Remonstrators* and *Resolutioners* had done much hurt to the common cause, and weakened both their power and influence to a great degree. The *Resolutioners* were those whom the King favoured most, as being more moderate and pacific than the others, tho' it was not to be thought that either party, while adhering to their covenanting principles, could claim or expect much favour from him.

When the King returned, Dr. Sharp came over to London about the same time, and was employed by his former constituents to manage their

'covenanters:' And we see our own Bishop Sydeserf classed with some of the greatest names that the church of England boasts of.

cause

cause at court. In the course of this employ-
ment he informed them from time to time, how
 matters were going on in England, and what little
 prospect there was of continuing a kirk settlement
 in Scotland upon the plan of the Covenant. The
 Presbyterians too in England wrote to the bre-
 thren here, under direction to Mr. Robert Doug-
 las and others at Edinburgh, giving an account
 of their own straitened situation, and after a mix-
 ture of congratulations and sighs they tell them,
 "The general stream and current here is for the
 "old Prelacy in all its pomp and height: And
 "therefore it cannot be hoped for, that the Pres-
 "byterial government will be owned as the pub-
 "lic establishment of this nation, while the tide
 "runs so strongly the other way, and the bare
 "toleration of it will certainly produce a mischief,
 "whilst Papists, and sectaries of all sorts, will
 "wind themselves under cover of such a favour:
 "Therefore, no course seemeth likely to us to
 "secure religion and the interests of Christ Jesus
 "our Lord, but by making Presbytery a part of
 "the public establishment, which cannot be ef-
 "fected, but by moderating and reducing Episco-
 "pacy to the form of synodical government, and
 "a mutual condescendence of both parties in
 "some lesser things, which come within the lati-
 "tude of allowable differences in the church.
 "This is all we can at present hope for, and if we
 "could obtain it, should account it a mercy, and
 "the best expedient to ease his Majesty in his
 "great difficulties about the matters of religion:
 "And we hope, none that fear God, and seek
 "the peace of Zion, will interpret this to be any
 "tergiverfation from our principles, or apostacy
 "from the Covenant."

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L.Aug. 10.
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 Of the same date, the King directs a letter, signed by himself, and subscribed Lauderdale, to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, in which, among other things, he says, " We do also resolve to protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland, as it is settled by law, without violation, and to countenance, in the due exercise of their functions, all those ministers who shall behave themselves dutifully and peaceably, as becometh men of their calling. And we do expect, that Church Judicatories in Scotland, and Ministers there, will keep within the compass of their station, meddling only with matters ecclesiastical, and promoting our authority and interest with our subjects, against all opposers," &c. Dr Sharp was the bearer of both these letters, and with them he delivered up his commission to his employers, from whom he never received any other trust of any kind.

While the business of the church was thus under deliberation, the Committee, which had been appointed by the King's last Parliament at Stirling, in 1651, met on the 23d of August, to prepare matters for the Parliament; and, by the King's order, the Earl of Glencairn presided in it. This convention, among other things, gave orders to apprehend ten or twelve ministers of the *Remonstrator* party, who had met at Edinburgh, and had drawn up a new remonstrance, putting the King in mind of the Covenant, which he had solemnly sworn when he was among them, and declining his having any power or authority in the settlement of the church. The Committee likewise summoned sundry suspected persons to appear before them, and find bail for their answering in the next Parliament, and among the rest, the noted  
 assembly

assembly clerk, Johnston of Wariston, who fearing the worst, as indeed he had good cause, wisely kept out of the way, and was declared fugitive. LETTER  
L.

On the first of January 1661, the Parliament sat down at Edinburgh, General Middleton, now created Earl of Middleton, being appointed High Commissioner, and the Earl of Glencairn, Chancellor, in the room of the Earl of Loudon.— Among the first transactions of this Parliament, was a declaration, “ that there is no obligation upon Scotland, by covenant, treaty or otherwise, to endeavour by arms a reformation in England; or to meddle with the administration of that kingdom: And expressly inhibiting all his Majesty’s subjects from presuming, upon any pretext whatever, to require the renewing or swearing the Solemn League and Covenant, or any other covenants or public oaths, concerning the government of church or state, without his Majesty’s special warrant and approbation.” But the great blow given to the covenanted cause, was by the Rescissory Act, as it is called, which passed on the 28th of March, ‘ Rescinding and annulling all the pretended Parliaments from the year 1638 to this time, because of the force and violence the Sovereign was under all the while.’ The Treasurer, Lindsay, now become Earl of Crawford, (by the death of Lodowick, the loyal Earl of Crawford, without male-issue) strenuously opposed this act, and argued long and keenly upon the point, especially in support of their favourite Parliament in 1641, where the late King was present in person; pleading, ‘ That to annul a Parliament was a terrible precedent, and destroyed the whole security of government; That another Parliament might annul the present Parliament,

as

LETTER ' as well as this one could execute what was now  
 L. ' proposed: So no stop could be made, nor any  
 ~~~~~ ' certainty of fixing things for the future.\* Not-  
 withstanding of this opposition, the act passed by
 a great majority; and thereby, the government
 of both church and state was again set upon the
 same footing that it had been on, when the late
 troubles began. The church was brought back
 to that ' settlement by law,' which the King had
 in his eye in his letter of August last: And the
 several patrons of benefices were restored to their
 legal rights of presentation, which had been wrest-
 ed from them by the violent practice of the cove-
 nanters, and that practice authorised by a packed
 convention after the murder of the King in 1649.
 In consequence of which the Parliament, looking
 on the patrons as in full possession of their rights,
 made an act in this first session, directing, " all
 " patrons in all time coming to be careful that
 " they grant presentations only to such as shall
 " have given sufficient evidence of their piety,
 " loyalty, literature and peaceable disposition, and
 " who shall take the oath of allegiance before they
 " receive the presentation." The act further nar-
 rates, that his Majesty had already begun to exer-
 cise his right by granting commission under the
 great seal, about presentation to benefices and kirks
 of his Majesty's patronage.

* This was specious declamation. But his Lordship might
 have looked back and remembered a General Assembly, his dear
 convention of 1638, which had rescinded and annulled all the
 prior assemblies, and even some parliaments too of 30 years stand-
 ing; and in which he himself had been eminently active and
 fierce, even in contempt of authority, in carrying thro' this
 " Terrible Precedent," which he is now so eloquent against,
 when it had indisputable authority on its side.


The

The passing of these acts so early, and so easily, was highly agreeable to the wiser part of the nation, and by taking off these intermediate encroachments of usurpation and injustice, gave a freedom to many of the ministers to discover the sentiments which they had been so long obliged to conceal, and to express their desire of and tendency towards a more orderly scheme of government than they had been under for some time. The Synod of Aberdeen in particular openly declared themselves, and drew up "an humble address to his Majesty's high Commissioner, and the high court of Parliament," in which, after a general acknowledgment of the "national guiltiness of Scotland in the sinful and rebellious affronts and wrongs put upon Royal authority, whether during the reign of our late most gracious Sovereign that blessed martyr Charles the first, or since his horrid murder, to our gracious King who now in the Lord's most wonderful providence reigns over us," they come to a particular enumeration, and say: "Particularly we acknowledge these sad and grievous sins to be lying upon the land, namely, the rising in arms against the King, and preaching up the lawfulness of defensive arms, by subjects against the supreme Majesty, which is contrary to scripture, to all sound antiquity, to the constant practice of the primitive church, to the judgment of all orthodox divines, to our own national confession of faith, and to the oath of allegiance: Popular reformation without, much more against the King's special consent and authority: Assisting the King's enemies by joining our forces with them when in rebellion against him: Preaching down the King's cause and interest, and giving out a paper called a "Seasonable

Vol. II.

3 L

" ble

LETTER ⁶ ble warning for delivering up the King at New-
⁶ castle.' Preaching against the relief of his Ma-
 L. ⁶  ⁶ jesty, of precious memory, when he was a suffer-
⁶ ing prisoner in the Isle of Wight, where he
⁶ was detained till the usurpers brought him to
⁶ the fatal block: Putting unjust limitations and
⁶ restrictions upon our gracious King, who now,
⁶ by God's blessing, reigns over us in despite of all
⁶ open or veiled enemies, who of late have put on
⁶ the robe of loyalty, besides the many indignities
⁶ put upon his sacred person by a factious and
⁶ treacherous party in an infamous and treason-
⁶ able remonstrance: The opposition made by
⁶ these remonstrators to the public resolutions of
⁶ both King, Church and State for the just de-
⁶ fence of the King, religion, honour, and all that
⁶ was dear to men and christians, when the land
⁶ was invaded, and a great part of it possessed by
⁶ an army of sectaries from England: Excluding
⁶ the King's interest out of the state of the quarrel
⁶ between his Majesty's own army and that usur-
⁶ per and tyrant Oliver Cromwell, by that infam-
⁶ ous act of the West-kirk: Forcing the King's
⁶ Majesty being then in their power, rather as a no-
⁶ ble prisoner than a free King, fore against his will
⁶ to subscribe declarations against himself and his
⁶ Royal Family: the little sympathy with his Ma-
⁶ jesty in his sufferings abroad: The sinful neglect
⁶ of duty, for fear of men, in not praying for him
⁶ in public: sinful silence in not preaching abso-
⁶ lutely against the usurpers: Too much passive
⁶ compliance with them, sitting down like Issachar
⁶ under the burden, and being like Ephraim, a
⁶ silly dove without a heart, &c. We do therefore
⁶ conceive that now God calls us to engage, likeas
⁶ we do hereby in the strength of God engage our-
⁶ selves

selves never to be accessory to any disloyal prin-
 ciple or practice, but to preach subjection, obe-
 dience and submission, and to press the same
 from the word of God upon all under our minis-
 try : And since it hath pleased the King's Ma-
 jesty and his high court of Parliament, because
 of the over-reaching of many ministers in Scot-
 land, and their outstretching of Presbyterial go-
 vernment into civil concerns, to take away
 and rescind all laws and acts whereby the go-
 vernment of this church had any civil authority ;
 may it therefore please the commissioner's Grace
 and the high court of Parliament to join with
 us in this our earnest petition, and to transmit the
 same to his sacred Majesty, that he will allow
 us to be still under his protection, and that he
 may be pleased in his wisdom and goodness to
 settle the government of this rent church accord-
 ing to the word of God, and the practice of the
 ancient primitive church, in such a way as may
 be most consistent with Royal authority, and may
 conduce most for godliness, unity, peace and or-
 der, and for a learned, godly, peaceable and
 loyal ministry, that shall be capable and willing
 to preserve the peace of the three nations. This
 paper we have ordained to be registered in our
 synod-books of Aberdeen, *ad futuram rei memori-*
am, and in testimony of our unanimity herein,
 we have all subscribed it with our hands, at
 King's College, this 18th day of April, 1661
 years.* This address, from so numerous a sy-


* It is signed by Alexander Ross minister of Monimusk, Mo-
 derator, and other 52 from the different Presbyteries within the
 bounds, of whom three were afterwards advanced to the episco-
 pate, Mr. Arthur Ross at Kinnerny, Mr. John Paterson at Aber-
 deen, and his son of the same name at Ellon, and a fourth, Mr.

LETTER nod, deserves to be taken notice of, as it so pathetically, and by way of historical narrative, describes the sad destructions of the late unhappy times; and we need not doubt but that, coming from such a respectable body, it would have a good deal of influence.

L. Soon after this, the Parliament wrote a most dutiful letter to the King, and sent up the chancellor Glencairn, and Rothes president of the privy council, to present it, and give his Majesty a full account of their proceedings, and of the state of affairs in Scotland. Along with them went Dr. Sharp, whom last year the King had named one of his chaplains for Scotland, with a pension of 200*l.* sterling, and now called up to court for his advice about the settlement of the church.—The King himself, who still consulted with Scotchmen, and with them only, about Scottish affairs, always declared it to be his own opinion, that, as the government of the state was Monarchy, so that of the church should be Episcopacy. In this opinion the most of the Royalists now joined; and when the Chancellor and Dr. Sharp went to London, they represented to the King that, whatever might have been the case before, the violent proceedings of the Presbyterians of late had made such an alteration in peoples tempers, that the greater and honest part of the nation would now be found desirous of episcopacy. The synod of Aberdeen, they said, had as good as petitioned for it, and many others earnestly wished it, tho' the part they had taken in the late troubles made it not fit nor decent for them to move too much in it:

George Meldrum at Aberdeen, turned out on a change of times to be one of the bitterest enemies that the Episcopal church had.

And

And to press the matter home, Dr. Sharp assured ^{LETTER} the King, that none but the *Remonstrators*, whom ^{L.} his Majesty knew too well, would be against it,  and of the *Resolutioners*, who were by far the most numerous, not twenty would oppose it. Besides all this, the intended change was much urged and forwarded by the Earl of Clarendon, Chancellor of England, and by the Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, two as good subjects and faithful Counsellors as the King had.

After all this previous consultation, the business was in end formally proposed in a Scots council at Whitehall, where the newly created Duke of Hamilton, who had married the first Duke's eldest daughter, and Sir Robert Murray, the first President of the lately erected Royal Society, were only for delaying a final decision, till the King was further satisfied about the inclinations of the people. But the Earls of Crawford and Lauderdale, two noted Presbyterians, tho' both of them in high office under the Crown, openly declared against it.* However, the result of all was, that a letter should be written to the privy council of Scotland, intimating the King's intentions for restoring episcopacy, and demanding their advice upon it. The chancellor Glencairn brought down this letter, and ordered it to be read the first day that the council met, when after some scrupulous objections by the Earl of Kincardine alone,

* The writer of Archbishop Sharp's life tells us, that Lauderdale coming out from the council, and meeting the doctor walking with the Earl of Stirling, said to him with an austere voice and threatening gesture, " Mr. Sharp, Bishops you are to have in Scotland, and you are to be Archbishop of St. Andrews: But whoever shall be the man, by G---d I will smite him and his order below the fifth rib."

about

LETTER about people's humours, and the hazard of being too hasty, it was unanimously resolved to concur with his Majesty's intentions, and a proclamation was issued, declaring it to be "his Majesty's pleasure to restore the government of the church by Archbishops and Bishops, as it stood settled in the year 1637."

By this time, Dr Sharp was returned from London, about the end of August, with instructions from the King, and offers to some of the leading men among the ministers, particularly to Mr Robert Douglas, who, tho' he declined the King's offers himself, because of his age, and having dipped so far in the oaths and public concerns of the late times, yet told Mr Sharp, that "if he who was young, and lay not under such engagements, could comply, he neither could nor would blame him." Accordingly, in November, Dr Sharp was called up again to London, as were likewise Mr Andrew Fairfowl, minister at Dunfermline; Mr James Hamilton at Cambusnethan; and Mr Robert Leighton at Newbottle; all of whom his Majesty had made choice of, either from personal knowledge, or sufficient recommendation. These four were all consecrated, as was done in 1610, and for the same reasons that occurred then, by the Bishop of Winchester and two other English Bishops, and were nominated by the King to the following Sees; Sharp to St. Andrews, Fairfowl to Glasgow, Hamilton to Galloway, and Leighton to Dunblain. The dates of their consecrations are differently related, and seem to have been at different times: Only they would appear to have been all performed some time in 1661: For there is a proclamation from the Privy Council of Scotland, on the 9th of January


bruary 1662, discharging all ecclesiastical meetings of Presbyteries and Synods, till they should be authorized for that purpose by the Archbishops and Bishops.

LETTER
L.


A concurrence of circumstances, which could not well be guarded against, had reduced our church to the necessity of thus applying to England a second time for assistance. Our Bishops had been forced, by the fury of the first covenant, to take sanctuary in different parts of England, where the King indeed promised them his protection, but at the same time, signified to them his desire, that they should hold no meetings, nor enter into any ecclesiastical consultation, for fear of irritating the malecontents at home. The Bishops, therefore, did not think it prudent, by any step that might have been called premature, to obstruct the pacific views of a Sovereign, who, they knew, wished them well, and under all the hurtful concessions that had been wrung from him, still retained an affectionate regard for them and their order. In this state of suspense and expectation, and before the King's power was wholly broken, they all, except one, died, without having had time, or in their situation thinking it incumbent on them, to provide for the Episcopal Succession. On the other hand, the English Bishops, besides that they were not so harassed in their persons as ours had been, had the advantage of being a more numerous body; as we have seen, that though, in the time of the usurpation, death had taken away as great a number of them as all the Bishops of Scotland came to, there were still nine of them preserved to resettle their own church, and to rebuild ours.

This

LETTER This restoration of Episcopacy, thus begun upon mature advice, and after long deliberation, was confirmed in the next Session of Parliament, which sat down on the 8th of May 1662, and of which the very first act runs thus: ‘ Forasmuch as the ordering and disposal of the external government and policy of the church doth properly belong to his Majesty, as an inherent right of the crown, by virtue of his royal prerogative and supremacy in causes ecclesiastical,’ and then, proceeding in the narrative, to mention the injustices and exorbitancies occasioned by throwing off the Bishops and Episcopal Government, which, they say, they find ‘ to be the church government most agreeable to the word of God, most convenient and effectual for the preservation of truth, order, and unity, and most suitable to monarchy, and to the peace and order of the state;’ the enacting part is in these terms, ‘ Therefore his Majesty, with advice and consent of his Estates of Parliament, hath thought necessary, and accordingly doth hereby redintegrate the state of Bishops to their ancient places, and undoubted privileges and jurisdictions, and doth hereby restore them to the exercise of their Episcopal Function, Presidency in the Church, Power of Ordination, Inflicting of Church Censures, and all other acts of church discipline, which they are to perform, with the advice and assistance of such of the clergy as they shall find to be of known loyalty and prudence.’ And by another clause of this act, it is declared, that ‘ Whatever shall be determined by his Majesty, with the advice of the Archbishops and Bishops, and such of the clergy as shall be nominated by his Majesty, in the external government and policy

' licy of the church, shall be valid and effectual ;' ^{LETTER}
 that is, shall have the force of a law of the land, ^L
 which no deed can have without the King's con- 
 currence.*

In consequence of this act, Episcopacy was again made the legal church-establishment in Scotland, after a tumultuous interruption of twenty four years. The four lately consecrated Bishops now took possession of their destined sees, and the other ten Bishopricks were soon filled with proper persons, by canonical consecration from their hands. The see of Edinburgh was given to the worthy Dr. Wishart, one of the old ministers of South-Leith, who had been deprived and imprisoned for his opposition to the first Covenant, but was liberated by Montrose after the battle of Kilsyth, and getting beyond sea attended the gallant Marquis as his chaplain. The see of Aberdeen was conferred on another sufferer, Mr. David Mitchel, who had

* This Act of Parliament has been the subject of much sneer and obloquy from the Presbyterian Party, who exclaim against it as a sacrilegious encroachment upon the intrinsic powers of the church, and ridicule the Episcopal Clergy as betrayers of the cause of Christ, by their submitting to it, and thus, they say, building their ecclesiastical fabric upon such an Erastian foundation. Yet, any one may see, that the act gives the church no new rights, nor meddles in the least with any of her intrinsic or inherent powers : It only restores to her what had been sacrilegiously taken from her by violence and injustice, and removes the effects of illegal usurpation, in order to make room for the re-establishment of the old Episcopal Government and Policy. Besides, the cry of Erastianism comes but awkwardly from those who lay so much stress on the famous Westminster assembly of divines and laymen, which was originally called, and progressively directed and controuled in all their consultations, not by King and Parliament indeed, but by a Parliament without and against a King, which gave them all their orders, and exercised an ecclesiastical supremacy with as Erastian a hand as any King ever pretended to.

LETTER been minister in Edinburgh, but was deposed by the Assembly of 1638, for reading the Service-book, and forced to flee into England for his life. The Commissioner Middleton got his own parish-minister of Fettercairn, Mr. David Strachan, nominated to the see of Brechin, and Mr. David Fletcher minister at Melrose, to the see of Argyle. Mr. John Paterson at Aberdeen, who had indeed after much hesitation subscribed the solemn league, but was still a quiet peaceable man, was made Bishop of Ross, and Mr. Patrick Forbes, the loyal and orthodox son of a turbulent father Forbes at Alford, Bishop of Caithness, both on Archbishop Sharp's recommendation. Mr. George Haliburton minister at Perth, who had been harassed by his brethren, but protected by friends, was preferred to Dunkeld, and Mr. Murdoch Mackenzie minister at Elgin, once a rigid covenanter, to Moray. The see of the Isles was given to Mr. Robert Wallace, minister at Barnwell in the shire of Air, and old Bishop Sydserv was translated to Orkney. †

† It may appear strange that this man, being the only survivor of the Episcopal order before the troubles, and one too who seems to have been a particular butt of the covenanters malice, was not advanced to the primacy, or at least restored to his former see of Galloway. But when we consider, that by this time he would probably be an old man (he died the next year) and had been much out of the country for many years, so that he must have been in a great measure a stranger to many of the tempers, and most of the persons now upon the stage, and consequently not so fit to manage the public concerns of the church at such a critical juncture, nor even to deal properly with the cross humours that prevailed in these western parts, we should rather be inclined to conclude, that whoever were the advisers or disposers of these allotments, had best consulted the general good of the church by placing a pilot of Dr. Sharp's talents at the helm, who by former acquaintance could gain upon the peaceable, and by his activity check the troublesome part of the old malecontents.

But

But this legal settlement was not the only service that this Parliament did to the episcopal church : For to secure her against the pernicious effects of private covenantings, which she had so severely smarted under already, an act was passed this session, requiring all persons in public trust or office to sign a declaration, " That it is unlawful in subjects, upon pretence of reformation, or on any pretence whatever, to enter into leagues and covenants, or to take up arms against the King or those commissioned by him : That particularly these two oaths commonly called the *National Covenant* begun in 1638, and the *Solemn League and Covenant* in 1643, were and are in themselves unlawful oaths, taken by and imposed upon the subjects of this kingdom against the fundamental laws and liberties of the same : And that there lieth no obligation on me or any other subject, from these oaths, to endeavour any change or alteration of the government either in church or state, as it is now established by the laws of this kingdom." The English parliament had gone before ours in this business : For in May last year they made an order for burning the *Solemn League and Covenant* by the hands of the hangman, which was executed accordingly on the 22d in London, and soon after over all England. And no wonder that both nations should thus join in testifying their abhorrence of that hypocritical bond of iniquity, which, tho' in a fit of enthusiastic madness they had been decoyed into, under a mask of superior godliness, they had both seen and felt the dismal fruits of, in a torrent of blood and desolation, from which nothing but the merciful hand of God could have in such a gentle but wonderful manner delivered them. Yet

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BETTER this national testimony against it did not give universal satisfaction. For some of the most rigid sons of the covenant went out of office, rather than sign the declaration, which they detested as a renouncing their sacred vows; and among the rest the treasurer Crawford resigned the white staff, and Sir James Dalrymple of Stair gave up his place of a Lord of session, but was afterwards reconciled to the declaration, and kept his post till he saw a change of times appearing more to his mind.

Besides this act against the covenants, our parliament in this session took under consideration, another matter of church concern, with a view to insure the regularity and due subordination of the inferior ministry in time coming. It appeared that a great many kirks and benefices were possessed by incumbents, who had intruded themselves into them, either by main force in the days of their power, or under colour of the pretended law of 1649, and still drew the rents and profits of them, in manifest violation of the standing rights of patronage, and to the detriment of both King and subject. To remedy this injury, an act passed about the middle of May in these terms;

‘ The King’s most excellent Majesty, considering
 ‘ that, notwithstanding the right of patronages
 ‘ be duly settled and established by the ancient
 ‘ and fundamental laws and constitutions of this
 ‘ kingdom, yet divers ministers of this church
 ‘ have and do possess benefices and stipends in
 ‘ their respective cures, without any right or presentation to the same from the patrons; and
 ‘ it being therefore most just that the lawful
 ‘ and undoubted Patrons of Kirks be restored to the possession of the right of their respective advocations, donations and patronages &
 ‘ There-

Therefore his Majesty, with advice and consent of LETTER
 his estates of Parliament, doth statute and ordain, that all these ministers who entered to the L.
 cure of any parish in burgh or land within this ~
 kingdom, in or since the year 1649, when the
 patrons were most injuriously dispossessed of
 their patronages, have no right unto, nor shall
 receive, uplift, nor possess the rents of any be-
 nefice, modified stipends, manse or glebe for this
 present crop 1662, nor any year following, but
 their places, benefices and kirks are *ipso jure*
 vacant : Yet his Majesty, to evidence his willing-
 ness to pass by and cover the miscarriages of
 his people, doth with advice foresaid declare,
 that this act shall not be prejudicial to any of
 these ministers in what they have possessed or
 is due to them since their admission, and that
 every such minister who shall obtain a presen-
 tation from the lawful patron, and have colla-
 tion from the Bishop of the diocess where he
 liveth, betwixt and the 20th day of September
 next to come, shall thenceforth have right to
 and enjoy his kirk, benefice, manse and glebe,
 as fully and freely as if he had been lawfully
 presented and admitted thereto at his first entry,
 or as any minister within the kingdom doth or
 may do : And for that end it is hereby ordain-
 ed, that the respective patrons shall give presen-
 tations to all the present incumbents who shall
 in due time make application to them for the
 same. And in case any of these kirks shall not
 be thus duly provided for before the said 20th
 of September, then the patron shall have free-
 dom to present another betwixt and the 20th
 day of March 1663, which if he shall refuse or
 neglect, the presentation shall then fall to the
 Bishop *jure devoluto*, according to former laws.
 And

LETTER: " And siclike his Majesty, with advice foresaid,
 L. doth statute and ordain the Archbishops and Bi-
 shops to have power of new admiffion and colla-
 tion to all such kirks and benefices as belong to
 their respective sees, and which have vaiked
 since the year 1637, and to be careful to plant
 and provide these their own kirks conform to
 this act."


I have fet down this famous statute at full length, as it was attended with important consequences. Such of the incumbents as were willing to comply with the act, which most in the North-country were, and had received Episcopal ordination, were readily admitted on their timely application to the patron and Bishop for their respective authorities. Others who had entered with orders only from the Presbyteries, or as some did, at their own hands, without any formal ordination at all, either were ordained anew by the Bishops, which mightily offended the outstanders; or where circumstances appeared favourable, were received on their submission and swearing canonical obedience to the Bishop, and by him empowered to exercise the office and function of Presbyters in the church, according to the present constitution. But in the South and West, the most of these illegal intruders being men of the most rigid stamp, and either suspecting the malignancy of the patrons, or not willing to come under any dependence upon Bishops whom their Covenants had abjured, turned obstinate, and refused to take the benefit of the act by the time prefixed. And therefore the privy-council, meeting at Glasgow after the term was expired, in pursuance of the design of the act of Parliament, made an act declaring all such kirks *ipso facto* vacant, and requiring them
 to

to be planted anew before the 20th of March, in **LETTER**
terms of the statute. **L.**

Immediately upon the publication of this act of council, these men did not wait a legal execution of ejection, but of themselves forbore the exercise of their ministry, and deserted their flocks: And this, it was thought, they did out of a presumptuous conceit that the church could not be served without them, and that ere long the administration would be obliged to yield to them, and even court them to return to their charges. But they were mistaken, and several of them did in end blame themselves, and were blamed by the more judicious of their party, for being so unreasonably stiff, or so foolishly tame, in throwing up their kirks without something of their wonted opposition. However they bawled out, as their successors do to this day, against the arbitrary cruelty of this Act of Glasgow, as it is called, forgetting, in the mean time, their own many acts at Glasgow, twenty four years before, which were equally cruel, and far more unjust, than what was done at this time. For with what little shew of either reason or equity they made, or make, such tragical exclamations, will readily appear from the act itself. The Parliament meddles not with their ministerial character, either as Presbyterians, or of any other denomination: It only declares, what was matter of fact, that they had taken and were keeping possession of houses, and lands, and rents, which certainly are matters of parliamentary cognizance, without any just title, and in open violation of another party's rights; and at the same time, by an extraordinary and unmerited act of royal clemency, it puts them in an easy way of legally keeping hold of what they had illegally seized.

LETTER seized. If they could not, or would not, comply
L. with the prescribed terms of making out a just
 title, they were in no better condition than robbers, as it were, of a wrecked ship, and the wisdom of the nation, when providing for a general restoration of property and privilege, could not in justice deviate from the intended plan, to please the humours or consciences of a few particular malecontents.

It happened unluckily too, that our outlanders here had before their eyes the example of their Presbyterian brethren in England, who had been, by the Parliament of that nation, laid under the same restrictions, and required to comply with the enjoined terms before St. Bartholomew's day of this year, which many of them had refused, and in consequence were now ejected. This conjunction in suffering, as it was called, upon the same principles, and happening much about one time, mutually fostered the surly humour in both nations, and gave additional strength to the disaffected party in Scotland. Yet our administration went on leisurely indeed, but by regular steps, in prosecution of the measures which had been adopted: For in the third Session of this Parliament, which began on the 18th of June 1663, and where the Earl of Rothes was Commissioner, in place of the Earl of Middleton, the Lords of the Articles, who had been a standing branch of our parliamentary constitution, but dissolved in the late confusions, were now restored, and the Bishops again appointed to be an essential part of that preparatory Committee. At the same time, an order was made for regulating the meetings of the national Synod, or, as it is called in England, the Convocation of the Church of Scotland; and an act passed, ' That
 ' this

' this Synod shall consist of the two Archbishops **LETTER**
 ' and their Suffragans, all the Deans and Arch- **L.**
 ' deacons, the fixed Moderators, along with one 
 ' Minister of every Presbytery, and one Commis-
 ' sioner from each of the four Universities : That
 ' the Synod, thus constituted, is to meet at such
 ' places and times as his Majesty by proclamation
 ' shall appoint, and is to debate, treat, consider,
 ' consult, conclude, and determine upon such
 ' pious matters, causes, and things, concerning
 ' the doctrine, worship, discipline, and govern-
 ' ment of this church, as his Majesty shall, from
 ' time to time, under his royal hand, deliver, or
 ' cause to be delivered, to the Archbishop of St.
 ' Andrews, President of the said National Assem-
 ' bly, to be by him offered to their consideration :
 ' That unless his Majesty or his Commissioner be
 ' present, no national assembly can be held : And
 ' that no act, canon, order, or ordinance, shall
 ' be owned as an act of the national Synod of the
 ' Church of Scotland, but such as shall have been
 ' considered, consulted, and agreed upon by the
 ' President and major part of the members above
 ' specified.'


I am, &c.

L E T T E R L I.

Account of the Faith, Worship, and Discipline of the Scottish Church after the Restoration—Insurrections among the Covenanters—Indulgence granted—Assertory Act passed—Effects of both—Murder of Archbishop Sharp—Account of the Test Oath—And of the Ryehouse Plot—Death of Charles II.

WE have now seen the Scottish Church once more favoured with a legal establishment, and put in possession of all those privileges which might assist her as an important branch of civil society, in preserving peace, order, and regularity, among all the members of that society. By the care and cautious management of the Bishops, the Episcopal Government soon became generally acceptable, and was for the most part cheerfully submitted to by the people.† All the moderate

* Even Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Sarum, who knew them well, as having been many years professor of divinity at Glasgow under their government, in his preface to the life of the worthy Irish Presbyterians,

Presbyterians, even Mr Robert Douglas himself, **LETTER**
 once such an eminent promoter of their cause, at- **LI.**
 tended the Episcopal worship and communion in 
 the parish kirks. For hitherto, there was no ex-
 ternal badge of distinction between the two parties,
 either in faith, worship, or discipline. The old
 Confession of Faith, drawn up by our first re-
 formers, and ratified in 1567, had all along been
 the received standard of doctrine to both, tho' the
 Presbyterians had of late introduced the Westmin-
 ster Confession, in many points different from it,
 and in some even contrary to it. There was no
 liturgy, or appointed form of prayer in the public
 worship, the late opposition having discouraged
 any new attempt that way. Many, indeed, of the
 Episcopal clergy compiled forms to be used by
 themselves in their particular congregations, with
 some petitions and collects taken out of the English
 Book; and all of them uniformly concluded their
 prayers with the Lord's Prayer, and their singing
 with the Doxology, both which the zealots of the
 other side decried, as superstitious and formal.
 The two sacraments were administered by both
 mostly in the same manner, without kneeling at
 the one, or signing with the sign of the cross in the
 other; only in baptism, the Episcopal clergy re-
 quired the Apostles' Creed, and the Presbyterians,
 in general, the Westminster Confession, and some

Bishop Bedell of Kilmore, speaks well of all our Scottish Bi-
 shops whom he was particularly acquainted with, 'as having, he
 ' says, observed among them as great and exemplary things as
 ' are to be met with in all ecclesiastical history.' And tho' in
 some of his other writings he appears to have changed his senti-
 ments, and sets them out in a less favourable light, this may be
 as much owing to the new run of political principles which he
 had begun to imbibe, and was afterwards so conspicuous for, as to
 any demerits in the men, or real mistake in their conduct.

LETTER of the more rigid of them, the Solemn League and
LL Covenant, to be the model of the child's religious
 education. And then, with regard to discipline, the establishment had their Kirk Sessions, as the Presbyterians have at present; they had their Presbyteries, where some experienced minister, of the Bishop's nomination, was moderator; they had their Diocesan Synods, in which the Bishop of the Diocess in person, or one by his express appointment, presided; and they might have had their National Synods or General Assemblies too, under certain regulations, if the King had found it proper either to call or allow them. And that the King, or supreme Magistrate, has power to allow or prohibit conventions of the lieges, as to him shall seem expedient, must be acknowledged by all who respect the prerogatives of Majesty, or the necessary powers of government.

No doubt, in the primitive church of the three first centuries, the neighbouring Bishops often met together, and consulted among themselves, about the common interests of religion, by virtue of the purely spiritual powers committed to them. But between that old ecclesiastical constitution, and the times we are speaking of, there could not but be a considerable difference in point of external polity, as it will be acknowledged, that the protection and encouragement given by the civil rulers to the church has a title to such degrees of submission from the church as she may grant, without materially hurting her radical powers, or departing from her original foundation. Such was the situation of the church in general when established under the Roman Empire, while it stood, and of the particular churches in the various kingdoms which progressively broke off from it, before

fore the papal pretensions had risen to the height of modern encroachment; and such was the situation of the church here, when she emerged from beneath the deluge which the torrent of the covenant had brought upon her. The King claimed the privilege of convocating a General Assembly or council of the church in his narrow kingdom of Scotland, as the christian Emperors had done of calling general councils in their extensive dominions; a privilege which all Protestant writers agree in yielding to the Sovereign, as belonging, not to his christianity, but to his crown.

LETTER

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What reasons this King might have had, for not calling such an Assembly in all his reign, needs not be inquired into at present. It may be presumed that the Bishops saw no immediate necessity for such national conventions, since they were allowed full freedom in their inferior judicatories, and had standing regulations both ecclesiastical and civil, whereby to direct their government of the church. Besides, they had frequent meetings among themselves about church matters, according to the practice of the early ages, when it is certain the Bishops met here and there as was convenient, without these tumultuous conventions of Presbyters, which the reformed system, especially in Scotland, brought along with it. And the King himself, with all his claims of supremacy, whether just or not, was still inclined to countenance the Bishops, and to preserve to them their due superiority over the Presbyters, with all such immunities and privileges belonging to their order as were consistent with their constitutional incorporation into the state. For there are extant sundry letters of different dates from the Earl of

of

LETTER of Lauderdale, the King's great favourite, to
 LI. Archbishop Sharp, assuring him of the King's re-
 solutions to name no Bishops to vacant sees, but
 such as should be recommended by the two Arch-
 bishops in their respective provinces, and therefore
 warning his Grace to be very diligent and cau-
 tious in his recommendations. How far Lauder-
 dale, who had been once a violent covenanter,
 and is variously spoken of by the historians of
 those times, was sincere in his professions of kind-
 ness to Episcopacy, may be still a matter of doubt :
 But so it was in fact, that for a while he did make
 such professions, and by these means, of condes-
 cension on the King's side, and attention to duty
 on the part of the Bishops, matters were kept
 tolerably quiet for some years after the restora-
 tion.

But the flame of the Covenant was only smo-
 thered a little, not quite extinguished. There
 was still a remainder of the furious *Remonstrator*
 faction, whom no laws could restrain, and no
 gentleness mollify. And tho' the terms of com-
 munion with Episcopacy were made so easy, (as
 Mr. Honeyman Archdeacon of St. Andrews, after-
 wards Bishop of Orkney, shewed to the world in
 a publication of his at that time) that Mr. Cala-
 my, one of the most sensible Presbyterians in
 England, said when he read it, "What would
 "our brethren in Scotland be at, or what would
 "they have? Would to God we had these of-
 "fers." Yet his Scottish brethren made light
 of these offers, and were resolved never to be
 satisfied. For in 1666 they broke out into open
 rebellion, took up arms in great numbers, gave
 defiance to government, renewed their Covenants
 afresh in all the bigotry and enthusiasm of them,
 and

and committed many acts of hostility and cruelty upon the King's loyal subjects. At last, having in their preaching rambles thro' the country swelled to the number of two thousand, they conceived such an opinion of their own strength, as to venture an engagement with the King's troops on the 27th of November at the Pentland-hills, but were defeated with the loss of five hundred of them killed in the action. Of the prisoners taken, a few were hanged at different places, who might have saved their lives if they would have renounced the Covenant: And the King, out of his innate clemency, put a stop to further execution, by ordering his commissioner Rothes to set the remaining wretches at liberty, upon their simply promising to obey the laws for the future.

Yet neither this disappointment of their blind hopes, nor the experience of the Royal mercy, had any effect: The rebellious spirit still kept up, and what they could not execute against the state, they resolved to attempt upon the church. The Primate's activity and vigilance, they saw, were not easily to be overcome; but his person lay open to their assaults, and could be dispatched by a private stroke sooner and safer than the establishment in general could be born down by a public attack. With this malicious view, having long waited for a convenient opportunity, at last on the 11th of July 1668, as the Archbishop of St. Andrews was coming down the street of Edinburgh in his coach, attended by Bishop Honeyman of Orkney, a James Mitchel, one of the insurgents who had escaped from Pentland-hills, fired a pistol charged with three bullets into the coach, which luckily missed the Primate for whom it was designed, but broke Bishop Honeyman's arm.

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**LETTER** arm. In the confusion, the villian got off, but was apprehended in 1676, and hanged in the Graffmercat, glorying in the execrable deed, and avowing the most destructive and damnable principles to the very last. This daring outrage could not but alarm and provoke the administration both in church and state: Yet the King hoping to quiet, if possible, the minds, and sweeten the humours of these restless people, did by his letter, dated at Whitehall, June 7th 1669, grant an indulgence to the Presbyterians, on conditions which could not be said to bear hard even on the most tender consciences. He had oft proposed such a thing in England, but the Parliament there would not consent, and always checked the proposal. However his Scotch council thought the measure expedient, and gave their concurrence: Particularly the Earl of Tweedale was most active in it, a man of great worldly wisdom, but of loose notions as to government of any kind, and in this affair assisted and directed by two men, who, tho' Bishops and men of good character, were not very strictly prelatial, the English Bishop Wilkins of Chester, and our own Bishop Leighton of Dunblain.

This indulgence thus obtained was accepted by many of the Presbyterian preachers, who, tho' they would not go the length of a full compliance with Episcopacy, happened to be men of more sober and peaceable tempers, and were now not only connived at, but even put in actual possession of vacant kirks in those places where it was thought the people inclined most to their persuasion. Yet, notwithstanding this stretch of lenity, so irreclaimable were the remains of the old Covenanters, especially in the West, that they still pursued their extravagant courses, and even openly



openly and impudently renounced their allegiance, under the old pretext of their covenant engagements. Nay, so bitterly enraged were they against their own brethren who accepted the indulgence, that they threw off all communion with them, and branded them with as odious names as they did the established clergy, calling the one party "the King's curates," and the other "the Bishops curates," which they then designed, and the zealots of them to this day use, as a title of contempt.

I am not to meddle with the question of the King's prerogative in granting this indulgence; but one unhappy consequence of it was, that it opened a door towards larger encroachments of the same kind. For the statesmen, who had advised the King thus by his own power to dispense with the laws, finding it not very agreeable to the established church, which now had the laws in her favour, and fearing to be called to account for their advice some time or other, saw it necessary to provide for their future security, by the most effectual means they could think of. To this purpose, when the Parliament sat down in November this year, the Earl of Lauderdale, who had the principal hand in the indulgence, and was now his Majesty's commissioner, got an act passed on the 16th, tho' with great reluctance, called the *Affertory Act*, declaring, "That his Majesty, by virtue of his supremacy, has the ordering and disposing of the external government and polity of the church, as an inherent right of his crown: And that his Majesty and his successors may settle, enact, and emit such constitutions, acts and orders concerning the administration of the external government of the

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" church,

LETTER  
LI.

**LETTER** ‘ church, and the persons employed in the same,  
**LL** ‘ and concerning all ecclesiastical meetings and  
 ~~~~~ ‘ matters to be proposed and determined therein,  
 ‘ as they in their royal wisdom shall think fit.”

- By this last clause, it must be acknowledged that the intrinsic power and proper foundation of a christian church is too nearly struck at : and therefore the Bishops struggled as much as they could against it. The Primate in particular argued long and strenuously that it should not pass, but was interrupted by the commissioner from the Throne, who satirically observed, “ that my Lord St. Andrews would not allow the King’s supremacy in terms of the act, because it seemed he designed it for himself.” But besides this political design of these statesmen to screen themselves from future danger, it was thought that there were other hands employed in the framing of this strange-looking statute, and that it was contrived by Mr. Robert Douglas and his brethren, who still had a great deal to say with their old accomplices in the Covenant, Lauderdale, Tweedale, and some others of the council, in order to justify the indulgence which had led them off from the Episcopal communion, and to secure themselves in the enjoyment of their present liberty, by thus getting it made as good as legal. Whatever it was that gave rise to this Assertory Act, it is certain that it was attended with most disagreeable consequences. For it not only raised a jealousy between the church and the state, but likewise laid the Bishops open, tho’ innocent, to the slanders and reproaches of their enemies, for so tamely giving up their privileges, and having a hand in unchurching themselves : As if the whole Bench of Bishops had been able, by
 their

their few votes, to have hindered the passing of LETTER
 it, or had been obliged to have struck out against LI.
 it, with the then popular argument of tumult and rebellion. They did what lay to their hand, in reasoning and pleading against it as Bishops, while it was under debate, and when it was carried they could do no more, as subjects, but yield to it, and make their best of it.

The first unhappy effect of this act fell upon Dr. Alexander Burnet, who had been Archbishop of Glasgow since Fairfoul's death in 1663. This good man, after the affair of Pentland-hills, shewed great inclination to have these infatuated people treated with lenity: And when their examination came before the privy-council, he laboured much to get their lives spared, and even went so far as to transmit an account of the council's proceedings against them to the English secretary of State, Arlington, to be communicated to the King. Lauderdale, being secretary for Scotland, was highly offended at this, as an unpardonable interference with his office, and not only threatened the Archbishop with a criminal prosecution, for what he called revealing the King's secrets, which however faulty in a privy counsellor, was in the present case no way uncharacteristic in a Bishop, but likewise for the quicker execution of his long-harboured resentment, procured, in terms of this new act, a letter from the King to the privy council, discharging the Archbishop of Glasgow from officiating in his diocese till his Majesty's further pleasure. And upon this order, however mortifying and unwelcome, the peaceable man called his clergy together, and in great simplicity told them, " he was not to act for some
 " time as their ordinary among them, till the King
 § O 2 " should

LETTER "should be pleased to allow him." This hap-
 LI. pened in December 1669, and immediately Bi-
 shop Leighton of Dunblain was nominated by the
 King commendator and administrator of the See
 of Glasgow during pleasure. Thus wantonly did
 Lauderdale exercise the power which the late act
 had thrown into his hands. But the ambitious
 man, being created a Duke in 1672, and still
 engrossing the Royal ear, carried matters with so
 high a hand, that not only a party of his own
 countrymen, Hamilton, Kincardine, Tweedale, and
 others combined against him, but even the English
 began to take offence at his too great influence with
 the King, and the house of commons once had
 a design of impeaching him. The Bishops of
 England too were highly disgusted at his arbitrary
 usage of Archbishop Burnet, and thought them-
 selves so far interested as to make a common cause
 of it. So at last, finding himself thus beset by
 such powerful antagonists, he saw it necessary to
 lay aside his ordinary haughtiness, and was soon
 after reconciled first to Archbishop Sharp, and by
 his means to the worthy Archbishop of Canter-
 bury Dr. Sheldon, which for a while warded off
 the intended blow against him. Upon this change
 of temper in Lauderdale, the inhibition against
 Dr Burnet was taken off, and on Bishop Leighton's
 resigning the charge of Glasgow, which he had
 been soon weary of, the old Archbishop returned
 to his See, where he continued till the year 1679,
 when he was removed to St. Andrews. While
 the Bishops had thus the influence of the assertory
 act to combat on the one hand, they were equally
 harassed by the effects of the indulgence on the
 other; For those preachers who by means of it
 had got possession of kirks, brought with them
 in-

into the church, their petuliar affection for General Assemblies, where the Presbyters, by their plurality of voices, would be a counter-balance to the authority of the Bishops, and therefore, would be ready enough to recommend the propriety of these promiscuous Conventions, which tended so much to humour the pride of the second order, at the expence of the radical privileges of the first. This aspiring disposition, which had such a plausible appearance of concern for the public good of the church, broke out at last to such a degree in Edinburgh, that in July 1674, the Bishop, Dr. Young, was obliged to pronounce sentence of suspension against three of the most factious of his Presbyters, Turner, Robertson, and Cant, "for their insolently and audaciously insisting for a National Assembly." From which sentence of their Bishop they appealed, not to the Metropolitan, as they might or ought to have done, if they thought themselves aggrieved, but in the true Eraftian style of the first Covenanters, to the King and Privy Council.

Much about the same time, Dr. James Ramsay, who, from being Dean of Glasgow, was promoted to the See of Dunblain in 1673, gave such countenance to the Presbyters who began to cabal for a National Synod, that in 1675 it was proposed to remove him to some other See, which produced a most angry letter from him to Archbishop Sharp, on the injustice of such a proposal, to which the Archbishop, as he well could, gave a suitable and smart return. Yet Ramsay went on in his own way of fomenting and abetting these mutinous proceedings, to the great offence of the King and grief of his brethren, so that after long bearing with him to no purpose, it was found necessary, in

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LETTER in 1684, to translate him to Ross, where the infection was not so prevalent, and his influence could not do much harm. These were, no doubt, disagreeable measures, but such as christian prudence would lead the church to put up with, rather than risk the return of former confusions. It was no wonder that the King had no great love for the General Assemblies of Scotland, from the remembrance of the many insults which both his father and himself had met with from these Conventions: And no well disposed christian would, in such a case, have too strenuously insisted on them, if there was no other reason for them, as at that time there was no other, but asserting a privilege in the church, to hold such meetings at her pleasure, whether there was a necessity for it or not.

Thus, the effects of the Presbyterian Indulgence, and the burden of the Assertory Act, lay equally heavy upon the church in this reign; and the Bishops did what they could, in their double capacity of governors of the church and subjects of the state, to guard against the pernicious tendency of both. They drew up modest representations of the divisive consequences that the indulgence had produced, without answering the end that was expected, and referred it to his Majesty's wisdom to provide a proper remedy. In July 1675, five of them met at Edinburgh, to consult about the state of the church, and the divisions that prevailed, and sent an account of their deliberations to Archbishop Sharp, then at Bath for his health: And in April 1678, the Primate, with Bishop Young of Edinburgh, Paterfon of Galloway, Ross of Argyle, and Wood of the Isles, made out a memorial "concerning the growth
" of

“ of schism and rebellion in Scotland,” and commissioned the Archbishop of Glasgow to present it at court for his Majesty’s instruction. Thus they took every prudent measure, as much as they could have done in a National Synod, consistent with their obedience as subjects, to preserve order in the church, and peace in the state, in opposition to the designs which were perpetually forming against both.

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Mean time, while the established clergy were struggling with legal difficulties, and the indulged Preachers, under protection, spreading their darling tenets, the true sons of the Covenant, who equally abhorred them both, were busy contriving their schemes, railing at and excommunicating the King, going armed to their seditious preachings, and carrying their madness to such a pitch of barbarity, that murdering of soldiers in their beds, abusing the persons and families of the clergy, and insulting all that had the least connexion with authority, were things familiar to them, and become their daily practise.* At last, by the repeated instigations of him who was a murderer from the beginning, and under the permission of heaven, for the filling up the measure of their iniquities, they put in execution the horrid purpose, which they had once attempted, and still had their hearts set upon, against the one person in the kingdom, whom, next to Majesty, they most feared and hated: For on the 3d of May

* To such a degree of profaneness had these people carried their abuse of the sacred office, that, as Lauderdale in one of his letters to Archbishop Sharp complains, the very common hangman of the burgh of Irvine in the West-country took upon him the office of the ministry, and preached publicly in their conventicles.

LETTER 1679, a desperate band of nine ruffians,* all on horseback and in arms, way-laid Archbishop Sharp as he was returning home from Edinburgh, and coming up with his coach at a place called Magus Moor, between the Struthers and St. Andrews, ordered him to "Come out, cruel bloody traitor;" which the venerable old man having done with great composure, while he desired them only to spare his life till he recommended his own soul to God, and prayed for them, they instantly fell upon him, and basely and barbarously murdered him, with twenty two wounds in different parts of his body. In this atrocious manner fell Dr. James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Primate of all Scotland; a sacrifice in his person to the malice of the Covenanters, and in his character, the great object of their calumny to this day. His betraying their cause with the King, as they alledge, is what they have never forgot nor forgiven to him, tho' his own letters on that occasion, and the letters of the English Dissenters in London at the time, fully vindicate him from that spiteful imputation: Yet, had it been as they say, the charge comes ill from that party, whose first rise was founded in a more flagrant apostacy, and was carried on by a course of more consummate perfidy and rebellion too, than Dr Sharp had been, or could have been guilty of. But it is enough for his vindication, that the traducers of his memory are the abettors of his murder, as it is not to be expected that they, who can applaud or approve the wilful murdering of any man whatever, will be ready to shew much

* John Balfour, David Haxton, George Balfour, James Ruffel, Robert Dingwal, Andrew Gillan, Alexander and Andrew Henderson brothers, and George Fleming.

delicacy

delicacy to the best or most spotless character that ever existed. LETTER
LI.

The news of this daring outrage on a person of such rank, spread an universal consternation over the kingdom, and orders were immediately issued for apprehending the murderers, and bringing them to condign punishment. But they had got off to their sanctuary in the West, where their friends and employers received them with open arms, and in a few weeks collected an army of 1600 horse and 4000 foot, among whom were fifteen of their ministers, and the renowned David Williamson, so well known for his feats in the fields of Venus, one of the number. With this armed body they kept their conventicles in the fields, where they always swore not to give over till Episcopacy was utterly extirpated, and Presbytery established again on the pure Covenant-bottom. And having had some little success in a skirmish with a small party of the King's troops near Loudon-hill, they went on with great boldness and cruelty till the 22d of June, when the Duke of Monmouth came up with them at Bothwellbridge, not far from Hamilton, and gave them a total overthrow, killing about 300 of them, and taking 1200 prisoners, and among the rest, two of their fiery preachers Kidd and King, who were afterwards tried and hanged for rebellion. It was owned by themselves that, if Monmouth had pursued his victory, scarce one of them would have escaped. But this *un-natural* son, the first product of the King's licentious amours, tho' at the head of the Royal army, was in his heart a secret favourer of the cause, and had been engaged in a cabal of much the same stamp in England. For about this time, what was called the Popish plot,


LETTER under the management of Titus Oates, that infamous tool of the English Republicans, was in agitation; which sent many great men to prison, and poor men to the gallows, and drove the Duke of York, the King's only brother and heir-apparent to the Crown, from the court.

Upon this uncivil treatment, his Royal Highness at the King's desire, came down, with his family, to Scotland in October 1679, and took up his residence at Holyroodhouse, where the Lords of session thought it their duty to wait upon him, and their president Sir James Dalrymple of Stair in their name made a congratulatory speech on the occasion, in which, among other expressions of compliment, he said, "it was a matter of great joy to the nation to see one of the Royal family among them, after being for so many years deprived of that honour, and the nation being entirely Protestant, it was the fittest place his Highness could make his recess to at that time." I take notice of this part of the President's speech, only with a view to point out the strong attestation, here given to the religion of the nation, which at that time was known to be Episcopacy, and yet is here declared, even by the Lord Stair, to be "entirely Protestant." What could his Lordship's thoughts, when he spoke so, be of his countrymen in the West, and many of them his own tenants, who were preaching and praying, covenanting and fighting, to disturb this "entirely protestant" nation, and unhinge its established constitution? For notwithstanding the defeat at Bothwelbridge, which from their knowledge of Monmouth's private attachments they had not been looking for, they still continued as fierce and resolute as ever, under the direction of three

three fanatical demagogues, a Cargill and two LETTER
 Camerons, brothers, one of whom undertook at LI.
 this time to kill his Royal Highness when he din-
 ed in public, but was disappointed by being ac-
 cidentally known in the street, and obliged to
 abscond for his own safety. Yea, so daring were
 they now become, that they entered into a new
 Covenant, disclaiming and renouncing all obedi-
 ence to the King and Government, and declaring,
 " that the Covenant is the original contract be-
 " tween God, the King, and the people, and that
 " King Charles having broken this contract, had
 " forfeited the crown; so that it was necessary to
 " make war against him, and both lawful and
 " right to kill him and all who served him."—
 And on the 22d of June 1680, at the market cross
 of Sanquhar, after a solemn procession and singing
 of psalms by one of the Camerons, they publish-
 ed a declaration which they called " the decla-
 " ration and testimony of the true Presbyterian;
 " Anti-prelatick, and Anti-erastian persecuted par-
 " ty in Scotland," homologating the testimony
 given at Ruglen, May 29, 1679, and all the
 faithful testimonies of those that have suffered of
 late, and declaring war against Charles Stuart,
 and the Duke of York, with all their adherents;
 with a threat in the end, " to reward those that
 " are against us as they have done to us, as the
 " Lord gives the opportunity."

In pursuance of these intolerable combinations,
 they again pushed their fortune in the fields, but
 with no success. Cargill was caught at Queens-
 ferry on the 3d of June, with the new Covenant,
 and was hanged: And Cameron was killed in a
 brush with the King's troops at Airdsmoss on
 the 23d of July after. The measures now taken

LETTER by Government, with the public executions of
 LL some few rebels here and there, who all had their
 lives offered them if they would only have said,
 “ God save the King,” were not only complain-
 ed of at the time, but are still in the mouths of
 many who affect to cry out against “ the perfo-
 cutions of Charles the Second’s Reign.” But
 what could government do? Here was the first
 man in the church, and a privy-counsellor in the
 state, openly and inhumanly murdered, and his
 murderers protected and abetted, the King’s au-
 thority renounced, and his person set up as a mark
 for every private ruffian to shoot at, his officers
 insulted, his laws defied, his very mercy affront-
 ed: And all this by a pitiful parcel of hot-headed
 fanatics, not the thousandth part of the nation ei-
 ther for numbers, figure, or property. And were
 such wretches, despicable, no doubt, if they had
 made no noise with their foolish principles, to be
 suffered to go on without check in, or dismissed
 without punishment for, their rebellious practices?
 One thing however may be observed, that these
 violent doings, if they must be called such, may
 be said to have been not only the consequences,
 but even the effects of Archbishop Sharp’s death,
 whose activity might have in a great measure pre-
 vented these tumults, as his influence in the privy-
 council would have been of great use towards mi-
 tigating the severity of justice in suppressing them.
 Yet the King, provoked as he was, took all pos-
 sible and prudent methods to settle these distrac-
 tions, and to restore the peace of the kingdom:
 For next summer 1681 he called a Parliament in
 Scotland, and sent down his brother, the Duke of
 York, to be Commissioner. The first act of this
 Parliament is concerning religion, “ Ratifying
 all

" all acts, laws and statutes made by his Majesty's LETTER
 " Royal Grandfather and Father of blessed me- LI.
 " mory, or in any of his present Majesty's former 
 " Parliaments, for settling the liberty of the true
 " kirk of God, and the Protestant religion pre-
 " sently professed within this realm, and all acts
 " against Popery, ordaining the same to stand in
 " full force and effect, as if they were specially
 " mentioned and set down herein." And to secure
 the rights of the crown, which the English bill of
 exclusion was then striking at, another act passed
 declaring, " That the crown of Scotland by in-
 " herent right, and by the nature of the monarchy,
 " as well as by the fundamental and unalterable
 " laws of the realm, is devolved and transmitted
 " by lineal succession according to proximity of
 " blood, and that no difference of religion or act
 " of parliament can alter or divert the right of
 " succession and lineal descent of the crown to the
 " nearest and lawful heir," and making it high
 treason by writing, speaking or any other way, to
 endeavour to alter, suspend or divert that right
 and descent. But the act which made the greatest
 noise afterwards, was the Test-act, as it is called,
 the first clause of which required people to swear,
 " That they owned and sincerely professed the true
 " protestant religion contained in the confession
 " of faith recorded in Parliament 1567, and that
 " they believed the same to be founded in, and
 " agreeable to the written word of God, and that
 " they will adhere thereto all the days of their
 " life, and educate their children therein, and
 " never consent to any change or alteration con-
 " trary to it." At the same time they were
 obliged too to renounce the national Covenant
 and Solemn League, to disclaim the endeavouring
 any

LETTER any alteration in either church or state, and to
 LI. engage for the support and defence of the crown
 against all resistance.

This Test Oath was to be sworn by all persons in public trust in the church, state, and army, and such as refused were to lose their moveables, and liferent besides. Yet, notwithstanding these heavy penalties, the Bishops and clergy had scruples about this Test, and most of them refused to take it in the high sounding sense of some of the words of it. This procured an act of council, explanatory of the Test, at Edinburgh, November 3, 1681, bearing, that ‘ Upon account of jealousies and prejudices against the Test, as if designed to hurt the doctrines and powers of the church, or to expose the present settlement of Episcopacy to alteration; therefore, his Majesty’s Commissioner, and the Lords of his Privy Council, do allow, authorize, and empower the Archbishops and Bishops, to take and administer this oath in this express sense: 1. That tho’ the Confession of Faith, ratified in Parliament 1567, was framed in the infancy of the Reformation, and deserves its due praise; yet, by the Test, we do not swear to every proposition or clause contained in it, but only to the true Protestant Religion, founded on the word of God, and contained there, as it is opposed to Popery and Fancifism. 2. That by the Test, or any clause in it, no invasion or encroachment is made or intended, upon the intrinsic spiritual power of the church, or power of the keys, as it was exercised by the apostles, and the most pure and primitive church, in the three first centuries after Christ, and which is still reserved entire to the church. 3. That the Oath and Test is without

' without any prejudice to the Episcopal Govern- LETTER
 ' ment of this national church, which is declared, LI.
 ' by the first act of the second Session of his Ma- ~
 ' jesty's first Parliament, to be most agreeable to
 ' the word of God, and most suitable to Mon-
 ' archy, and which, upon all occasions, his Ma-
 ' jesty hath declared he will inviolably and unal-
 ' terably preserve.' This explanation of the of-
 fensive passages in the act was sent up, on the 8th,
 to the King for his approbation, which he was
 pleased to give in the fullest manner, by a letter
 to the Privy Council of date the 15th, supersign-
 ed CHARLES R. and subscribed Moray, in which
 he says, ' We are so pleased with that explanatory
 ' act, that we will not delay to send you our
 ' cheerful approbation thereof, with our hearty
 ' thanks for your zeal in our service: Especially
 ' in what relates to the security of the persons,
 ' rights, interests, and privileges of our orthodox
 ' clergy, which we do now, as we have oft done
 ' before, in a particular manner recommend to
 ' your care, as a matter wherein you may render
 ' unto us most acceptable service: And therefore,
 ' we expect that you will, upon all fit occasions,
 ' give them all possible encouragement, as those
 ' whom we have received, and will constantly
 ' shelter, under our royal protection, against all
 ' their enemies.'

On receiving this letter, which, under the
 King's hand, so mollifies the harsh sound of the
 supremacy, and leaves the church to the free ex-
 ercise of all the powers and privileges which she
 can in equity claim as a church, the Bishops were
 so entirely satisfied on that invidious, but delicate
 point, that, on the return of his Royal Highness
 to London, in March next year, seven of them,
viz.

LETTER viz. the two Archbishops, Burnet and Rofs; and
LI. the Bishops, Paterfon of Edinburgh, Bruce of
 Dunkeld, Aitkin of Galloway, Haliburton of Brechin, and Ramfay of Dunblain, wrote to Archbishop Sancroft of Canterbury, how fenfible they were of the benefits of the Duke's adminiftration, and defired his Grace to make their grateful acknowledgements to his Royal Highnefs accordingly. But however reconciled the Bifhops and bulk of the clergy were to this Teft, it was not fo palatable to the Prefbyterian part of the laity, and fome of the principal contrivers of it fell into their own fnare. Stair, the Lord Prefident of the Seflion, who, with the Earl of Argyle, had artfully got the old Confeflion put at the head of the oath, as a fence againft the Duke's Popery, and was willing to fign that part of it with great alacrity, was fo difatisfied with the other parts, which ftruck at the Prefbyterians, and called them Fanatics, that he refigned his office, and in the end of next year retired in difguft to Holland, where he had time, with others of the fame ftamp, to concert the famous expedition, which was undertaken fix years after. His accomplice, Argyle, whom the King had graciously relieved from the burden of his father's parliamentary forfeiture, went another way to work, and being a Privy Counfellor, and one of the Commiffioners of the Treafury, offered, for the keeping of his place, to take the oath, but would needs qualify it to his own fenfe, by declaring, ' That he was defirous
 ' to give obedience to the Teft as far as he could,
 ' and now took it fo far as it is confiftent with it-
 ' felf, and with the Proteftant Religion; But that
 ' he did not mean to bind up himfelf in his ftation from endeavouring, in a lawful way, any
 ' thing

' thing he might think for the advantage of the church or state, not repugnant to the Protestant Religion and his loyalty: And this he understood as a part of his oath.' The Privy Council, taking into consideration this qualifying stricture, and finding it entirely destructive of the intention of the act, earnestly pressed Argyle to retract his declaration, representing to him, from the opinion of the ablest lawyers of the kingdom, that, by law, all such as put limitations upon their allegiance, were guilty of treason. But the presumptuous man refusing to depart from it in the least, and allowing copies of it to be spread abroad, was prosecuted for treason, and found guilty; but made his escape out of prison, by connivance, and got over to the then common asylum, Holland, where he was indeed as busy, but not so cautious, nor lucky, as his wily friend Stair: For venturing too soon, and on his own strength, to make the attempt which, at his taking the Test, he seems to have had in view, he was disappointed, and lost his head on a scaffold, three years before the grand design, which was more artfully conducted than his rash attempt had been, could be brought to perfection. Thus, these two eminent champions of Presbytery, who, whatever sentiments of affection they might have had for the crown, were avowed enemies of the church, and had introduced this double-faced oath to entangle the Episcopal Clergy, were unexpectedly caught in the trap of their own devising, and drew down upon themselves, the effects of an act which they had intended and hoped should have operated another way.

However, a foundation was now laid; and this severity, as it was called, to a nobleman of

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3 Q


Argyle's

LETTER

II.



LETTER Argyle's note and figure, was made a plausible
 I.I. handle, to keep up the malignant humour against
 both church and state: For soon after this, the
 administration was alarmed by the discovery of a
 new plot for assassinating the King and his brother,
 in their returning from Newmarket to London, at a
 private house on the road called the Rye, from which
 circumstance, it has been called the *Rye-house Plot*.
 The first discovery of this deep laid scheme was
 made on the 12th. of June 1683, and the prosecution
 of it, which lasted some weeks, brought to light a
 great number in both nations who had been engaged
 in it; some of whom escaped in time, and others
 suffered for it. Of the English, the person of the
 greatest character, and who was most regretted on
 account of his virtues in private life, was the Lord
 Russel, eldest son to the Earl of Bedford, who was
 found guilty, and beheaded on the 21st of July.
 This noble Lord was attended, when under
 condemnation, by two eminent divines, Dr. Tillotson,
 and our countryman Dr. Burnet, who both laboured
 to convince him of the sinfulness of the course he
 was engaged in: And to work the more effect
 upon him, Dr. Tillotson wrote him a letter the
 day before his execution, in which he puts him
 in mind, ' That the christian religion doth plain-
 ' ly forbid the resisting of authority: That tho'
 ' our religion is established by law, which is the
 ' only difference that can be urged between our
 ' case and that of the primitive christians; yet, in
 ' the same law which establishes our religion, it is
 ' declared, that it is not lawful, on any pretence
 ' whatever, to take up arms against the King,
 ' which ties the hands of subjects, tho' the law of
 ' nature, and general rules of scripture, had left
 ' us

‘ us at liberty: And that his Lordship’s opinion LETTER
 ‘ of the lawfulness of resistance in certain cases, LI.
 ‘ is contrary to the declared doctrine of all Pro- 
 ‘ testant churches, tho’ some particular persons
 ‘ have sometimes taught otherwise: Begging his
 ‘ Lordship; therefore, to consider how it will
 ‘ agree with an avowed asserting of the Protestant
 ‘ religion, to go contrary to the general current of
 ‘ the Protestant doctrine.’

The arguments of these two famous Doctors at this time, upon this intricate subject, especially this strong letter, were brought to their remembrance some years after, upon the then apparent change in their conduct; and an attempt was made, from their side, to reconcile that conduct to their former principles, but with what justice or strength of reasoning on either side, I shall not take upon me to determine. I shall only observe how fashionable it was then to pretend, at least, an expression of fondness for the now ridiculed doctrine of Non-resistance and Passive Obedience; and that not only among the Episcopal clergy, whom their enemies are daily representing as the flatterers of Kings and enslavers of the people, but even among those who publicly avowed an opposition to Prelacy, and would be thought the only defenders of the liberties and rights of mankind: For the Presbyterian Synod of Fife, in their ‘ Seasonable word of exhortation and admonition against Episcopacy,’ in April 1661, use as high-flowing language this way, as the most fawning writer of the slavish tribe could have done, where, speaking of King Charles on his restoration, they call him ‘ their Sovereign, inferior to none but God, who is his only Judge, invested by God with a peerless supremacy over all persons and

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‘ ranks within his dominions, the chief nursing
‘ father of the church, and keeper of both the
‘ tables of God’s law; the sovereign protector and
‘ defender of the worship and ordinances of God;
‘ God’s vicegerent, sent by him to bear the sword
‘ with imperial power; the supreme civil govern-
‘ nor over all persons, in all causes, civil and ec-
‘ clesiastical, &c. Who, if in any thing to be an-
‘ joined we cannot give active obedience, we hope
‘ will be pacified by our passive obedience, which
‘ we resolve to yield, as our God calleth us, rat-
‘ ther than to sin against him.’ Such was the
‘ language then, however much exploded now; very
‘ inconsistent, indeed, with the practices and plots,
‘ which, under these fine sounding professions, so
‘ much infested both this reign and the next.

Of the Scotch partners in the Rye-house affair, the principal sufferer was Baillie of Jerviswood, who was condemned and executed next year for his share in it. Besides him were concerned, the Earl of Tarras, the Lord Melvil, the Lairds of Cefnock, Polwart, Torwoodlie, Westshiels, Earlston, Lenshaw, Gallowshiels, and Philiphaugh, Sir John Cochran, Commissary Monro, the two independent preachers Carstairs and Ferguson, with many others of less note, some of whom got over sea, and others saved their lives by turning evidence. Thus was an end put to this traitorous combination, which was intended to have produced most fatal consequences to the nation; and the King having retracted his former abused indulgences, both church and state were now in a fair way of enjoying some degree of peace and quiet, from the further attempts of fanatics of any kind. But in the beginning almost of this flattering prospect, an unlooked for event happened, which, by

by a chain of co-operating circumstances, paved the way for the Revolution that followed soon after. For on the 6th of February 1685, his Majesty, King Charles II. died at Whitehall, without lawful issue, in the 55th year of his age, and 37th of his reign; a Prince of such a mixture of qualities, that it is not easy to form a general character of him, further than what is universally acknowledged, that what we call good nature and a desire of ease, was predominant in his constitution to such a degree, that it may justly be said of him, "He loved neither to give nor take trouble;" but how far this is commendable in a King, is not for me to say.

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II.

I am, &c.

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LII.

L E T T E R LII.

Peaceable Accession of James VII.—His Attachment to Popery, and impolitic Measures.—Dutiful behaviour of the Scotch Bishops and Clergy —The King's Proclamation against the Test —And Toleration of Recusants.—Consequences of it.—Declaration of the Prince of Orange —He invades England, and obliges the King to take Refuge in France.

A.D. 1685. **T**HE same day that Charles died, his only surviving brother James Duke of Albany and York was proclaimed at London with the usual solemnity, and with all the appearances of universal satisfaction. On the 28th of April the Parliament of Scotland met, and after reading the new King's letter, the Duke of Queensberry the commissioner made a speech to them, in which, he affures them of his Majesty's resolution to maintain and protect the government of the church, as

' as by law established, together with the rights LETTER
 ' and liberties of the people, and recommends to LII.
 ' them the suppressing that fanatical and irre-
 ' claimable party, ~~who had brought them to the~~
 ' brink of ruin and disgrace, and were not more
 ' rebels against the King, than enemies to man-
 ' kind.' In return to which the Parliament pas-
 sed the following acts. 1. For ratifying and con-
 firming, in their whole strength and tenor, all for-
 mer acts and statutes for the security, liberty and
 freedom of the true church of God, and the Pro-
 testant religion, presently professed within the
 kingdom. 2. For annexing and uniting the excise
 of foreign and inland commodities to the crown
 of Scotland for ever. 3. Ordaining that all such
 persons as being cited in case of high treason, field
 or house-conventicles, or church-irregularities,
 shall refuse to give testimony, shall be liable to be
 punished as guilty of these crimes respectively in
 which they refuse to be witnesses. 4. Making a
 dutiful offer to the King of 260,000 pounds year-
 ly during his life. And 5. Declaring that the giving
 or taking the national covenant, as explained in
 1638, or the solemn league and covenant common-
 ly so called, or writing in defence of them, or
 owning them to be lawful and obligatory on
 themselves or others, should incur the crimes and
 pains of treason.

Thus the reign of James had a promising enough
 appearance in the beginning: but this agreeable
 prospect was soon interrupted. For within a few
 weeks, Argyle landed from Holland in hopes of
 a powerful junction at home, and being taken at
 Kirkpatrick before he could collect a sufficient
 force, was carried to Edinburgh, and on the 30th
 of June beheaded, on his former sentence. This
 early

LETTER early piece of justice immediately opened the
 LII. mouths of the secret malecontents, and awakened
 ~~~~~ the remembrance of the prosecutions for the late  
 plot, which in the next reign the successful party  
 magnified with great bitterness, and to this day  
 exclaim against, as flagrant instances of the cruelty  
 and sanguinary tyranny of the two Stuart bro-  
 thers.\* Yet the Parliament continued their ex-  
 pressions of loyalty, and on hearing of Argyle's  
 invasion in Scotland, and Monmouth's much about  
 the same time in England, they promised "to  
 stand by his Majesty with their lives and for-  
 tunes without reserve," not meaning thereby to  
 introduce a blind slavery, as has been maliciously  
 pretended, but merely to exclude those treasona-  
 ble limitations of obedience invented by the Cove-  
 nanters, contrary to standing laws, and on pur-  
 pose to seduce people into rebellion.

Thus matters went on here for a while, calmly  
 and peaceably enough, notwithstanding the King's  
 attachment to Popery, which was universally  
 known, and which his greatest enemies acknow-  
 ledge was the only blemish in his character.—  
 And indeed when we remember what a father he  
 was educated under, till he was fifteen years of age,  
 a man who had given such proofs of his under-  
 standing the religious controversies of the times  
 as fully as most men in his day, and who may be

\* These people would do well to remember what happened  
 not many years before to the two Marquises of Huntly and  
 Montrose, to President Spotwood, to the Laird of Haddo, and  
 hundreds of Gentlemen more, many of whom fell a sacrifice to the  
 resentment of this very Argyle's father, in the bloody days of the  
 Covenant, besides the many thousands who died in the civil war,  
 the guilt of which lies on them who raised it, and never made  
 the least profession of repentance for it.

said



said to have been a martyr for, as he was a constant and devout adherer to, the principles of pure protestant christianity, as distinguished both from popish superstition, and covenanted fanaticism, we cannot help wishing that this son had, like his elder brother, continued to be satisfied with the religion of such a father. But it is needless now to be wishing or reasoning upon the point. The fact was against our wishes, and as matters turned out, against his Royalty and worldly interest. For in England, where his personal presence made his conduct more conspicuous, his popish attachments soon began to raise jealousies and apprehensions to his prejudice: And these were increased by some impolitic measures, which whether he was led into them by the treachery of others, or entirely by the force of his own inclination, were made great handles of offence. Such were his orders in March 1686, to the Archbishop of Canterbury to prohibit the clergy's preaching on controversial points; the suspending the Bishop of London in September, by the high commission court of his Majesty's erection; the sending a formal ambassador to the Pope, and receiving a Nuncio from him, tho' the then Pope was none of his friends; the attack upon the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge, in forcing members upon them against their statutes; and his admitting his Jesuit confessor, father Petre, into the privy council, which, we are told, his Italian Queen, Popish as she was, begged on her knees, tho' to no purpose, might be forborn.

These irregular proceedings in such a short time, tho' seemingly of no great moment in themselves, yet being of a suspicious look in their probable consequences, imperceptibly and progressively generated


LETTER doted the flame which soon broke out with violence in England, and in course reached his kingdom too. And one thing which contributed much to give the alarm here, was the unhappy circumstance of the Earl of Perth, who had been made chancellor in 1684, on the resignation of the first Earl of Aberdeen, and had hitherto appeared a firm Protestant, changing his religion and embracing the King's; with a view, it was said, to get the better by that compliance of the treasurer Queensberry, with whom he had some differences about matters of office, and who accordingly, to gratify this new favourite, was turned out of that lucrative post.

But the great ground of quarrel was laid in the beginning of the year 1685, by the court-party's bringing into the second session of Parliament their famous bill for taking off the late test and other penal laws against the Papists, which was a favourite point with the King, and what he had much at heart to accomplish. This was a ticklish business thrown upon the Bishops, and in their parliamentary character they could not but take a share in it. It was their misfortune too not to be unanimous in their sentiments upon it, which indeed was not to be much wondered at, from the nature of the proposal, and the double capacity in which they stood, as belonging both to the church and to the state. As a branch of the legislature it might be thought unpopular in them to have a hand in removing laws which, however severe, had been at first placed and often renewed as a necessary barrier to the constitution. On the other side, it might look uncharacteristic in christian Bishops, to be against any appearance of lenity and compassion to a number of their countrymen;

lying

lying under the perpetual terror of bloody penalties for religious mistakes. It is true the bill was soon quashed: For it went no further than the Lords of the articles, and never came into the house.— But the disappointment produced grievous and visible effects. Such of the Ministry as opposed the chancellor and the court were removed from their offices, and amongst the rest the Advocate's place was taken from the learned Sir George Mackenzie, who was as able a lawyer and as loyal a subject as the King had, and given to Stair's eldest son, Sir John Dalrymple, to the great surprize of many who knew the son's principles to be the same with the father's, and feared the consequences of such a man getting into such an employment. But the weight of the King's displeasure fell most sensibly upon the church, where he expected to have found the readiest submission, and over which the assertory act gave him such an unlimited power.

To soften this displeasure if possible, two of the Bishops, the Primate Ross of St. Andrews and Bp. Paterson of Edinburgh went to court, and in March drew up and subscribed a paper, in which they say,  
 ' It seemeth reasonable and dutiful to grant what  
 ' his Majesty desireth may be done for him, viz.  
 ' To take off the sanguinary laws concerning re-  
 ' ligion, in so far as they infer the pains of death  
 ' or forfeiture against those of his persuasion mere-  
 ' ly for their religion, and that the Papists have  
 ' an ease and immunity from the execution of the  
 ' other penalties civil or criminal contained in  
 ' the laws, merely and allenary for their religion  
 ' and exercise of their worship in private houses.  
 ' This seemeth to us, who are not Lawyers, to  
 ' be equitable, and reasonable to be done, con-

LETTER LII.  sidering that the execution of sanguinary laws has fallen into an absolute desuetude for many years past, and since upon doing hereof his Majesty is so gracious as not to intend or desire the repealing of any laws already made for the security of the Protestant religion, but is willing further to establish and confirm the same by any other laws or acts of Parliament that can be made for that end. Nor do we see any danger or insecurity arising to our established Protestant religion by so doing, but rather an apparent benefit, by his Majesty's consenting to a more full and ample security thereof: And this is but our own private opinion, for we cannot undertake to say that this would be the opinion of others. For as we are clearly determined by God's grace to continue firm and constant in the reformed Protestant religion to our lives end, so also are we to serve our most gracious sovereign, and to comply with his proposals and desires, as far as they do consist with the safety of our consciences and religion, upon which we assure ourselves his Majesty's grace and goodness will never impose.'

This paper, tho' expressive of duty to, and confidence in the King, to a degree which even gave offence to many, yet did not altogether avert the impending storm. For on the 22d of May the King wrote a letter to the privy-council, ordering them to remove Bishop Bruce of Dunkeld from his diocese, which was put in execution accordingly. Other two Bishops had been marked as victims to the wrath of the court on this trying occasion, but by some means or other they had been overlooked, and the stroke lighted on Bishop Bruce, who it seems, had either been more active in

in his opposition, or had fewer friends than his brethren. Nor did these violent proceedings stop here. For in a few months after, another of our Bishops, and he no less than the Archbishop of Glasgow, met with the same fate by a like stretch of the regal supremacy, the occasion of which was this. The King's inclinations to popery, and his early avowing of them in so strong a manner, with the countenance of the chancellor's friendship and protection, had set the Romish missionaries agog, and emboldened them to spread their distinguishing tenets with more openness and freedom than was thought consistent with either the standing laws or the public safety. This unwelcome appearance had alarmed the whole nation, and the alarm had been increased by an unexpected circumstance which had lately occurred, to the surprize of all Europe. The French King Louis XIV. our King's cousin-german, had last year by his absolute power revoked and annulled the famous edict of Nantz, which his grandfather Henry IV. had granted in favour of the Protestants, to allow them the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion, and which had been again and again solemnly ratified and confirmed, and even by this King himself among the first acts of his reign.

This happening at the time of a Popish King's accession to the throne of Britain, looked like a designed combination between the two monarchs to distress, and even exterminate their Protestant subjects: and while the Romish Priests here were, under the support of so favourable a conjuncture, exerting themselves with all their might to propagate their doctrines and make profelytes, it was not to be thought, neither would it have been justifiable, that the established clergy could or would

LETTER  
LII.  
~~~~~

LETTER be slack in defending the dignity and purity of
LII. their religion, by every method which the laws
 allowed them, and their stations required of them.
 Among the many who stood forth in this impor-
 tant struggle, Dr. James Canaries minister of Sel-
 kirk in the diocess of Glasgow, being employed
 to preach on the 14th of February 1686, in the
 high church of Edinburgh, before a numerous au-
 ditory, where most of the privy council and many
 of the Bishops were present, made it his business
 to point out and argue against the various corrup-
 tions of popery, warning and exhorting his audi-
 ence, as they tendered their eternal welfare, to be-
 ware of being perverted to a religion so contrary
 to the spirit, and so destructive of the great design
 of the gospel.

From Gal.
 v. 6.

The Chancellor, on hearing of this flaming ser-
 mon, was so enraged at it, that having sent for
 the Doctor in a day or two, he abused him with
 threatening, and even scurrilous language; and
 not satisfied with venting his passion in words, he
 ordered the Archbishop of Glasgow, Dr. Cairn-
 cross, to punish him for his presumption; threat-
 ening, if he did not, to take another course with
 them both. The Archbishop, being on the one
 hand afraid of the Chancellor's resentment, and
 not willing to lose his popularity on the other,
 prevailed with the Doctor to step out of the way a
 little, and go up to London, under pretence of
 making friends at court. While the Doctor was
 at London, he shewed his sermon to the Bishop of
 Ely, and some others, who highly approved it,
 and procured it to be printed, under the title of
 "Rome's Additions to Christianity;" with a
 long letter, by way of vindication, prefixed to it.
 This inflamed the Chancellor and his party still
 more

more against the Archbishop, so that, to save ap-
 pearances, he called the Doctor before the Synod
 of Peebles, and having in vain tampered with him
 to demit, for preventing worse consequences,
 laid a kind of inhibition upon him, not to use his
 ministry for some time. However, the Chancellor
 was not pacified with this partial censure; and in
 short, the contention about the sermon, and the
 Doctor's errand to London, which the Chancellor
 exclaimed bitterly against, as injurious to him,
 was kept up after a strange manner for some
 months, till in end, the affair reaching the King's
 ears, orders came down, in December, to have
 the Archbishop and Canaries confronted together,
 and examined by the Chancellor, in presence of
 the Primate and other two Bishops.

At this meeting, the Archbishop was found
 highly blameable by all present, for having played
 the politician too much between the Chancellor
 and the Doctor; and though, to recover the
 ground which he now saw he had lost, he declared
 his readiness to retract his former scruples, and to
 go all lengths with the King's desire of favour to
 the Papists, it availed nothing for favour to him-
 self: For in January next year, the King sent
 down his letters of deprivation against him; by
 virtue of which, the Privy Council did, on the
 20th of January 1687, ' Declare and enact, the
 ' said Alexander, late Archbishop of Glasgow, re-
 ' moved from that Metropolitcal See, and depriv-
 ' ed of any right, title, benefit, or privilege,
 ' which he had or enjoyed of the said Archbishops-
 ' ric any manner of way; and that, from the
 ' day and date of his Majesty's letter, recorded in
 ' their books; and appoint intimation of this act
 ' to be duly made to the said late Archbishop:'

Which

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 LII.


LETTER Which was done accordingly. And the very day
LII. after this act of council, the King's letters were
 presented, recommending Dr. John Paterson, Bishop of Edinburgh, to be Archbishop of Glasgow, in the room of Dr. Alexander Cairncross, now deprived. The See of Dunkeld, which had been vacated in the same manner last year, had been filled, on the 19th of October, with Dr. John Hamilton, a descendant of Archbishop Hamilton, the last Popish Primate; and this year the King, among the many party-coloured denominations of clergy, who, he was willing, should taste of the merciful cup of his prerogative, grants dispensation, of date August 15, 1687, 'to Dr. Bruce, late Bishop of Dunkeld, for exercising the function of the ministry;' in prosecution of which Royal rehabilitation, on the 4th of May thereafter, he sends his Congé d'Elire to the Chapter of Orkney, and nominates Andrew, late Bishop of Dunkeld, to be by them elected Bishop of that See, vacant since the death of Bishop Mackenzie in February before.

It might be reckoned invidious to the memory of an unfortunate Prince, to offer any comment upon these high exertions of a power, which, whether inherent in the Crown; or affixed to it by Acts of Parliament, was so burdensome and detrimental to the church. Yet, whatever sentiments this Popish King had entertained of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, whose government and liberties he had solemnly promised to defend and maintain, it was very strange that he should thus, at his own pleasure, and in such an arbitrary manner, turn out, and do what he could to exaustrate Bishops, for with-holding their approbation from measures which appeared injurious to the interests
 of

of that church, of which, by their office, they were governors. I would, therefore, put it as a question to be seriously pondered by the sincere admirers of the primitive plan of ecclesiastic constitution, Whether the external dignities, honours, and emoluments, annexed by the state to the church, be really a sufficient equivalent for these oppressive incumbrances, which yet are but natural and necessary consequences of that annexation; and how far any church, which pretends to copy after the original model, and has enjoyed the benefits of ecclesiastic freedom, under the outward disadvantages of political separation, can, in conformity to such professions and enjoyments, and purely as a Church, abstractedly from other considerations, wish for a legal re-establishment, clogged with these unpleasant, tho' unavoidable conditions?

The King having failed in his first attempt for the security of his Popish subjects, resolved to go another way to work, and try to effect by Prerogative, what he could not compass by Parliament. Accordingly, on the 12th of February 1687, he published a Proclamation, dispensing, by virtue of his absolute power, with all tests and penal laws of any kind; and allowing full liberty of conscience to every denomination of recusants, in that his ancient kingdom of Scotland. Such a toleration, from a King of James' principles, tho' expressed in terms of a general comprehension, was suspected to have a particular aspect, and to be mainly intended for the benefit of his own favourites, by classing them with what might be thought less obnoxious company. It was said too, that the dispensing power was of dangerous admission in the precedent; and, if it should be called

LETTER in question, would be but uncertain in the continuance. Yet, the Presbyterians readily laid hold of it, and began immediately to build meeting-houses and call preachers, without any suspicion of the design, or thought about the duration of it. And so happy were they, with this ambiguous infringement of law in their favour, that, forgetting their professed aversion to Papists, both in person and principle, they sent up a formal address of thanks to the King, of which the following is a copy :


To the King's most excellent Majesty, the
 humble Address of the Presbyterian Ministers
 in his Majesty's kingdom of Scotland. May it
 please your Majesty; We, your Majesty's most
 loyal subjects, the Ministers of the Presbyterian
 persuasion in your ancient kingdom of Scotland,
 from the deep sense we have of your Majesty's
 gracious and surprizing favour, in not only
 putting a stop to our long sad sufferings for Non-
 conformity, but granting us the liberty of the
 public and peaceable exercise of our ministerial
 function without any hazard, as we bless the
 great God, who hath put this in your royal
 heart, do withal find ourselves bound in duty to
 offer our most humble and hearty thanks to your
 sacred Majesty, the favour bestowed being to us,
 and all the people of our persuasion, valuable
 above all our earthly comforts: Especially, since
 we have ground from your Majesty to believe,
 that our loyalty is not to be questioned on ac-
 count of our being Presbyterians, who, as we
 have, amidst all former temptations, endeavoured,
 so are firmly resolved, still to preserve an
 entire loyalty in our doctrine and practice, (con-
 sonant to our known principles, which, accord-
 ing

' ing to the Holy Scriptures, are contained in the
 ' Confession of Faith generally owned by Presby-
 ' terians in all your Majesty's dominions), and,
 ' by the help of God, so to demean ourselves, as
 ' your Majesty may find cause rather to enlarge
 ' than to diminish your favours towards us: Tho-
 ' roughly persuading ourselves, from your Maje-
 ' ty's justice and goodness, that if we shall, at any
 ' time, be otherwise represented, your Majesty
 ' will not give credit to such information, until
 ' you take due cognition thereof: And humbly
 ' beseeching, that those who promote any disloyal
 ' principles and practices, as we do disown them,
 ' may be looked upon as none of ours, whatever
 ' name they may assume to themselves. May it
 ' please your most excellent Majesty, graciously
 ' to accept this our humble Address, as proceed-
 ' ing from the plainness and simplicity of loyal
 ' and thankful hearts, much engaged, by this
 ' your royal favour, to continue our fervent
 ' prayers, to the King of Kings, for divine illumi-
 ' nation and conduct, with all other blessings spi-
 ' ritual and temporal, ever to attend your Royal
 ' Person and Government; which is the greatest
 ' duty can be rendered to your Majesty, by your
 ' Majesty's most humble, most faithful, and most
 ' obedient subjects. At Edinburgh, July 21,
 ' 1687.'

I shall make no observations on this temporizing
 strain of fallacious compliment, neither will I say
 that all the Presbyterians, either preachers or
 people, were in the secret of what was certainly
 going on in Holland against his Majesty at this
 time. No doubt, many of them were plain,
 simple men, and might be in a great measure
 strangers to the machinations of the dark cunning
 politicians

LETTER politicians among them, so might, in the simpli-
LII. city of their hearts, and without looking forward
 ~~~~~ to consequences, accept the King's indulgence,  
 and be honestly thankful to him for it. On the  
 other hand, it is as little to be doubted that others  
 of them, indeed all their eminent Preachers, many  
 of whom had been in Holiand, and now came over  
 from it, had kept up a correspondence with the  
 malecontent fugitives, Melvil, Polwart, Stair,  
 and the rest of them, and were, by that means,  
 intimately acquainted with the designs on foot,  
 which could not have been brought to such a com-  
 plete accomplishment so soon after, without such  
 a previous correspondence. Now what appellation  
 belongs to these men, who could either frame or  
 allow their consent, tacit or open, to such a de-  
 ceitful address to a King, or indeed to any one,  
 whom they were at the time caballing to ruin,  
 may be referred to every conscientious Protestant,  
 who hates the infamous practice of Jesuitical equi-  
 vocation, with the same zeal with which his chris-  
 tianity teaches him to condemn the doctrine of it.

But acceptable as this new and extensive in-  
 dulgence was to the inferior people in the South  
 and West, who hastily and thoughtlessly took hold  
 of it, it was some time before those of higher  
 quality and interest, even there, could be persuad-  
 ed to trust to it. As for the other parts of the  
 kingdom, in some shires, there were not above two  
 meeting-houses, in some none at all, and in all  
 the vast extent of country, north of the Tay,  
 there never were above three or four, and these  
 too neither much frequented, nor by people of  
 great figure: all which is a kind of demonstra-  
 tion, how little fond the generality of the nation  
 was then of that way, notwithstanding the migh-  
 ty

ty handle that was afterwards made, of the in-  
 clinations of the people being in favour of it.— **LETTER**  
**LII.**   
 Yet, under all the encouragement now given to  
 Presbyterians by a Popish King, there was a party  
 still in the Western counties, of the meaner sort  
 indeed, who acted more consistently with their for-  
 mer principles and practice, and would in no shape  
 accept or own the present toleration, but did open-  
 ly in their sermons, and by their pens, declare  
 their dislike of it, and railed more bitterly against  
 their brethren who took the benefit of it, than  
 against the clergy established by law. Wherever  
 the preachers of this stamp came, as they were al-  
 ways wandering about without any fixed charge,  
 they carried great numbers of the Presbyterians  
 after them, and would preach neither in kirk nor  
 meeting-house, but in the open fields and on the  
 sides of hills, for which they were called Moun-  
 tain-men or Field-preachers. This bold and dis-  
 orderly practice was equally alarming to both the  
 other sides. The government published procla-  
 mations against these vagabond preachers, especi-  
 ally against the three capital ringleaders among  
 them, Rennie, Shiels and Houston, and gave com-  
 missions to the landholders of the Presbyterian  
 persuasion in those parts, to hold justice-courts  
 within their own districts, and upon seizing any  
 of these Hill-men, to punish them as the law or-  
 dained. The other Presbyterians too, who had  
 embraced the indulgence, were grievously offend-  
 ed at them, and expressed great keenness to have  
 them suppressed at any rate: To such a degree, in-  
 deed, of zeal, that, when Rennie was apprehend-  
 ed, they earnestly pressed the King's Advocate, Sir  
 John Dalrymple, their trusty friend, to hang the  
 man, "because he was likely to divide their  
 " church."

LETTER " church." Such were the effects of this indul-  
 LII. gence, which after all did not answer the King's  
 intentions in the mean time, and in end was made  
 a great handle of outcry against him, by the very  
 men who now took the advantage of it, and pro-  
 fessed so much gratitude for it.

All this while the established clergy, in a calm and quiet manner, did what they could, to guard their flocks against, and point out to them the danger of, schismatical practices and heretical doctrines of any kind. And it was repeatedly observed at the time, that while the church-men, who were the only sufferers by this indulgence, were in their station vigilant and zealous against the threatening increase of Popery, the Presbyterians, tho' they knew this was the design at the bottom, were generally silent upon that delicate point, as not chusing to give offence to those, on whose account they had met with so much favour. Indeed the situation of the established clergy at this time, in the discharge of their function, was of a most ticklish and embarrassing nature. On the one hand, any particular appearance of zeal against the errors and corruptions of the church of Rome was considered as affronting the King, and exposed them to the severity of that legal power which had already chastised the Bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld. On the other hand, the Presbyterians, taking hold of the comprehensive indulgence, gave the Parochial ministers all the disturbance they could, by trumping up accusations against them, and fomenting malicious inquiries into their moral character.\* Such was the posture of our esta-

\* Two instances of this in the year 1688 among many others we have a particular account of, the one of Mr. David Rob-  
 minister of Paisley, and the other of Mr. Andrew Darling min-  
 blished

blished church, between the weight of Popish jealousy upon the office, and the insults of Presbyterian malevolence upon the reputation of her clergy, and all the support they had under these different attacks, which the laws could not screen them from, was the maintenance of a good cause, and the comfort of a good conscience.

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LII.



Yet, under all these discouraging consequences of the indulgence, there was one circumstance lucky for our clergy, that they were not required, as their brethren in England were, to have an active hand in it, by publishing it through the kingdom. In England the King had on the 4th of April 1687 published a declaration, “allowing liberty of conscience, and suspending and dispensing with all tests and penal laws,” which he reinforced by another to the same purpose on the 27th of April 1688. And within a few days after an order of council came out, ‘commanding this last declaration to be publickly read in time of divine service, on such and such days, in all churches and chapels in the kingdom, and requiring the Bishops to cause copies of it to be sent and distributed in their respective diocesses, to be read accordingly.’ Against this oppressive and superfluous order, Archbishop Sancroft and six of his suffragans, who happened to be in town, signed a petition to his Majesty, begging him to dispense with their reading or distributing the said declaration. For this they were charged with framing and presenting a libel, as it was called, and committed to the Tower on the 8th of June, but were acquitted in Westminster-hall on the

ter at Stichel, both harrassed on the score of alleged scandal by Presbyterian heritors, and blackened by the suborned testimony of Presbyterian witnesses in their respective parishes.

29th,

LETTER 29th, to the great joy of the whole city, and even  
 LIL. of the army, which the King in person was re-  
 viewing on Hounslow-heath at the time.

This was the most fatal of all the unlucky steps that the King had been betrayed into; and the suspicions of his designs against the Protestant religion were greatly increased, by his dealing so harshly, and in such an arbitrary way, with the Bishops, only for doing, with all modesty, what their duty as Bishops both required and entitled them to do. He began at last to see his error, and attempted some rectifications: But it was now too late. The scheme which had been so long forming, and to which all the plots in the last reign, and complaints in this, were so many preparations, was now drawing towards a completion: For in October there came over, 'A Declaration from his Highness William Henry, by the grace of God, Prince of Orange, of the reasons inducing him to appear in arms in the kingdom of England, for preserving of the Protestant Religion, and for restoring the laws and liberties of England, Scotland, and Ireland.' This Prince of Orange was the King's nephew and son-in-law, which gave him a presumptive title to the crown both by his mother and his wife, and afforded him a pretext for inquiring into the birth of the son, who had been born to the King on the roth of June before. In this previous declaration, all the faults and illegalities, as they are called, of the administration under both his uncles, are enumerated with sufficient aggravations; and professions of love and regard to the interests of Britain are held forth, in terms of seemingly the most disinterested candour.

When the news of the intended invasion reached




ed Scotland, the kingdom was univerſally affect-  
 ed, but from different motives, and with different  
 views. The Presbyterians, who had been long look-  
 ing for it, were elevated with the near prospect of  
 having their wiſhes gratified; and the Church-men  
 thought it their duty to expreſs their attachment  
 to their Sovereign, at this alarming criſis. The  
 Univerſity of St. Andrews drew up an addreſs to  
 the King, ſigned by the Archbiſhop, as Chan-  
 cellor, and by all the Profeſſors and Heads of  
 Colleges, teſtifying, in ſtrong language, and with  
 abundance of argument, their ſtedfaſt adherence  
 to the chriſtian principles of loyalty and obedience,  
 and concluding thus; ‘ And we dare, with the  
 ‘ ſincereſt boldneſs of our honeſt hearts, aſſure  
 ‘ your Majeſty, that the juſt and never unfashion-  
 ‘ able notions of our duty, with the entire truſt  
 ‘ and confidence which we reſoſe in your Majeſty,  
 ‘ ſhall ever preſerve us from being diverted or  
 ‘ frighted from our love and obedience, and ſhall  
 ‘ excite our perpetual prayers for the happineſs of  
 ‘ your Majeſty and your kingdoms.’ And on the  
 3d of November, twelve of the Biſhops ſigned  
 and ſent up a conjunct letter to the King, where,  
 among other expreſſions of reſpect and fidelity,  
 they ſay, ‘ We are amazed to hear of the danger  
 ‘ of an invaſion from Holland, which excites our  
 ‘ prayers for an univerſal repentance to all orders  
 ‘ of men, that God may yet ſpare his people, pre-  
 ‘ ſerve your royal perſon, prevent the effuſion of  
 ‘ chriſtian blood, and give ſuch ſucceſs to your  
 ‘ Majeſty’s arms, that all who invade your juſt  
 ‘ and undoubted rights, and diſturb or interrupt  
 ‘ the peace of your realms, may be diſappointed  
 ‘ and clothed with ſhame, ſo that on your royal  
 ‘ head the crown may ſtill flouriſh: And as, by  
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LII.



LETTER <sup>c</sup> the grace of God, we shall preserve, in ourselves,  
 LII. <sup>c</sup> a firm and unshaken loyalty, so we shall be careful  
 <sup>c</sup> and zealous to promote, in all your subjects, an  
<sup>c</sup> intemperate and steadfast allegiance to your Ma-  
<sup>c</sup> jesty, as an essential part of their religion, and  
<sup>c</sup> of the glory of our holy profession; not doubt-  
<sup>c</sup> ing but that God, in his great mercy, who  
<sup>c</sup> hath so often preserved and delivered your Ma-  
<sup>c</sup> jesty, will still preserve and deliver you, by  
<sup>c</sup> giving you the hearts of your subjects, and the  
<sup>c</sup> necks of your enemies.' This was all they  
 could, as christian Bishops, do; and I hope it  
 may be said, without giving offence to present  
 times, that, as matters yet stood, they were at  
 least excusable for what they now did. It would  
 seem, by their manner of expression, that they  
 looked upon this threatened invasion as carrying  
 on, and to be effected, entirely by foreign force,  
 without any considerable junction or assistance at  
 home; and it was no way inconsistent with the  
 Protestant character then, more than it would be  
 now, to call any foreign Prince, however  
 nearly related to the crown, the King's ene-  
 my, when he was preparing to invade his king-  
 dom.

But before this dutiful letter could reach the  
 King, the alarming design which occasioned it  
 was effectuated, after an accidental disappoint-  
 ment of some weeks: For on the 5th of Novem-  
 ber 1688, the Prince of Orange landed, with a  
 powerful army, at Torbay in Devonshire, and  
 was soon joined by a great many of those in  
 whom the King had placed the greatest confi-  
 dence: Even his favourite daughter, the Princess  
 Anne, who had been lately married to Prince  
 George of Denmark, deserted her father, and  
 added

added her weight, which was, at that time, far from being inconsiderable, to the support of her brother-in-law's pretensions. By this accession of influence, and the continual flocking in of secret friends to the Dutch standard, every thing went on so successfully with the Prince of Orange, that on the 17th of December his forces took possession of all the posts about Whitehall and St. James's, and at midnight, he sent an order to the King to remove; which mortifying order, from such a quarter, and at such an unseasonable hour, the now forsaken Monarch was obliged to submit to, and was conveyed under a Dutch guard to Rochester, where he took shipping for France, having sent over his Queen and young Son some days before: Such, and so sudden, was the fate of King James VII. of whom I shall say no more than what is universally acknowledged, that his counsellors were his ruin; and that, whether he deserved his fate or not, he certainly did not merit such usage at the hands from which he received it.

I am, &c.

3 T 2

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LIII.

## L E T T E R LIII.

*Revolution in Favour of the Prince of Orange—  
Dismal Effects of it in Scotland—The Conven-  
tion of Estates acknowledges K. William and Q.  
Mary—Is turned into a Parliament, and abo-  
lishes Episcopacy—Persecution and Distresses of  
the Episcopal Clergy.*

**A**S soon as the news of the Prince of Orange's success reached Scotland, the Cameronians, or Hill-men, in the West, began such a course of barbarity and licentious violence as would scarcely be credited, if many of the witnesses of, and sufferers under it, had not come down to the knowledge of some who are alive at this day. On receiving certain accounts of his son-in-law being landed, the King had called up all the standing forces from Scotland, to assist in opposing that invasion. This left the nation entirely without defence, and gave all discontented people a fair opportunity of executing their resentments, as their passions and interests moved them: And none having fiercer passions,

passions, and more unchristian spite against the established Church and Clergy, than these Cameronians, they were not dilatory in seizing the wished for occasion, and prosecuting their resentment with all imaginable cruelty. Their first out-breaking was on Christmas Day, when a body of ninety armed men attacked the Minister of Cumnock first, and then the Minister of Auchinleck, and so proceeded thro' the other clergy of the shire of Ayr. On the same day, another band of them began in the Presbytery of Dunbarton, and went on in their desolating progress, with equal rage and fury. It is needless to be particular in describing all their barbarous exploits, in the various parts of that miserable country : \* Suffice it to say, that in a short time, the armed rabble had dispossessed all the clergy in the shires of Ayr, Renfrew, Clydesdale, Nithsdale, and most of Annandale and Galloway, to the number of two hundred : And

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\* Their method, in general, was to assemble in the night time in armed bodies here and there, and to force themselves into any man's house against whom they had any private quarrel, but particularly those of the clergy, which they plundered and abused as they pleased. They then carried the minister to the church-yard, or to some other public place of the town or village, and there, with all the personal abuse they could think of, exposed him as a condemned malefactor ; giving him a strict charge, under the severest penalties, never to preach any more there, but to remove himself and family immediately : And, for a conclusion of their wanton malice, they never omitted to tear their gowns over their heads, and rend them in pieces, or throw them into the flames. When they had done with the poor men themselves, they locked the kirk doors and carried the keys with them. And when any minister was so hardy as expostulate with them, or ask them by what rule of either religion or morality they could justify such excesses, they answered, " By the rule and law of the Solemn League and Covenant, by which they were bound to extirpate Prelacy, and bring malignants to condign punishment."

having

**LETTER** having done their business in these parts, they had  
**LIII.** the boldness, about the end of January, to make  
 an attempt on the clergy of Edinburgh next, but  
 were stopped for a while in their career, by the  
 Members of the College of Justice, and some other  
 gentlemen, who armed, and kept guard several  
 days, for defence of themselves and their minis-  
 ters.

Such was the broken state of the country on this sudden dissolution of the Government, and so quickly did the contrivers of it seize the opportunity of executing what they had been so long contriving and aiming at. The executive part of the administration, knew not how to act on the occasion. The privy council which, by the constitution of Scotland, had the sole management, in the intervals of Parliament, was divided; and the discontented faction in it, raised the mob of Edinburgh against Perth the chancellor, and carried their rage to such a height, that on his endeavouring to escape to France, they sent him prisoner to the castle of Stirling, where he lay four years, and then was banished the British dominions. The Bishops too were at a loss how to proceed in their sphere, consistently with duty, and character. They had indeed, upon hearing that the Prince of Orange was actually landed, commissioned two of their number, Dr. Bruce Bishop of Orkney and Dr. Rose, lately promoted to the See of Edinburgh, to wait upon the King with a renewed tender of their fidelity, and to procure the advice and assistance of their English brethren at this critical juncture. But before Bishop Rose had reached London, having been detained some time by his colleague's indisposition, which in end prevented

vented his attendance altogether, the King was gone, and all was anarchy and confusion. LETTER  
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The Prince had taken up his lodgings at St. James's, and had summoned such members as had served in any of Charles the second's parliaments to meet him at Westminster, by whose advice he called a convention of the three estates of England to sit down on the 22d of January. At the same time such of the Scotch nobility as happened to be in London in the course of office, or had come upon design, had frequent conferences among themselves, about the present state of affairs, and what steps should be taken for the good of the nation. At one of these conferences, the Earl of Arran, eldest son to the Duke of Hamilton, who was likewise present, delivered his opinion plainly and honestly in these words; ' I have all the honour and deference imaginable for the Prince of Orange; I think him a brave Prince, and that we owe him great obligations for contributing so much to our deliverance from Popery: But while I pay these praises, I cannot violate my duty to my master. I must distinguish between his Popery and his person: I dislike the one, but have sworn and do owe allegiance to the other, which makes it impossible for me to sign away, that which I cannot forbear believing is the King my master's right; for his present absence from us in France can no more affect my duty, than his longer absence from us has done all this while: And therefore, as the Prince has desired our advice, mine is, That we should move his Majesty to return and call a free Parliament for securing our religion and property, which in my humble opinion will at last be found the best way to heal all our breaches.'

This

**LETTER** This speech however had no effect: For on the 8th of January 1689 it was agreed among them, that they should formally wait upon the Prince of Orange, and desire him to call a convention of the Estates of Scotland, to meet on the 14th of March next, and in the mean time to take upon him the administration of their government, to both which his Highness readily assented. Upon this prospect of a temporary administration of justice, Bishop Rose applied to the Bishop of London to use his interest with the Prince to put a stop to the lawless persecutions of the clergy in Scotland, which application his Lordship of London did not incline to have any thing to do with. He next addressed his countryman Dr. Burnet, who had been a great promoter of the Prince's expedition, and was his particular favourite, wishing him to exert himself in behalf of his distressed brethren, but was put off by the Doctor with this silly evasion, 'that he did not meddle in Scots affairs.' The suffering clergy themselves, when they saw no end of their miseries from that unruly rabble, drew up duly-attested accounts of what they had met with in their several presbyteries, and on the 22d of January delegated Dr. Scot, Dean of Glasgow, 'to go up to London, and represent to the Prince of Orange and to the Lords spiritual and temporal, the grievances, oppressions and injuries they were labouring under in Scotland, for their firm adherence to Episcopacy,' undertaking at the same time upon the greatest peril to prove the truth of their allegations, if they could but get a fair hearing.

This seems to have had some weight: For on the 6th of February the Prince gave out a proclamation for keeping the peace in Scotland, 'expressly



' preſly prohibiting and diſcharging all diſtur-  
 ' bance and violence upon account of religion, or  
 ' the exerciſe thereof, or any ſuch like pretence,  
 ' and that no interruption be made, or, if any hath  
 ' been made, that it ceaſe, in the free and peace-  
 ' able exerciſe of religion, whether in churches  
 ' or in public or private meetings, of thoſe of a  
 ' different perſuaſion, and requiring all men or  
 ' numbers of men in arms by virtue of any order  
 ' or authority, and under any title or designation  
 ' whatever, immediately to ſeparate, diſmiſs and  
 ' diſband themſelves, and retire to their reſpective  
 ' dwellings." Yet this proclamation, inſtead of  
 quenching the flame, rather increaſed it. The  
 gentlemen who had aſſociated to defend them-  
 ſelves and the regular clergy, having been always  
 taught to reſpect any appearance of authority,  
 immediately diſbanded, and laid down their arms  
 as required: But the fanatic mobs became more  
 furious and inſolent than ever, and continued to  
 abuſe and ejeſt all the clergy whom they could  
 reach. Even in the city of Glaſgow, and on the  
 very Sunday after the proclamation had been read  
 at the croſs, the Hill-men from the country, aſſiſt-  
 ed by the meeting-houſe-Preſbyterians in the town,  
 aſſaulted the Magiſtrates and congregation at wor-  
 ſhip in the high-kirk, and wounded a great many  
 of them before they could get out of their hands.  
 Complaint of this freſh inſult was ſent up to Dr.  
 Fall, Principal of the college of Glaſgow, then at  
 London, who preſented the account to the Prince  
 of Orange, but was told that, as the dyet for the  
 meeting of the eſtates was drawing near, it would  
 be proper to refer all ſuch complaints to the meet-  
 ing for redreſs.

**LETTER** The Prince of Orange however had by this time  
**LIII.** got a new addition both to his titles and authority. The English convention, which had<sup>d</sup> sat down on the 22d of January, had at last, after a good deal of altercation between the Lords and Commons, agreed, ‘ that King James, having violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, hath *abdicated* the government, and that the Throne is thereby vacant.’ In consequence of this vote, on the 13th of February both Houses waited on the Prince and Princess of Orange, with a declaration asserting the rights and liberties of the subject, and resolving, ‘ That William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, be and be declared King and Queen of England, France and Ireland, to hold to them during their joint lives and the life of the survivor of them; Remainder to the heirs of the body of the Princess, remainder to the Princess Ann and the heirs of her body, remainder to the heirs of the body of the Prince of Orange.’

This was this dark scene cleared up to the expectation of one party, and surprize of another. And now the Bishop of Edinburgh, who was still at London, was denied the freedom of making any farther application, in behalf of the afflicted clergy at home, as he was told, it would not be received, unless he addressed the new King by his new style, which he had no commission from his brethren, nor thought himself at liberty to do.— Before he left England, he had a second communion with the Bishop of London, who pressed him much to come into the new King’s measures, with this powerful argument, ‘ You see, my Lord, that the King having thrown himself upon the water, must keep himself a swimming with one hand.’

‘ The

' The Presbyterians have joined him closely, and LETTER  
 ' offer to support him, and therefore he cannot LIII.  
 ' cast them off, unless he could see how otherwise  
 ' he can be served. And he bids me tell you,  
 ' that he now knows the state of Scotland much  
 ' better than he did when he was in Holland :  
 ' For while there, he was made to believe, that  
 ' Scotland generally all over was Presbyterian, but  
 ' now he sees, that the great body of the nobility  
 ' and gentry are for Episcopacy, and it is the trading  
 ' and inferior sort, that are for Presbytery: Where-  
 ' fore he bids me tell you, that if you will under-  
 ' take to serve him, to the purpose that he is serv-  
 ' ed here in England, he will take you by the  
 ' hand, support the church and order, and throw  
 ' off the Presbyterians.' To this ensnaring propo-  
 ' sal, Bishop Rose returned such an answer as  
 ' was consistent and pertinent enough at the time,  
 ' but gave no prospect of either his own or his  
 ' brethren's willingness to comply with these terms,  
 ' whatever should be the consequence. However  
 ' the English Bishop commended his openness and  
 ' ingenuity, and told him, he believed that was real-  
 ' ly the case. ' For,' said he, ' all this time you  
 ' have been here, neither have you waited on the  
 ' King, nor have any of your brethren the Scotch  
 ' Bishops made any addresses to him : So he must  
 ' be excused for standing by the Presbyterians.'  
 ' What grounds Bishop Compton had for making  
 ' such a proposal, or with what propriety of cha-  
 ' racter a proposal of that kind, and under such an  
 ' alternative, could come from a bishop, I shall not  
 ' take upon me to say. But by this narrative from  
 ' Bishop Rose's own pen, which none who ever  
 ' heard of the narrator will doubt the truth of, we  
 ' may see how matters had been concerted, and what

See Keith's  
 Cat.  
 p. 43.

**LETTER** secret encouragement the rabblers had to depend  
**LIII.** upon in their early and illegal attacks upon the  
 ~~~~~ Episcopal church.

At last the 14th of March came, and the convention of the estates of Scotland sat down.— There were present the first day, seven of the Bishops who, according to custom, are named in the record before the nobility, Archbishop Paterfon of Glasgow, Bishop Hamilton of Dunkeld, Hay of Moray, Douglas of Dunblain, Ramsay of Rofs, Graham of the Isles, and Bruce of Orkney, forty two of the Nobility, forty nine Barons, and fifty Burgesses. Duke Hamilton was chosen President by a majority of ten voices more than the Marquis of Athol had. Their first public transaction on the 16th. was receiving and reading a letter from William King of England, expressing ‘ his sense
 ‘ of the kindness and concern that many of their
 ‘ nation have evidenced towards him, and his undertaking, and of the confidence they have in
 ‘ him, and recommending to them to enter, with
 ‘ all speed, upon such consultations, with regard
 ‘ to the public good, and to the general interests
 ‘ and inclinations of the people, as may settle them
 ‘ on sure and lasting foundations of peace.’ The same day they emitted a declaration bearing, that
 ‘ For as much as there is a letter from King James
 ‘ VII. presented to the meeting of the estates,
 ‘ they before opening thereof declare and enact,
 ‘ that, notwithstanding of any thing that may be
 ‘ contained in that letter for dissolving them or
 ‘ impeding their procedure, yet they are a free
 ‘ and lawful meeting of the estates, and will continue undissolved, till they settle and secure the
 ‘ Protestant religion, and the government, laws
 ‘ and liberties of the Kingdom.’ This preliminary declaration raised a stir among them, and the old
 old

old recourse of mobbing was applied to: For that very day the city-rabble began to affront Lord Dundee, who had always been an eyefore to the Presbyterians, and on the 18th a band of their good friends in the West, who had already done such good service in emptying so many kirks, appeared on the street of Edinburgh, in rank and file, to the number of between seven and eight hundred, and were by order of the meeting put under the command of the Earl of Leven, to form them into regular troops, for adding more weight to their deliberations.

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These Cameronian zealots were of great use at this juncture: For they planted themselves in a tumultuous manner, about all the entries to the Parliament-house, and at every turn insulted the ancient nobility, and gentry, who generally adhered to the Episcopal cause, but especially threatened and abused such of the Bishops as claimed a seat in the convention: Which riotous and unparliamentary proceedings, meeting with no check, but rather countenanced and forwarded, kept many eminent members from coming near the house, and made the Bishops and fundry others, who had come at first, soon after desert it, and retire for the safety of their persons. At last, having by these means got the meeting formed to their minds, and having also procured a body of standing troops from England under General Mackay, the convention on the 28th of March dismissed this volunteer assembly of 'the well-affected to the Protestant religion,' as they call them, with a formal act of thanks for their seasonable assistance: and now, being mostly all of one mind, there was little or no dissent in their resolutions. So upon the 11th of April they drew up a list of complaints to the

LETTER to the number of fourteen, against King James;

LIII. for all which they ‘ find and declare King James
 ~~~~~ ‘ the 7th, being a profess’d Papist, did assume the  
 ‘ regal power, and acted as King without ever tak-  
 ‘ ing the oath required by law, and hath by the  
 ‘ advice of evil and wicked counsellors invaded the  
 ‘ fundamental constitution of the kingdom, and  
 ‘ altered it from a legal limited monarchy, to an ar-  
 ‘ bitrary despotick power, and hath exercised the  
 ‘ same, to the subversion of the Protestant reli-  
 ‘ gion, and violation of the laws and liberties of  
 ‘ the kingdom, and inverting all the ends of go-  
 ‘ vernment; whereby he hath *forfaulted* the right  
 ‘ to the Crown, and the Throne is become vacant.’

Having thus pass’d sentence of condemnation upon their former King, they proceeded next to vindicate and assert their ancient rights and liberties, by their famous *Claim of Right*, enumerating no fewer than twenty four grievances, which they claim, insist upon, and demand to have rectified, by whatever new settlement shall be made. In this invidious catalogue, the only article of ecclesiastical aspect is the twenty second, which runs thus, ‘ That Prelacy, and the superiority of any  
 ‘ office in the church above Presbyters, is, and  
 ‘ hath been, a great and insupportable grievance  
 ‘ and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the  
 ‘ inclinations of the generality of the people, ever  
 ‘ since the Reformation, they having reformed from  
 ‘ Popery by Presbyters, and therefore ought to be  
 ‘ abolished.’ This bold assertion, which may well be called the fundamental Charter of the present Presbyterian Kirk, and which, upon examination, has been found to be neither true in fact, nor conclusive in argument, stands here in a most awkward and unconnected position, and differs from  
 the

the other grievances in the most odious feature of their complexion. The Convention had declared all their other specifications to be "contrary to law;" which, if so, was a sufficient reason for their demanding redress: But in their objections to Prelacy, they could not offer such a charge, as they well knew it had been, and then was, a standing part of the legal constitution; and, therefore, they here change their tone, and fly off to the inclinations of the people, which, one should think, if to be humoured in every thing, would soon unhinge the best and most regular government that ever existed. Yet, incoherent and inconclusive as this allegation was, the party got it foisted in among their other complaints, and made it the foundation, such as it was, of the ecclesiastical settlement which they had always had in their eye. And having thus digested their darling Claim of Right, to serve as an original contract between King and People, they come, in end, to the capital point they were driving at; and 'Having an entire confidence that his Majesty, the King of England, will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, laws, and liberties; the said Estates of the kingdom of Scotland do resolve, that William and Mary, King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, be, and be declared King and Queen of Scotland, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdom of Scotland, &c.' as in the English form. 'And they do pray the said King and Queen of England to accept the same accordingly.'

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At

At the passing of this decisive resolution, there were but five dissenting voices in all the house:

For many, even of those members who had attended hitherto, would not be present when this strange and unprecedented business was to be in agitation, tho' they afterwards took their seats, and went along with the majority. The Duke of Queensberry, for one, absented himself, from a point of delicacy no doubt, but returned after all was over, and told the House, 'That tho' he was not fully convinced of their right to declare the Throne vacant, yet, since it was done, he acquiesced, and none deserved it so well as the Prince and Princess of Orange.' The same day, they ordered the new King and Queen to be solemnly proclaimed at the Market-cross of Edinburgh, and then passed an act in confirmation of their own powers; declaring and enacting, 'That the Estates will continue in the government as formerly, until their Majesties acceptance of the Crown, and taking the Coronation Oath, be made known to them.' At their next sederunt, on the 13th, they published a Proclamation, 'Certifying all the lieges, that none presume to own or acknowledge the late King James VII. for their King, nor obey, assist, or correspond with him any manner of way; nor by word, writing, or preaching, to disown the royal authority of William and Mary, King and Queen of Scotland, nor to misconstrue the proceedings of the Estates, or create jealousies and misapprehensions against the government, but that all the ministers of the gospel within the kingdom, publicly pray for King William and Queen Mary, as King and Queen of this realm: Requiring likewise, the ministers within the city of Edinburgh



burgh, under pain of being deprived, and losing  
 their benefices, to read this proclamation public-  
 ly from their pulpits, upon Sunday next, the  
 14th instant, at the end of the forenoon sermon;  
 and the ministers to the south of the Tay to read  
 it on the 21st, and those to the north of Tay on  
 the 28th, under the above pains: And prohibit-  
 ing any injury to be offered, by any person  
 whatever, to any minister of the gospel, either  
 in kirks or meeting-houses, who are presently  
 in possession and exercise of their ministry there-  
 in, they behaving themselves as becometh under  
 the present government: And ordains this pro-  
 clamations to be printed and published, that none  
 may pretend ignorance.

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On the 18th of April, they drew up a form of  
 the oath to be administered to the new King and  
 Queen, at their acceptance of the Crown, by  
 which they are required to swear, that ' We will  
 serve the eternal God to the utmost of our power,  
 according as he has commanded in his most holy  
 word, revealed and contained in the Old and  
 New Testaments; and, according to the same  
 word, shall maintain the true Religion of Christ  
 Jesus, the preaching of his holy word, and the  
 due and right ministration of the sacraments;  
 now received and preached within the realm of  
 Scotland; and shall abolish and gainstand all  
 false religion, contrary to the same, &c. And  
 we shall be careful to root out all heretics, and  
 enemies to the true worship of God, that shall  
 be convicted by the true Kirk of God of the said  
 crimes, out of our lands and empire of Scotland:  
 And all this we faithfully affirm by our solemn  
 oath.' With this oath, and a suitable letter,  
 they deputed, on the 24th of April, the Earl of

LETTER Argyle, Sir James Montgomery, and Sir John  
 LIII. Dalrymple, properly instructed, to attend their  
 ~~~~~ Majesties with the offer of the Crown; which, upon  
 the 11th of May, they formally accepted, under
 all the conditions and limitations annexed to it ;
 and, on the 24th, by their now royal authority,
 turned the present Convention into a Parliament,
 to sit down as such on the 5th of June next, with
 Duke Hamilton to be High Commissioner.

Accordingly, on the day appointed, they met ;
 and after declaring themselves to be a free and law-
 ful Parliament, and recognizing their Majesties
 royal authority, they rescinded all former oaths of
 allegiance and supremacy, declarations and tests,
 except the new oath, ‘ To be faithful, and bear
 ‘ true allegiance to their Majesties, King William
 ‘ and Queen Mary ;’ which they require to be
 sworn and subscribed by all persons presently in
 public trust, civil or military, or who shall be
 hereafter called to any public trust within the king-
 dom. Upon the 22d of July, they passed the
 following famous Act against the old standing
 Church. ‘ Whereas the Estates of this kingdom,
 ‘ in their Claim of Right of the 11th of April last,
 ‘ declared, that Prelacy is an insupportable griev-
 ‘ ance, &c. our Sovereign Lord and Lady with
 ‘ advice and consent of the Estates of Parliament,
 ‘ do hereby abolish Prelacy, and all superiority of
 ‘ any office in the church of this kingdom above
 ‘ Presbyters ; and hereby rescinds, casses, and
 ‘ annuls three Acts of Parliament under Charles
 ‘ II. and all other acts, statutes and constitutions,
 ‘ in so far allenary, as they are inconsistent with
 ‘ this act, and establish Prelacy, or superiority of
 ‘ church officers above Presbyters : And their Ma-
 ‘ jesties do declare, that they, with advice and
 ‘ consent

‘ consent foresaid, will settle, by law, that church
 ‘ government in this kingdom, which is most
 ‘ agreeable to the inclinations of the people.’—

They next rescinded the forfeiture of the late Earl of Argyle; and having appointed a select Committee to discuss business in the interval, this Convention-Parliament rose on the second of August, having in little more than four months new-modelled the state, and thrown the church out of her legal constitution; tho’ it would seem, from the six weeks and more, between the 5th of June and 22d of July, spent in deliberation, it had cost no small struggle to bring this parliamentary attack upon the church to a final issue.

Let us now see what was a-doing among the once established clergy, under these important transactions of various kinds, which they had not been looking for, and could not be guarded against. The poor men in the West, who had been early rabbled out of their livings, were miserably disappointed in any expectation they might have reasonably entertained of redress from the Convention of Estates, when they so soon saw that Convention patronizing their persecutors, and employing them in the public service. And their disappointment could not but be doubled, when they found, by the Proclamation of the 13th of April, that what little favour was meant towards the clergy, was only a distant promise of protection to such ministers as were in actual possession of their kirks at that date, which was an exclusion, and perhaps a designed one, of hundreds who had been by violence thrust, and by terror kept out, all the time. This was a silent blow to the first sufferers: But that hurried proclamation was an open and declared stroke upon them all. The

LETTER clergy of Edinburgh, in particular, were to be
 LIII. pitied, who, by their situation, could not have
 many hours to deliberate upon a matter of such
 importance, as transferring their sworn allegiance
 from one King, and preaching and praying it over
 to another. Nor were their brethren thro' the
 rest of the kingdom in a much better plight, as
 even a fortnight, which was the utmost term al-
 lowed to the most remote, could not be thought
 to afford much time after notification, for pro-
 perly pondering such a serious affair.

The ejecting Act of 1662, which the Presby-
 terians cry out against, allowed the possessors full
 four months, from May to September, to advise
 whether they could or would comply with the
 terms enjoined for keeping their kirks: And if
 that act of a fair Parliament shall be deemed cruel
 and arbitrary, what shall be said of this decree of
 but a thin Convention, requiring, under pain of
 deprivation, as difficult a piece of obedience as that
 Parliament had proposed, and that too upon scarce
 so many days warning as the Parliament had given
 months? This plea of want of time was urged
 with great propriety, especially by the Edin-
 burghers, many of whom being at hand, were
 called in question, and turned out for their dis-
 obedience, before their Majesties of England had
 accepted the Scottish Crown; and consequently,
 before it could have been any fault not to own
 them, or pray for them in Scotland. Another
 material defence too, which all the clergy who
 did not read the proclamation made use of, was,
 That it was not transmitted to them by their re-
 spective Ordinaries, which had been the appointed
 form with all papers that were to be read from the
 pulpits; and therefore, as the order of Bishops
 was

was not then abolished, but still made a third LETTER.
 Estate of Parliament, they pled, that they were LIII.
 not obliged in law to take notice of any public pa-
 per, that came not to their hands in the accus-
 tomed legal manner. And in this argument, they had
 the concurrence of the Prince of Orange himself,
 in his prefatory Declaration for England, where,
 among the many miscarriages of King James's
 reign, he mentions the censuring the clergy who
 did not read the King's Indulgence as one, 'with-
 out considering,' he says, 'that the reading of
 it was not enjoined the clergy by the Bishops,
 who are their Ordinaries.' Yet, such was the
 partiality of these times, that this plea, however
 solid and parallel, was over-ruled, and the clergy
 who acted in the faith of its strength, were born
 down and spoiled of their livings, in defiance of
 all former law and justice.

This course of hasty severity was continued from
 the 13th of April to the first of August, upon all
 the clergy in the neighbourhood, whom the Court
 of Inquiry could reach in that space, and presents
 us with a second class of sufferers, who were eject-
 ed by the Convention of Estates. But when the
 Parliament adjourned, the examination became
 more extensive, and there was time to look to the
 more distant parts of the kingdom. The Privy
 Council, with the zealous Earl of Crawford at
 their head, being now vested with their usual
 powers, and having got the great grievance of
 Prelacy removed, gave out an order on the 6th,
 and repeated it on the 22d of August, 'Allowing
 and inviting the parishioners and hearers, of such
 ministers as have neglected and slighted the
 reading of the Proclamation, and have not pray-
 ed for King William and Queen Mary, to cite
 such

LETTER ' such ministers before the Privy Council ; and
 LIII. ' grants warrant for citing and adducing witnesses
 ~~~~~ ' to prove the same, that such ministers as have  
 ' disobeyed may, by a legal sentence, be deprived  
 ' of their benefices : And ordains, that these pre-  
 ' sents be published at the Market-crofs of Edin-  
 ' burgh, and other places needful, that none may  
 ' pretend ignorance.'

This was letting loose the rabble of enemies, in a sort of legal way, upon any who had the misfortune of even but one or two of these malicious people in the neighbourhood, and it answered the designed end. For one or two in a parish, and in many places the agents of the faction, borrowed mens names without their knowledge, to fill up their citations against the minister ; upon which a charge was given to him to appear at Edinburgh within so many days, before the Privy Council, which if he did not obey, he was summarily deprived for contumacy ; and if he appeared, and offered defences, it went no better with him, unless he could prove that he had complied with both parts of the proclamation, which few of them that were cited could do. So this drove out, by way of third service, most of the parochial clergy in the Merse, Lothians, Fife, Stirling-shire and Perth-shire, besides some in Aberdeen, Moray and Ross, who had been particularly informed against.

But besides all this, another method was tried to strike at any of the episcopal clergy whom, they feared, the torture of the proclamation could not touch. The privy council on the 14th of August, appointed a day of solemn fasting and humiliation, to be kept on Sunday the 15th of September for the southern, and on the 22d for the northern parts

parts of the kingdom, and enforced their appointment with a canting proclamation, squinting at Episcopacy among the sins of the late times, and reflecting on it as the great hindrance of the gospel-work of reformation. This proclamation they ordered the ministers to read, by way of intimation of the fast, on the Sunday before, and on the Sunday of observance: And if any neglected to obey this injunction, as few who had any regard for Episcopacy, or understood the primitive design of the Lord's day, could with any good grace obey it, they were sure to be deprived, upon that one score, without any other charge or accusation. This was arbitrary with a witness, and as exorbitant a stretch of Erastian supremacy, as ever had been exercised in times of highest complaint.— But there was no help. Episcopacy was to be rooted out at any rate, and whatever or whoever but seemed to favour that way, was not to be tolerated in the least. Even these clergy who had gone all lengths, and complied with every state-requisition, were not much safer than their outstanding brethren. For when the council could not take hold of them, the useful rabble continued to do the work, and were as busy in ejecting as ever; for which insolence, and tho' when they were put in mind of King William's authority, they daringly replied, 'that they cared not for King William nor his authority either,' they were never checked, nor so much as called in question.

Nor was this all the ill-nature that was shewn to the episcopal clergy at this time. For lest any of them who had been so barbarously thrust out of their houses and kirks should, upon application to the civil judicatories, have a chance of recovering their

LETTER  
LIII.



LETTER their current stipends, or bygone arrears, which  
 LIII. were most unjustly detained from them, to the  
 utter starving of many a poor family, the privy  
 council, to shut this probable door of relief, gave  
 out an act on the 29th of December 1689, finding  
 ' that the case of the ministers who were not in  
 ' the actual exercise of their ministerial function  
 ' on the 13th of April last, being dependent be-  
 ' fore the Parliament, is not obvious to be cog-  
 ' nosced upon, and decided by the inferior judges,  
 ' but that the same should be left entire, to the  
 ' decision of Parliament; therefore the Lords have  
 ' thought fit, to signify to all inferior courts and  
 ' ministers of the law, that the matter above men-  
 ' tioned is depending before the Parliament, to  
 ' the effect they may regulate and govern them-  
 ' selves, in the judging of all processes to be in-  
 ' tented before them, upon the said matter, or  
 ' in executing the sentences already pronounced  
 ' thereupon, as they will be answerable.' No  
 man, I think, can doubt that this was a most  
 cruel as well as unjust decree: Cruel to the wretch-  
 ed sufferers, who had been by law installed in  
 their possessions, and against whom no process had  
 been laid, nor so much as accusation intended:  
 And unjust, in thus overawing the standing civil  
 judicatories, which not many years ago would  
 have been a flaming grievance, if it had been at-  
 tempted.

But it had the designed effect. For the judges  
 did not chuse to meddle after the passing of such  
 an act, when they saw how darkly and indistinctly  
 it was worded, and could not but know how  
 ready such a council would be to bring them  
 to trouble, if they should give it an interpretation  
 contrary to its original intention, however con-  
 nant



want to the standing rules of both law and equity. So these poor clergy were in a most melancholy condition, not only deprived of the yearly emoluments annexed to their office, but likewise by this iniquitous interposition of the privy council, debarred from any possibility of recovering what arrears were due to them for former services, which their persecutors could pretend no title to, and which, after this authoritative stop, their debtors would not be much inclined to pay. And here again let it be remembered how different the procedure in a like case was, at the restoration of Episcopacy in 1662. The Parliament then, tho' they found that the Presbyterian ministers who had taken possession of kirks without presentation from the legal patrons, had no right nor title to the benefices, and therefore declared all such kirks *ipso jure* vacant, yet they declared at the same time, 'that this act shall not be prejudicial to any of these ministers in what they have possessed, or is due to them, since their admission,' which, whether we shall call it justice or not, was at least a singular instance of favour and indulgence.

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LIII.

But in this inhibitory act of the now privy council, it was neither justice nor mercy, to denude men of the wages which they had faithfully and legally laboured for, and thereby keep many an indigent and numerous family in the most deplorable misery and want. Nor did it fare much better with the Bishops themselves, to whom the inferior clergy had been in use to look up for protection, as well as to depend upon them for direction and discipline. Their Prelacy had been already abolished, by an act which stripped them of all power in the state, tho' it could not hurt their

LETTER pre-eminence in the church, and now to reduce  
 LIII. them as far as possible to the same level of poverty  
 and contempt with their clergy, the privy council  
 on the 19th of September following, published an  
 order, signifying ' his Majesty's royal pleasure  
 ' that warrant be given to Alexander Hamilton  
 ' of Kinkell' (who by the bye had been taken in  
 the rebellion at Bothwellbridge, but was pardon-  
 ed by the clemency of the then government) ' to  
 ' draw and uplift the tythes and other rents of  
 ' the Archbishoprick of St. Andrews, and that fit  
 ' persons be appointed for drawing and uplifting  
 ' the tythes and rents of the other Bishopricks,  
 ' for this present crop and year of God 1689.  
 ' Therefore the Lords of privy council having no-  
 ' minated and appointed fit persons for that pur-  
 ' pose, do in their Majesties name and authority  
 ' prohibit and discharge all and sundry persons  
 ' who were liable in payment of any rent or duty  
 ' to Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, or any others  
 ' of superior order and dignity in the church a-  
 ' bove Presbyters, from paying or allowing to  
 ' be paid any teinds, rental bolls, feu, blanch,  
 ' or tack-duties or other rents, casualties and emo-  
 ' luments formerly payable to the Bishops and  
 ' others foresaid, except to such persons as shall  
 ' be authorized by the privy council for the up-  
 ' lifting thereof, with certification if they do in  
 ' contrary hereof, they shall be liable therefore,  
 ' notwithstanding any pretended discharge that  
 ' may be impetrated, or obtained from any other  
 ' person or persons, for the said crop and year  
 ' 1689.'

This was quick and summary work, and much  
 more oppressive measure than was given at the re-  
 formation to the Popish Bishops, who were allow-  
 ed

ed to hold and possess two thirds of their benefices at their own calculation to their dying day. But our Protestant Bishops were not to be so gently dealt with, even by a Protestant administration, which at one dash could thus sweep away the small remainder of church-spoil into the exchequer, without allowing the old titulars the smallest portion of it for their necessary subsistence. In this strange state of confusion and anarchy stood the external constitution of a christian church in a christian land all this while. The Bishops turned out of their government, and most of the Presbyters out of their ministry: Episcopacy itself, which had been confirmed by so many acts of free and unquestionable Parliaments, struck down at one blow, and nothing as yet set up in its room: The Cameronians indeed, these true sons of the Covenant, driving up and down, in the gracious employment of emptying kirks by strength of hand, and the Popish King's indulged and addressing friends, the bastard but most numerous brood of that mother, running here and there in quest of prey, and taking hold, tho' but for a day, of the kirks and stipends which their active brethren were every now and then vacating for them: While the once legally settled Episcopalians, whether outstanders or compliers, durst, in such places as these rabblers had access to, scarcely shew their heads, and had little or nothing, but the charity of friends, on which to support themselves and their dependents.

I am, &c.

LETTER

## L E T T E R L V.

*Further Proceedings of the Revolution Parliament—  
It settles the Presbyterian Church Government—  
And passes sundry Acts in favour of it—Visitation  
of the Universities—A Meeting of Ministers  
and Lay-Elders held at Edinburgh—First  
General Assembly of the now established Kirk—  
Account of its various Transactions.*

**U**NDER all the appearances in their favour mentioned in my last letter, the Presbyterian party were for some time in no little suspense and uncertainty. The new Parliament had indeed abolished Prelacy, but had not agreed what form of Church Government to introduce in its stead. Several schemes had been thought and talked of, but none had pleased all parties, and their church continued in a mere chaos, without form, and void of government for near twelve months. A petition had been presented to the House, under the title of ‘ An humble Address from the Presby-  
terian

terian Ministers and Professors of the Church of Scotland.' But Duke Hamilton, the Commissioner, finding some things in it, which he thought unreasonable, and not to be admitted, rejected it, and would not allow it to be tabled. This was an ugly disappointment from that quarter, and they themselves threw in another soon after.

LETTER  
LIV.

When the act had passed for abolishing Prelacy, the Commissioner, by orders from court, presented to the House, a Draught of an Act for establishing the Church Government; which, indeed, proposed to settle Presbytery in general, but had an invidious clause in the midst of it, to this purpose: 'In regard that much trouble hath ensued unto the State, and many sad Confusions and scandalous schisms have fallen out in the Church, by church-men meddling in matters of State; therefore, their Majesties, with advice and consent aforesaid, do hereby discharge all ministers of the gospel, within this kingdom, to meddle with any state affairs, either in their sermons or judicatories, publicly or privately, under the pain of being holden as disaffected to the government, and proceeded against accordingly: And declares, that the jurisdiction of the church stands only in the preaching of the true word of Jesus Christ, correction of manners by ecclesiastical censures, and administration of the holy sacraments, conform to the 69th act James VI. Parliament 6.: And it is declared, that their Majesties, if they shall think fit, may have always one present in all the Provincial and Presbyterial Assemblies, as they have in the General Assemblies, that in case any affair that concerns the state or civil matters, and that does not belong to the jurisdiction of the church, shall come in

LETTER ' in before the saids Assemblies, the said persons,  
 LIV. ' appointed by their Majesties, shall inhibit and  
 ~~~~~ ' discharge every such Assembly to proceed in any  
 ' such affair, till their Majesties, and the Privy
 ' Council, be acquainted with the same, that they
 ' may declare their pleasure thereant.' This
 disagreeable restriction, which the experience of
 former times made necessary, and which appears
 to contain nothing in it inconsistent with purely
 ecclesiastical freedom; yet, being such a check
 on their pragmatistical humours, and so severe a
 blow from such hands upon their former Assem-
 blies, especially their dear one of 1638, gave uni-
 versal offence to the leaders of the party in the
 House, who had interest enough to get it thrown
 out, not without a good deal of indignation and
 contempt: And one of their Preachers, who then
 served as Chaplain to the Parliament, was so dis-
 gusted at it, that he publicly said, ' rather than
 ' admit of such a mangled mongrel Presbytery,
 ' they would beg back the Bishops again.'

With these heats and divisions, the first Session
 of the Revolution Parliament rose, without fixing
 any new ecclesiastical model in room of the old
 one. And now, in this disjointed situation of
 things, people's heads began to settle a little, after
 such a giddiness; and the sudden zeal, which
 many had lately taken up for Presbyterian Parity,
 cooled and relented a good deal of its first fervour.

They had time now, in this interval, to reflect
 and examine, whether Prelacy had really been
 such an insupportable grievance as the Convention
 of Estates had represented it; and when they com-
 pared their own experience of it, with their re-
 membrance of the rampant days of the *Covenant*,
 they could not in honesty agree to the representa-
 tion,

tion. In short, so far did these reasonings and recollections prevail, that 'the inclinations of the 'generality of the people' appeared in a different light from what the party expected, and there was no little solicitude amongst them, lest they had mistaken their measures, and their darling Presbytery might chance not to be established as they would with it. This set all hands to work, and the whole sect was busied, in their several spheres, to acquit themselves with suitable diligence and application, and have every thing ready against next Session of Parliament. The pulpits every where resounded the praises of Presbytery in strains of the highest and almost blasphemous panegyric, and the presses were not idle on the same subject, and in throwing out all the odium against Episcopacy that could be invented or thought of: While the Episcopal writers, who were equally able and willing to enter the lists on the other side, might have as soon attempted to pull a star out of the firmament, as get one sheet published in defence of that cause, under the iniquitous pretext of reflecting on the civil government; which, indeed, in that infant and unsettled state of it, was not easily avoided. And as the Preachers were thus triumphantly employed, so the great leaders among the nobility, Crawford, Sutherland, Cardros, Ross, &c. were active and pressing, with the rhetoric of argument and weight of influence, to bias and secure what numbers they could, against the approaching trial.


But the luckiest circumstance of all in their favour, was the change of the High Commissioner. The Duke of Hamilton, whom, tho' to the surprise of many, he had gone all lengths with them in their designs upon the state, they suspected as
not

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LIV.



LETTER not staunch enough to their Church Plan, was
LIV. laid aside from that office, and the Lord, now
 created Earl, Melvil, who had been a Confessor
 for the cause, if we dare not call him a rebellious
 Conspirator, in the two last reigns, came down
 Commissioner in his room. With this auspicious
 prelude, the Parliament met, on the 15th of April
 1690; and the first thing they did, was to ‘ab-
 ‘rogate, rescind, and annul, the Assertory Act of
 ‘1669, as inconsistent with the establishment of
 ‘the church government *now desired.*’ This was
 one great point gained, tho’ it lay open to two ill-
 looking reflections. It was thought not a little
 preposterous to condemn an Act of Parliament,
 because inconsistent with an imaginary thing,
 which had no real being, and only existed in the
 desires and wishes of a certain party: And tho’
 they got this one offensive law out of the way,
 there still stood unrepealed, many other acts assert-
 ing the supremacy in terms equally injurious to
 their bold claims, and which their zealous prede-
 cessors, the Melvils, Blakes, &c. of James VI’s
 days, exclaimed against, and used to call, ‘the
 ‘bloody gullies of arbitrary power.’

But whatever incongruities were in this repeal,
 it gave the party the satisfaction of finding their
 strength on the increasing hand, and encouraged
 them to come briskly forward with the petition,
 which they had prepared and lost in the last
 Session. This petition was in high language of
 praise and compliment, and being entirely to the
 Commissioner’s taste, was received with open arms.
 In consequence of which, the Parliament went a
 step further, and on the 25th, passed the follow-
 ing act: ‘Forasmuch as many Ministers of the
 ‘Presbyterian persuasion, since the first of January
 ‘1661,

' 1661, have been deprived of their kirks, or **LETTER**
 ' banished, for not conforming to Prelacy, and **LIV.**
 ' not complying with the courses of the times; 
 ' therefore, their Majesties, with advice and con-
 ' sent of Parliament, ordain and appoint, that all
 ' such Ministers have forthwith free access to their
 ' kirks, and that they may presently exercise their
 ' ministry in those parishes without any new call
 ' thereto, allowing the whole stipend for 1689,
 ' where the kirks are vacant, and where they are not
 ' vacant, the half year's stipend from Whitsunday
 ' to Michaelmas, and the half year's before that to
 ' the present incumbents; who are hereby order-
 ' ed, upon intimation hereof, to desist from their
 ' ministry in such parishes, and to remove from
 ' the manses and glebes, betwixt and Whitsunday
 ' next, that the Presbyterian Ministers, formerly
 ' put out, may enter peaceably thereto: And
 ' appoints the Privy Council to see this act put in
 ' execution.' Which appointment, we need not
 doubt, such a well-affected Privy Council would
 cheerfully undertake, and execute with all com-
 mendable severity: But with what shadow of jus-
 tice will appear, when it is remembered, that these
 Ministers, before 1661, had possessed themselves
 against all law, and in violation of private pro-
 perty; for which illegal intrusion it was, and not
 on the score of Non-conformity or Non-compli-
 ance, that they lost what they never had a just
 title to, so could not be restored to such posses-
 sions, without homologating the injustice by which
 they first obtained them.

And now the way being thus paved, by two
 such gracious preliminaries, for the grand question,
 a Committee of eighteen select persons was order-
 ed to prepare a Bill for settling the Presbyterian

LETTER Church Government; which, being properly di-
 .LIV. gested by the help of the ablest and most zealous
 of the Ministers, was, on the 23d of May, pre-
 sented to the House; and voted on the 28th, in
 this form:— ‘ Our Sovereign Lord and Lady—
 ‘ Likeas, by an Act of the last Session of this
 ‘ Parliament, Prelacy is abolished; therefore,
 ‘ they hereby revive, ratify, and perpetually con-
 ‘ firm, all acts made against Popery and Papists,
 ‘ &c. Likeas they, by these presents, ratify and
 ‘ establish the Westminster Confession of Faith,
 ‘ now read in their presence, and voted, and ap-
 ‘ proven by them, as the public and allowed Con-
 ‘ fession of this Church, containing the sum and sub-
 ‘ stance of the doctrine of the reformed churches :
 ‘ As also, they do establish, ratify, and confirm, the
 ‘ Presbyterian Church Government and Discipline
 ‘ by Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, Provincial Synods,
 ‘ and General Assemblies, ratified and established
 ‘ by an act of James VI. in 1592, which act is
 ‘ hereby revived and confirmed in the whole heads
 ‘ thereof, except in that part of it relating to Pa-
 ‘ tronages: Rescinding, annulling, and making
 ‘ void, four acts of James VI. and five of Charles II.
 ‘ with all other acts, laws, statutes, ordinances,
 ‘ and proclamations, in as far as they are contrary
 ‘ or prejudicial to, inconsistent with, or deroga-
 ‘ tory from, the Protestant Religion and Presby-
 ‘ terian Government now established: Allowing
 ‘ and declaring, that the church government be
 ‘ in the hands of, and exercised by, these Presby-
 ‘ terian Ministers who were ousted since the first
 ‘ of January 1661, and are now restored by the
 ‘ late act, and of such Ministers and Elders only,
 ‘ as they have admitted, or hereafter shall admit ;
 ‘ and appointing the first Meeting of the General
 ‘ Assembly

' Assembly of this Church, as above established, LETTER
 ' to be at Edinburgh, on the third Thursday of LIV.
 ' October, in this present year 1690: And be- ~
 ' cause many conformed Ministers either have de-
 ' serted, or were removed from preaching in their
 ' Kirks, preceding the 13th of April 1689, and
 ' others were deprived for not giving obedience
 ' to the Act of the Estates, in their Proclamation of
 ' that date; therefore declares, all the Kirks de-
 ' serted, or removed and deprived from, as said is,
 ' to be vacant, and that the Presbyterian Ministers
 ' exercising their ministry within any of those
 ' parishes, or where the last incumbent is dead,
 ' by the desire and consent of the parish, shall
 ' continue their possession, and have right to the
 ' stipends, according to their entry in the year
 ' 1689: And, that the disorders which have
 ' happened in this church may be redressed, they
 ' allow the general meeting and representatives of
 ' the foresaid Presbyterian Ministers and Elders,
 ' either by themselves, or by visitors authorised by
 ' them, to try and purge out all insufficient, negli-
 ' gent, scandalous, and erroneous Ministers, by
 ' due course of ecclesiastical process and censures:
 ' Ordaining, that whatever Minister, being sum-
 ' moned before these visitors, shall refuse to ap-
 ' pear, or on appearing, shall be found guilty by
 ' them, every such Minister shall by their sentence
 ' be, *ipso facto*, suspended from or deprived of
 ' their Kirks, Stipends, and Benefices.'

This important and complex act, thus framed,
 was twice read over in the House, and many ar-
 ticles in it long and strongly debated. The intro-
 ductory petition had desired the establishment of
 the Westminster Directory and Catechisms, as
 well as the Confession: But the reading the Con-

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY


~~Some~~ ~~from~~ ~~had~~ ~~been~~ ~~in~~ ~~to~~ ~~much~~ ~~time,~~ ~~but~~ ~~Drake~~
 Familiarly directed to the reading any more their
~~subtle~~ and various compositions: and the in-
 firm finding more reflection that the Direc-
 tive recommended he found use of the Lord's
 Prayer, and expressly ordered the regular reading
 of the Scriptures in public every Lord's day as a
 part of worship, both which they had begun to
 dislike as superstitious, the Duke's objection was
 sustained, and these two formulas left out. An-
 other article much contented, was the putting
 the whole Church Government into the hands of
 those old Ministers, who were turned out in 1662,
 which had so much displeas'd Duke Hamilton, in
 their petition last year. Against this clause, a
 petition was presented to the House, by the Earl
 of Rossmore, in name of the Episcopal Com-
 plainers, but was rejected with contempt; be-
 cause, indeed, the petitioners called themselves Ministers
 of the Episcopal persuasion, compar'd themselves,
 for abilities, with their Presbyterian enemies,
 whom they declin'd as their judges, crav'd a free
 conference with them, and undertook to defend
 the lawfulness of Episcopacy; all which the Com-
 missioner, Melvil, deem'd such a piece of pre-
 sumption, as was not to be tolerated, much less in-
 dulged.

Another northern member next propos'd an
 amendment, ' That at least these presbyterian mi-
 ' nisters who had been deposed by their own ju-
 ' dicatories, before the restitution of Episcopacy
 ' in 1662, might not be included in the number
 ' of those known sound Presbyterians, in whose
 ' hands the Government was to be established in
 ' the first instance.' But this motion was slighted
 likewise, for a reason which we shall hear of after-
 wards.

wards: Then Duke Hamilton got up, and argued strenuously against the glaring partiality of the clause; 'For what was this,' he said, 'but instead of fourteen prelatial Bishops, to give unlimited authority to fifty or sixty Presbyterian ones, from whom the Episcopal clergy could expect little justice, and less mercy?' But all was in vain: The article stood as we see it, and the Duke's fears were soon verified.

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LIV.

But the article which met with most opposition, and gave greatest offence to every man of probity within the house, was the hardship put upon those ministers, who had been expelled by the lawless rabble. Upon this head the Duke of Hamilton was particularly warm, and strongly enforced a moving supplication, which Sir Patrick Scot of Ancrum offered from these unhappy sufferers, for redress: 'It was wonderful,' the Duke said, 'to call these men *Deserters*, when it was notorious all the kingdom over, that they were driven away by the most barbarous violence, and it was no less wonderful to declare their kirks vacant, because of their being removed from them: For what could be the sense of the word *Removed* in this case, but just neither more nor less than *Rabbed*?' and what might the world think of the justice of the Parliament, if it should sustain that as sufficient ground for declaring their kirks vacant?' with a great deal more to the same purpose. But neither the Duke's eloquence; nor the equity of the request, nor any argument that could be used, availed in the least. The article was voted as it stands, and carried by a considerable majority: Upon which the Duke, not able to stifle his indignation, told the house plainly, 'That he was sorry he should ever have
' fat

LETTER LIV.  ' sat in a Scottish Parliament, where such naked iniquity was to be established into a law : That it was impossible Presbyterian government could stand, being built upon such a foundation : And it grieved him to the heart to consider, what a reflexion this act would bring upon the government and justice of the nation : ' And with this he left the house in great heat, and a good number of members went out with him. When he was gone, it was immediately proposed to vote the whole act in the lump, which provoked the Duke of Queensberry, the Earls of Linlithgow, and Balcarras, and many of the gentry, to retire next. So none but those of the party remained, except a few who stayed to vote against the act, from two different motives ; one part, that it might not be said, that Presbytery was established without any opposition ; and another, because it was not established in its proper plenitude of power and independency.

Thus was this famous act prepared on the 28th of May for the Royal assent, which it received on the 7th of June, and so obtained that force and authority which it has retained ever since. On the 29th of May, the Earl of Linlithgow gave into the house a draught of an act, ' for giving toleration to those of the Episcopal persuasion to worship God after their own manner, and particularly that who so were inclined to use the English Liturgy might do it safely.' Which, by the bye, shews that tho' our clergy at this time had no authorized form imposed on them, they had no aversion to set forms, but were acquainted with, and willing to make use of the English book, which they found ready composed to their hands. This paper had the same fate that every other motion

tion of that kind had met with: For tho' they LETTER
 could not in decency refuse it a reading, being LIV.
 presented by so respectable a member, it was no
 further taken notice of one way or other.

The next act relative to church-busines which
 passed in this session, was the act of July 4th for vi-
 sitation of universities and schools, ordering, sta-
 tuting and enacting, ' that from this time forth,
 ' no Principals, Professors, Regents, Masters or
 ' others bearing office in any university, college or
 ' school within the kingdom, be either admitted
 ' or allowed to continue in the exercise of their
 ' said functions, but such as do acknowledge and
 ' profess, and shall subscribe to the confession of
 ' faith ratified and approven in this present Parli-
 ' ament, and shall swear and subscribe the oath of
 ' allegiance to their present Majesties, and shall be
 ' of a loyal and peaceable conversation, of suffici-
 ' ent literature, and submitting to the govern-
 ' ment of the church, now established by law:
 ' And appointing fifteen of the nobility, twenty
 ' eight of the gentry, and twenty ministers to be
 ' visitors, with full power and commission to them
 ' or a quorum of them, to meet, visit, take trial,
 ' purge out and remove according to the foresaid
 ' qualifications, and their first meeting for that
 ' purpose to be at Edinburgh on the 23d instant,
 ' with power afterwards to adjourn and meet as
 ' they shall see convenient, ay and while their Ma-
 ' jesties recall and discharge this commission.'
 On the 19th of July they discharged, annulled and
 made void the old power heretofore exercised by
 any patron, of presenting Ministers to any kirk
 now vacant, or that shall hereafter happen to vaik
 within this kingdom, with all exercise of the said
 power, statuting and declaring, ' that henceforth
 ' in

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in the manner of our presbytery church, and
in choosing the same was a minister, the Pres-
bytery records and acts are of course and pro-
vide the record of the whole congregation, to be
either approved or disapproved of them, and if
they disapprove, they are to present their reasons,
to the effect the same may be corrected upon
by the Presbytery of the church, at whose judg-
ment, and by whose determination the cause
and duty of every particular minister is to be
ordered and concluded, relating to the Presby-
tery the right of the church, and to vote
against the calling of their ministers, as in the
before the year 1660: in recompence of which
right of presentation, the seniors of every pa-
rish are to pay the patron five merks, against
a certain time, and under certain proportions.

It is to be observed, that even this act lays no
thing of the popular call, or of that divine right
which the simple people were made to believe
they had of choosing their own ministers. They
might disapprove indeed, as caprice or affection
led them, and thereby throw the decision on the
Presbytery, but had no more concern in the ori-
ginal nomination than ever they had. The heri-
tors and elders were put in the place of the patron,
a number of men more or fewer, as it might
happen, instead of one, and the divine right of
the people, that great idol of Presbyterian veneration,
was bought and sold like any common bar-
gain. The present murmurers against patronages,
which were restored twenty years after this, and
with which their kirk has been saddled ever since,
have been taught to despise this defective act of
King William, and to look back with a wishful
fondness to the favourite decree of 1649, which
gave

gave them all the room for confusion and tumult in the election of ministers, that their hearts could desire, and which therefore they are always petitioning to have revived, and set a-going again : Not considering how indelicate it is to propose or expect that a regular administration of any kind should be ruled by the deed of a packed, puny convention, which every subsequent change of government seems to have abhorred, at least has not thought it worth the while to take notice of, either to abrogate or confirm it. Yet this act, tho' it gave little to the people, was pleasing enough to the kirk, as in the result it put the whole power into their hands more effectually than if the popular election had been sustained in its full extent.

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But there was another act made the same day, which had a clause in it of a less palatable nature. For after rescinding in general all former acts, and all parts and provisions in any act whatsoever, made since the year 1661 inclusive, against nonconformity, or for conformity to the church and government thereof, as then established under Archbishops and Bishops, they ' rescind, cass, and annull ' all acts for denouncing excommunicate persons, ' and anent sentences of excommunication, with ' all other sentences of the same import, and but ' prejudice of this generality, all acts enjoining ' civil pains upon sentences of excommunication ' whatever.' This was taking out the sting of excommunication, which had been so terrible, and had produced such grievous effects, under every prevailing system of church discipline. Indeed it was much to be regretted, that any scheme of reformation, real or pretended, should have retained one of the most scandalous corruptions of

LETTER LIV. Popery, introduced in one of the darkest ages, and first put in practice by one of the most over-bearing Popes, Gregory VII. to the manifest hurt of civil society, and to the total disregard of the original design of that spiritual power committed to the church, not for destruction, but for edification, by mortifying the soul, not by punishing the body, or seizing the goods of the offender.— This abuse was luckily now removed, and the Episcopal clergy both then and since, amidst all the hardships of subjection which this Parliament laid them under to the new establishment, are in so far obliged to it for thus curtailing the dangerous extent of ecclesiastical jurisdiction by this salutary act, and thereby putting it out of the kirk's power to distress those of a different persuasion so much, as by their avowed principles and with their former privileges, they would in all probability have done.

Of the same date were other two acts of ecclesiastical concern passed in this session: One vesting the superiorities and other casualties, which formerly belonged to the church, in the crown, to be henceforth holden of their Majesties and their successors: And another entitled, 'Act and commission for plantation of kirks and valuation of teinds,' founded, as the act bears, upon divers laws made by King Charles I. in 1633, which their Majesties call *a good work*, and 'are resolved to prosecute it, for the universal good of their subjects, and especially for the encouragement of the ministers of the gospel.' And thus having completed the new fabric both civil and ecclesiastical, which had been begun with the ruin of the old one last year, the Parliament rose on the

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22^d of July, and devolved the full power of execution on the privy council. LETTER
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The first public business now taken in hand was the Visitation of the Universities: For which necessary work, the Commissioners met, according to appointment, on the 23^d of July, and subdivided themselves into four lesser Committees, one for each of the four Seminaries committed to their general inspection. The Visitation of St. Andrews was managed by the Earl of Crawford as President, who acted with remarkable harshness and severity, and was much blamed, even by his friends, for his rough, uncivil behaviour to the Masters; particularly the Reverend Dean, old Dr. Weems, Principal of St. Leonard's College, who had been a Regent forty five years, and had taught Crawford his philosophy: Yet, my Lord would not allow him the favour of a seat; and when the old man's infirmities obliged him to rest himself on the step of a stair, he sent an officer of court to raise him, and make him stand. So, under this imperious censor, the Masters of this University were all turned out, by the General Commission, on the 25th of September, and the place left without any face of education for a long time. At Edinburgh, the same austerity, both personal and official, went on, under the direction of the Provost, Sir John Hall, and of Mr Gilbert Rule, who had been designed a year before to fill the Principal's Chair, instead of Dr. Monro: And here all the Masters were deprived by one sentence, except a Mr Andrew Massie, who, to ingratiate himself with the prevailing powers, became an 'accuser of his brethren,' in the literal sense. The College of Glasgow fell into better hands, as Lord Garmichael, the President

LETTER of that Committee, tho' a staunch Presbyterian,
 LIV. was a man of temper and good breeding: Yet,
 even there, the complex Test would not go down
 with the Principal, Dr. Fall, and three of the
 Masters, who were therefore removed, for refus-
 ing it as their late act had enjoined it, and the
 President, with all his good nature, would not
 dispense with it. As to the University of Aber-
 deen, to whatever cause it was owing, the Com-
 missioners appointed for the inspection of it, seem
 not to have been so forward and peremptory as
 their brethren in the South: So that Northern
 Seminary was allowed for a while to continue in
 the hands of its former managers. But on the
 whole, there was desolation enough made of
 learning in so short a time; and the Visitors were
 neither dilatory nor sparing in executing their
 Commission to the full, tho' with different hu-
 mours, yet all with the same views, and to the same
 effect.

While this inquisition was purging and shutting
 up the Schools and Colleges, another body was
 as busy about the Kirks, and in preparing matters
 against the time appointed for the sitting down of
 the long wished-for Assembly. To this purpose,
 as soon as the Parliament was up, a Meeting of
 Ministers and Lay-Elders was held at Edinburgh,
 to concert the proper methods for calling and con-
 stituting a General Assembly, of which they had
 now been long out of the use. By the establishing
 act, none had right to meddle in the government
 and affairs of the Kirk, but such Ministers as had
 been removed at the restoration of Episcopacy;
 and the several claims to the privileges of this
 act, were like to raise a bustle among them in the
 very beginning: For the two factions in Crom-
 well's

well's time broke out now, with the same fire and fury as ever. The remnant of the old *Remonstrator-party*, who had been actually deposed by their own judicatories, and some of them for gross and scandalous irregularities, forced themselves into this Meeting, and took seats accordingly. But the more judicious of the other brethren, immediately saw the impropriety of admitting persons lying under a sentence of deposition by their own Kirk; and therefore moved, that this nullifying restraint should be first taken off. Against this, it was pled, that the sentence was void and null in itself, having been passed, *clave errante*, by a factious multitude of opposite principles. This provoked the *Public-Resolvers*, who instantly began to defend themselves; and one of them, Mr Alexander Pitcairn, protested against these proceedings, and threatened to print his protestation, and declare the Meeting unlawful, if these incapacitated members were allowed to sit in it. But these early heats appearing unseasonable, and of dangerous tendency, he was prevailed upon to take back his protest, and make no more noise. It was then thought fit, for adding to their number, to take into this Convention the younger brethren, who had come in among them since the Restoration, tho' they were not within the express terms of the act, but only by permission of the old survivors.

Matters being thus in so far adjusted, and a Mr Gabriel Cunningham, chosen Moderator of this *General Meeting*, as they called it; they then proceeded to appoint Ministers for the several corners of the country, divided them into presbyteries, prescribed rules for trying Episcopal Ministers; and ordained, that where the Presbytery consisted but

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letters of three or fewer, the next one should be joined
 LIV. to it. Yet, in many places, even this made not
 a competent number, for such a weighty business
 as examining and censuring the doctrines and
 manners of Ministers: For in the two Presbyteries
 of Haddington and Dunbar, where there are near
 thirty parishes, there were but two Presbyterian
 Ministers; and the same number in Dunfermline and
 Chirnside, of the same extent. In the Presbytery
 of Auchterarder, there was but one; and when
 the next Presbytery was added to it, they made
 only three. At the same time, two of their Lay-
 elders declared, in the face of the meeting, that
 for twenty miles west of Perth, there were but two
 or three Presbyterian Ministers to be met with.
 So little agreeable then, even after the liberties
 allowed them by King James, had their persons
 and principles been to the generality of the people,
 and that too, in those very places where they
 might have been thought to have had the greatest
 sway. However, having now an Act of Parli-
 ament on their side, they did the best they could,
 with the scanty numbers they had, and laid out
 the method and proportion of representation in
 the ensuing Assembly. They likewise appointed
 a general Fast to be kept, on Sunday the 5th of
 October; which was observed to have been the
 third fast that had been ordered on Sunday, with-
 in the compass of a year, inconsistent with the na-
 ture of the day, and contrary to primitive prac-
 tice. And to shew how ready they were, even
 in this embryo state, to be grasping at power
 which did not belong to them, they ordained an
 old treatise of Ruling Elders to be reprinted, ' by
 the Heirs of Andrew Anderson, and by none
 other.' But the Privy Council, indulgent as it
 was

was to them, interfered; and to give a check in time to such encroachments, ordered the copies to be called in, and the licence to be torn away.

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Soon after this, the Meeting broke up; and the brethren went home, and fell to work with all their might, according to the plan agreed on. It was thought, that they would have tried first to fill the Kirks made vacant by the rabble and the Council, which were more than could have been supplied by all the Preachers of their persuasion. But they were not so zealous to plant as to pluck up: And tho' more than a third of the Kirks in the kingdom wanted Ministers, this was overlooked; and all their care was laid out in emptying those Kirks, where any of the Episcopal Ministers continued to officiate. And when the strangeness of this procedure made people ask them, Why they were at such pains to cast out the Episcopal Clergy, when they were not able to fill their places? Their common answer was, That there was less danger to the church and people by the want of preaching altogether, than by hearing it from men of Episcopal principles: Like to what Mr Frazer of Brae, one of their leading orators, had said in a sermon before the Parliament;—
“ Better the temple of the Lord by sometime un-
built and unrepaired, than be repaired by Gi-
beonites and Samaritans.”

Yet, unaccountable as this general conduct was, the particular management of their several Presbyteries, where they could hold any, was still more unreasonable and surprising. They sat every week, for the sake of dispatch, as they had but little time before the Assembly, and finished the processes that they called, in the utmost hurry, and with the most scandalous partiality. Every thing

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 LIV. was admitted and magnified against the Episcopal
 ~~~~~ Clergy, and no defence they could make, was  
 allowed to operate in their favour.\* One common  
 topic of charge, was the using the Doxology,  
 and recommending to their people such supersti-  
 tious books as Dr. Scougal's Catechism, and  
 "The whole Duty of Man." But the general  
 ground of accusation against the Episcopal Clergy,  
 and which the indictment never omitted, was  
 their having entered by presentation from a Pa-  
 tron, and by Ordination, Collation, and Institu-  
 tion from a Bishop; which, they boldly affirmed,  
 was 'contrary to the Word of God, to the Con-  
 stitution of this Kirk, to the Acts of Assemblies,  
 and to the land's solemn engagements.' And  
 when the leaders of the party were upbraided with  
 making Episcopal Ordination the ground of a  
 libel, they excused themselves, and laid the blame

\* Where any of them were found to have been particularly  
 keen in the Episcopal cause, consistently with their character and  
 profession, they were sure to meet neither with mercy nor civi-  
 lity. The Minister of Ladykirk was libelled, for having said,  
 that the Covenant was no better than a band of rebellion; and  
 Mr Heriot of Dalkeith, for calling Monmouth and Argyle  
 traitors. Mr Wood at Dunbar was cited before them, for hav-  
 ing said to one, who seemed to be afraid of the English Litur-  
 gy's coming in among us, 'God send us no worse;' and be-  
 cause he had never expressed his thanks to God, for the land's  
 being delivered from Popery and Prelacy. To the first he re-  
 plied, he was sorry if such an expression had dropped from him,  
 being by far too mean for such a great and glorious Church as  
 that of England: To the other he said, 'He thanked God  
 heartily for any deliverance the land had had from Popery,  
 but could not do so for the overthrow of Prelacy, unless he  
 acted the hypocrite, or was convinced that Presbytery was the  
 greater blessing, and the more ancient government of the two,  
 which he had never yet seen made out.'

upon




upon the people, who gave in the complaint; tho' it was well known, that the Ministers themselves were the original framers of the libels, and put them into the people's hands, to lay before the several Presbyteries.

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In the management too of the processes, their manner was neither legal nor equitable. The accusers were admitted as witnesses, and often sat as judges. The libel was read, the witnesses examined, and the charge found proven, before the pannel was called in; and all he had to do when he appeared, was to see and hear himself deprived. It is well known, that by the civil and canon law, and by the practice of all nations, they who bear personal hatred or malice, or have discovered any signs of prejudice against the accused, cannot lawfully witness in judgment upon him. Yet here, this laudable custom was over-ruled, and the most open and inveterate enemies not only allowed, but even encouraged, to give judicial evidence.\*

If one part of the deposition seemed to prove the libel, or any article of it, tho' another part tended to exculpate the Minister, or but to extenuate the fault, the first was carefully marked, and the other left out. When, at any time, the witnesses were like to clear the pannel, and testify

\* Thus when Mr. George Purvis at Glencorse appeared before the Presbytery of Dalkeith, he objected to some of the witnesses, as carrying heart-malice and ill-will towards him, and undertook to prove that these very men had assaulted him in the pulpit with stones and staves, and taking him by the throat would have strangled him, if he had not got present relief: On which Mr Matthew Selkirk, one of the quorum upon the bench, rose and spoke to the moderator, that if these men had done so out of malice and personal prejudice, they ought not to be received as witnesses, 'but if they had done it for the glory of God, he saw no reason why they should not be admitted.'

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LIV.  his innocence, which frequently happened, they were dismissed, as knowing nothing of the matter, and others brought forward, that were more pliable to the service of the cause. And when the sentence of suspension or deposition against any minister was intimated from the pulpit of his kirk, the whole libel was gravely and formally read, altho' some articles were no way censurable; and such as seemed so, were not proved. Under these iniquitous proceedings, what could the Episcopal Clergy do? Some of them disowned the authority of these upstart Presbyteries, and would not appear; the consequence of which was, a summary sentence of deprivation. Some appeared, and gave in defences; but this availed nothing. And not a few appealed from these petty partial courts, to the ensuing General Assembly, hoping to meet with greater justice and moderation there; or that, before that time, the civil power, which had promised them protection, would interpose, and put a stop to the present rigid and oppressive measures.

At last, after two or three months preparatory bustle, in the way we have seen, the Assembly convened, on the day appointed, the 16th of October. Lord Carnichael was named Commissioner, to the grievous mortification of the fiercer sort, who wished their good friend Crawford to have been clothed with that important trust, and to the great disappointment of Crawford himself, who both expected and needed the profits of it, and in that expectation had not taken care to provide himself a regular seat in the Assembly, till some weeks after their sitting down, that, rather than want such powerful assistance, they got a commission extorted from the burgh of St. Andrews for him. Mr. Hugh Kennedy was chosen Moderator,

erator, and a Mr. John Spalding, Clerk. There were in the Assembly about a hundred and eighty persons of clergy and laity, according to their own distinction, but no representatives of either class from Angus, Merns, Aberdeen, or any of the more northern parts, nor from any of the Universities, but Mr. Rule alone, the new Principal, for Edinburgh: So that this meeting can no more be held to be a General Assembly of the church of Scotland, than the council of Trent can be called a General Council of the catholic church, tho' indeed the same spirit of faction and tyranny ruled in both: And it shows how little consistent the declaration in the claim of right about the inclinations of the people in favour of Presbytery was with fact, when upon trial, their first General Assembly, countenanced by all the encouragement they could desire, could not draw one member from more than one half of the kingdom.

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The first thing done, after prayer and preaching, was reading King William's letter to them, in which, among other things of form, he told them, ' That he favoured their government, because he was made to understand it was agreeable to the inclinations of the people, and that he would have them to be very moderate in their proceedings, and not to do any thing that might displease their neighbour-church.' This last hint did not go well down; as it seemed to make them in some measure accountable to a church, which in all their discourses they used to exclaim against as superstitious and idolatrous, and into which they were always wishing to introduce their own mode of reformation. Neither was the first part quite acceptable, which supposed

**LETTER** their church-fabrick to be built upon such a sandy  
**LIV.** bottom, as the inclinations of the people. And  
 therefore, in their answer, they asserted that their  
 government was not only agreeable to the incli-  
 nations of the people, but likewise founded in the  
 word of God: And this they designed to back  
 with the authority of an act, declaring, ‘ the  
 ‘ Presbyterian government to be of divine right,  
 ‘ and also the true legal government of this  
 ‘ church, which had never suffered any alteration  
 ‘ except in times of usurpation, tyranny and great  
 ‘ oppression.’ But the Commissioner apprehending  
 the consequences of such an act, and knowing  
 how contradictory it was to former histories and  
 late experience, would not let it pass without ad-  
 vice from court, where it did not meet with ap-  
 probation, and so was no more heard of.

They then appointed committees for the vari-  
 ous pieces of business that might come before  
 them, which sat with their convenience, but did  
 little or nothing considerable, owing partly to re-  
 strictions from court, and partly to the unskilful-  
 ness and forwardness of the many younger bre-  
 thren who had never sat in any judicatory before.  
 Besides, there were frequent differences among  
 them about some one thing or other, which the  
 moderator endeavoured to smother the best way  
 he could, and then would thank God for the  
 ‘ oneness,’ as he phrased it, that was among them.  
 This was a thing they always spoke of with great  
 fondness, especially after the Cameronians joined  
 them, tho’ even then matters were only made up  
 in a huddle between them; and if the moderator  
 had not exerted all his dexterity, and a good deal  
 of double-dealing, the breach had been wider than  
 ever. The two who appeared for the Cameroni-  
 ans

ans, a Mr. Shiels and a Mr. Linnen, gave in two papers, the one of overtures, and the other defending their own practices, as most consonant to the true Presbyterian doctrines, and upbraiding the other party with defection and apostacy, which they offered to make good in the face of the Assembly. The Moderator at first checked and rebuked them, as being rash young men: But finding they were not to be bullied into silence and submission, they were ordered out for a little, then called in again, taken by the hand, and desired to sit down with the rest, without entering on any debate, and with this flattering compliment from the chair, 'that he knew they meant well, that they had done services already, and more such was expected from them.' The Sunday following, both the Cameronians about Edinburgh and the Presbyterians in the town preached upon the union and agreement of the two parties: These last thanked God for it, and the former in their own justification declared, 'that thereby they neither condemned their own former conduct, nor approved the corruptions that had been and still were among the other brethren,' which declaration, however just and galling, the Assembly was wise enough to take no notice of. Thus this threatening rupture between these two denominations of professed Presbyterians was artfully pieced up at this time, and continued so for a while, not without private heart-burnings and murmurings now and then from the rigid side, till about forty seven years after, that, upon a new disgust about the revived exercise of patronage, and some other alledged corruptions in the public judicatories of the kirk, the flame broke out with great violence, and produced a formal '*Secession*,' which

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**LETTER** which in a short time spread amazingly thro' all  
**LIV.** parts of the kingdom, and is at last, upon account  
 of some fancied impropriety in the Burghers-oath, split into the two subdivisions of Burghers, and Anti-burghers, mutually irritated against one another, and both of them equally enemies to the established kirk, from which they are daily drawing off great numbers.

The next affair that came before the Assembly, was a petition from two of their friends in the town of Dundee, craving a supply of preachers by the Assembly's authority, and complaining, that tho' the general meeting had sent a minister to them, he could neither get an auditory nor access to a kirk within the town. To the same canting tune came another supplication from some of the lower class of people in Aberdeen, begging relief in their present desolate state, and lamenting that they had not had the gospel preached among them for thirty years past. Both these whining addresses, which by the bye discover how little the taste of both these places was then Presbyterian, the Assembly graciously received, and did what they could to humour the godly desires of these petitioners. But the grand work of this convention was to take cognizance of such appeals as the Episcopal clergy had made from the several Presbyteries. This business, however fond they were of it, embarrassed them not a little, between the fear of offending the court on the one hand, and their own inclinations to severity on the other; but they got over the difficulty in their own way. Some of these appeals they returned back to the respective Presbyteries, which was the same thing as confirming the sentences complained of.— Others they referred to be tried by the commission-court, which they were to appoint: And such causes

causes as they thought proper to take the cognizance of into their own hands, they summarily decided against the appellants.\*

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\* As a specimen of their justice in these decisions, I shall mention but two of them from among a number of the like kind, which were loudly cried out against at the time, and by which we may judge of the rest. The first shall be the case of Mr. John Mackenzie at Kirkliston, in the Presbytery of Linlithgow, who had been canonically settled there, and continued to officiate till the wandering rabble shut the kirk-doors against him and kept him out. But having early complied with the new government, he made interest by his friends to maintain his title to the kirk, and when he saw that the Presbytery were against him, he appealed from them to the King, and the next lawfully called General Assembly. This being the tenor of his appeal, many of the Assembly spoke warmly against receiving it, alledging that it was not to them he had appealed, his expression not being applicable to this Assembly. The Commissioner, perceiving what prejudice there was against him, desired the Moderator to delay the affair, and give the young man time to appear and defend himself. But the Moderator answered, 'It was best to proceed now, and would be more for the young man's reputation; because if we were present, they would be obliged to take notice of some crimes and scandals, which now they would pass over without inquiring into them.' The Commissioner still urging that they should deal tenderly and gently with him, 'Indeed,' replied the Moderator, 'your Grace shall find that we will use great tenderness to the young man, and we shall be very discreet: For we shall only take his kirk from him.' Which without more ado they immediately did, and declared the kirk vacant. The other instance is of a still more flaming nature, and cannot be vindicated even by the utmost stretch of law. The kirk of Turriff in the diocese of Aberdeen had been for many years quietly possessed by the Episcopal minister Mr. Leask, but was now claimed by a Mr. Arthur Mitchel, in virtue of the late act of Parliament. Mr. Leask first applied to the privy-council, and then brought his plea before the Assembly, where he proved that Mr. Mitchell was never legally settled minister at Turriff: That in 1655 he was actually deposed, and tho' he continued to preach there, by means of a prevailing faction of *Remonstrators* under the usurpation, he was never acknowledged as minister of the place: That in the year 1660 the synod of Aberdeen being

And

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And thus having, as far as they could, abundantly purged out the old corruption, they thought it time to set a-going their legislative power, and enact proper regulations for settling the practice of their newly constituted Kirk. Among the first attempts of this kind, was the famous act, which they passed on the 31st of October, that 'As, by the authority of the church in her former assemblies, the private use of the two sacraments hath been condemned; and as, by allowing this private use in pretended cases of necessity, the superstitious opinion is nourished, that they are necessary to salvation, not only as commanded duties, but as means without which salvation cannot be obtained; therefore, the Assembly hereby discharges the administration of the Lord's Supper to sick persons in their houses, and all other use of the same, except in the public assemblies of the church: And also, doth

freed from the force and restraint that had been put upon them, ratified and confirmed the former sentence of deposition against him, under which he was lying to this day: That himself had been regularly settled according to the laws of the land, had duly submitted to the present civil government, and had the heritors and people of the parish on his side, which Mitchel had not: That therefore the question was, Whether he was rightful and legal minister of Turriff, or not? After two days debate, it was put to the vote, and without any regard to Mr. Leask's defences and objections against his rival, the dispute was taken up on a different footing, and the question stated, not as it ought to have been, whether Leask or Mitchel should be minister of Turriff, but whether Mr. Mitchel was not rightful minister in 1661, and only turned out by the unjust courses of the times? This was, contrary to fact, and in contempt of their own judicatories, carried in the affirmative: And Mr. Leask being called in, was told, that the Assembly had deprived him, and declared Mr. Arthur Mitchel rightful minister of Turriff, which took place accordingly.

' discharge



' discharge the administration of Baptism in private; that is, in any place, or at any time, when the congregation is not orderly called together, to wait upon the dispensing of the word: And appoints, that this be carefully observed, when and wherever the Lord giveth his people peace, liberty, and opportunity, for their public assemblies.' This affair raised some little stir among them. Mr Rule not only pled against private baptism as superstitious, but called it even forcery and charming, and maintained it to be contrary to scripture and antiquity. Mr Kirkton took the Principal up briskly, and said, ' That point was disputable, and he could buckle him or any man upon it, but would not debate it now; and tho' there were a thousand acts against it, he would rather baptize a child in private, than suffer it to be carried to the curates.' The Moderator flew off to the trite distinction of the different states of the church, in excuse of their former practice; ' For,' said he, ' in times of persecution, I think an honest Minister, riding in the way, may go into a man's house, baptize a bairn, and come out and take his horse again, without any scruple.' Some highland ministers prayed not to be included in this act, because many children in their bounds could not be brought to the kirks; but there was no dispensing clause inserted.† Indeed, all of them were at pains, in their private conversations, to inculcate the non-necessity of baptism, and to preach down the esteem and regard which they saw people had

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† So rigid were the greater part of them at that time, that a Mr John Hamilton, who was one of the few that did not refuse to administer baptism in private, was nicknamed John the Baptist, by the rest, by way of ridicule.

**LETTER** for it, as an idle relic of Popery, which ought to  
**LIV.** be abolished: Even Mr Kirkton himself, tho' he  
 stood up so boldly against this prohibitory act of  
 the Assembly, said once to the people who brought  
 a child to him, ' You think it necessary to have  
 ' your children baptized; but I tell you, I knew  
 ' a good, godly Minister, who lived till he was  
 ' fourscore, and was never baptized in all his  
 ' life.' How far the present race of Presbyterians,  
 who have no scruple against baptizing a sick child,  
 or indeed any child, sometimes in private, and yet  
 continue so tenacious in refusing to administer the  
 other sacrament to sick persons in their own  
 houses, can reconcile this discrimination of prac-  
 tice, either to itself, or to this express decree of  
 their fundamental Assembly, is none of our con-  
 cern to account for.

Another act, passed at this time, required all  
 Schoolmasters, Chaplains, Preachers, and Stu-  
 dents, to take and subscribe the Westminster Con-  
 fession of Faith; which had been, indeed, en-  
 joined by some of their Covenanting Assemblies,  
 but had never received any kind of authorised  
 sanction till now. And because this Assembly  
 could not sit so long as was necessary to determine  
 all particulars, and complete the great work  
 which they had begun, they appointed a Commit-  
 tee to sit for a year, when and where they pleased,  
 with full and supreme power to act in all things  
 that related to the Kirk. This Committee was  
 divided into two bodies; one for the South; con-  
 sisting of thirty Ministers and fifteen Lay-Elders;  
 and another for the North, of twenty-eight Mini-  
 sters and sixteen Elders: The quorum of each to  
 be ten Ministers and five Elders, duly instructed,  
 and fortified, by their commission, to harass and  
 bear

bear down the Episcopal Clergy from pretending to any share in the ecclesiastical government; or even, if possible, from keeping their livings in any shape.

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Before they rose, they had two very important matters under deliberation; one of a public, and another of a more private concern, but both of them touching their character and reputation in a high degree. When the rabbles were in their full strength, abusing and ejecting the regular clergy in the West and South, attested accounts of these barbarities were drawn up by undoubted hands, and corroborated by unquestionable testimonies, not only to be presented to those in power, for obtaining redress, but likewise to go abroad thro' both the kingdoms, for exciting pity and compassion towards the poor sufferers. The Presbyterians thought themselves struck at by these relations, and saw it necessary, for their own vindication, that some kind of answer should be made to them, as the facts were too flagrant and recent to be positively denied. At the last general meeting this resolution was formed, and the task laid upon Mr. George Meldrum, who, for reasons best known to himself, declined it. Then it was recommended to Mr. Alexander Pitcairn: But he had too much honesty and good nature to undertake it, and plainly refused to have any thing to do with it. The Assembly therefore put it now upon Mr. Gilbert Rule, who courageously took the work in hand; and having laboured thro' it with bold denials, pitiful evasions, artful softnings, and all the sophistical fetches that a man is reduced to, who knows he is combating truth, was pleased in end gravely to wipe his mouth, and tell the world, ' That the truth of matters of fact

LETTER ' in this answer is not to be taken from him, but  
 LIV. ' from his informers: That he pretends no perso-  
 nal knowledge of few of them: That therefore,  
 ' not his veracity, but theirs, stands pledged for  
 ' the truth of what he has published: and if they  
 ' have deceived him, or been deceived themselves,  
 ' he is not to answer for it.'

Now, whatever exaggerations might have been in these original accounts, or solidity in Mr Rule's replies, the Assembly, if they would have acted honestly, might have kept themselves out of the scandalous scrape. It was the Cameronians who openly began, and chiefly carried on, the lawless business complained of; and though, ' the sober  
 ' Presbyterians,' as their vindicator calls them, ' did not make it their constant theme to preach  
 ' against these excesses,' and were not over-careful to prevent or stop them, this indifference might have passed as a piece of caution, and a prudent neutrality between two parties, with whom they once pretended to be equally unconnected. They had solemnly disclaimed kindred with the Cameronians, in their late address to King James, when they ' humbly besought his Ma-  
 ' jesty, that those who promote any disloyal prin-  
 ' ciples and practices, as we do disown them, may  
 ' be looked upon as none of ours, whatsoever  
 ' name they may assume to themselves.' This might have screened the disclaimers from any share in the Cameronian imputation, if they had not been willing to take a share in the effects of it. But here lies the whole key of this mystery, which opens up to us the propriety of Mr Rule's vindication. There was a merit now about these Cameronians to be claimed in general, as well as a former guilt, to be then disowned, but now forgotten.

gotten. They had suffered, been persecuted and **LETTER**  
 butchered, no matter, as to the present considera- **LIV.**  
 tion, whether justly or not, and all the cruelties  
 of Charles II's reign, so much complained of by  
 some to this day; belong to that tribe, to the  
 Pentland-hills and Bothwel-bridge Covenanters,  
 whom the other 'sober Presbyterians' made a  
 boast then of standing aloof from. Let this sober  
 party then, muster up all the articles of perfec-  
 tion they met with, abstracted from these 'dis-  
 loyal and disowned' malignants, and tell us  
 what the sum total of that separate account will  
 amount to. But now, that the two parties are  
 united, and joined in one communion, by the  
 Assembly's taking the Cameronians into legal  
 partnership with them on their own terms, it was  
 proper there should be a communion of goods and  
 privileges between them: And as the Assembly  
 had already assumed to themselves the merit of  
 the Cameronians sufferings, and were daily reap-  
 ing the benefit of what the Moderator called their  
 'services,' it was but fair, that, if there lay any  
 complaint against these services, either in the mat-  
 ter or manner of them, the Assembly should, as  
 sharers and brethren, stand forth boldly and  
 avowedly, now that times are changed, in vindi-  
 cation of them. How consistently or successfully,  
 let the christian casuist, who is taught not to ap-  
 prove of bad means in prosecution of even the best  
 ends, determine; and under this reference I leave  
 it.

The other weighty affair, which the Assembly  
 had to go through before they parted, was also of  
 a very ticklish nature, no less than cleansing their  
 Moderator from the foul stain of kirk-censure, and  
 formal

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formal deposition; † which, in 1660, had been pronounced against him by a Presbyterian Synod, upon sundry points of accusation, especially for being a firebrand among his brethren, and for a book which he wrote, ‘Of the Causes of God’s Wrath upon Scotland.’ This sentence had never been taken off from him, and many others in the same condition. It had been proposed at the General Meeting, and rejected. But now the Moderator finding himself better set, made an overture of it to the Assembly, on the 13th of November, the last day of their meeting; and to carry his point the more easily, brought it in by way of surprise. ‘Brethren,’ said he, ‘you may remember, there were once some unhappy differences among us, which some carried so high, as to proceed to inflict the sentence of deposition upon some on that account: Now, I think it fit, that before we part, this sentence be revoked; that as we are all one man’s bairns, we may be all alike stated.’ Mr Rule said, he judged it better to bury all these things in oblivion, as they could not pass a general act for reponing these men, without examining their processes, which was by no means fit, neither was there time for it; and perhaps they would not be found all alike; for some might have been deposed for scandals, and other crimes, as well as for these unhappy differences. ‘Brother,’ said the Moderator, ‘there is no need of condescending on particulars, for I believe they will be found all alike, and all very

† This famous Preacher was a ringleader among the *Remonstrators*, and had been with the army at Newcastle, when the King was delivered up to the English; at which time, it is said, Mr Kennedy, for his services on the occasion, got 6000 marks of the purchase-money.

‘ honest

‘ honest men that are concerned:’ So he named Weir, Mitchel, and some others; and then said, ‘ There is a Mr Hugh Kennedy one of the number ‘ too, I warrant you all ken him well enough.’ In short, after this droll introduction, the act passed as desired; the old sentence of deposition was taken off, and these men declared to be true, sound, and lawful Ministers. These two material points being thus settled, the Assembly began to think about separating, and entered on a debate about fixing the time of their next meeting, when the Commissioner, whose advice they were never asking, stood up, and, in King William’s name, dissolved this Assembly; and, by the same authority, called and appointed another, to meet on the first of November next year. This was a stroke they were not looking for, but they did not chuse to call it in question: So they patiently submitted, and all was concluded with prayer and singing the 133d psalm. And here, before I take leave of this Assembly, which I have been the longer upon, not as belonging to, but because, as far as they could, destructive of the old Episcopal Constitution, let me express my surprise, that in all this time, and indeed in all the preparatory steps towards the Presbyterian settlement, we have heard no public mention of that former idol of veneration among them, *The Covenant*; which their predecessors, about fifty years ago, had preferred to their creed, and even to their baptism. But now, except what private glances of remembrance some of their packed Presbyteries squinted towards it, when it was necessary to swell a libel against an Episcopal pannel, we meet with it in no petition of the Kirk, or deed of the State; no handle made of it, as once, for abolishing Pre-  
lacy;

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~~LETTER~~ lacy; no regard shewn in the least to the so much  
 magnified sacredness of its engagements, except  
 among these faithful adherers to it, the Came-  
 ronians. It would seem, the statesmen had been  
 either afraid or ashamed of it; and the ministers  
 had not thought fit to disgust such friends by re-  
 viving it. Let them account for this neglect,  
 whose business it is; and, like honest men, either  
 avow or renounce their connection with the *Solemn  
 League and Covenant* of their godly ancestors.

I am, &c.

LETTER



## L E T T E R    L V .

*Effect of the Revolution on the Church of England  
 —Declining State of King James's Interest  
 —Proceedings of the Commission of the Scotch  
 Kirk—Means used to keep out the complying  
 Episcopal Clergy—Laws against the Nonjurors  
 —Account of the ejected Bishops—Unpopular  
 Measures of King William's Reign—He autho-  
 rizes the Oath of Abjuration, and dies.*

**H**AVING, in the preceding letter, taken a sufficient view of the proceedings of the successful party, after the Revolution of 1688; before I return to the history of our ejected Bishops and clergy, it may be proper to give you some account of the situation of the church in the neighbouring kingdom, which we shall find affected, tho' not so totally, yet perhaps in as disagreeable a manner, as our own, by this strange and sudden revolution. It is not to be thought, that on such an extraordinary emergency, the English Bishops, in their mixed character of governours of the church, and members of the legislature, could



- ‘ to go on with business, and act as occasion should  
 ‘ serve, and might do what was just and right in  
 ‘ the question about the Prince of Wales.’

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In the convention of the 22d of January, where the grand point of disposing of the Crown was debated, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Ely, Chichester, Peterborough, Worcester, Bath and Wells, Gloucester, Chester and Norwich, stood out against the proposal of transferring their allegiance, and giving away what they thought was not within their gift. The Bishops of Winchester and Durham, likewise shewed themselves not altogether satisfied with what was done, however proper they might think it to acquiesce in the determination of the majority. Others of them pretended the permission which they said, King James had given them before his going away, to act as occasion offered, and not incapacitate themselves by a vain opposition from consulting the publick good. Soon after the Prince and Princess of Orange were by this convention declared King and Queen, Archbishop Sancroft, not caring to act publickly himself, was advised to grant a commission, revocable at pleasure, to the Bishops of London, Winchester, Landaff and S. Asaph, for consecrating Bishops and ordaining ministers to any diocess or church within the province of Canterbury, who should be thereunto duly and legally nominated and elected, and by his Archiepiscopal authority confirmed: By virtue of which commission our countryman Dr. Burnet was consecrated Bishop of Sarum on the 31st of March 1689, as a reward for the services he had done, in bringing about this change. In October thereafter, the Archbishop and his outstanding brethren were suspended *ab officio* for refusing the new

1570. **Critic:** And perceiving in their religious order many pains and propensities of accommodation, they were at last on the 11<sup>th</sup> of February 1570 actually deprived, viz. Archbishop Sancroft of Canterbury, and the Bishops Lloyd of Norwich, Turner of Lich, Fraunceys of Gloucester, Keble of Bath and Wells, and White of Peterborough: For the other five, Thomas of Worcester, Lake of Chichester, and Carrwright of Chester had died the year before. Upon this sentence of deprivation, the See of Canterbury was filled on the 31<sup>st</sup> of May with Dr. Tillotson, Dean of St. Paul's, who soon after provided the other Sees of the deprived Bishops in like manner. And Archbishop Sancroft, being an old infirm man, and willing to retire from the world, devolved by a solemn deed his Archiepiscopal powers, which he believed no secular hand could take from him, on his deprived brother Bishop Lloyd of Norwich, who acted and acted in that capacity eighteen years. Thus a rupture, if we cannot call it a schism, was begun in the church of England, and two separate Communions set up, under Dr. Sancroft at the head of the one, and Dr. Tillotson of the other: Which may be said to have continued ever since, till within these few years, that the regular line of Episcopal succession from the deprived Bishops failed in the person of our countryman the late Bishop Gordon.

From this short account of their matters it will appear what ground I had for hinting, that the case of the Church of England at this period of confusion, was fully as disagreeable, if not more so, as our own. In Scotland the established Episcopacy was struck down at one blow, and its rival Presbytery set up in its room, without offering the members

members of the old constitution any conditions, or giving them time to deliberate what side of the political controversy to espouse. So that the Scottish Bishops being all involved in one general catastrophe, and not divided by any insinuating alternatives, had no difficulty to maintain the Episcopal cause, and to support the interest of the Church by purely Ecclesiastical argument, and upon her own original, and independent bottom. In England it was not so: The face of the old constitution was there preserved, and by the appointment of the new legislature, Episcopacy was made to fight against itself. This was an intricate and unwelcome combat; and the Bishops, who had the injured side to defend, being reduced to the necessity of supporting one form of protestant Episcopacy against another, were many times obliged to fly off to foreign assistance, and to bring forward arguments which, however satisfactory they may be to private conscience, will be thought in a good measure extraneous to the main cause: while the Bishops in Scotland had nothing to do but combat their adversaries with the weapons which every Episcopal Church had taken out of the store-house of pure and uncorrupted antiquity, before political discussions had come to be blended with Church concerns. The truth of this observation will appear from all the controversial disputes of those days, where it is easy to see that many of the weightiest objections against the English separation do not affect the Episcopacy of Scotland; while on the other hand, every defence that the ejected succession in England could make for themselves, is applicable to the Scottish cause with equal propriety and force.

While all these new regulations were carrying  
on

LETTER on by the successful party in both kingdoms, the  
 LV. interest of the expelled King was declining every  
 day. In Scotland, the Viscount of Dundee, on being driven away from the Convention of the States, had retired to the North, and collecting a small body of Highlanders, made a push for his master's service, at Gillicranky in Athol, on the 16th of July 1689, where his troops indeed got the victory; but the death of Dundee himself, who was killed in the action, was an irretrievable loss to the cause he was engaged in, and disheartened the few friends of it from making any farther attempts of that kind. The Duke of Gordon too, seeing no hopes of relief, had, about the same time, surrendered the Castle of Edinburgh to the prevailing powers, and submitted to their discretion. King James himself, having seen his Queen and Son properly lodged at St. Germain's in France, returned, in March 1689, with fifteen hundred French troops, and landed in Ireland, where he held Parliaments, coined money, and for some time exercised every act of royalty; till, after several skirmishes with various success on both sides, a decisive battle was fought between him and his son-in-law, on the banks of the Boyne, on the first of July 1690, where James was totally routed, and had great difficulty to escape to France from the pursuit of the victorious army. This blow dashed all further hopes, and rivetted the conqueror in the undisturbed possession of that sovereignty, of which he had hitherto kept but an uncertain hold. And thus, by the secret hand of an over-ruling Providence, which it does not become blind mortals to be too curious in inquiring into, were things directed towards this surprising Revolution; which, we are told from good authority, James himself,  
 to

to his dying day, considered ' as a divine act of  
 ' judicature upon himself and family, for very  
 ' wise and gracious ends, and executed in great  
 ' mercy to him: ' With which pious reflection  
 upon it, from the greatest and most injured suf-  
 ferer under it, I shall have done with it at this  
 time, and return to the affairs of the church.

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When the General Assembly rose, the com-  
 mission which they had appointed fell to work with  
 such of the Episcopal Ministers as had complied  
 with the civil government, and been thereupon  
 allowed to keep possession of their Kirks. The  
 great object was, to keep such men out of their  
 judicatories; lest, by their difference of principles  
 and plurality of voices, they should incumber their  
 proceedings, and by degrees turn the channel of  
 affairs another way. And it is incredible what  
 severities and flagrant exertions, of both oppression  
 and artifice were used, to prevent such a dangerous  
 conjunction. Complaints of these unjustifiable  
 measures were sent to Court, which produced an  
 unpalatable letter from King William, directed  
 ' To the Reverend, and our well-beloved, the  
 ' Ministers and Elders, Commissioners of the Ge-  
 ' neral Assembly of the Church of that our ancient  
 ' kingdom of Scotland,' and dated at the Hague,  
 February 13, 1691; in which, after finding fault  
 with the vexations and hardships put upon the  
 Episcopal Ministers, he tells them, ' It is our plea-  
 ' sure, during our absence out of Britain, and till  
 ' we give further directions, that you proceed to  
 ' no more processes, or any other business, but  
 ' dispose yourselves entirely to find out the best  
 ' means for helping and reconciling differences,  
 ' and be ready to give impartial redress upon any  
 ' complaints that shall be offered to you, against  
 ' sentences

AN ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

17. ' James's Majesty said: that we be not obliged  
 to give obedience and further private assistance:  
 By his Majesty's command James De Witt's \*  
 The, it soon was known that the King had any  
 great design, or intended the end it was designed  
 for. The Commission continued in vigour and se-  
 vere as ever; and under colour of workhouse,  
 imprisonment, or banishment, gave the complying  
 clergy of the Episcopal persuasion all the distress  
 and they could. In many parts of the North,

\* It was at this time that King William and his Dutch  
 forces joined with the Imperial, Spanish, and Italian perse-  
 cutors in a Declaration, wherein ' Their Majesty's grace,  
 before God, never to give peace to Lewis XIV. till he make  
 satisfaction to the Holy See for what he has acted against it;  
 and till he retract and make void all his infamous proceedings  
 against the Holy Father Innocent XI.' We are told, Lewis  
 had contended with the Pope about the right of disposing of va-  
 cant benefices, which he claimed as inherent in his crown, and  
 Innocent consequently condemned by a Papal Brief in 1681.  
 But the Parliament of Paris stood up for the King's prerogative;  
 and in 1682 an assembly of the French clergy, consisting of 18  
 Archbishops, thirty-two Bishops, and a number of Delegates,  
 determined for the King, and boldly asserted their privileges  
 against the Pope, by a formal decree in four famous articles,  
 which have been called ' The Liberties of the Gallican  
 Church.' This contention between Lewis and the Pope, and  
 Lewis's attachment to King James, who seems to have been but a  
 French Papist, has made it be believed, that the Pope was at  
 the bottom of de-throning James, as the weaker of his two op-  
 ponents; and William's so early declaring himself in support of  
 the Pope's pretensions, has perhaps given ground for a suspicion,  
 that he had been pitched upon by the Court of Rome as the most  
 proper instrument for that purpose. It certainly has a strange  
 look, to see a Prince pretending to defend the Protestant cause  
 in such a hostile manner, against the nearest relation he had upon  
 earth, and at the same time leaguering thus with the most bigotted  
 enemies of the Protestant name, in support of that Popish inter-  
 est in France, which he had gone such violent lengths in professing  
 to destroy in Britain.

however,



however, the attachment to Episcopacy was so strong, that little regard was paid to the Presbyterian courts; and the Ministers who kept their kirks, being protected by the gentry, and beloved by the people, seldom or never appeared before these new tribunals: And in some parishes, where the old patrons were the only or principal proprietors, and thereby had influence over the parishioners, the vacant kirks were filled with ministers who had received episcopal ordination, either from the Bishop of the diocese, if in the neighbourhood, or from any other who was most contiguous to them. These liberties were, no doubt, particularly galling to the leaders of the Establishment, not only as thwarting their designs, and preventing the full completion of their favourite model, but especially as they were such a glaring and actual contradiction to the fundamental declaration in the late Claim of Right, about ‘ the inclinations of the people.’

But what they could not altogether help, they took care to guard against the consequences of, by all the methods they could devise: For they had interest enough to get an act of Parliament passed, in June 1693, for settling the quiet and peace of the church, statuting and ordaining, among other things, ‘ That uniformity of worship, and of the administration of all public ordinances within this church, be observed by all Ministers and Preachers, as the same are at present performed and allowed therein, or shall hereafter be declared by authority of the same; and that no Minister or Preacher be admitted or continued hereafter, unless that he subscribe to observe, and actually do observe, the said uniformity: And withal declaring, that if any of the saids

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Ministers, who have not been hitherto received into the government of the church, shall offer to qualify themselves, and apply in manner fore-said, they shall have their Majesties full protection ay and while they be so admitted: Providing always, that this act, and the benefit thereof, shall no-ways be extended to such of the said Ministers as are scandalous, erroneous, negligent, or insufficient, and against whom the same shall be verified within the space of thirty days after the said application.' This, it was thought, would be a bar in so far to the promiscuous entry of malignants, which they so much dreaded, as it left the never-failing plea of scandal and insufficiency open to keep out, or thrust out, as they pleased.

But still there was a fear remaining, left, after all, some of those hated and suspected compliers, against whom none of these exceptions could be verified, might, if not looked after, creep into their presbyteries and synods, and perhaps even into their general assemblies, which might prove if not hurtful, yet in some measure troublesome to their constitution. The Parliament therefore gratified them with another act in July 1695, declaring that all such as shall come in and duly qualify themselves as said is, and shall behave themselves worthily in doctrine, life and conversation, as becometh ministers of the gospel, shall have and enjoy his Majesty's protection as to their respective kirks and stipends, they always containing themselves within the limits of their pastoral charge in their said parishes, without offering to exerce any power, either of licensing or ordaining ministers, or any part of government in General Assemblies, Synods, or Presbyteries, unless

unless they be first duly *assumed* by a competent church judicatory: Providing nevertheless, that, as the said ministers who shall qualify themselves as said is, are left free to apply or not to the fore-said church-judicatories, so the said judicatories are hereby also declared free to assume, or not assume, the fore-said ministers tho' qualified, as they shall see cause.' By this unrestricted freedom their great point was fully gained, and sufficient provision made against an unwelcome intrusion into any of their stated and authorized courts, by putting it entirely in their own power to admit none, but those with whom they were thoroughly satisfied.

However, with all these arts, and after all the mighty boasts of their numbers, and of the general affection of the people toward them, it would seem they had still found it a difficult matter to get all their kirks filled, owing either to the paucity of their preachers, or to the inclinations of the people running still in the old channel: For we find an act of Parliament, in July 1695, narrating, 'That there are many churches vacant on the north-side of the water of Forth, which cannot be soon legally planted, nor in the mean time otherwise supplied than by the Presbyteries, in whose bounds they ly, employing preachers, who are not settled in churches, to preach in such vacant churches for some time; therefore, and for the pious use of entertaining such preachers so employed, his Majesty, with advice and consent of Parliament, doth hereby destinate, appoint, and allow, out of the first end of the vacant stipend of the respective churches at which they shall preach, by invitation or appointment of the proper Presbyteries, to every one of the said preachers, Twenty Merks Scots for their preaching every Lord's day, forenoon and afternoon, in

LETTER ' the said vacant churches; and that, whether  
 LV. ' the said preachers be employed to preach at one  
 church, or at several churches within the bounds.'

These itinerant preachers were, among the vulgar, called the '*Twenty Merk Men*,' and made a tolerable living by that random method of supplying vacancies, in which either their own insufficiency, or the disaffection of the parishioners, kept them from being formally settled. Neither was the number of these itinerants found sufficient to answer all exigencies of this kind: For, from another act at the same time, it appears, that even settled Ministers were obliged many times to be employed in that business, with the benefit of the former act extended to them, as well as to the itinerants, who were considerable sufferers by the extension.

In this fourth session too, for their further security, they got an act made against intruders into churches, statuting and ordaining, ' That who-  
 ever shall intrude into any church, or possess  
 manse or benefice, or exerce any part of the mi-  
 nisterial function within any parish, without an  
 orderly call from the heritors and eldership, and  
 legal admission from the Presbytery, shall by  
 letters of horning and caption, in common form,  
 be removed from such intrusion, possession, and  
 ministration, and be declared incapable of en-  
 joying any kirk or benefice for seven years after  
 their removal.' Yet all these repeated stretches of  
 legal precaution, could not entirely prevent the  
 ecclesiastical disorders which were perpetually  
 breaking out: For, whether owing to the incessant  
 janglings between the two contending rivals,  
 or to the tumultuous mode of elections, which  
 was now substituted in place of the ancient me-  
 thod of patronage, the spirit of licentiousness and  
 opposition

opposition was become so common and prevalent upon these occasions, that in 1698, the Parliament saw it necessary to make a law, <sup>LETTER LV.</sup> ' Strictly prohibiting and discharging, all persons whatsoever, to make any opposition, by rabbling, tumult, or any other manner of violence, to any Minister lawfully authorized and sent to preach at any vacant church within the kingdom, either for supplying the vacancy, or to be fixed Minister within the parish; and that under the penalty of 100l. Scots upon every heritor or liferenter, and 50 merks upon every unlanded person, for every fault; and that such delinquents as are not able to pay, shall be punished in their persons, as the Privy Council shall see fit: And further, statuting and ordaining, that where and whenever, after requisition made to the beadles, or havers of the keys of vacant churches, to deliver them up to the Presbyteries, or any having their orders, the same are refused and not given up, then the next magistrate, when required, shall repair to the said kirk, and there make open and patent the doors, and put new locks on them, and deliver the keys to the Presbytery, or their order, for their free use-making of the same: Certifying, every such magistrate who shall refuse, when called, that he shall be liable in a fine of 100l. Scots, by and attour the Presbytery's expences.' Such were the confusions consequent on this late erection of Presbytery, and so frequently was the parliament called on to interfere, with renewed injunctions and threatenings, before the establishment of it could be perfected to satisfaction. And, when we take a general view of these confusions, we cannot but be struck with the strange sight of a Protestant National

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tical Church, which, in strict propriety of speech, could neither be called Presbyterian nor Episcopal, but a heterogeneous compound of two jarring denominations, both of them publicly acknowledged to be ministers of the gospel, invested with the pastoral charge, and formally confirmed by the then legal authority, but neither of them in full terms of communion, nor agreeing in many material parts of worship with the other.

But there was another body, and these too the greatest and most considerable number of the old clergy, who took no share in the strugglings of that awkward conjunction, but continued to stand as much and as quietly as they could upon their own bottom, and to adhere to that ecclesiastical independence, which, under all their other losses, they had now regained. Most of the rabbled clergy, and all of them who had been afterwards deprived by the Privy Council, submitted so far to these hard sentences, as not to exercise their ministry in their own parish-kirks, but had ventured to officiate in the old way in some kirks in the neighbourhood. And for their taking this liberty they pled, that they were only prohibited the exercise of their ministry at such a particular place: That the Council, tho' it had ejected them from that place, had not taken away their spiritual power from them, so that it was still lawful for them, as well as a duty upon them, to preach the gospel where there was occasion: That they thought there was but too much occasion for their so doing, considering how many vacancies were made, and how few kirks planted, so very few indeed, that in some parts of the country there were five, six or seven kirks all empty together: That they did not meddle with political controversy, but preached the solid and substantial doctrines of Christi-

Christianity, and made it their business to persuade people to a sober, righteous, and godly life. That therefore they were doing nothing but what charity required them, and their calling entitled them to do.

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However all this plea, just and modest as it was, stood them in no stead. The Presbyterian party in the government were exceedingly irritated, and on the 22d of July 1690, got this inhibitory act passed in Parliament against them, ‘prohibiting and discharging all and every one of these deprived ministers to preach or exercise any part of the ministerial function, either in churches or elsewhere, upon any pretext whatever, until first they present themselves before the privy council, and there take, swear and subscribe the oath of allegiance, and also engage themselves under their hands, to pray for K. William and Q. Mary, as King and Queen of this realm: certifying such ministers as shall do in the contrary, that they shall be proceeded against, as persons disaffected and enemies to their majesties government, with all rigour: and ordaining the Privy Council to proceed therein, or empower the sheriffs and magistrates of burghs to do the same in their respective bounds, as they shall see cause.’ Nor was this thought enough to curb these obstinate outlanders: For at the same time another act was made against the trite distinction of *de jure et de facto*, and appointing a new declaration, called the Assurance, to be taken by all in any public employment, and among the rest by the deprived Ministers, in these words, ‘I do, in the sincerity of my heart, assent, acknowledge, and declare that their Majesties K. William and Q. Mary are the only lawful and undoubted sovereigns, King and Queen of Scotland, as well *de jure* as *de facto*,  
and

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and in the exercise of the government. And therefore I do sincerely and faithfully promise and engage, that I will with heart and hands, life and goods, maintain and defend their Majesties title and government against the late King James, his adherents, and all other enemies who either by open or secret attempts shall disturb or disquiet their Majesties in the exercise thereof.

Now it was not to be thought that these Nonjurors, as we shall henceforth call them, who had hitherto refused the simple oath of allegiance to the new sovereigns, would be very ready to digest this more complex addition, and swallow the larger dose, when they had boggled so long at the less. They chose therefore, under the first impression of this shock, to take the other side of the alternative, and for a while forbore the exercise of their ministry any where. But finding this not eligible, upon many accounts, they at last ventured to have divine worship in their own hired houses; by praying and singing psalms, and giving their own families a practical sermon, but left all their doors open, that whoever inclined might hear them and join with them. The consequence of which was, that a list of these intolerable offenders was given in to the Privy Council, and sentence passed against two of the hardiest and most conspicuous of the number, Dr. Richard Waddel, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, and Dr. John Nicholson, Parson of Errol, banishing them both from their respective dwellings.

Yet, all these severities did not fully answer the proposed end. The ejected clergy went on calmly and courageously in performing the sacred offices of religion, to the many of all ranks who still adhered to them, and desired these offices from their hands.



hands. For putting a stop, therefore, if possible, LETTER  
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 to such divisive courses, the Parliament, in July 1695, gave out the following act: ‘ Our Sovereign Lord considering, that the baptizing of children, and solemnizing of marriage, by the laws and customs of this kingdom, and by the constitution of this church, have always been done by ministers of the gospel authorized by law and the established church of this nation; and that, notwithstanding thereof, several ministers now out of their churches do presume to baptize children, and to solemnize marriage, without proclamation of banns or consent of parents, and sometimes within the forbidden degrees: Therefore, strictly prohibits and discharges any outed minister to baptize any children, or solemnize marriage betwixt any parties in all time coming, under pain of imprisonment, ay and while he find caution to go out of the kingdom, and never to return thereto: And remits the execution of this act to the ministers of the law, as accords.’

This was the heaviest blow which the Nonjurors had hitherto met with. The former laws against them had left them to an arbitrary punishment, which might be softened by the interposition of friends, or clemency of the judge: But here the punishment, and a grievous one too, is determined, and no mitigation to be expected. It was likewise thought particularly cruel, whatever interference might have been used about the solemnizing of marriage, that any legal bar should be put to the administration of a sacrament, which indeed the now established church laid no great stress upon, but which the bulk of the people still retained a value for, and wished to have perform-

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 ed by proper administrators. However, these out-  
 ed ministers, as they are called, tho' thus restrain-  
 ed, and even much terrified, were not altogether  
 silenced; but still continued their ministerial func-  
 tions when and where called, in the safest and  
 most prudent manner they could, so as neither to  
 lose sight of their sacred character on the one hand,  
 nor wantonly to provoke their implacable enemies  
 on the other, but in patience possessing their souls,  
 and depending entirely on their great Head, in  
 whose cause they were both serving and suffering.

In this patient and peaceable course, besides the  
 example of the primitive Presbyters, which they  
 justly looked upon as a pattern worthy of imita-  
 tion, they were warranted by the countenance and  
 authority of their own Bishops, who were now  
 their fellow sufferers, and who, after being stripped  
 of their temporal honours, and disincized of their  
 once legal revenues, were no longer distinguished  
 by any particular notice, but were struck at in gene-  
 ral, under the degrading comprehension of 'outed  
 ministers.' These deprived Fathers, for Fathers  
 they once were, and were so called, still retained  
 their spiritual power and superiority inherent in  
 their commission; and under all their depression, had  
 the happiness to possess the respect and esteem, not  
 only of their ejected sons, but likewise of most of  
 the compliers, and even of many of the great  
 ones among the laity, who had been active in  
 the late change. They had quietly retired from  
 their Episcopal houses, on the first promulgation  
 of the dispossessing act, and provided themselves in  
 lodgings where they best could: Such of them as  
 had any little paternal inheritance of their own,  
 withdrew to it: Others took shelter with their  
 friends and relations, or were sustained by their  
 ministerial

ministerial labours in particular congregations which adhered to them.\*

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He who made the greatest figure, and had the largest and longest share in the management of ecclesiastical business, was Bishop Alexander Rose of Edinburgh, who survived all his deprived brethren, and of whom we shall soon hear more; as we are now come to a particularly remarkable æra of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, which we must henceforth survey as resting on the old in-

\* The Primate Ross, being an old man, lived very privately, and died in 1704. The other Archbishop, Paterson, of Glasgow, was of a more active turn, and appeared frequently upon the public stage in matters that concerned the church: He seems to have had a good deal of influence, even with some who were at the helm of affairs, and died at Edinburgh in 1708. Bishop Halyburton of Aberdeen lived in his own house of Denhead in the parish of Cupar of Angus 26 years, and died in 1715. Bishop Hay of Moray died at his son-in-law's house of Castlehill near Inverness in 1707. Bishop Drummond of Brechin, being a near relation of the family of Perth, was entertained by the Earl of Errol who had married the Chancellor's sister, and died at Slains in 1695. Bishop Douglas of Dunblain, a second cousin to the Marquis of Douglas and to Duke Hamilton, lived after his deprivation mostly at Dundee, and died in 1716, at the uncommon age of 92, having been 66 years in the ministry. Bishop Hamilton of Dunkeld officiated as a clergyman in Edinburgh some years, as did also Bishop Ramsay of Ross, who died in 1696, in very low circumstances. Bishop Wood of Caithness, a nephew by his mother to honest Bishop Guthrie of Moray, died at Dunbar in 1695. Bishop Bruce of Orkney, died in 1700. Bishop John Gordon of Galloway followed King James first to Ireland, and then to France, and residing with the court at St. Germain, read the English liturgy to such protestants as resorted unto him, in which station, it would appear, he had died; for we hear no more of him. Bishop Graham of the Isles lived many years about Edinburgh, but when he died we are not told. The see of Argyle was vacant, the Revolution having prevented the execution of the conge d'elire, which the learned Dr. Monro, Principal of the College of Edinburgh, had got to it in October before.

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stituted foundation, and in which we shall see our Bishops, tho' detached from the ties of secular connexion, with which every established form of a church has always been more or less fettered, yet entangled between the indispensable obligations of high trust on the one hand, and the necessary maxims of Christian prudence on the other, and often at a loss how to act consistently with both.

They were not indeed, as I have already observed, entirely in the same intricate situation with their deprived brethren in England; and yet their circumstances, all things considered, were sufficiently embarrassing. Many of the great men, who were well to Episcopacy, had been surprised, and even offended, at their standing out against the change in the state, and had used pressing arguments with them, as Duke Hamilton in particular had early done with the Primate and Bishop Rose, to persuade them, for their own sakes, and for the preservation of the church, into a compliance. On the other side, their avowed adversaries, the Presbyterians, exclaimed every where against their stiffness, and cunningly represented their non-compliance as proceeding from nothing but personal disaffection, and a latent inclination to Popery: And some went even so far, as to make a handle of their silence and meek deportment under their sufferings, to upbraid them with cowardice and inconsistency, in not thundering out boldly and intrepidly against the convulsions and usurpations which they complained of in secret. Under these complicated attacks from without, and various struggles, no doubt, from within, they will appear, it is hoped, to the eye of christian charity, and unprejudiced candour, to have been objects rather of compassion than of censure. The change,  
by

by which they were suffering, was unprecedented in the Scottish annals, which had never recorded a King expelled by a daughter and her husband. The late instance of the first Charles, which they had all seen, was not similar to this in every particular: It had been opposed, at least in appearance, by the Parliament of Scotland, and matters then had in a few years returned to the old form. Such of their clergy too, as had yielded to the present requisitions, were but roughly handled, and had not met with such fair or favourable usage, as might encourage others to lay aside their scruples, and comply.

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Indeed, the very beginning of this Revolution could not but alarm our Bishops with a disheartening prospect: A foreign Prince coming over upon Presbyterian invitation, and accepting the Crown in terms of the *Claim of Right*, which had declared Prelacy a grievance, was not the man from whom much good-will to Episcopacy was to be expected: And the event justified their apprehensions. In a short time too, the new administration began not to be so generally acceptable as the friends of it had hoped, and William neither gave nor got the satisfaction which had been mutually looked for. The horrid tragedy of Glenco, on the 12th of February 1693, which in the manner of execution, and allowing for the proportion of numbers, was as much a massacre by Protestants as had ever been acted in France or Ireland by Papists; and which the inefficacy of the Parliamentary inquiry into it, two years after, had raised a suspicion of its having originated from a source which was not proper to be laid open, spread an universal and well-founded disgust thro' the whole kingdom. And this disgust was heightened by the affair

LETTER LV. affair of the Scotch Colony, set up in 1699 on the royal faith, at Darien in America, where it was visible the Scots were most treacherously baffled; to the utter ruin of many individuals, and to the risk of exasperating the two Parliaments against one another. No wonder that a reign, begun in such a strange way, and chequered with such disagreeable measures, had not the effect of removing scruples out of some people's minds, and giving them that conviction and clearness upon trial, which so many had attained to, at the commencement of it.

But this scene of murmuring and discontent did not long continue. For on the 8th of March 1702, King William died, in the 52d year of his age; after having in his last moments, and when he was so weak that he could not write, stamped his name on a commission for passing an act, which was afterwards extended to Scotland, enjoining the taking the 'Oath of Abjuration,' in these words: 'I do solemnly and sincerely declare, that I do believe in my conscience, that the person pretended to be Prince of Wales during the life of the late King James; and, since his decease, pretending to be, and taking upon himself the stile and title of King of England, by the name of James the Third, or of Scotland by the name of James the Eighth, or the stile and title of King of Great Britain, hath not any right or title whatsoever to the Crown of this realm, or any other the dominions thereto belonging: And I do renounce, refuse, and abjure, any allegiance or obedience to him, &c.' An oath of such a dubious contexture, and so hard to be digested in all its parts, that even the Presbyterians boggled at it; and fourteen years after this, the Commission

mission of the Kirk drew up an address, praying to LETTER  
 have ' the Oath of Abjuration so qualified, that LVI.  
 ' tender consciences might take it, some of their  
 ' very Ministers having refused it.'

I am, &c.

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L E T T E R LVI.

*Accession of Q. Ann—Supposed to be favourable  
 to the Scots Episcopalians—She is addressed by  
 some of the Clergy—Consecrations performed by  
 the ejected Bishops—The English Liturgy introduc-  
 ed into Scotland—Act of Toleration, and Con-  
 sequences of it—Sudden Death of Q. Ann.*

**O**N the death of K. William, the Princess Ann,  
 youngest daughter of the late K. James by  
 his first wife, was proclaimed in both kingdoms :  
 And this accession was supposed to open a more  
 favourable prospect to the ejected and oppressed  
 clergy in Scotland. High notions had been con-  
 ceived of her shining virtues in private life, espe-  
 cially

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 1702.

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 LVI. Church of England, and indeed to Episcopacy in  
 general. Many too, who had thought themselves  
 bound to K. James while he lived began now on  
 his death, which had happened on the 6th of  
 September last year, to recede a little from their  
 former attachment, and to consider their allegiance  
 as easily transferred from one branch to another  
 of the royal family. In this opinion they believed  
 themselves supported by the conduct of the primi-  
 tive church under the Roman Empire, where they  
 found obedience paid by the Christians to the Em-  
 peror while alive, and to any one of his family that  
 got hold of the sceptre after his death, without con-  
 vassing the right of succession, about which at that  
 time there was no dispute.

These flattering appearances and plausible ar-  
 guings induced some of the Episcopal clergy to ad-  
 dress the new Queen, hoping to meet with more  
 lenity from one of her disposition and principles;  
 than they had experienced from her predecessor.  
 But the greatest number of them, with all the sur-  
 viving Bishops, still laboured under their old diffi-  
 culties on this intricate subject; and while they  
 gave all due praise to the Queen's personal cha-  
 racter, could not bring themselves to a sufficient  
 degree of conviction about her public capacity,  
 notwithstanding of the comparison drawn from the  
 Roman government, where, they said, the consti-  
 tution was different, and where such thorny con-  
 cessions were not required. However, an address  
 was framed, and presented in March 1703, shew-  
 ing, ' That the petitioners had been violently and  
 ' unjustly turned out of their benefices at the Re-  
 ' volution, and intreating her Majesty to com-  
 ' passionate them and their numerous families,  
 ' who



who were reduced to a starving condition, for their adhering to the true, primitive, and apostolic church, of which her Majesty was a member. To which address answer was given, Assuring them of her protection, and exhorting them to live peaceably with the Presbyterian clergy. Tho' this came not up to all that was requested, and tho' the Parliament soon after rejected the Bill of Toleration which had been proposed to them, owing to the violent clamourings of the Presbyterians against it; yet the answer itself, being of a softer nature than any speech which the Episcopal clergy had for some time been accustomed to hear from the throne, encouraged the whole of them to form higher hopes, and to concert such probable schemes for enlarging their subsistence, as they thought might now be carried on with safety, under such a mild administration. They had been hitherto assisted in a private way, by charitable donations from some few benefactors in England and Ireland, and a fund had been settled for that purpose at Edinburgh, under the principal direction of the two Archbishops, and of the Bishops of Edinburgh and the Isles, who resided mostly in or about the metropolis. A Commission, therefore, was now renewed from these Prelates, as managers of this fund, to Mr Arthur Millar, who had been Minister at Inveresk, but ejected at the Revolution, empowering him 'to collect money among the well-disposed in Ireland, for the relief of the suffering clergy in Scotland.'

In execution of this Commission, Mr Millar went over again to Ireland; and in December this year obtained a brief from the Duke of Ormond, the Lord Lieutenant, which was of great use to him. He was likewise much assisted in this pious

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1700  
1712  
wrote, by the then Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. King, and in the space of a few years, it collected in several copies of the hundred pounds each, which, with other donations, soon came to some in Rome and Great Britain, was of great service to both Bishops and Clergy in their then trying situation. The Bishop of Edinburgh too, whose amiable qualities endeared him to all ranks, but whose worldly circumstances were not so ample as his merit deserved, or his character required, was at this time, by the interest of powerful friends, favoured with a pension out of the Bishop's taxes, and had it paid him, tho' not very punctually, for some years, till on a new occasion it was taken from him, in 1716, for his assumed refusal of the State-oath.

And now the surviving Bishops, taking hold of the favourable opportunity in the beginning of this reign, and seriously pondering the weak condition which the church was now in, by the death of so many of their order, and the decaying state of the few who yet remained, came to an unanimous resolution of continuing the Apostolic Succession, and committing the sacred Deposit which they were entrusted with, to 'other good and faithful men, apt to teach and govern;' who might, in like manner, convey it forward, and thereby preserve the Church of Scotland from the necessity, which she had been reduced to within their own memory, of applying to foreign assistance for a regular and valid Episcopacy. In consequence of this resolu-

† This Prelate is well known in the learned world, by his curious book 'Of the Origin of Evil;' and there are letters preserved from him to Mr Millar, expressing the most cordial good will to himself and his cause, and signed, 'Your affectionate humble servant and brother, Will. Dublin.'

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tion, Mr John Sage, formerly one of the Ministers of Glasgow, (a man deservedly esteemed for his many valuable writings; but whom, to the great loss of this church, death took away within six years, in the 59th year of his age) and Mr John Fullarton, who had been Minister at Paisley, were the first pitched upon for this high office; and accordingly, on the 25th of January 1705, they were duly and canonically consecrated, at Edinburgh, by Archbishop Paterfon of Glasgow, Bishop Rose of Edinburgh, and Bishop Douglas of Dunblain.

At the same time, for preventing any confusions that might possibly arise from future contingencies, and for other prudential reasons, it was provided on the one side, and agreed to by the other, that during the life of any of the old Bishops, the government of the church should remain entirely in their hands; and that in all that time, none of the new consecration should be vested with Diocesan powers, or have the inspection of any particular district, but that they were designed only to assist in keeping up the order, and to give their counsel and concurrence when called for. Thus a plan of Episcopacy was introduced into this church, which, it must be owned, was not altogether so conformable to primitive practice as could have been wished, but which the sagacity of these prudent and experienced governors saw expedient for these times, tho' it cannot be thought they proposed it to be perpetual, as was afterwards pretended, or to take place any longer than it should appear proper and necessary to return to the old model. However, these worthy Prelates rested satisfied with this method of performing what they were convinced was their duty; and having made this

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“ledgement of the truth of the Presbyterian way LETTER  
 “of worship, or allowing the religion of the Kirk LVI.  
 “of Scotland to be, what it is styled, The True   
 “Protestant Religion.” But the motion was re-  
 jected, as unseasonable and superfluous.

Scarce had this threatening storm begun to subside a little, when a new opportunity offered to raise another. An invasion from France was attempted, and a fleet sent out of Dunkirk under Admiral Fourbin, which hovered a while upon our coasts, but was on the 13th of March 1708 dispersed and driven off by the English navy, without any resistance, and with no great loss. This alarm, sudden and short as it was, created trouble to such of the nobility as had appeared most averse to the Union, who were taken up on suspicion, but in a short time had their innocence cleared, and were dismissed. But the Nonjuring clergy were the chief sufferers by it, as it was alledged to be a plot of them and their party to bring over the son of the late King James, who was now styled the Pretender, to whose interest they were believed to be devoted, because they had hitherto refused the oaths to his sister. Yet under all this load of popular clamour and legal severity, there was still the face of a church kept up, and amidst the many restraints and distresses which they struggled with, the clergy were so diligent, and by their diligence so successful in their labours, that in many places they got their people prevailed with to admit the exercise of liturgical worship in their religious assemblies, as more decent, more intelligible, and better calculated for public devotion, than the Presbyterian method, which they had been accustomed to hear, but could not be said to join in. The use of the English Book began now to spread thro' various corners of the kingdom: It had

LETTER had been approved of by many of the clergy long ago, and some of them had even used it openly in the kirks. For we are told in 'the Life of Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Sarum,' that soon after the Restoration he read the English liturgy in the parish-kirk of Salton, which was his first cure: And in Dumfries too we have this notable testimony of its being used, that the Cameronian plunderers broke into the church there, while the minister was reading it, tore it out of his hands, and made a public bonfire of it, which was the common mark of disgrace they put upon all the prayer-books which they found among the ministers, in these heathenish excursions. After the Revolution, when so many of the clergy and most of the Bishops took shelter about Edinburgh, and found themselves more at freedom to model the public worship after the commendable pattern of Catholic Antiquity, the English service became more frequent in and about Edinburgh, tho' for some years in the remote parts of the country, the old ministers mostly kept to their former way, either from choice or necessity. But in the beginning of this reign, which appeared more favourable to Episcopacy and a Liturgy, by the liberality of well-disposed people in England, a large supply of Prayer Books was sent down to Scotland; and by this means, under the particular recommendation, and by the careful provision of the Bishop of Edinburgh, who was the chief mover in our ecclesiastical affairs, the English service was, in 1707, set up in St. Andrews, in Aberdeen, and at many places in Angus and Moray, in both which shires the old constitution still had a number of friends. This was not only a great improvement in itself, but likewise a wonderful change from  
from

from the cross humours of former times : And is a clear demonstration, how much more easily and peaceably people will be reconciled to decency of practice, in religious concerns, by the winning arguments of persuasive instruction, than by the peremptory compulsion of authority, however regular and competent.

The Bishops too, now that the cloud was in some measure over for a while, continued their watchful care of the succession ; and finding their number more and more on the decrease, by death and decay of nature, they thought proper to add new strength to their order, in terms of the late regulation, by the promotion of other two worthy old ministers, Mr John Falconar at Carnbee in Fife, and Mr Henry Christie at Kinross, who were consecrated at Dundee on the 28th of April 1709, by the two old Bishops of Edinburgh and Dunblain, and the new Bishop Sage ; the only other survivor, Haliburton of Aberdeen, being now so weak in his intellectuals, beyond what his more aged brother of Dunblain was, that tho' he was still capable to perform the office of Ordination for such vacancies in his diocess as applied to him, it was not judged convenient, as it was not necessary, to employ him in any business of importance that required a certain degree of secrecy and caution.\* After these two, Mr Archibald Camp-

\* The first of these two new Bishops, Mr Falconar, was an intimate acquaintance and great favourite of good Bishop Rose, who pressed him most warmly, for the good of the church, to take the burden of the Episcopate upon him in these times of trial and difficulty. And indeed, no man could have been fitter for it in any condition of the church, as from the many letters that remain of him, he appears to have been not only a man of great piety and prudence, but likewise a consummate divine, and deeply versed in the doctrines and rites of the primitive





well known Dean of Worcester, and soon after the Revolution, made a Bishop in the deprived succession) and the two Scottish Bishops Falconar and Campbell.†

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By these consecrations our church was once more supplied with a sufficient number of Bishops, both to preserve the succession, and perform other episcopal offices to those of her communion. And about this time, the British Parliament manifested something of a favourable disposition towards those of the episcopal persuasion in Scotland. For on the third of March 1712, an act was passed, to “ prevent the disturbing those of the Episcopal  
“ communion, in that part of Great Britain cal-  
“ led Scotland, in the exercise of their religious  
“ worship, and in the use of the liturgy of the  
“ Church of England, and for repealing the act  
“ passed in the Parliament of Scotland, intituled, act  
“ against irregular baptisms and marriages;” de-  
claring it to be free and lawful for all of the E-  
piscopal communion in Scotland to meet and as-  
semble for divine worship in any town or place  
except in parish churches, to be performed after  
their own manner by Pastors ordained by a Pro-  
testant Bishop, and to use the liturgy of the church

† It needs be no surprise, to find a consecration for Scotland performed at London, and in a part, by English hands. Mr Campbell had his ordinary residence in London, where Mr Gadderar also lived for some years: And Bishop Falconar’s being at London may well enough be accounted for from the exigencies of the church, which not only called for a brotherly correspondence, but even many times required personal interviews, and led up of our Bishops and clergy now and then to London to assist in the common cause. However, this consecration of Bishop Gadderar, tho’ seemingly out of the usual course, yet having been not only with Bishop Rose’s consent, but likewise at his express desire, was approved of by all his Scottish brethren.

LETTER of England, if they think fit, and that it shall be  
 LVI. free and lawful for such Episcopal ministers, not  
 ~~~~~ only to pray and preach in their congregations,  
 but likewise to administer the sacraments and
 marry, without incurring any pains or penalties
 whatsoever, any law or statute to the contrary
 notwithstanding: And strictly enjoining all sher-
 riffs and other magistrates, to give all manner of
 protection, aid, and assistance to such Episcopal
 ministers and their congregations, and not to
 hinder or disturb them, under the penalty of 100*l*.
 sterling *toties quoties*: But requiring every such
 Episcopal minister, before he shall enjoy the be-
 nefit of this act, to produce his letters of orders
 before the justices of the peace, at their general or
 quarter sessions, to be entered on record by the
 clerk, and to take and subscribe the oaths of Alle-
 giance, Assurance, and Abjuration; and that,
 every time that he officiates in his place of worship
 so protected, he shall pray in express words for
 her most sacred Majesty Queen Anne, and the
 most excellent Princess Sophia, Dutchess Dowager
 of Hanover, and all the royal family, under the
 penalty of 20*l*. sterling for the first offence; and
 for the second, of forfeiting the benefit of this act,
 and being declared incapable of officiating as
 pastor of any Episcopal congregation during the
 space of three years: "Provided always, that no
 "minister offending herein shall suffer such penal-
 "ties, or either of them, unless he be prosecuted
 "for the same within two months after the
 "offence is committed."

This is the substance of that famous Act of To-
 leration of the 10th of Queen Anne, which was
 more than had been granted for twenty years, and
 for that reason was by some vehemently cried out
 against.

against. It is true, the Nonjurors, who were by far the greatest body of the Episcopal communion, and had all the Bishops both old and new at their head, had not, and could not in law claim, the full benefit of it. But yet, as it discovered the favourable inclinations of government towards the Scottish Episcopacy in general, the Presbyterians were thereby kept back from harassing the Nonjurors too much, lest they should be driven to take the advantage of this toleration, and so put it out of the power of their enemies to hurt them. Another act too that passed in this session, and has continued in force ever since, was particularly grating to the Presbyterians at that time, and to many of them is so still, and that was the act rescinding the act of 1690 against Patronages, and "Restoring the Patrons to their ancient rights of presenting ministers to the churches vacant in that part of Great Britain called Scotland." Besides the matter of this act, the very title of it could not but be highly offensive, as it asserts the claims of the patrons to be both rightful and ancient, which the zealots of the Kirk still continue to brand as a sacrilegious usurpation of a modern date. At the same time, another act of King William, which has a strong taste of the fanatical leaven in it, "discharging the Yule vacance, notwithstanding of any bygone custom of observing it," was repealed, and the ancient practice, which had prevailed in all ages, and among all nations where christianity was duly regarded, was again set upon the old footing.

These proceedings, tho' not quite pleasing to some at the helm of affairs, were perfectly agreeable to the Queen herself, who had a sincere respect for Episcopacy, and for every thing that was

LET. FEB. orderly and decent in the externals of religion.
 LVI. And under covert of the late toleration, even the
 Clergy of the Nonjuring Church began to enjoy a
 little freedom, and to entertain hopes of more ex-
 tensive indulgence than they had experienced for
 some years. The repeal of the rigorous act against
 their baptisms was a great relief to their minds,
 as it freed them from the daily risk of imprison-
 ment or banishment, in the execution of a part of
 their office which they could not dispense with,
 and only exposed them to a pecuniary mulct when
 added to their other delinquencies. Yet tho' thus,
 by the good nature of the Queen, and the mild-
 nefs of administration, which generally follows the
 inclinations of the Sovereign, they were in some
 measure relieved from the outward pressures of the
 former reign, they were still exposed to many
 difficulties in the course of their internal manage-
 ment, which required all the prudence they were
 masters of, to enable them to act both a conscien-
 tious and inoffensive part.

The late confusions had occasioned a number of
 disorders and defects, which called loudly for re-
 medy, but which it was not an easy matter to re-
 medy so soon, and so regularly, as they could
 have wished. Among the many complaints of this
 kind, the long disuse of the sacred and apostolical
 rite of Confirmation, which, tho' once introduc-
 ed into our reformed church by competent au-
 thority, had been wofully and almost inevitably
 neglected, gave our Bishops many uneasy thoughts,
 and set them upon endeavouring to have it uni-
 versally restored; in which pious endeavour, the
 new Bishop Falconar was particularly zealous and
 active. But here a fresh difficulty occurred in the
 way of duly administering this ordinance, arising
 from

from the many disputable baptisms, which the prevalence of what our Bishops, consistently with principle, could not but reckon a schism, and the terror of King William's law, operating on the fears of the more timorous of our clergy, had been productive of. This put good Bishop Falconar to a great nonplus, and made him consult the Bishop of Edinburgh, who was as much straitened on the subject as he was; but, to answer his request, wrote him the following letter, which I shall set down from the original now before me, leaving the merits of it to the impartial judgment of every serious reader.

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It is of date July 30th, 1713, and is in these words, " Reverend brother, the desire of the person you wrote of seems to me to have great reason on its side, and I wish that case had been taken under consideration, and decided either by our own or any other rightly constituted protestant church, which so far as I know has not yet been done; nay, the practice and sense of our neighbour church looks to be against it, upon what warrantable principle, or how agreeable to some other both of their principles and practices, I am yet to learn. But as for the thing itself, it wants not perplexing difficulties on both sides; and though I have often thought upon it, yet I must own that I am scarce able to resolve myself clearly as to what may be fit to be done in cases of that nature. I am loth to annul all such baptisms, and to impeach both our own church and others that seem to allow them, in so far that they allow those persons, who have no other, all Christian privileges. On the other hand, I do not know how to own the validity of what is done without a commission. For my own part,

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I make a difference between those who are satisfied or have no scruples about their baptism, and those who have. As to the first, I reckon their baptisms, tho' invalid in matter of right, yet not so in matter of fact, and *that* thro' the divine indulgence, from the churches in which they live; their admission and acceptance of them, and the insuperable difficulties the far greater part of people are under to know otherwise: For the church's admitting of such baptisms, tho' no farther than not to pass a censure upon them, seems to me to put these persons *in bona fide* to rely upon such baptisms, and I hope that they shall sustain no prejudice in that case; but how the governors of the church shall account for affording that ground of confidence, I do not know. But for the others, who, upon maturity of judgment, after diligent enquiry and weighty consideration, scruple the validity of their baptism, their case seems to be very different from that of the others, and I think it hard to reject them, when they crave to have the defects of their former baptism supplied; but this I think fit to be done in the way and manner you wrote of, and that upon many obvious and weighty considerations. God Almighty direct you, give us all fuller and clearer light, and establish all things among us upon the true ancient foundations.'

By this letter, we see the moderation and modesty of this sensible Prelate, and with what diffidence he expresses himself on a question which had never been authoritatively determined; and which, however plain it might appear to a superficial view, both he and his judicious brother Falconar saw difficulties about, which they could not get over to a full degree of satisfaction. Nor was this

this the only embarrassing business that Bishop Rose had to give his opinion in. When the change of men and measures, by the defeat of the Marlborough party, was begun at court in 1710, he had a message sent him from Oxford, desiring to know, Whether he and the rest of the Scottish Bishops were in communion, as matters now stand, with the established Church of England, and her Bishops? To which he gave this short but wary return; "I know there has been a division among the members of the Church of England upon that head: The controversy is great and material, and our circumstances among ourselves not affording such difficulties, the most of us perchance have not so carefully examined that matter, and want the needful helps to be fully instructed in it: And for myself, it cannot be expected of me, that without a previous conference with my brethren, and considering that subject thoroughly and maturely with them, I should give my sense of it." Yet, in matters of civil concern, he corresponded with the Archbishop of York, and Bishop of London, who were his old acquaintances, and still retained an esteem for him; while he himself, by his wise and peaceable deportment, and with all the dignity of character that belonged to a primitive Bishop, prudently and unblameably governed the poor remains of our church, by virtue of these spiritual powers which, after the death of the two Archbishops, were acknowledged to have devolved upon him.

But this outward serenity, which he and his brethren were beginning to enjoy, upon the removal of the Whig Ministry, as they were called, was not of so long continuance as by the course of nature

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ture might have been expected: For on the 29th of July the Queen suddenly sickened, and died on the 1st of August 1714, in the 50th year of her age, to the surprize of all her friends, and to the great joy of the malecontents, who were longing, and perhaps looking, for that event. It has been said, and from different sides, but upon what grounds does not appear, that after the peace of Utrecht she had begun to harbour some thoughts of sympathy and affection towards her exiled brother, and even was concerting measures for doing him a signal piece of service: And if it had been so, it needed neither have been matter of wonder nor blame, that a sister, even upon a throne, should have retained so much of the compassion inherent in human nature, especially in the softer sex, as to feel for a suffering brother, and an only one too, who she knew was born to the prospect of wearing that crown, which the failings of their common father had excluded the brother from, and given the sister the possession of. But whether it would have been right in her to have had such favourable intentions to a brother; and how far her behaviour to a father, and him too an indulgent father to her, in the very article that was his overthrow, the article of Religion, may be reconcileable to the strict letter of the "first commandment with promise," however excusable by the plea of political necessity, are too intricate points for me to meddle with, and shall be left to the "great Judge of all the earth" to determine.

I am, &c.

LETTER



L E T T E R L V I I .

Accession of the House of Hanover—Consequences of it—A new Act against the Scotch Nonjurors—Correspondence with the English about the Usages—Various opinions of the Scotch Bishops—An Agreement effected—Correspondence about an Union with the Eastern Church.

THE same day that Q. Anne died, the Elector of Hanover, a great-grandson of James VI. who had been brought into the late settlement, as the nearest Protestant heir, was proclaimed with the usual solemnities, and on the 18th of September, made a magnificent entry into London. And now a total change in every public station commenced. All the late Queen's ministers and favourite officers, were either dismissed by express orders, or being treated with contempt, resigned their places and withdrew. The Marlborough party were taken

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LETTER into favour, and placed in all the offices about the
 LVL. court. A proclamation was issued for putting
 the laws in execution against all Papists, Nonjurors, and disaffected persons. The two chief Secretaries of State for England, Oxford and Bolingbroke, were impeached of high treason. The Earl of Mar, Secretary for Scotland, was removed. In a word, the public affairs thro' the whole kingdom put on a new face under this foreign accession; and the new courtiers drove with such a high hand, as if their design had been, what was shrewdly suspected, to force on the commotions which soon happened.

The Earl of Mar retired to his own country, where he was joined by a number of the nobility and others, and on the 6th of September 1715, set up his standard in name of the exiled prince. At the same time there was a rising in the North of England in the same cause, and from the same disaffection. But they were both soon crushed; For on the 13th of November, the Duke of Argyle at the head of a regular army came up with the Earl of Mar's militia at a place called the Sheriff-muir, not far from Dunblain, where there was an obstinate engagement, with equal claims of victory on both sides: And the same day the English insurgents were totally routed by General Wills at Preston in Lancashire, and a great number taken prisoners. The Scots indeed made a shift to keep together for some weeks, but upon Argyle's being strengthened with a fresh recruit of troops, they saw it adviseable to disperse, and on the 4th of January the Earl of Mar and some others, with the exiled Prince himself, who had landed at Peterhead some days before, embarked at Montrose, and got safe to France. Thus this early and
 hasty

hasty insurrection was quashed in a short time, and the whole of the year 1716 was taken up in executions and forfeitures, which are the common consequences of all such unsuccessful attempts, and the effects of which are felt by many to this day.

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It was not to be expected that our Episcopal church, under the suspicions which had been long entertained against her, would altogether escape the public notice on this trying and provoking occasion. The oaths were every where put to the clergy in the strictest manner, and were generally refused, notwithstanding the severe penalties they were exposed to by the refusal. Even many of the old ministers, particularly in the North, who had kept their kirks by a compliance under the two last reigns, had scruples about the oaths to the present successor, and were inhibited from performing ministerial offices within their respective parishes. They who had still been Nonjurors, and such of the younger clergy as had kept up Episcopacy, and introduced a liturgy in those parishes of that persuasion where the old compliers had died out, were harassed without mercy, and forced to abscond for their lives. In a word, Episcopacy in general lay under the odium of disaffection to the present government, and upon that account was coldly looked upon, not only in Scotland, where the tide of malice had been long running against it, but even in England, where it still had the standing laws on its side. For the Convocation there, having according to immemorial privilege, met at the same time with the Parliament, and the lower house having in May 1717 drawn up a representation against some positions contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England, which Hoadly Bishop of Bangor had published in his ill-natured

LETTER natured “ Preservative against the Principles and
 LVII. “ Practices of the Nonjurors ;” the Court was so
 offended at this representation, that before it could
 be in form presented to the Upper House, the
 Convocation was by a special order prorogued to
 November, and has never been allowed to enter
 upon business since. The next year, the Parlia-
 ment repealed the Occasional Conformity-Act,
 which had been passed in 1711 for the security of
 the Church of England, in the debating of which
 repealing bill, it was proposed, that persons who
 came to qualify themselves for any office, should
 acknowledge the holy scriptures to be of divine
 inspiration, and profess their faith in the Holy
 Trinity : But such was the strange spirit of infide-
 lity that now prevailed, the proposal was rejected,
 “ as too great a restraint upon free-born English-
 “ men.” It was not to be thought therefore, when
 the established Episcopacy in England was treated
 in this disrespectful manner, that the poor shatter-
 ed remains of it in Scotland would meet with much
 lenity or forbearance. Accordingly in April
 1719, an act passed in Parliament, ‘ For making
 ‘ more effectual the laws appointing the oaths for
 ‘ the security of the government to be taken by
 ‘ ministers of churches and meeting-houses within
 ‘ Scotland,’ by which every Episcopal minister
 performing divine service in any meeting-house
 within Scotland, without having taken the oaths
 in terms of Queen Anne’s Toleration, and pray-
 ing for King George and the royal family by
 name, is to suffer six months imprisonment, and
 have his meeting-house shut up for six months ;
 and every house where nine or more persons, be-
 sides the family, are present at divine service, is
 declared to be a meeting-house within the meaning
 of this act. This was no doubt severe enough
 upou

upon the Episcopal clergy: But the description of ^{LETTER} what was to be deemed a meeting-house liable to ^{LXVII.} the penalty, allowed them a certain degree of legal freedom, and even encouraged them to depend upon further connivance, from those to whom the execution of the law was committed.

All this time our Bishops, for their part, were doing what more immediately belonged to their office, with that primitive courage which became their character, and with such christian caution as the circumstances of the times required. The two old Bishops of Aberdeen and Dunblain were now dead, and of the new consecration Bishop Sage had died in 1711, and Bishop Christie, his dear friend, in the beginning of 1718. So that Bishop Rose, having lost all his deprived brethren, and finding himself by age and infirmities on the verge of following them, saw it again necessary to have the succession further strengthened, by another augmentation of the order: And accordingly, on the 22d of October 1718, Mr Arthur Millar, who had been so usefully active in the business of the fund, and Mr William Irvine, formerly Minister of Kirkmichael in the shire of Ayr, were consecrated at Edinburgh, by the three only Bishops that were residing in Scotland at the time, Bishop Rose and his two assumed brethren Fullarton and Falconar. Not long after this promotion, the worthy Bishop Rose, having commendably supported the dignity of a more weighty than lucrative office, thro' a calamitous course of thirty three years, and for a long time struggled with a grievous indisposition of body, was at last, in great mercy to himself, but to the heavy grief of his acquaintances, relieved from all his labours, on the 20th of March 1720, in the 74th year of his age: a man, of whom it was acknowledged by all who knew

LETTER LVII. knew him, that "for all the virtues which adorn
 " the gentleman or the scholar, the Christian or
 " the Bishop, he was scarcely equalled, and could
 " not be excelled." What a valuable pilot he
 was, while he steered the helm of our tossed vessel,
 was but too sensibly known, by some unhappy di-
 visions which followed soon after his death: And
 which need not afford any matter of triumph to our
 Presbyterian neighbours, when they look to the
 great breach among themselves, which was be-
 ginning about this time, and is still widening, in-
 stead of being closed, as ours at last was, and con-
 tinues to be.

To account for these divisions, we must now
 go back a little, and shall find the source of them
 in England, whence it reached Scotland, some
 years before Bishop Rose's death, but was kept
 under all his time, by the respect and deference
 universally paid to his authority. We have seen
 how the first Communion-office of Edward VI.
 was altered, and how, with these alterations, con-
 firmed by parliamentary sanction, it has been in
 use in the Church of England ever since. Not-
 withstanding this legal decision, many eminent
 divines of that church, both before and after the
 Revolution, still thought well of the first Book,
 and of our Scotch Office, which was composed on
 that plan, as being in some material articles more
 conformable to all the Eucharistical Offices that
 are extant, than the present Book of England;
 which these very divines acknowledge to be de-
 fective in expression, however much their church
 may be, as they plead, orthodox and sound in the
 intention.

When the Revolution had broke the English
 Church into two communions, many of the ejet-
 ed

ed clergy, and among the rest the celebrated Dr. Hickes, thinking themselves no longer tied down by parliamentary decrees in their sacerdotal administrations, wished to revive these ancient usages, which they saw the English Reformation had begun with, in the eucharistic service, of 1. Mixing water with the wine. 2. Commemorating the faithful departed at the altar. 3. Consecrating the elements by an express invocation: and 4. Using the oblation prayer before distribution, as in our present Scottish form. Others of them were for adhering to the office as it stood established by law, and authorised by long practice, which the intended revival, they said, seemed to condemn. This difference of sentiment in so important a point, produced conferences and writings from both sides, without any effect, but with no great heat on either side, as long as Bishop Hickes lived, whom, for his piety and judgment, they all equally revered. But upon his death, on the 15th of December 1715, Bishop Jeremy Collier, the laborious Church-historian, being now the senior Bishop in that succession, and a man of much warmth of temper, as well as extent of learning, appeared keenly at the head of the Usagers, as we shall now call them, and being supported by an able party, among whom was the well-known Dr. Brett, pressed the reception of the four primitive points with great vigour and strength of argument. At the head of the other party, was Bishop Nathaniel Spincks, formerly one of the Prebendaries of Sarum, and Rector of St. Martin's in that diocese, who, with his followers, chiefly rested their opposition on the necessity of keeping close to the second Book, which had received both a civil and ecclesiastical sanction.

For

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I.VII

For terminating, if possible, these differences, it was agreed on both sides to consult the Scottish Bishops, and refer the matter wholly to their decision. To this purpose, a Mr Peck came down from the Usagers in 1718, and made application to both Bishop Rose and Bishop Falconar for a synodical determination, which they prudently declined; but were willing to act as mediators and friends to both sides, recommending peace and forbearance of authority, till people's minds be cleared and properly disposed for a reception of these primitive practices. Bishop Spinckes too, from the other side, wrote to these two Bishops, to engage them in his favour, but met with the same return. Yet, to testify their readiness to do what they could for preventing a rupture among friends, they employed Dr. Rattray of Craighall in Perthshire, a man of singular knowledge in ecclesiastical literature, and who afterwards came to be a bright ornament to our church in a higher sphere, to draw up proposals of accommodation for reconciling these differences: Which at their request he did, with great candour and moderation, without entering critically, as he well could, into the merits of the cause, but only wishing both parties to condescend so far for peace-sake, as to communicate occasionally with one another in holy offices, according to the respective forms of them whose privilege it was to officiate at the time. This paper, tho' approved by Bishop Rose, as being "written with much judgment, full of christian temper, and making much for peace;" yet, as the Bishop feared, had the common fate of all such reconciling schemes, not to give the satisfaction

faction intended by it, at the same time that neither party could find fault with it.*

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Thus matters stood, as to the usages in Scotland, when Bishop Rose died; at which time there were six Bishops of the new promotion alive, Fullarton, Falconar, Campbell, Gadderar, Millar, and Irvine. Of these the two who were at London, Campbell and Gadderar, having been intimates with Bishop Hickee, and still so with Bishop Collier, and being men of great penetration and acquaintance with antiquity themselves, had espoused the usage-side of the question; Mr Gadderar, indeed, with that calmness and moderation which he was remarkable for, but Mr Campbell with more warmth and keenness. Of the Bishops who resided in Scotland, Mr Falconar leaned, or rather more than leaned that way, as is evident from many of his letters at this time; † in which he de-

* What Bishop Rose's sentiments on this controversy were, we may gather from what he says in a letter to Bishop Falconar of May 22, 1718. 'As for my own part, seeing so much stress is laid upon these usages, I am very desirous of farther information, being resolved, God willing, if I find them strictly necessary, to embrace them with all the disadvantages that may attend them; If only lawful, somewhat useful or desirable, prudence in such case, and in such cases only, ought to be consulted.'

† In one of May 15, 1718, to Bishop Rose, on Mr Peck's coming down, he says, 'I have reason to believe that these primitive usages, the restoring of which is so much laboured by these pious and learned persons, were indeed apostolical, they being delivered to us by men who contended for the faith once delivered to the saints, some of whom sealed that faith with their blood; who lived near the fountain-head; who, under God, were the conveyancers of the holy scriptures to posterity; and who themselves also were endued with *Charismata*. These qualifications state them most veracious and unexceptionable witnesses, and to think otherwise, is, in my

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clares, " That he himself had administered with
 " the *mixture*, and by the Scotch Prayer Book,
 " many years backward; long before any dispute
 " had commenced at London, and that he had
 " apprised the late Bishop of Edinburgh of his way
 " of doing, against which no remonstrance was
 " made: That both he and his brethren approv-
 " ed and used the *invocation*, according to the
 " example of Bishop Rose, which was an innova-
 " tion with respect to the English Liturgy: That
 " there were different liturgies of old and before
 " the Reformation, and all without any injury
 " to unity: That an exact uniformity is hardly
 " practicable, we ourselves being obliged to tolerate
 " some clergy and their congregations, who use no
 " other worship but such as was customary in this
 " nation before the Revolution, and would
 " find ourselves under a necessity to connive at
 " that way of doing, for some time at least, tho'
 " Providence should favour the church so far as
 " to turn the laws on her side." And here, from
 this good Bishop's account of his own practice, it
 might be asked, Why the Scotch Prayer Book was
 not introduced at first, when it was found that
 liturgical worship of any kind would be accept-
 able? Indeed, this was what many at the time
 wished for, but could not easily accomplish. The
 covenanted opposition, in the time of Charles I.

' opinion, to sap the foundations, even to shake the credibility
 ' of the blissful scriptures themselves, and of the church, the
 ' ground and pillar of truth. Hence it will follow, that the
 ' restoration of them is most desirable; the rather, that Catho-
 ' lic Unity, (which to preserve when subsisting, and to restore
 ' when broken, is the indispensable duty of every christian,
 ' chiefly of the governors of the church), cannot be established
 ' but on this primitive footing.'

had

had made the first copies of the book very scarce; and our clergy, not being able to have a new edition cast off in sufficient quantities, were willing to make use of the English Book, of which they continued to get a liberal supply of copies from England. So that it was only the necessity of circumstances that first introduced the use of the English form in Scotland, while it was acknowledged that our clergy were not strictly tied down to it, but were at liberty to use the Scotch Office, which was once duly authorised, or any other orthodox form, which our Bishops, with the assistance of their clergy, might compose.

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Of the other three Bishops who were in Scotland, Fullarton, Millar, and Irvine, the first two seemed inclined for a while neither to favour nor forbid the usages.† But Bishop Irvine was an open and even a violent stickler against them. His

† Mr Fullarton appears rather to have been once upon the favourable side: For in a letter to Bishop Campbell, wherein he desires much to see Craighall's Paper, of which he heard a great character, tho' he was a stranger to the gentleman's person, he thus writes, July 10, 1721; ' Since I am not sufficiently
' seen in the matter you write of, and that I know not wherein
' the stress of the point in dispute lies, I can give no opinion or
' advice aenit it: But if you please to state the matter to me,
' and lay the whole *cardo controversæ* before me, I will give
' you my opinion very freely of it, tho' my thoughts are not
' much to be regarded: Besides, I have small encouragement,
' from the hopes of doing any good, to dip in an affair wherein
' you and Mr Gadderar have travelled so much to so little pur-
' pose, to whose superior genius I humbly submit: And the
' greatest discouragement of all, seems to arise from the unac-
' countable temper and humour of the persons with whom you
' have to do, since nothing will please them, but the practising
' such administrations as themselves acknowledge to be faulty,
' and that you must throw up all your demands, tho' they owe
' them to be *desideranda*: Which to me is most surprising.'

LETTER occasions had carried him up to London in 1715, where having contracted a friendship with Bishop LVII. Spincks, to please him, he undertook to secure the Scotch clergy from abetting these controverted points; and accordingly, on his return, he laboured most strenuously with Bishop Rose to declare against them, and join Bishop Spincks: And tho' he failed in his attempts upon that wise and judicious Prelate, yet his assiduity and arguments among the other clergy, laid the foundation of all the disturbance that appeared about the usages after Bishop Rose died.

On that melancholy event, the clergy of Edinburgh met to deliberate about their affairs, and advise among themselves, whether it was proper now to make any advance towards the choice of a successor; which having been the primitive mode, they concluded was their privilege, now that the connexion of the church with the state, which had brought in another method, was dissolved. This was carried in the affirmative, after the old ejected Presbyters had yielded, tho' with some reluctance, that the younger brethren, who had been ordained since the Revolution, should have a share in the election. Upon the 28th of April they had another meeting, when the instruments of consecration of the several Bishops were laid before them by Bishop Falconar, who, in the name of his brethren, said, "That tho' they were Bishops of this church, intended for preserving the Episcopal succession in it, yet they did not pretend to have jurisdiction over any particular place or district;" and therefore, advised them to pitch upon a proper person to take the management of their affairs. So, the next day, they convened a third time, and with all the formality possible and proper

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proper for such a business, elected Bishop John Fullarton to be Bishop of Edinburgh, which was immediately accepted by him, and ratified by his three brethren; with this limitation, that he should not, as Bishop of Edinburgh, succeed to the vicarious metropolitanical powers which Bishop Rose had exercised, but should only have a privilege to convocate his brethren when the exigencies of the church required it, and preside in such meetings.

These proceedings were notified, on the 3d of May, to Bishops Campbell and Gadderar at London, for their approbation, by Bishop Falconar: Who, on his return from the meeting, had a letter sent him from a great body of clergy in Angus and Mearns, in which they request him to take upon him the spiritual government and inspection of them, and of the people committed to their charge; "Promising hereby, to acknowledge him as their proper Bishop, and to pay all due and canonical obedience to him as such." He had oft travelled amongst them in Bishop Rose's time, and at his desire, with great success, and now with pleasure accepted this affectionate call; as he did a like one, at the same time, from the clergy in the Presbytery of St. Andrews, where he had all along had his residence; in both which districts, with the consent of his brethren, he ever after acted as local Bishop as long as he lived.*

* This appears from a letter which Bishop Fullarton wrote to the two Bishops at London, on the 15th of September 1720, and which he signs JOHN, BISHOP OF EDINBURGH, where he says, ' I freely own that the project of dividing the kingdom into districts, and having a Bishop to superintend in every district, is a most desirable thing, if the practice were as easy as the theory. But alas! There is none of us able to maintain

This

LETTER LVII. This laudable example of the clergy of Edinburgh and Angus, in successfully exerting the common privilege of having a particular Bishop of their own, animated the clergy in other parts of the church to put in their claim to the same benefit. The clergy of Aberdeen made application to the Bishops for their licence to proceed to an election, and having obtained it, on the 10th of May 1721, they elected Bishop Archibald Campbell at London to be their Bishop, which they notified on the 2d of August to the other Bishops for their consent. This election of a man of Bishop Campbell's known principles in the present controversy, shews how his electors stood affected to the usages, and upon that account, was not so very agreeable to the other Bishops, who gave but a conditional and limited approbation to it. For which reason, and to avoid giving any unnecessary cause of offence to his brethren, Bishop Campbell yielded his right in favour of Bishop Gadderar, who had been proposed a candidate along with himself, and whom, on his coming down, the clergy of Aberdeen gladly received, with professions of canonical obedience, and entire satisfaction in all that they knew of his principles and practices.

Upon this, the College of Bishops, (for so the opposers of the usages now called themselves) being lately strengthened by an accession of new

‘ ourselves in these districts, and the people will give little or nothing to subsist them; nay, the very Presbyters that officiate among them are in great straits. Dr. Falconar will be very acceptable to the most part of our clergy and laity too, of our communion, on the north side of Forth; and perhaps there may be a way fallen on to settle him in some part of that county: But we have no view of getting any to settle elsewhere, unless you two would come down and take two districts, &c.’

mem-

members, which shall be accounted for afterwards, met at Edinburgh, on the 12th of February 1723, and, at the instigation of Bishop Irvine, drew up and published a remonstrance and injunction, in name of the plurality of the College of Bishops, to the Episcopal Church of Scotland, as well clergy as laity, “ Exhorting and obtesting them all to shun these fatal rocks, whereon others have been shipwrecked before; and requiring the clergy in particular, to forbear the *mixture* and other obsolete usages, and avoid the being accessory to the breaking the peace of the church, and the incurring our just and necessary censure.” This proceeding gave great uneasiness to Bishop Falconar’s quiet spirit, who, foreseeing what was in agitation, was not present at the meeting; and tho’ willing to concur with his brethren in every thing that made for peace, consistently with truth, yet could not help expressing, with great modesty, his sentiments of, and sorrow for, the disagreeable measures which he saw them now pursuing.* But, to the great regret of all

* In a letter of March 6, 1723, to Mr Robert Keith, then one of the Presbyters of Edinburgh, and afterwards a Bishop, he thus writes among other things, ‘ As long as governors hold to that golden rule, *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, and in case of exorbitant innovations, endeavour with a spirit of meekness to deliver their flocks from these wrong thoughts, which have impressed them and taken hold of their passions, they act their duty: But if they do otherwise, their account is great, and temporizing in favour of popular humour will not bear at the day, when it will be examined whether they have pleased men or God. I know that some reckon nothing an imposition but affirmatives: But negatives, for ought I know, are also impositions, witness prohibiting the cup to the laity, forbidding the public worship in the vernacular tongue, &c. I heartily wish my brethren had not grounded their manifesto on the reason of these usages being obsolete and who

LETTER who knew him, this good man died on the 6th of
 LVII. July this year, and Bishop Campbell, in his ex-
 postulatory letter to Bishop Irvine, takes the op-
 portunity of lamenting such a loss, to give that
 Bishop and his surviving brethren the following
 caution: "I hope this stroke will make those that
 " remain, strive to cultivate peace more indus-
 " triously than ever, rather than take occasion, from
 " the death of so good a man, to be more severe
 " upon tender consciences."

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It would seem that this salutary admonition had
 produced the designed effect; for next year Bishop
 Fullarton wrote, in name of his brethren, to
 Bishop Gadderar, inviting him to ' a close, free,
 ' and amicable conference, for bringing things to
 ' that happy crisis, as we may harmoniously con-
 ' cur together in advancing what doth most tend
 ' to the interest of true religion.' This invitation

' antiquated, seeing this will stand in bar to all reformation of
 ' principles and practices that are inveterate and have long ob-
 ' tained. Geneva, and the numerous ecclesiastical foreign bo-
 ' dies, may still as reasonably plead this against Episcopacy,
 ' Liturgy, &c. It may be pled also, by the majority of the
 ' Scottish nation now, against many things which are held to
 ' the better since the Revolution, and might have been brought
 ' at as obsolete and antiquated by our people, who should be
 ' gently led into a due regard to their superiors, and not pre-
 ' scribe rules to them, which seems to be the cause of that great
 ' zeal which the Bishops shew against the ancient usages.' And
 in the conclusion, having mentioned some other primitive things
 which he wished were introduced, but which, he says, ' the
 ' invidious names of Innovation and Popery always knock in the
 ' head, and put a stop to,' he has this notable observation,
 ' The clearest view we can have of these things is in the pure
 ' primitive church: And I am apt to think, that God has hid
 ' his rod on the back of this church to bring about such a blissful
 ' reform; and I despair of the removal of his rod till this be
 ' brought about, if not to ripeness, yet at least in wish and en-
 ' deavour.'

Bishop

Bishop Gadderar complied with; and on the 9th of July 1724, there was a general meeting of them all at Edinburgh, where, after much communing and reasoning about the Usages, the following stipulations were agreed to: ' Bishop James Gadderar for his part, whatever may be his sentiments concerning the mixture, yet being most desirous to have the bond of peace and cement of unity with his brethren firmly established, makes the following concession and declaration: ' That he is willing, whenever any occasion offers of communicating with his brethren, to receive the unmixed cup at their hands: That he will not, in his ministrations in any congregation, mix publicly; and will use his best endeavours that all under his inspection shall walk by the same rule: And forasmuch as the Primus and the other Bishops have permitted the use of the Scotch Liturgy to such of the clergy as shall think fit to use it, therefore, the said Bishop Gadderar declares and promises, that he will not insist upon introducing any of the other ancient Usages, which have not been authorized and generally received in this church; and that, to prevent division, he will discharge the introducing them within his district, unless the Primus and the rest of his brethren, in a lawful convocation, shall see sufficient reason to order matters otherwise: On the other hand, the Primus and the other Bishops do grant their authority and commission to Bishop Gadderar, to officiate as Bishop of the district of Aberdeen for the future; with this express condition, that he do not ascribe his officiating there to any delegation or substitution from any person whatsoever, but alienarily to the election of the Pres-

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byters, and authority of the Bishops of this church.' This paper was called a Concordate, and is signed by Bishops Fullarton, Gadderar, Millar, and Irvine, and the two lately promoted, Cant and Freebairn.

At this period, it may be proper to step a little out of our line, and take a view of an ecclesiastical affair which was now carrying on, no less indeed than the proposal of an Union between the Greek Church in the Eastern parts of the world, and the Nonjuring Church in the two parts of Britain. This project had been broached as far back as the year 1716, at which time one of the Bishops of the Eastern Church, Arsenius, Metropolitan of Thebais in Egypt, was in London, soliciting assistance from the English Church to the suffering christians in that country. Bishop Campbell falling into acquaintance with this foreigner, and having a scheming turn for every thing which he thought of general usefulness to the church, took occasion, in conversation with Arsenius, to hint something of this kind; and finding him not averse to the experiment, he next mentioned it to his English brethren, at a meeting they had in July that year. At first they all agreed to it, and drew up proposals, which Bishop Spincks translated into Greek, to be presented to Arsenius, and by him laid before the Eastern Church. But soon after, on the commencement of the dispute about the Usages, Bishop Spincks, with his two associates Hawes and Gandy, declined the business, and Bishops Collier, Brett, and Griffin of the English, with the two Scotch Bishops, Campbell and Gadderar, continued the management of it.

These proposals were in number twelve, to which was added a declaration, expressing where-
in

in they agree, and wherein they disagree, with the Oriental Church. The articles of agreement are such as no Protestant would refuse to join in : But in these five points the English openly declared their dissent. 1. They do not allow the same authority to the canons of general councils, which is due to the sacred scriptures. 2. They cannot pay any kind of worship to the blessed Virgin. 3. Nor pray to saints nor angels. 4. Nor give any religious veneration to images. 5. Nor worship the host in the eucharistic sacrifice. This paper Arsenius, on his return, carried along with him, and taking Muscovy in his way, had zeal and interest enough to engage the Czar Peter in the cause, who not only approved the design, but likewise, by one of his clergy of the order of Archimandrites, gave the English Bishops assurance of his readiness, by all the means in his power, to promote so good a work. To this encouraging promise, from so high a hand, they returned a polite letter of thanks in October 1717. And here the affair necessarily rested for some time.

In the year 1721, Arsenius, who had transmitted the proposals to the Eastern Patriarchs, but remained still in Muscovy himself for managing the business, having got the answer of the Patriarchs, sent it over to England, with a most affectionate letter from himself, apologising for the delay. It is entitled, 'The Answers of the Orthodox in the East to the Proposals sent from Britain, for an Union and Agreement with the Oriental Church;' and is said, in the conclusion, to have been drawn up 'by a Synodical Judgment and Determination of the Eastern Church, after the most mature deliberation of the Lord Jeremias, the most holy Oecumenical Patriarch of

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Constantinople the new Rome, and the most holy and most blessed Patriarchs the Lord Samuel of Alexandria, and the Lord Chrysanthus of Jerufalem, with the holy Metropolitans, and the holy Clergy of the great Church of Christ in Constantinople, in Council assembled, April 12, 1718.' It is a long paper in Greek, accepting the twelve propofals, and the articles of agreement, under certain explanations and modifications of their own; but keenly, and even with some acrimony of expression, vindicating the Eastern practice in the five capital points of difference, and infisting on a full conformity to it, without the least abatement. Along with this decision from themselves, they sent likewise other two declarations of their church, prior to this: The one of date January 10, 1672, in the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and subscribed by Dionysius the then Patriarch, and thirty six other Bishops and Metropolitans: And the other, ' An Extract from the sacred Archives of the great Church of Christ in Constantinople,' and signed, in 1691, by the Patriarch Callinicus, at the head of his clergy.

On the receipt of all these papers from the East, the Nonjuring Bishops at London, in May 1722, made out a reply in Greek, Latin, and English; in which, after supporting their former positions by proper arguments from Scripture and the Fathers, they conclude with suggesting the following propofal by way of compromise: ' If our liberty therefore is left us in the instances abovementioned: If the Oriental Patriarchs and Bishops will authentically declare us not obliged to the invocation of saints and angels, the worship of images, and adoration of the host: If they please, publicly and authoritatively, by an instrument

‘ strument under their hands, to pronounce us
 ‘ perfectly disengaged in these particulars, both
 ‘ at home and abroad in their churches, and in
 ‘ our own: These relaxing concessions allowed,
 ‘ we hope, may answer the overtures on both
 ‘ sides, and conciliate an union.’ This reply,
 thus finished, they sent off by James, Proto-syn-
 cellus of the Church of Alexandria, to Arsenius at
 Moscow, and at the same time wrote to the grand
 Council for Ecclesiastical Affairs at Petersburg;
 and to the great Chancellor Golotkin, recommend-
 ing the furthering of this undertaking to their care
 and assistance.

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In the beginning of next year, a return came
 from Arsenius, and from Theodosius, Archbishop
 of Novogorod, as President of the Ecclesiastical
 Council, signifying to them his Imperial Majesty’s
 desire, that two clergymen should be deputed
 from the English side, to confer amicably with two
 of the Russian clergy on the points in dispute, and
 endeavour to bring matters to an accommodation.
 While preparations were making for carrying this
 proposal into execution, a final answer came
 from the Eastern Church, telling their correspon-
 dents, they had nothing to say to the last reply
 sent them, further than what they had formerly
 laid down, in their exposition of the doctrines
 and sentiments of the Oriental Church: And
 then, instead of acceding in the least to the com-
 promise desired of them, they thus give out their ul-
 timate resolution: ‘ These doctrines have been long
 ‘ since examined, and rightly and religiously de-
 ‘ fined and settled by the holy and oecumenical
 ‘ synods, so that it is neither lawful to add any
 ‘ thing to them, nor to take any thing from them:
 ‘ Therefore, they who are disposed to agree with
 ‘ us

LETTER LVII. **us in the divine doctrines of the orthodox faith, must necessarily follow and submit to what has been defined and determined by the ancient fathers, and by holy and oecumenical synods, from the time of the Apostles and their holy successors, the Fathers of our Church, to this time : We say, they must submit to them with sincerity and obedience, and without any dispute or scruple : And this is a sufficient answer to what you have written. Done at Constantinople, in the month of September 1723, and signed by Jeremias, by the mercy of God, Archbishop of Constantinople the new Rome, and Oecumenical Patriarch ; Athanasius, by the mercy of God, Patriarch of the great city of God Antioch ; Chrysanthus, by the mercy of God, Patriarch of the holy city Jerusalem ; Callinicus, Metropolitan of Heraclea ; Auxentius of Cyzicum ; Paisius of Nicomedia ; Gerasimus of Nice ; Parthenius of Chalcedon ; Ignatius of Thessalonica ; Arsenius of Prusa ; Theoctistus of Polypolis ; and Callinicus of Varna.** They sent at this time too, for the further corroboration of their doctrine, a confession of faith, by a Synod held at Jerusalem in 1672, commonly called Synodus Bethlemitica, consisting of eighteen chapters, and giving particular answers to four questions, all to the same tune, but not much adapted to the present purpose.

Soon after this correspondence reached London, accounts were brought of Czar Peter's death, which happened on the 8th of February 1725, and was fatal to this conciliating project : For the Bishop Collier and his friends wrote to the Chancellor, and to the Grand Council, heartily lamenting this melancholy event, and soliciting their interest

interest with the new Czarina, we hear nothing more about it from this time. And thus was quashed all at once an enterprize of a most arduous nature, which indeed discovered a laudable zeal in the first proposers, but which, besides some improprieties of a political complexion attending it, had no great probability of succeeding, or even, in case of its success, of answering any good end. Yet ineffectual as it turned out, one advantage was gained by it, that it gave us a genuine view of the doctrines and rules of the present Eastern Church, which in all the religious disputes here in the West has been so often appealed to, but which neither party can claim full kindred with. For from their own papers on this occasion, the originals of which, we are told, were carried to Lambeth, and perhaps are there still, we find them differing from the Papists in the articles of Purgatory by fire, Communion in both kinds, and the Pope's Universal Supremacy, in all which they appear on the protestant side; But then, in the points of praying to Saints and Angels, and worshipping of Images, by the new and insipid distinction of *Dulia* and *Latria*, and in the doctrine of Transubstantiation, with its consequent Adoration of the host, all of which the Protestants disclaim, these Greeks are as highflown and obstinate, as the most violent Papist in the whole Church of Rome: Besides sundry other peculiarities of less importance, in which they stand single and unrelated to any European denomination whatever. And in this state of self-confident separation, unfit to mediate between, and unwilling to join with, any of the contending parties among us, I shall leave them

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LETTER them, and return, in my next letter, to our own
 LVIII. more immediate concerns. Mean time,



I am, &c.

L E T T E R LVIII.

*Political Differences among the Episcopal Clergy—
 The Scheme of a College of Bishops generally disap-
 proved—Diocesan Episcopacy revived by a
 second Concordate—Peaceable Accession of
 George II.—Divisions among the established
 Ministers.*

THE Concordate mentioned in the preceding
 letter, which the Scotch Bishops agreed to at
 their last meeting, put them on a footing of mu-
 tual good understanding, at least with respect to
 the controverted usages. But it soon appeared,
 that these usages were only the ostensible cause
 of difference, and that there was a more secret
 source

source of discord which could not then be so well avowed, nor so openly discussed. Some of the ejected clergy had brought along with them as much of the old secular attachment, as to retain the fond notion, that the church could not subsist without acknowledging the same dependence, and paying the same respects and submissions which, in times of legal settlement, she had been accustomed to. In all the promotions hitherto since the Revolution, there had been no such thing thought of. The principle by which the Bishops then acted, was, that adventitious donations from the state, and grateful concessions from the church, were reciprocal; and that consequently, as Bishop Falconar expresses it, in one of his letters, 'when the church is under destitution of secular encouragement, whether voluntary or involuntary, she may and should be- take herself to her own intrinsic powers.' But soon after Bishop Rose's death, it was advised by friends of a certain denomination, that the long dormant privilege should be revived, and ecclesiastical prerogative interposed, not indeed in express terms of the old form, but simply by way of recommendation, which it was thought, would be less offensive, and equally effectual.

Upon this plan, a recommendation appeared in July 1720, in favour of Mr David Freebairn, who had been sometime Minister at Dunning in Perthshire, and another in February next year for Mr Andrew Cant, who had been one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, both of them before the Revolution. These nominations were not pleasing to the two senior Bishops, Fullarton and Falconar, who saw no necessity for such interposition, and expected no benefit by it. However at last, by the



LETTER force of repeated importunity, the *Primus* was in-
 LVIII. duced to yield, and on the 17th of October 1722,
 ~~~~~ Cant and Freebairn were consecrated at Edin-  
 burgh, by Bishops Fullarton, Millar, and Irvine ;  
 Bishop Falconar either not inclining, or not being  
 called, to assist. Thus was this point carried,  
 and a precedent fixed, as Bishop Fullarton had  
 foreseen : For tho' it was promised at this time,  
 that, if concessions were granted in what was now  
 desired, there should be no more interpositions in  
 matters of that nature, yet in less than eighteen  
 months, there were no fewer than four new candi-  
 dates proposed in the same way, Mr Alexander  
 Duncan, formerly Minister at Kilpatrick-easter, Mr  
 Robert Norie at Dundee, Mr James Rose at Mo-  
 nimeal, and Mr John Ouchterlonie at Aberlemno.  
 Of these the two first, Duncan and Norie were  
 consecrated sometime in 1724, by Bishops Fullar-  
 ton, Millar, and Irvine : But the other two were  
 put off for some time, and the *Primus* expressly for-  
 bad the consecration of Mr Ouchterlonie, till his  
 character should be cleared up. The next to him  
 in rank, Bishop Gadderar, objected to the promo-  
 tion of a person so notoriously *Secular* as Mr  
 Ouchterlonie was known to be, and we may easi-  
 ly gather from Mr Gadderar's principles, what he  
 meant by the appellation of *Secular*. Bishop Mil-  
 lar too, not only declared against it himself, but  
 likewise cautioned Bishop Cant to have no hand  
 in it, as having been brought on surreptitiously  
 and by misinformation. Yet in end it was made  
 out, and he and Rose were consecrated at Edin-  
 burgh November 29, 1726, by Bishops Freebairn,  
 Duncan, and Cant, the only three who could be  
 prevailed on to do it. Bishop Irvine had died the  
 year before : The *Primus* and Bishop Millar, per-  
 emptorily

emptorily refused to concur in it, and Bishop Cant, contrary to his engagements to Bishop Millar, had been wheedled into it by the sollicitations of a lay-friend, for which he wrote a most penitential letter to Bishop Millar the very next day, and could never be prevailed with to sign the instruments of consecration.

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These proceedings, so superfluously useless in the matter, and so dangerously imprudent in the manner of them, were particularly grating to the better and more numerous part of the clergy: And the Presbyters of Edinburgh drew up a petition, signed by eighteen of them, against these promotions from such extraneous recommendations, and resolutely asserting "The intrinsic powers of the church against secular invasion and lay-encroachment, as being the catholic principle, upon which the Bishops have governed ever since the Revolution." Many of the clergy too, in the several parts of the kingdom, began to weary of this vague uncertain kind of government under Bishops at large, and to wish for a particular Bishop to have the inspection of them, and administer Episcopal offices to them. The clergy of Edinburgh had always been happy under such inspection. They of Angus and Fife had followed the example. So had they of Aberdeen, and both of them had got proper Diocesans, upon the primitive footing. The College in general were sensible of the utility and propriety of that old and universal model of Episcopal government, and began to humour the prevailing tendency which they saw every where towards it.

In the beginning of May next year, the Primus Fullarton died, and on the 5th of that month the clergy of Edinburgh met for electing one to suc-

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LETTER LVIII. ceed him, and chose Bishop Millar, who was willing to concur with the other local Bishop, Gad-  
 derar of Aberdeen, in endeavouring to have things rectified, and brought back to some degree of primitive order. And Bishop Cant, to make amends as much as he could for his late mistake, came cordially into these wise measures, which Gadderar and Millar, in conjunction with Campbell, the oldest Bishop now in the succession, were proposing. At this time too, a fair opportunity offered for accomplishing the diocesan scheme, which Bishop Gadderar so much favoured, and which his two old brethren, Fullarton and Falconar, had both approved and practised. The clergy of Angus, and part of Perthshire, taking into consideration the advantages of having a particular Bishop over them, to whom they might apply for direction, and being fully satisfied of the distinguished learning, and other qualifications of Mr Thomas Rattray of Craighall, one of their number, did therefore, almost unanimously, elect him to be their Bishop, and applied to Bishop Millar, as *Primus*, to have their election confirmed. In terms of this application, Mr Rattray was consecrated at Edinburgh, June 4, 1727, by Bishops Millar, Gadderar, and Cant; Bishop Campbell at London, who had a just value for him, and had long corresponded with him, consenting to it with great cheerfulness.

As the same time, the other four College Bishops, Freebairn, Duncan, Rose, and Ouchterlonie, thought proper to increase their strength by the consecration of Mr David Rankin and Mr John Gillan, which had been proposed the year before, on the revived footing of lay-nomination, but for that reason had been hitherto declined.

However,

However, those on the diocesan side were now **LETTER** determined to carry on their plan, independent of **LVIII.** any foreign or secular influence, and therefore received into their number, Mr William Dunbar, sometime Minister at Cruden, whom the clergy of Moray had lately elected, and Mr Robert Keith, designed to be Co-adjutor to Bishop Millar, who were both consecrated at Edinburgh, on the 18th of June 1727, by Bishops Millar, Gadderar and Rattray. Thus the contention between the College, as they called themselves, and those who favoured the restoration of the old regular system, came to be managed, if not by equal arguments, yet by equal numbers. Bishop Millar, the Primus, against whom those of the opposition chiefly levelled their attacks, was well supported in the struggle by his comprovincial brethren, and letters came from the clergy of Angus, Aberdeen, Moray, and Ross, to the Presbyters of Edinburgh, congratulating them on their choice, and encouraging them to adhere to their proper Diocesan, Bishop Millar. However, the old man did not live to see an end of these unhappy divisions: For he died on the 9th of October this year; and on his death the clergy of Edinburgh, in continuance of the privilege which they had hitherto exercised, chose Mr Andrew Lumsden, formerly Minister at Duddingston, to be their Bishop, who was consecrated accordingly, at Edinburgh, on the 2d of November 1727, by Bishops Cant, Rattray, and Keith.

This was a fresh disappointment to those who favoured the College scheme, who, seeing now that all their efforts were not sufficient to get their system adopted, even with the weight of that influence of which they so much boasted, were willing to come to some kind of an agreement with the  
the

LETTER the other side, which was gaining ground every  
 LVIII. day. To this purpose, conferences were held be-  
 tween the two junior Bishops of the two sides,  
 Keith and Gillan; and the issue was, that a meet-  
 ing was held in the end of December 1731, and  
 a second Concordate drawn up, in the following  
 terms: ‘ Articles of Agreement amongst the  
 ‘ Bishops of the Church of Scotland; 1. That we  
 ‘ shall only make use of the Scottish or English  
 ‘ Liturgy in the public divine service, nor shall we  
 ‘ disturb the peace of the church, by introducing  
 ‘ into the public worship any of the ancient usages,  
 ‘ concerning which there has been lately a dif-  
 ‘ ference amongst us: And that we shall censure  
 ‘ any of our clergy who shall act otherwise.—  
 ‘ 2. That hereafter, no man shall be consecrated  
 ‘ a Bishop of this church, without the consent  
 ‘ and approbation of the majority of the other  
 ‘ Bishops. 3. That upon the demise or removal  
 ‘ elsewhere of a Bishop of any district, the Pres-  
 ‘ byters thereof shall neither elect, nor submit to  
 ‘ another Bishop, without a mandate from the  
 ‘ Primus, by consent of the other Bishops.—  
 ‘ 4. That the Bishops of this church shall, by a  
 ‘ majority of voices, chuse their Primus, for con-  
 ‘ vocating and presiding only; and that no Bishop  
 ‘ shall claim jurisdiction without the bounds of  
 ‘ his own district. 5. We, the Bishops of the  
 ‘ Church of Scotland, have chosen and appointed  
 ‘ Bishop Freebairn to be our *Primus*, for convo-  
 ‘ cating and presiding only, according to the fore-  
 ‘ going article. 6. We have agreed that the Dio-  
 ‘ ceses of Glasgow shall be under the inspection of  
 ‘ Bishop Duncan, excepting only Annandale,  
 ‘ Nithsdale, and Tweeddale, which shall be under  
 ‘ the inspection of Bishop Freebairn, together  
 ‘ with

' with the Diocess of Galloway, by way of district: LETTER  
 ' That the Diocess of Dunblain, by way of district, shall be under the inspection of Bishop LVIII.  
 ' Gillan: That the shires of Fife, Kinross, and  
 ' Clackmannan, shall be under the inspection of  
 ' Bishop Rose: That the Diocess of Dunkeld, to-  
 ' gether with the whole Presbyteries of Meigle and  
 ' Forfar, the town of Perth and parish of Meth-  
 ' ven, shall be under the inspection of Bishop  
 ' Rattray: That the Diocess of Brechin, toge-  
 ' ther with the Carse of Gowry, the Presbyteries  
 ' of Dundee, Arbroath, and Mearns, shall be un-  
 ' der the inspection of Bishop Ouchterlonie: That  
 ' the Diocess of Aberdeen, by way of district,  
 ' shall be under the inspection of Bishop Gadder-  
 ' ar: That the Diocesses of Moray and Ross shall,  
 ' by way of district, be under the inspection of  
 ' Bishop Dunbar: That the Diocess of Edinburgh  
 ' shall, by way of district only, be under the in-  
 ' spection of Bishop Lumsden: That Orkney,  
 ' Caithness, and the Isles, shall be under the in-  
 ' spection of Bishop Keith: By the foresaid divi-  
 ' sion of districts, we do not pretend to claim any  
 ' legal title to diocesses.' These articles were  
 signed by Bishops Freebairn, Ouchterlonie, Rat-  
 tray, Gillan, and Keith present; by Duncan, Rose,  
 and Dunbar, in absence, without any date, and  
 by Gadderar at Old Aberdeen, May 13, 1732.\*

\* In the first of these articles, we find a permission of the  
 Scottish Liturgy, and a prohibition of the ancient usages; a  
 distinction which at first sight may appear a little inconsistent.  
 But it is to be remembered, that besides the points in difference  
 between the Scotch Communion-Office and the present English  
 Book, which are the points now called the usages, there were  
 some other rites of ancient observance, such as Immersion in  
 Baptism, Chrism in Confirmation, and for Anointing the Sick,  
 and a few more of that kind, which Bishop Collier and his

This

LETTER LVIII This last agreement put an end to the College  
 contest : And I have been the more particular in  
 relating the circumstances of it, on purpose, by  
 a plain historical deduction of well attested facts,  
 to vindicate the character of Bishops Rattray,  
 Dunbar, and Keith, from whom our present  
 Bishops derive their succession, and whose conse-  
 cration some even of our Episcopal adversaries  
 have been at pains to represent in false colours.  
 From this time the Collegiate system fell to pieces  
 every day, and the primitive Diocesan Episcopacy  
 revived, tho' not to the former legal extent, yet as  
 far as the circumstances of the church required or  
 allowed. Upon Bishop Lumsden's death, who  
 did not live long after the Concordate, Bishop  
 Freebairn got the inspection of Edinburgh, with  
 the title of *Primus*, which the Concordate had  
 given him.† This gentleman still retaining a tinc-  
 ture of the old political leaven, and attachment to  
 established forms, and having, by means of his  
 son, who was in great favour abroad, got hold of  
 some papers which he was fond of, he called a  
 meeting of all the Bishops in 1734. But they sus-  
 pecting the design, and not chusing to be longer  
 entangled with any thing of that nature, declined  
 the meeting, and would not so much as look at  
 his papers, when young Freebairn offered a private

friends in England wished to have restored ; and these are the  
 usages meant in this article, and in every article of agreement  
 where we find the Scottish Liturgy allowed, and certain anti-  
 quated usages prohibited.

† In February 1733, Bishop Gadderar died, and in June  
 the clergy of Aberdeen chose Bishop Dunbar, who accepted and  
 some time after resigned Moray, upon which the clergy there  
 elected Mr George Hay : But he died before consecration, and  
 that district remained vacant some years.

fight



fight of them. In the beginning of next year 1735, Bishop Gillan died, and on the 18th of March the clergy of Dunblain, who had submitted to him since the Concordate, addressed the Bishops for Mr Robert White, Presbyter at Cupar of Fife, whom they had elected, to be their Bishop. Upon this application, Bishops Rattray, Dunbar, and Keith, who was now chosen Bishop of Fife on Bishop Rose's death, desired the Primus to call a meeting for consecrating the Elect of Dunblain. But being apprized, by undoubted information, that, tho' he consented to call the meeting, he had no intention to forward the consecration, but only to lay before them his son's foreign papers, which they were still determined not to meddle with, they wisely resolved not to meet with him at Edinburgh, except for the sole purpose of the proposed consecration: And being now the majority, who, by the late agreement, and by Bishop Freebairn's own repeated acknowledgments, had the administration in their hands, they called Mr White to attend them at Carlebank, near Forfar, and consecrated him there, on the 14th of June 1735. This produced a warm remonstrance from Bishop Freebairn, which was properly answered from the other side: And some other little differences ensued, at the instigation of Bishop Ouchterlonie, who still sought to keep up the division. But they were not of long duration, for Freebairn died in 1739, and Ouchterlonie in 1742: And with them ended the collegiate scheme of church government, which had originated in unnecessary connexion, had subsisted a while by uncharacteristic methods, and at last, by a prudent revival of ancient principles, gave place to the old regular plan of Episcopacy, and was no more heard of.

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During the transactions of the Scottish Episcopal Church for the last twenty years, we have heard of little or no outward disturbance either from the civil government, or from the established kirk, which had not been the case in former times. But the administration under the Hanoverian successions had been early involved in continental engagements, which chiefly employed their thoughts; and the accession of that family, being fortified by laws, partly made to their hands, partly occasioned by the unsuccessful attempt at their entry, the checking of any intestine disaffection was left to the execution of these laws by the proper magistrates, who slackened or straitened the reins as prudence or humour led them. The first George, who had the character of a judicious prince and consummate politician, had died at Hanover in June 1727, and his son, the second of the name, succeeded quietly, and without any appearance of opposition or claim from the old quarter. So that, no new provocation being given, there was no necessity for new severity against a few suspected men, whom they already had under the hatches, and could restrain, or even destroy when they pleased.

The Kirk too, being now fully secured in possession beyond any fear of such a competition as they had dreaded for some years after the Revolution, was become more easy and pacific, and the infatuated generation of 1688, being mostly gone, their successors began to adopt more liberal sentiments, and to depart in a great measure from those violent proceedings against the poor Episcopalians, which had been thought so necessary to procure their own settlement at first. Besides, they had now business enough of their own upon their hands, to draw off their attention from our matters,

ters, had they been inclined, or thought it worth their while to take notice of them. For about the time that the differences among our clergy were on the verge of dying away, the flame, I spoke of, broke out among the Presbyterians, from a beginning indeed which seemed to have no great connexion in itself with ecclesiastic concerns, but which taking hold of other secret grumbings, quickly increased and swelled to the present size.

In the year 1737 one Porteous, a captain of the city guard of Edinburgh, a bloody and brutal fellow, had been capitally condemned in the Juficiary Court for having of his own head given orders to his men to fire at the public execution of a smuggler, by which a number of innocent people were killed. From this sentence, the inhuman criminal had interest enough to obtain a reprieve, which so incensed the populace, that one night they broke into the prison, and haling him to the Grass-market, hanged him dead in the very place where the barbarous action had been committed. This was resented by the court as an unpardonable insult: And among many other rigorous edicts, a proclamation came out for discovering the rioters, which the established ministers thro' all the kingdom were enjoined to read publicly from their pulpits on the first Sunday of every month for a whole year. It is scarcely credible what a ferment this raised among them. All in one voice cried out against it, as a most flagrant encroachment on the liberties of the church. But, tho' they were all of one mind in condemning this injunction, they differed in their practice about it. Some for fear read the proclamation as required, tho' with great reluctance, and not without much scruple: Some shift-

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ed the reading of it from themselves, and put it  
 upon their precentors: And a great number of  
 them paid no regard to it at all, and would neither  
 read it from their pulpits, nor allow it to be read  
 in their kirks in any shape. Thus a division  
 began, whether upon just grounds or not, and was  
 carried so far that the refusers, who for the most  
 part were men of figure and following among the  
 people, upbraided the readers with basely desert-  
 ing their fundamental principles, and under that  
 specious pretext, gave up holding communion  
 with them: And this humour, falling in with the  
 complaints of oppression by patronage, and other  
 corruptions in judicatories, added a vast strength to  
 the *Seccession*, which was then forming under the  
 too famous brothers Ralph and Ebenezer Er-  
 skines, and many more of that stamp, and which  
 all their General Assemblies have never been ca-  
 pable, either to reconcile by prudence, or crush by  
 authority to this day.

I am, &c.

LETTER

L E T T E R L I X .

*Regular State of the Scottish Episcopal Church—  
Canons for the Regulation of her Discipline—In-  
terruption of her Peace by the Insurrection of 1745  
—Fatal Effects of that Enterprize—Various  
Penal Laws against the Nonjurors—Account of  
the Writings of John Hutchinson—And differ-  
ent Opinions about them.*

**H**AVING, in my last letter, concluded the short period of disorder naturally arising from the disjointed state in which the death of Bishop Rose of Edinburgh left the remains of the Scottish Church, I have only now to take notice of the pious and orderly methods by which our Bishops went on in the prosecution of the design which they had struggled so successfully to accomplish. On an application from the clergy of Caithness and Orkney, they got their number increased, by the addition of Mr William Falconar, Presbyter

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ter at Forres, who was consecrated at Alloa, September 10, 1741, by Bishops Rattray, Keith and White, and in November next year was chosen Bishop of Moray. And on Bishop Ouchterlony's death, the clergy of Brechin elected Mr James Rait, Presbyter in Dundee, who was accordingly invested with the Episcopal character, by Bishops Rattray, Keith and White, at Edinburgh, on the 4th of October 1742. Thus we had a church once more regularly organized, under six Bishops, who, after the primitive mode, had each of them a *Portio gregis*, a certain part of the flock under their particular care, and were thereby entitled to a share of the government, *in solidum*, in whole, as S. Cyprian describes the standing model in his day: And every Presbyter now knew his own Bishop whom he was to apply to and obey, which had not been the case during the short reign, or rather anarchy of the *College*.

But the satisfaction felt by the clergy on this occasion was dashed almost in the beginning of it, with a most bitter ingredient, by the loss of their excellent *Primus* Bishop Rattray, who died on the 12th of May, being Ascension-day 1743, a man whom the Episcopal Church of Scotland will long look back to with a mixture of pleasure and regret; with pleasure in the grateful remembrance of having had such a Bishop, and with a deep regret for having been so soon deprived of him. To supply this vacancy, the clergy of Dunkeld having desired and obtained a mandate for that purpose, made choice of Mr John Alexander, Presbyter at Alloa, who was consecrated at Edinburgh August 9, 1743, by Bishops Keith, White, Falconar and Rait. On occasion of this consecration there being five Bishops now assembled, they agreed, at  
Bishop

Bishop Dunbar's motion, and with his concurrence, to constitute themselves a regular synod, with Bishop Keith unanimously chosen *Primus*, and the new Bishop Alexander, Clerk: And taking into consideration some canons which Bishop Rattray had left a draught of, for answering the exigencies of the Church in her present particular state, they judged it proper to ratify them by a synodical sanction, with the addition of six others, proposed at this meeting: All which, being the last of the kind, and consequently the standing regulations of the discipline of our church, I have therefore set down from the original minutes, as follows.

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The Bishops of the Church of Scotland being now, by the good providence of God, perfectly united in one and the same mind, and the Concordates, that were formed while some unhappy differences subsisted amongst them, thereby vacated, they have unanimously agreed to establish the following canons for the future regulation of the government of this church.

I. That no person shall be consecrated a Bishop without the consent and approbation of the majority of the Bishops, and that if any three or more Bishops, not being a majority, shall take upon them without such consent to consecrate any person to that office, such consecration shall be null and void, and both the consecrators and consecrated shall be holden as schismatics.

II. That the Bishops shall, without respect either to seniority of consecration, or precedence of district, chuse a *Primus* by majority of voices, who shall have no other privilege amongst the Bishops, but of convocating and presiding only, and that likewise under the following restrictions; That he shall always be obliged to notify

LETTER LIX. notify to the other Bishops the reasons of his calling a meeting, as well as the time and place; and if the majority shall dissent, as judging either the reasons insufficient, or the time and place improper, that meeting shall be either wholly set aside, or the time and place altered as shall seem to them most expedient. 2. That if the *Primus* shall at any time refuse to call a meeting, when desired by a majority of the other Bishops, they shall in that case have power to meet and act synodically without him, and 3. This *Primus* thus chosen by the majority is to continue in that office only during their pleasure.

III. 'That if either the present or any subsequent *Primus* shall, in the present situation of the church, lay claim to any metropolitical or vicarial power, or to any farther power of any kind than what is granted to the *Primus* by these present canons, the *Primus* or Bishop so claiming shall be suspended from all Episcopal jurisdiction, even within his own district, until he give in to the Bishops a subscribed renunciation of any such claim, as being what may prove of most dangerous consequence to the church in her present circumstances.'

IV. 'That upon the demise or translation of any Bishop, the Presbyters of the district thereby become vacant, shall not be at freedom either to elect, or submit themselves to, another Bishop, without a mandate from the *Primus*, with the majority of the Bishops: But if the *Primus* shall refuse to grant a mandate, the majority may do it without him.'

V. 'That if the Presbyters of any district shall happen to elect a person already vested with the Episcopal character, the Bishop so elected shall have



have no jurisdiction over that district, until his election be confirmed by the majority of the Bishops: And if they shall elect a Presbyter, of whose fitness for that office the Bishops shall declare they have sufficient reasons not to be satisfied, in that case, the Presbyters shall be required by the Bishops to proceed to a new election.'

VI. 'That every Bishop shall appoint one of his Presbyters to officiate under him as his Dean, and that this Dean shall be obliged to advertise the *Primus* upon the death of his Bishop, that the Bishops may provide for the supply of the vacancy with their conveniency: And the Dean shall apply for a mandate to elect a successor, in the space of four months at farthest after the vacancy.'

VII. 'That during the vacancy of any district, the Presbyters thereof shall apply to the Bishop who shall have his place of residence nearest to them, for the performance of Episcopal offices amongst them; and no other Bishop shall take upon him to perform any such offices within that district, without the consent of the neighbouring Bishop: And if any case relating to discipline shall happen, for which the Presbyters had no rule left them by their former Bishop for their direction, they shall have recourse to the *Primus*, who, with the advice and consent of his colleagues, shall determine the same.'

VIII. 'That no Presbyter shall take upon him the charge of any congregation, until he be appointed thereto by the Bishop to whose district that congregation belongs: Nor shall any Presbyter or Deacon remove from his own district, without dimissory letters from the Bishop thereof: And none shall be ordained a Presbyter,

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without a designation to a particular charge.—  
 IX. ' That seeing, in the present distressed state  
 of this church, it may happen, that a Bishop  
 may have his dwelling and place for public wor-  
 ship within the district of another Bishop; in that  
 case, those who belong to this his congregation,  
 together with the Presbyters or Deacons joined  
 with him as his assistants in officiating therein, shall  
 be as much under his jurisdiction as if they were  
 within the bounds of his own district, and shall  
 be exempt from the jurisdiction of that Bishop,  
 within the bounds of whose district they are:  
 And the Bishop in whose district they are shall,  
 by a subscribed deed, agree to this regulation.'

X. ' That every Bishop shall be careful to re-  
 commend to his clergy, and to such also as may  
 be candidates for holy orders, to apply them-  
 selves diligently to the study of the holy scrip-  
 tures, and of the fathers of the apostolical and  
 two next succeeding ages, and to take all proper  
 opportunities, in their sermons and otherwise,  
 to instruct their people in the truly catholic prin-  
 ciples of that pure and primitive church.'

XI. ' The Dean of every district, as represent-  
 ing the Presbyters, shall be allowed to sit in all  
 synodical meetings, to propose and reason in all  
 matters of discipline and grievances of Presbyters,  
 but not to give any decisive voice: The clergy  
 of vacant districts shall be required to chuse a  
 Dean out of their own number; and the said  
 Dean, so chosen, shall not be allowed to name  
 a proxy, but must attend in person, and bring  
 with him his credentials.'

XII. ' That the church may suffer as little  
 damage as possible by the death of the temporary  
*Primus*, the senior Bishop shall instantly succeed  
 to


to his powers until the next Synod: And he shall be obliged to call a Synod, so as it may be holden within the space of four months at farthest, after the death of the former *Primus*, unless the majority of the Bishops shall think fit to delay it for a longer space.

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XIII. 'That when any of the Bishops are disabled from being personally present at a Synod, thro' infirmity or pressing inconvenience, to be notified to the *Primus*, and by him to the other Bishops, the absent Bishop or Bishops may send their judgment to the *Primus*, signed with their own hand, concerning those matters on account of which the Synod was precisely called to meet, and this shall be holden for their canonical vote: The absent Bishops may likewise propose to the Synod in writing, any thing they shall judge expedient for the good of the church; and as to other matters that may incidentally come before the Synod, the absent Bishop or Bishops must be concluded by the majority of those that are present: But no Synod shall be holden, unless there be more Bishops present than absent.'

XIV. 'That in all questions or cases, where the Bishops shall happen to be equally divided in their opinions, in Synod or out of Synod, that side of the question shall carry upon which the *Primus* gives his vote.'

XV. 'That if any Presbyter or Deacon, who shall have the misfortune to be deposed by his Bishop, do presume to perform any part of the sacred office, or to gather a separate or schismatical congregation, he shall be excommunicated: And if any clergyman shall take upon him to countenance such Presbyter or Deacon in their schismatical separation, he shall be suspended

LETTER LIX.  ' from the exercise of his holy function, for such space as his Bishop shall think fit : And such of the laity as shall adventure to adhere to the deposed Presbyter or Deacon, either in worship or other sacred administration, shall not be allowed to partake of any church ordinances, until they are reconciled again, and received by the Bishop of the district.'

XVI. ' That if any clergyman shall take upon him to join persons together in matrimony, who belong to the congregation of another clergyman, without a certificate or recommendation from their former Pastor, he shall, for the first fault, be suspended from his office for the space of three months, six months for the second fault, and for the third fault he shall be suspended *sine die*.'

When these canons were intimated to the inferior clergy, a few in the metropolis, who had one of their own number in view for the Episcopate, tho' they knew he would not be acceptable to the Bishops, objected to one of the canons as an infringement of their right of election ; and to others, as curtailing the powers of their Ordinary, as Bishop of Edinburgh. But these objections were considered as of no weight by the clergy in the other parts of the kingdom, who all dutifully acquiesced in the proceedings of the late Synod, and looked forward, with much satisfaction, to what they hoped would be the peaceful and pleasing consequences of it. Yet this happy prospect, which our church now had of enjoying peace and quiet, was soon darkened by a heavy cloud of distress, the occasion of which I shall very briefly lay before you.

About the end of July 1745, the young Prince Charles

Charles Stuart, eldest son to the abjured claimant, landed in the Highlands of Scotland, with only seven attendants in his retinue; upon what invitation, or with what hopes of assistance, I shall not say; and being in a few days joined by some gentlemen in that neighbourhood, he set up his standard on the 22d of August, and published his father's manifestos, inviting all his loving subjects to come in and declare for the cause. I am not to attempt a minute detail of this unfortunate business, which has been so copiously related by others, and is still fresh in the memories of many among us. Suffice it to say, that, after having, with his handful of Highlanders, gained two complete victories over his opposers, one at Preston in East Lothian, on the 21st of September after his landing, and the other at Falkirk, on the 17th of January next year, besides several skirmishes, in which success seemed to be on his side, this bold Adventurer was obliged, after all, to retire to the Highlands; where, on the 16th of April 1746, coming to an engagement on Culloden-muir, not far from Inverness, his army was totally discomfited with a great slaughter; and himself, having escaped off the field, and wandered a long time in great jeopardy among the mountains and isles on the western coast, at last, on the 20th of September, got on board a French ship of war, with some few of his followers, and on the 9th of October arrived safe in France, in a most lamentable condition

Thus ended this hazardous and almost romantic enterprize, which had for some months held all Scotland in awe; and, by a brisk irruption, raised no little alarm in the very heart of England, but was now shut up with the usual scenery of military

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LETTER military butcheries and legal executions. It has  
 LIX. been branded with the appellation of “ the wick-  
 ed and unnatural Rebellion ;” and I do not  
 mean to contend the propriety of the appellation,  
 as I am taught to believe, that all rebellion is  
 wicked and unnatural, and as such, am required  
 to pray against it. Though, after all, if it were  
 convenient in this case to offer a definition of re-  
 bellion, which has generally been understood to  
 be, a rising up of subjects against their Sovereign,  
 upon any specious pretence or private quarrel of  
 their own ; it might be supposed, and I hint the  
 supposition with all due caution, that this present  
 instance might perhaps be viewed rather in the light  
 of a contention between two rivals, both claiming  
 the same possession, and both equally alleging  
 the justice of their claim ; which, being too weighty  
 to be determined by argument, could only be  
 decided by the sword, and where the losing side  
 were to lay their account, as in all such litigations,  
 to be condemned in costs of suit. I have no  
 scruple to allow, that it is natural for the victor,  
 when he has been in possession, to be particularly  
 incensed at a case of this kind, as in every example  
 of superiority, even in the highest example of all,  
 we find the superior more provoked by disputing  
 his title, than by disobeying his commands. At the  
 same time, I would beg leave to put our Presby-  
 terian neighbours in mind, not to load our church  
 with the whole burden of a rebellion, if it must  
 be one, in which so many of other persuasions,  
 and even some of their own, perhaps as many as  
 of ours, were deeply engaged. Especially, let  
 them not charge our religion with abetting rebel-  
 lious principles, till they can assure us that they  
 have renounced the principles of their predecessors,  
 who

who avowedly preached up the lawfulness of fighting for their religion against any King whatever, which our church has always condemned, and never to this day practised. LETTER  
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But whether our church was blameable or not upon this occasion, so it was in fact, that she was soon involved in the dismal consequences of it. In most country places, the meeting-houses were burnt to the ground by parties of the military detached on purpose: In towns or villages, where burning was not safe, they were shut up or demolished: The clergy themselves were obliged to leave their houses, which sometimes were plundered, and to sculk where they best could, that they might not fall into the soldiers hands: Their hearers stood aghast, between pity for their ministers and fear for themselves, being under the same suspicions, and equally uncertain what might be the issue. In a word, all was desolation and dismay among us, having no friend of capacity or courage to advise or protect us, and depending, in confidence of the divine goodness, only upon the integrity of our principles and testimony of our consciences, for inward support under the weight of these outward pressures. And yet, it must be acknowledged, and such of us as can look back to the confusions of that summer, do acknowledge it with grateful candour, that bad as the situation of our country was, there was reason to fear it might have been much worse, when we consider that the ordinary course of law was by proclamation suspended, and all put under military government for three months. In the Highlands indeed, which had the misfortune to be the stage of decisive action, and where the principal object of indignation was still wandering up and down, there were daily accounts

LETTER counts, during that time, of cruelties and devastations, which no excuse could palliate, nor even LIX. the licentiousness of war justify. But in such places as were at any distance from that unhappy neighbourhood, the necessary orders against suspected persons, tho' grievous enough in the mean time to the miserable sufferers, were executed, for the most part, with a humanity which did honour to the feelings of those concerned in the execution, and to which the cool moments of reflection will give its due praise.

In this state of anxious suspense, stood our ecclesiastical matters, till upon a gradual return of civil administration, the law began to take notice of us, and to provide more efficaciously in time coming against these dangers, of which our enemies now took the handle to charge our church with having been the occasion. To this purpose a severe act passed in this summer session of Parliament, enjoining the strict execution of all former laws against Nonjuring Episcopal Ministers, with such regulations as were judged necessary to be a stronger curb upon them: For it was now enacted, ' That from and after the 1st of September 1746, ' every person exercising the function of a Pastor ' or Minister in any Episcopal Meeting in Scotland, without registering his letters of orders, ' and taking all the oaths required by law, and ' praying for his Majesty King George and the ' royal family by name, shall, for the first offence, ' suffer six months imprisonment,' as in the statute of the last reign, but with this threatening addition now, ' And for the second, or any subsequent offence, being thereof convicted before ' the Justiciary or any of the Circuit Courts, shall ' be transported to some of his Majesty's plantations



' tions in America for life, and in case of his re-  
 ' turn to Britain, shall suffer imprisonment for  
 ' life : ' The prosecution of this second offence  
 to be upon information in writing, from the in-  
 ferior magistrate to the King's Advocate, who is  
 required to prosecute the same with effect. The  
 number too of hearers allowed by former laws  
 was now abridged by a special clause, declaring,  
 ' That every meeting in Scotland, where five per-  
 ' sons or more shall be met together to hear di-  
 ' vine service, over and besides those of the  
 ' household, or if it be in a place not inhabited,  
 ' where any such five or more shall be met, and  
 ' where divine service shall be performed by a  
 ' Pastor or minister being, or professing to be, of  
 ' the Episcopal communion, every such meeting  
 ' shall be deemed an Episcopal meeting house with-  
 ' in the meaning of this act.' And to shut the  
 door for ever against any shew of favour to the  
 continuation of a Scottish Episcopacy, it is fur-  
 ther enacted, ' That from and after the said first  
 ' of September, no letters of orders of any Epis-  
 ' copal minister in Scotland shall be admitted to  
 ' be registered, but such as have been given by  
 ' some Bishop of the Church of England or of  
 ' Ireland, and in case any others shall be register-  
 ' ed, such registration shall be void : Provided that  
 ' every prosecution, for any offence against this  
 ' act, shall be commenced within twelve months  
 ' after such offence : ' Thereby keeping us longer  
 at the mercy of enemies, and under the danger of  
 informations, than by Queen Anne's law, which  
 had limited it to two months.

But these restrictions, tho' sufficiently severe and  
 designed to be so, were not the only hardships  
 which at this time were laid upon our poor ob-



LETTER LIX. noxious church. Hitherto our laity, of whatever rank or character; high or low, had met with no legal molestation, nor been subjected to any penalty on account of their religious profession, and many conspicuous names of eminence and repute in the several departments of the administration, and well enough affected to the publick government, had attended our communion without inward scruple or outward offence. But now there is a fatal check put upon this freedom, and the hearers are for the first time restrained, as well as the clergy: For this new act further bears, 'That if after the said 1st of September any person shall resort to or frequent any illegal Episcopal meeting house of the above description, every person so offending, who shall not within five days give information of such illegal meeting to some proper magistrate, shall, upon conviction, for the first offence, forfeit five pounds sterling, one half to the King and the other half to the informer, and suffer six months imprisonment, unless and until the same be paid, and for every subsequent offence, being convicted before the Justiciary or any of the Circuit Courts, shall suffer imprisonment for two years, from the date of conviction.' And lest the risk of a small fine, which might perhaps over-awe the vulgar, should not operate sufficiently upon people of fortune and family, it is particularly enacted in their case, 'That from and after the said 1st of September, No Peer of Scotland shall be capable of being elected one of the sixteen Peers of Parliament, or of voting at such election, nor shall any person be capable of being elected, or of voting at any election of, a Member of Parliament for any shire or burgh in Scotland, or of a Magistrate or

or Counsellor for burghs, or of a Deacon of  
 Crafts within burghs, or of a Collector or Clerk  
 of the land-tax or supply, who shall have, at any  
 time within one year preceding such election,  
 been twice present at divine service in any Epif-  
 copal meeting in Scotland not held according to  
 law, and where his Majesty and the royal family  
 have not been prayed for by name: \* And it shall  
 be competent for any Peer, and for any candi-  
 date or member at the other elections, to make  
 this objection, and to prove the same by a wit-  
 nefs or witnesses upon oath, or by referring it to  
 the oath of the person objected to; and in case  
 the same shall be proved, or the person objected  
 to shall admit the fact or refuse to depose concern-  
 ing it, he shall be rendered incapable of voting,  
 or of being chosen at any such election, as afore-  
 said: But such admission shall not be made use  
 of against any such person, upon any profesu-  
 tion for any penalty inflicted by this or any for-  
 mer act.

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Nor was even this all the parliamentary precau-  
 tion, that was judged necessary for the public secu-  
 rity against the supposed disaffection of the Episco-  
 pal party. For in May 1748, this act, extensive  
 and provident as it might have been thought, was  
 revised: And information having been laid before

\* Instances have frequently occurred, where advantage has  
 been taken of this disqualifying clause, to the prejudice of per-  
 son's possessed of every other qualification, and who had given  
 every other test of their allegiance which the law requires. May  
 it not be humbly hoped, that the wisdom of the legislature will  
 now see it expedient to remove such an odious and unnecessary  
 mark of distinction, which can answer no other end, than merely  
 to serve the purposes of a party, without adding any thing to the  
 security of government?

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the Parliament, that a small number of the Episcopal clergy in Scotland had complied with the terms of the act of 1746, an amendment was proposed of that part of the act, respecting what letters of orders were to be registered; and in order to disappoint these few individuals, it was carried, That no letters of orders, not granted by some Bishop of the Church of England or Ireland, shall, from and after the 29th of September 1748, be sufficient to qualify any Pastor or Minister of any Episcopal meeting in Scotland, whether the same were registered before or after the 1st of September 1746, and that every such registration, whether made before or since, shall; from and after the said 29th of September, be null and void.* Neither was this all that our church suffered by this revival. The act of 1746 had left our clergy the liberty of four hearers, besides the

* This amending clause passed in the House of Commons without any great struggle: But in the House of Lords, it met with a different reception. In the Committee, it was opposed by all the Bishops unanimously, as well as by several Lay-lords; and on the question being put, it was thrown out, by 32 against 28: But upon report, a new debate ensued, and on a division, it was replaced, by 37 against 32. The Bishops, who spoke most vigorously against it, were Oxford, London, Lincoln, and Worcester, who not only pointed out the manifest injustice of this new explanation, with great force of reasoning, but likewise expressed themselves not thoroughly pleased with the clause in its original construction, as bordering too near upon the rights of ordination, which, they said, was a matter not of Parliamentary but ecclesiastical cognizance, and was inherent in the Episcopal character, which they acknowledged the Nonjuring Bishops in Scotland were, tho' not legally, yet primitively, clothed with. But the Chancellor Hardwick, who, if not an enemy to, was indifferent about Episcopacy of any kind, being supported too by all the Scottish Peers, except the Earl of Moray, had interest enough to form a majority against the Bishops, and to get the clause passed as it stands.

family,

family, in any house where they might perform divine service, whether that house was their own or not. But there was a clause in another act at that time, which was now improved to take away this indulgence, scanty as it was.

It had been then provided, 'That from and after the 1st of November 1746, no unqualified person shall exercise the function of a Chaplain in any family in Scotland, under the penalty of six months imprisonment for the first offence, and for any subsequent offence, of being banished out of Britain for seven years: And that no person within Scotland shall keep, or entertain, any unqualified person as Chaplain in any family, under the penalty of six months imprisonment for the first, and two years for the second or any subsequent offence.' And now, to wreath the yoke of this provision on the necks of the Episcopal clergy, it is enacted, 'For the better ascertaining what shall be deemed exercising the function of a chaplain, within the meaning of the act 19th George II. That from and after the 29th of September 1748, any person being, or pretending to be, in holy orders of any denomination whatsoever, other than the Ministers, Elders or Preachers of the established Church of Scotland, who shall preach or perform any divine service in any house or family of which he is not the master, in the presence or hearing of any other person or persons, whether of the family or not, shall be deemed to be one who exercises the function of a Chaplain within the meaning of that act.' So that now the Episcopal clergy were strictly confined to their own dwellings, and could not in safety perform any part of their ministerial office, in ever such a private manner, in any other house, without

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without exposing both themselves and their hearers to the mercy of this act, which might be interpreted and stretched at pleasure.

From this short abstract of the new penal laws, which I have thus brought together into one view, it will readily appear to what a hampered and ticklish situation the Episcopal Church of Scotland was now reduced, beyond any thing that she had experienced in any period since her legal constitution was dissolved. And yet, under all this confinement, she still breathed, tho' for some time in a very weak and languishing condition. The clergy went about their duty as conscientiously and cautiously as they could; and tho' the legislative part of the government had, in the heat of provocation, laid the rod very severely upon them, which straitened them not a little for a while, yet, as that heat gradually cooled, they began to venture a little further upon the lenity of the executive part, which, it must be owned, was not always so rigorous as some enemies would have wished.

Under all these dangers and difficulties, the Bishops took particular care of what was peculiarly entrusted to them, the continuance of the Episcopal Succession, without which, they knew a church could not long subsist, tho' the hand of oppression were not bearing it down.* Yet, with

* Old Bishop Dunbar had died in the beginning of 1746, to the great loss of his clergy, who much needed the assistance and direction of one of his distinguished prudence and long experience, at such a critical juncture: And next year, the clergy of the district elected Mr Andrew Gerard, one of the Presbyters of Aberdeen, who, upon that election, was consecrated, on the 17th of July 1747, at Cupar in Fife, by Bishops White, Falconer, Rait, and Alexander: And on the 1st of November
all

all their care and attention, the woeful effects of ^{LETTER} the late perial laws began by degrees to be felt. ^{LIX.} Many of the older clergy were called off by death, and such young men as had been preparing themselves for the service of the church, being frighted at the discouraging prospects before them, or wrought upon by the timorous caution of their friends, turned their thoughts another way, and either went abroad, or retired to some secular business at home. The gentry too of our communion, who, by birth or fortune, were entitled to be useful and make a figure in the state, finding their legal privileges struck at by the disqualifying act of 1746, stood aloof in many places from our worship, and not inclining, or not having sufficient conviction of its spiritual authority, to join the establishment, appeared in no place of worship whatever, which, it is thought by many, has contributed not a little to that spirit of irreligion, and disregard for sacred things, now so much and so justly complained of.

Besides all this, the preference given, by that act of 1746, to English or Irish orders, for enjoying the benefit of Queen Anne's Toleration, which had been designed for the Episcopal ordinations in Scotland, brought in a shadow of a foreign Episcopacy, which had not been much heard of before, among us. It is true, in some of our principal seaport towns, there had been now and then one or two English-ordained clergymen, even since the time of Queen Anne. But now, taking the advantage of the difficulties which our church, under the invidious title of Nonjuring,

1759, Mr Henry Edgar, Presbyter at Arbroath, was consecrated at the same place, and by the same persons, as Co-adjutor to Bishop White, then *Primus*.

had

LETTER had to grapple with, and laying hold on the men-
LIX. tion of English or Irish Bishops in the late act,
 numbers of young students of various profes-
 sions went up to England, upon some sort of
 vague recommendations, and returning with le-
 gally allowed orders from one or other of the
 Bishops there, set up here, not only in towns, but
 even in some places of the country where there
 was a vacancy, and sometimes where there was
 none.


Indeed, tho' some of the English Bishops (for
 they have not been all of one mind in this point)
 have condescended to humour such recommenda-
 tions, which, upon their general principles, is
 not a little surprizing; yet none of them have
 hitherto chosen to act any part of their Episcopal
 office, either purposely or occasionally, within the
 precincts of what was once reckoned their Sister-
 Church of Scotland. But there have been,
 among the Irish Prelates, one or two who were not
 so scrupulous. In 1760, the great traveller, Dr
 Pocock, Bishop of Ossory, being on a tour thro'
 Scotland in quest of curiosities, was prevailed with
 to administer the sacred rite of Confirmation in
 some of these new congregations in the north:
 And about ten years after, a Dr. Traill, Bishop of
 Down and Connor, was pleased to ordain a Priest
 in Scotland, and that too in a place where there
 was a Scottish Bishop residing at the time, who for
 more than thirty years had held the pastoral charge
 of that very congregation, to which those few who
 had encouraged this Irish performance had belong-
 ed. How regular, or consonant to ecclesiastic
 order, in any æra of the church, ancient or mo-
 dern, such proceedings are, belongs properly to
 the casuist or controvertist to enquire into. As an
 historian

historian, I only relate facts, and as facts I leave **LETTER**
 them, with this observation, which experience **LIX**
 will justify the application of, that as no vice is
 more dangerous than that which deceitfully puts
 on the masque of virtue, so these strange intru-
 sions, under the fair and friendly shew at first of
 brotherly assistance, have, in end, conduced more;
 than any avowed enmity would have done, to de-
 press that Episcopal Succession in Scotland, which,
 bating the mistaken article of political scruple,
 the English Bishops do acknowledge to be other-
 wise orthodox and valid.

Before I conclude this letter, I shall beg leave,
 by way of recreation, after the dark and gloomy
 scene we have been contemplating, to amuse you
 a little with the view of a literary novelty, which
 began sometime before this, and continued a good
 while after, to make a stir among the clergy of
 England first, and by degrees came next to be
 talked of in Scotland. In 1748 there was publish-
 ed, an elegant and correct edition, in twelve
 volumes octavo, of "The Philosophical and Theo-
 logical Works of the late truly learned John
 "Hutchinson, Esquire," by Julius Bate, Rector
 of Sutton in Suffex, and Robert Spearman, a
 gentleman late of Corpus Christi College in Ox-
 ford. This laborious writer was a layman of
 Yorkshire, and being of a studious turn,
 assisted by proper education, had improved the
 opportunities which his station in life, of having
 the superintendency of sundry coal and tin mines,
 gave him, to make many valuable discoveries in
 the Philosophy of Nature, which he afterwards ap-
 plied to theological disquisitions, and thereby, had
 the pleasure to find an exact conformity between
 these two great constituents of human knowledge.

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Some of these discoveries he had sent abroad in detached pieces, as far back as the year 1724; and among the first abettors of them here, was our worthy countryman Duncan Forbes of Culloden, afterwards Lord President of the Court of Session, who studied them with great attention, and not only honoured them with his approbation, but even took time, from the hurry of secular employment, to write some curious and elaborate dissertations to illustrate the author's design: In one of which he expresses his surprise, 'That tho' regard to revelation were out of the question, curiosity did not prevail with men of leisure and learning to look into books that are stored with so much entertainment in that way.' And in a "*Letter to a Bishop*," written long after their first appearance, he says, 'I cannot help thinking it some reproach to the curiosity, as well as to the religious zeal of the clergy, that sentiments, so new and surprising in matters of religion, should have been stalking about for so many years without any examination, approbation, or confutation.' Such was this great man's opinion of these writings, and there was at first some plausible shew of reason for the neglect of them which he complains of. The plan was entirely new, and out of the common line, no less indeed than to find *Natural Philosophy* in the Bible, where hitherto it had been thought no such thing was to be met with, or ever intended. And upon that popular hypothesis, contrived to account for and excuse the palpable contradictions between the current language of scripture, and the now received and applauded system of philosophy, it had been objected, by the numerous tribes of freethinkers, 'That if the pen-men of the Bible were mistaken in natural

natural things, they might be so in spiritual; or, LETTER
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 if the God of nature had inspired them in the
 one, he would have done so in the other too. 

This triumphant attack upon the infallibility of the scriptures, put our bold undertaker upon searching them in a different manner from what had hitherto been attempted, and induced him to try, whether the true and genuine sense of the original Hebrew, when fairly construed, without regard to any hypothesis ancient or modern, would not also be the true philosophy, and stand the test of every experiment and observation truly made.

His editors tell us, that the event answered his expectations; and he found, upon examination,
 That the Hebrew scriptures nowhere ascribe motion to the body of the sun, nor fixedness to the earth: That they describe the created system to be a *Plenum* without any *Vacuum* at all, and reject the assistance of gravitation, attraction, or any such occult qualities for performing the stated operations of nature, which are carried on by the mechanism of the heavens, in their threefold condition of *Fire*, *Light*, and *Spirit*, or *Air*, the material agents set to work at the beginning: That the heavens, thus framed by Almighty wisdom, are an instituted emblem and visible substitute of *Jehovah Aleim*, the Eternal Three, the co-equal and co-adorable Trinity in unity: That the unity of substance in the heavens points out the unity of essence, and the distinction of conditions the personality in deity, without confounding the persons or dividing the substance: And that, from their being made emblems, they are called in Hebrew *Shemin*, the names, representatives, or substitutes, expressing by their names that they are emblems,

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and

LETTER ' and by their conditions or offices, what it is they
LIX. ' are emblems of.'

He likewise found that the Hebrew scriptures had some capital words which, he thought, had not been duly considered and understood, and which he has proved, or endeavoured to prove, contain, in their radical meaning, the greatest and most comfortable truths. Thus the word *Elohim*, which we call God, he reads *Aleim*, and refers it to the oath or conditional execration, by which the eternal covenant of grace among the persons in *Jehovah* was and is confirmed. The word *Berith*, which our translation renders *Covenant*, and upon which is built the favourite doctrine of mutual covenants between God and man, between Creator and creature, yea, as matters now stand, between King and rebel, he construes to signify, ' He or ' that which purifies,' so the *Purifyer* or purification for, not with, man: The *Cberubim*, which have been made ' angels, placed as a guard to ' frighten Adam from breaking into Eden again,' he explains to be an hieroglyphic of divine construction, or a sacred image to describe, as far as figures could go, the *Aleim* and man taken in, or *Humanity* united to *Deity*: And so he treats of several other words of similar, tho' not quite so solemn, import. From all which he drew this conclusion, ' That all the rites and ceremonies of ' the Jewish dispensation were so many delineations ' of Christ, in what he was to *Be*, to *Do*, and to ' *Suffer*, and that the early Jews knew them to be ' types of his actions and sufferings, and by per- ' forming them as such, were in so far christians, ' both in faith and practice.'

These are some of the principal outlines of this author's doctrines, which, being at first thrown
out

out in scattered pamphlets, were not, as President Forbes observes, much taken notice of one way or other; but being now collected together, and given out to the public in one view, became in a short time the subject of much dispute and of various entertainment, according to the various tastes of those who looked into them. And tho' none of the English Bishops gave them open encouragement, for what reason is not known, yet, as they passed no censure or prohibition upon them, many eminent divines of that church patronized them, and employed their pens either in proper explications and consistent enlargements of them, or in vindicating them from the attacks of such as, not daring to quarrel with the design in general, thought it enough to shew their dislike, by criticizing upon some particulars in the execution.

In this condition, these abstruse writings by degrees found their way into Scotland, and met with the same variety of reception. Some chose to adhere to the current notions, under pretence of veneration for the primitive fathers, whom, they supposed, these new discoveries seemed to contradict. While others, of equal acquaintance with and regard for antiquity, saw no such danger; but having impartially examined Mr Hutchinson's works, as far as their time and talents enabled them, were happy to think that they had thereby acquired more excellent ideas of christianity, and could more successfully combat the Arian, Socinian, and deistical opposers of it, by his use of the Scripture-Artillery, than by all the dry metaphysical jargon of the Schools. And without pretending to decide in such a division of sentiment; it may be pronounced a strange thing, that serious respect to, and diligent study of, the language

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LETTER gauge in which *Jehovah* was pleased to stand
 LX. himself first to man, should be despised and scolded
 at by those who ought to know better, and not
 too in an age, in which there are so many hostile
 troops of dangerous errors set in battle-array a-
 gainst the saving truths and gracious promises de-
 livered to us, in that language.

I am, &c.

L E T T E R LX.

*Accession of George III.—Clemency of his Reign
 —Effects of it in Scotland—Application from
 the Clergy of Connecticut—Consecration of Dr.
 Seabury by the Scotch Bishops—Reflections on
 that Event—Synodical Meeting and Resolutions
 of the Scotch Bishops—Conclusion.*

FROM the short digression in the conclusion of
 my last letter, I shall now return once for all
 to the affairs of the Scotch Episcopal Church,
 and

and shall soon be able to finish what remains any way worthy of notice concerning them. For, from the state of depression into which this church sunk after the convulsions of 1746, down to the present time, there occurs little material, either in her outward appearance, or internal transactions, farther than what is necessary to the very being of a church, and common in every description of one. The discouragements under which she now laboured, by the great ones abandoning her communion, and the youth, whom she had bred, withdrawing their assistance, seemed to threaten her with a total and speedy annihilation. And tho' from that she was providentially preserved, yet the failure of these inward supports, making way for extraneous encroachments, did actually throw her into a kind of gradual and wasting consumption.


This malady was increased for some years, by a repetition now and then of some little stroke from the old hostile quarter, which tho' not to be called persecution, served to keep her down under the weight which the new laws had laid upon her. There were some few imprisonments here and there for a first offence; and one of our clergy, Mr John Connachar, in 1755, was banished out of Scotland by the Justiciary Court at Inverary, not in terms of any of the late acts, but upon an antiquated Scotch Marriage-Act, which was purposely produced, and, as was loudly complained of at the time, even wrested to operate against him. These prosecutions were not indeed general, and seemed to be rather the effects of private pique, for particular views, than of any formed design among those who were vested with public authority: But coming out under the colour of law, and in such gloomy times, they had the intended effect

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LETTER effect of adding to the damp with which the face
 LK. of our church had been already overspread, and
 distressed our clergy, as being all in the same predicament, with a perpetual uncertainty whose turn it might be next. And this lowering cloud continued to hang over them during all the remainder of that reign, which would appear not to have quite forgot or forgiven the high insult offered to the middle of it at home, and the provoking interruption thereby made to the success of the favourite war which it was then engaged in abroad.

On the death of George II. in October 1760, his grandson by his son Frederick, who died Prince of Wales in 1751, mounted the throne; and has, by the clemency of his disposition, and mildness of his government hitherto, shewn himself the true son of a father, who in domestic life, which was the only sphere he was allowed to shine in, was as humane and amiable a character as ever England had seen possessing that princely title. Soon after his accession, this young Prince concluded a peace with his two brother Kings of France and Spain, with whom his grandfather had left him at war: And shewed likewise by the choice of his ministry and other arrangements in the state, how much he wished to banish all national prejudices, and to root out, by acts of generosity, that disaffection to his family, which had been supposed peculiar to Scotland. Encouraged by these early symptoms of placability towards national enemies, and of an equal and impartial regard towards all his subjects, our church by degrees revived a little from her former depressed and declining state, and our clergy thought they now saw the agreeable prospect of better times, under a government which had begun in so promising a way.

With

With these thoughts, therefore, and in hopes of LETTER
 being winked at by such a mild eye, they adven- LX.
 tured to have separate houses of worship erected 
 again, in some small towns and country places,
 in as easy a manner, and with as little noise as
 possible. Since the general destruction of the
 meeting-houses in 1746, they had convened their
 flocks for divine service, as quietly as they could,
 in and about their own private dwellings; where,
 under all the difficulties that such confined meet-
 ings were daily exposed to, both from within
 and from without, they had the satisfaction, in
 alleviation of their many other anxieties, to
 find their people's patience and steadfastness, in
 the trying course of sixteen or eighteen years, such
 as would have been no disparagement to the cha-
 racter of primitive times; and such too as their
 very enemies admired, and even praised them for.
 But many of the old race going off the stage, and
 a new generation gradually rising up, who had
 felt little of the past shock, it was hoped there
 would be no danger now to make a calm attempt,
 where it could be done, for further accommodation
 in their attendance upon religious duties, and un-
 der the protection of Heaven, to trust to the leni-
 ty of an administration, which seemed to see no
 necessity for the continuance of former severities.
 There were some young men too, beginning
 to appear now for the ministerial office, where
 their labours might be called for, which was an-
 other incitement to the proposed erection, and was
 likewise a lucky circumstance for recovering the
 church out of that fatal decay, under which she
 had so long been languishing.

In this favourable appearance of returning sere-
 nity, it was thought proper to revise our Con-
 union Office, and bring it, now that there was

BETTER no contention or difference about it, to as with a
EX. conformity with the ancient standards of eucharis-
 tic service as it could bear. This revival was un-
 dertaken in 1765, by two of our Bishops, who
 were well versed in these matters, and by some
 few alterations of expression, and a judicious ar-
 rangement of the several parts, especially by re-
 storing the Invocation to its original position, after
 the Oblation, instead of standing, as it had done,
 before the words of institution, have put the whole
 of that solemn office into such a form, as will be
 acknowledged by every one who is in the least
 conversant in antiquity, to be most agreeable to
 the nature and design of that divine institution itself,
 and at the same time best adapted both to fence
 against the novel doctrine of transubstantiation,
 and to silence any idle clamours which ignorance
 or prejudice had raised, or might raise, about our
 inclining to Popery.

All this time, the main point of ecclesiastic con-
 stitution was watchfully looked to, and the Epi-
 scopal order kept up as occasion served, or necessity
 required. The decrease of clergy in some of the
 old districts, and some other disagreeable circum-
 stances, which now and then occurred, created
 vacancies in those places where either a Bishop
 was not sought, or could not for some time be had:
 And such vacancies, when happening, were sup-
 plied with Episcopal offices, as they were applied
 for, according to the provision made before-hand
 for any emergency of that kind, by the 7th of the
 Canons enacted in 1743, which were now received
 as the standing code of Church Discipline, suited to
 our particular situation. But where no incidental
 hindrance or canonical objection intervened, every
 vacant district was provided with an Ordinary, as
 speedily

speedily and regularly as the circumstances of the LETTERS
case would admit.* LX.

In the year 1784, when our church had indeed a less number of Bishops than usual, but still such as was sufficient for the time to answer the great end of the office, an unexpected affair of a quite foreign nature was providentially thrown in her way, which contributed to raise her in some measure out of that obscurity into which a run of distress had plunged her, and procured her a parti-

* Thus, on the death of Bishop Gerard of Aberdeen in October 1767, the clergy of that district met next year, and elected Mr Robert Kilgour, Presbyter at Peterhead, who was consecrated on the 21st of September, at Cupar in Fife, by Bishop Falconar now *Primus*, Bishop Rait, and Bishop Alexander. In 1774, Mr Charles Rose, Presbyter at Down, was consecrated Bishop of Dunblain, on the 24th of August, at Forfar, by Bishops Falconar, Rait, and Forbes, the last of whom had been consecrated at Forfar, on the 24th of June 1762, by Bishops Falconar, Alexander, and Gerard, and appointed Bishop of Ross and Caithness. On the 27th of June 1776, Mr Arthur Petrie, Presbyter at Folla in the Diocese of Aberdeen, was consecrated Bishop Co-adjutor of Moray, at Dundee, by Bishops Falconar, Rait, Kilgour, and Rose; and next year, on the death of Bishop Forbes, was appointed Bishop of Ross and Caithness, and soon after had the sole charge of Moray resigned to him by Bishop Falconar, who was then elected to Edinburgh, where he had long resided, and died in 1784. In 1777 Bishop Rait died, on which the clergy of Brechin chose Mr George Innes, Presbyter in Aberdeen, who was consecrated at Alloa, August 13, 1778, by Bishops Falconar, Rose, and Petrie, but died in 1781, and the district continued some years vacant. On the 25th of September 1782, Mr John Skinner, one of the Presbyters of Aberdeen, being previously elected by the clergy for that purpose, was consecrated Bishop Co-adjutor of that district, at Luthermuir in the Diocese of Brechin, by Bishops Kilgour, Rose, and Petrie; and in 1786, on Bishop Kilgour's resignation, with consent of the other Bishops, and acceptance of the clergy, succeeded to the whole charge, in terms of the 9th Synodical Canon of 1743.

LXX. **UNUSUAL** degree of respect and notice, from a quarter where she had not been favoured with much of either for some time before. The American war, which, from inward and artfully fomented murmurings, had at last broke out into open revolt, and had been carried on for some years with various success between Britain alone, and her rebellious colonies, supported by France, Spain, and Holland, had, in spring 1783, terminated in a peace, by which Britain gave up her sovereignty over these colonies, and fully acknowledged and satisfied the independence which they had already assumed to themselves, under the new title of "The Thirteen United States of America." This concession of necessary policy, dissolved the established connexion which had hitherto subsisted between the Episcopal people in America and the Bishop of London, who had always been, by appointment and practice, the proper Ordinary of the Episcopal Church there, but could no longer now be submitted to by them in that character. And as the United States had found it for their interest to grant an universal liberty of conscience to all professions, without preference to any by way of establishment, the Episcopal clergy, thus left to themselves, and destitute of any Superior, began to look about how to get this fundamental defect removed, and have their now orphan church duly organized, in such a form as they believed essential to her being, and might find consistent with the civil constitution of their new government.

In this important undertaking, the clergy in the province of Connecticut, who had long been a numerous body, took the lead: And having, after mature deliberation, pitched upon Dr Samuel Seabury,

Seabury, one of the missionaries from the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, as a clergyman, in their unanimous judgment, every way qualified for the Episcopal function, and who had been one of the suffering loyalists during the late war, they sent him over to their old mother church of England, with proper attestations of his character and qualifications, and earnestly supplicating the Prelates of that flourishing church to take pity upon their desolate state, and give them a Bishop in the person of this worthy brother, to be a spiritual father to them for governing them in the mean time, and for the great work of continuing a regular ministry to posterity in time to come. Upon the Doctor's arrival in England, and presenting his credentials, the English Prelates received him very graciously, but required time to consider in what way the object of his journey might be best accomplished. The business was new, and out of the usual line of their procedure hitherto, in the performance of this distinguishing part of their high office. They saw the expediency of the measure proposed, but wished to have some preliminaries adjusted, and brought as near as possible to their own stated forms; without which, they were at a loss how to act consistently with that regard which they owed to the standing practice of their church, and the strict connection subsisting in England between the civil and ecclesiastical constitution.

In this state of suspense, which necessarily lasted many months, the candidate began to weary of so long a delay, and such a continued uncertainty, as the former was not convenient for his own situation, nor the latter suitable to the expectations of his employers: Therefore, having known before, that there was a continued succession of Bishops in Scotland,

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LETTER LX. Scotland, and finding, where he then was, no objection to the validity of their Episcopal powers, whatever there might be to the propriety of their political scruples, he contrived to have it enquired at second hand, what prospect there might be of speedy success in an application to that quarter; if such application should be formally made. When this was intimated, in such a general manner, to the Scotch Bishops, they knew not well at first what to think of it, as being entirely unacquainted with the character of the person proposed, and not certain whether there might not be some danger in their giving any countenance to such an unexpected application. But when the proposal was more pointedly and pressing repeated, and assurance given them, by authority which they could rely on, that Dr. Seabury was a clergyman of unblemished reputation and eminent parts, with a full representation at the same time how matters stood concerning him in England, they at last agreed to comply with the application, and contribute what was in their power, towards advancing the good work so urgently recommended to their assistance. Upon the welcome notification of this consent, Dr. Seabury came to Scotland, and, on the 14th of November 1784, being Sunday, was publicly consecrated at Aberdeen, by Bishop Kilgour, now *Primus*, Bishop Petrie, and Bishop Skinner.

This charitable act of spiritual function, by which the Episcopal Church of Scotland has the honour of first introducing a resident Protestant Episcopacy into America, was variously talked of when it came to be generally known. Some gave it their countenance in terms of the highest approbation. Others there were, who, tho' they could

could not openly and with any shew of principle condemn it, yet affected to treat it with contempt and ridicule, both in private conversation, and in some of the periodical papers. But whatever sinister interpretations may be put upon our Bishops taking such a part in this business, they are fully satisfied of the purity and uprightnes of their own intentions; and while they look back with pleasure to the pious and grateful sentiments of which the clergy of Connecticut, on receiving their new Bishop, gave public and unanimous testimony, they will rest themselves on the well-grounded hope of the accomplishment of that affectionate wish, which these clergy expressed, in the overflowing of their hearts upon that occasion, "That wherever the American Episcopal Church shall be mentioned in the world, this also, that the Bishops of Scotland have done for her, may be spoken of for a memorial of them."†

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† In the year 1786, another body of Episcopal clergy, in some of the Southern States of the American Union, made a similar application to the English Bishops, upon being informed that the alledged obstacles in Dr. Seabury's case had been purposely and legally removed: And it was announced in the public papers, that on the 4th of February 1787, Drs White and Prevost, the former elected for Philadelphia, the latter for New York, were both consecrated at Lambeth, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of Bath and Wells, and Peterborough. This year too gave three new Bishops to the Episcopal College in Scotland: For on the 7th of March 1787, Mr Andrew Macfarlane, Presbyter in Inverness, was consecrated at Peterhead, as Co-adjutor to Bishop Petrie, by Bishop Kilgour, *Primus*, Bishops Petrie and Skianer; and soon after, on the death of Bishop Petrie, was elected and collated to the charge of the districts of Ross and Moray. And, in consequence of an election by the clergy of Brechin, Dr. Abernethy Drummond, one of the Presbyters of Edinburgh, and Mr John Strachan, Presbyter in Dundee, were both consecrated at Peterhead, on the 26th of September 1787.

LETTER I have only now to take notice of an affair, **LX.** which has very lately happened, and will, no doubt, be found, in its consequences, to be of considerable importance in the history of the Scots Episcopal Church. On the 24th of April 1788, the Protestant Bishops in Scotland having met at Aberdeen, to take into their serious consideration the state of the church under their inspection, did, upon mature deliberation with their clergy, unanimously agree to comply with, and submit to, the present government of this kingdom, as vested in the person of His Majesty King George the Third. They also resolved to testify this compliance, by uniformly praying for him by name in their public worship, in hopes of removing all suspicion of disaffection, and of obtaining relief from those penal laws, under which this church has so long suffered. This resolution was duly intimated to the clergy and laity of their communion, as proceeding from principles purely ecclesiastical, and to which the Bishops are moved by the justest and most satisfying reasons, in discharge of that high trust devolved upon them in their Episcopal character, and to promote, as far as they can, the peace and prosperity of that portion of the christian church committed to their charge.

For obtaining of this desirable end, as their intimation, published on this occasion, bears, they
 ‘ THEREFORE appoint their clergy to make
 ‘ public notification to their respective congrega-
 ‘ tions, upon the eighteenth day of May next,

by Bishops Kilgour, Skinner, and Macfarlane, the former as Bishop of Brechin, the latter as his Co-adjutor. Since that time, Bishop Abernethy being elected for Edinburgh, has been appointed to that district, and having resigned the charge of Brechin, is succeeded in it by Bishop Strachan:

that

' that upon the following Lord's day, nominal ^{LETTER}
 ' prayers for the King are to be authoritatively in- ^{LX.}
 ' troduced, and afterwards to continue, in the 
 ' religious assemblies of this Episcopal Church :
 ' And they beg leave to recommend, as to their
 ' clergy, whose obedience they expect, so likewise
 ' to all good christian people under their Episcopal
 ' care, and do earnestly intreat and exhort them,
 ' in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that they will all
 ' cordially receive this determination of their spi-
 ' ritual Fathers. If any of them wish for farther
 ' information on this subject, the Bishops hereby
 ' direct them to apply to their respective Pastors ;
 ' and conclude this address with their hearty
 ' prayers to, and stedfast dependence upon, their
 ' gracious HEAD and MASTER in Heaven,
 ' that he would be pleased to bless, sanctify, and
 ' prosper, the pious resolutions and endeavours of
 ' his servants upon earth, to the advancement of
 ' his glory, the edification of his church, and the
 ' quiet and welfare of the state in all godliness and
 ' honesty.' By this wise and salutary measure, an
 end is put to those unhappy divisions, which have
 long distracted this kingdom ; and many thousands
 of our countrymen, who have hitherto been sus-
 pected of disaffection to the present government,
 will now be considered as loyal and obedient sub-
 jects.

Thus I have brought the History of our Church
 (to speak with the poet, '*per varios casus, per*
 '*tot discrimina rerum,*' or more in point with the
 apostle, ' through good report and bad report')
 down to the present time ; and shall now take leave
 of a subject, in my management of which, after
 all the labour and pains it has cost me, I am
 abundantly sensible many defects will be found.

LETTER
LX.

Some there will be, I hope indeed a great many, who will complain that I have not done the subject justice. To this charge, where kindly intended and candidly made, I shall most readily plead guilty; and shall only offer the trite apology of having done the best I could, with my hearty wish, that some abler hand would undertake it, and do better. There will be others of the opposite sentiment; that the subject, especially in the latter part of it, was not worth the pains that even I have been able to bestow upon it. To that class of critics, I never doubted but our church, in her present low condition, would appear an object of contempt, as in her higher state of outward splendor she had been of envy and ill-will. But let such remember, that the whole Christian Church was once in the same predicament; set at nought by the rich and opulent, by the applauded philosopher and fashionable politician, ridiculed for her principles, and despised for her numbers. Not that I would be stating an exact parallel in every particular, especially in the invidious article of persecution, between our situation and that of these early times. I would only observe, that to impartial reflexion, if such would apply itself to our case, it may rather be matter of wonder than offence that, under such repeated depressions, and destitute of all worldly support, our church should have been preserved thro' the long course of a whole century, even tho' reduced to that low condition, in which the insulting eye of prosperity may allow itself to triumph over her.

Whatever ground there might have been for the popular cry of 'Disaffection and improper Hopes,' against the ejected Episcopal clergy, who, as men of natural passions, and once in legal possession of

com-

comfortable livings, could not be thought all at once to lose sight of their former situation, or contract much affection for the immediate authors of their losses and disappointments, there can be no good reason for keeping up these two inflaming articles of suspicion against their successors, who certainly can have no other object in view, than the interests of 'that kingdom which is not of this world,' no higher ambition than to do their duty as messengers of the PRINCE of PEACE. And as the principles, by which they are actuated, are thus harmless and inoffensive, they have no doubt but their practices, if inquired into, will shew them not altogether unworthy of the clemency which they have for some time experienced. Far from being guilty of any actual infringement of the laws of their country, their only fault has consisted in omitting to qualify themselves in the precise manner which the law prescribes. That omission it was not in their power to avoid, but by declining or throwing up that sacred office, which a strong sense of duty prompted them to undertake. They are now happy to think, that a favourable period has concurred with their most anxious wishes, for obtaining that relief which their situation has so long and loudly called for. The prejudices which gave occasion to the penal laws are now no more. A religious dissenting from the establishment is not considered as inconsistent with the safety of government: And those of the Episcopal persuasion in Scotland may, without any hazard, be allowed to partake of that freedom, which is extended throughout the kingdom to sects of every denomination. Though they wish for 'Liberty,' it is not that they may 'use it for a cloke of malicioufness,' but that, 'as the Servants

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~~LETTER~~ 'vants of God,' they may perform, without molestation, those duties which, they are convinced, are essential to their happiness, both in this world, and in the next. And when they consider, with what becoming zeal the British legislature has lately given force to the pious endeavours of the English Bishops, for planting Episcopacy in foreign countries, they cannot but hope, that their own Episcopacy may yet be saved from ruin, and that Britons will not be refused a share of that gracious provision which has been extended to *Aliens*. In this hope, they humbly commit themselves, and all their concerns, to the care of his over-ruling Providence, who has the hearts of Kings in his hands: Devoutly praying, that HE may still guide his church in the paths of righteousness, and direct his protection to her, through whatever channel of benignity he pleases, that, under that blessed protection, they may lead quiet and peaceable lives, 'with consciences void of offence toward God and toward men.'

I now beg your favourable acceptance of these my endeavours to comply with your requests, and remain,

Yours, &c.

MAY 1, 1788.

THE END.

A P P E N D I X.

That the Reader may have a clear and distinct View of the Episcopal Succession in Scotland, since the Revolution, as far as the present Bishops are concerned, it is thought proper to subjoin the following List of Consecrations, with the true Dates and Consecrators Names, as extracted from their Ecclesiastical Register.

JAN. 25, **M**R. JOHN SAGE, formerly one of the ministers of Glasgow, and Mr John Fullarton, formerly minister of Paisley, were consecrated at Edinburgh, by John Paterfon, Archbishop of Glasgow, Alexander Rose, bishop of Edinburgh, and Robert Douglas, bishop of Dunblane.— *N B.* Archbishop Paterfon, bishop Rose, and bishop Douglas, with the other Scots Bishops, were deprived at the Revolution by the civil power, because *Episcopacy* had been voted an *insupportable grievance* by the Scots Convention. *Bishop Sage died in June 1711, and Bishop Fullarton in May 1727.*

APRIL.

APPEND. APRIL 28, 1709.—Mr John Falconar, minister at Cairnbee, and Mr Henry Chrystie, minister at Kinross, were consecrated at Dundee, by bishop Rose of Edinburgh, bishop Douglas of Dunblane, and bishop Sage. *Bishop Chrystie died in 1718, and Bishop Falconar in 1723.*

AUG. 25, 1711.—The Honourable Archibald Campbell was consecrated at Dundee, by bishop Rose of Edinburgh, bishop Douglas of Dunblane, and bishop Falconar. *He died June 16, 1744.*

FEB. 24, 1712.—Mr James Gadderar, formerly minister at Kilmaurs, was consecrated at London, by bishop Hickeys,* bishop Falconar, and bishop Campbell. *He died in February 1733.*

OCT. 22, 1718.—Mr Arthur Millar, formerly minister at Inveresk, and Mr William Irvine, formerly minister at Kirkmichael in Carrick, were consecrated at Edinburgh, by bishop Rose of Edinburgh, bishop Fullarton, and bishop Falconar. *Bishop Irvine died November 9, 1725, and Bishop Millar, October 9, 1727.*

After bishop Rose of Edinburgh's death, which happened March 20, 1720,—OCT. 17, 1722, Mr Andrew Cant, formerly one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and Mr David Freebairn, formerly minister at Dunning, were consecrated at Edin-

* Dr. George Hickeys, formerly Dean of Worcester, was consecrated in the Bishop of Peterborough's Chapel, in the parish of Enfield, February 23, 1693, by Dr William Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, Dr Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely, and Dr Thomas White, Bishop of Peterborough. *N. B.* Dr Lloyd, Dr Turner, and Dr White, were three of the English Bishops who were deprived at the Revolution, by the civil power, for not swearing allegiance to William III. They were also three of the seven Bishops who had been sent to the Tower by James II. for refusing to order an illegal proclamation to be read in their dioceses.

burgh,

burgh, by bishop Fullarton, bishop Millar, and APPEND.
 bishop Irvine. *Bishop Cant died in 1728, and*
Bishop Freebairn in December 1739.

JUNE 4, 1727.—Dr Thomas Rattray of Craighall was consecrated at Edinburgh, by bishop Gadderar, bishop Millar, and bishop Cant. *He died May 12, 1743.*

JUNE 18, 1727.—Mr William Dunbar, formerly minister at Cruden, and Mr Robert Keith, presbyter in Edinburgh, were consecrated at Edinburgh, by bishop Gadderar, bishop Millar, and bishop Rattray. *Bishop Dunbar died in 1746, and Bishop Keith in 1756.* N. B. They who were deprived of their parishes in consequence of the Revolution are in this list called Ministers: But they who had not been parish ministers under the civil establishment, are called Presbyters.

JUNE 24, 1735.—Mr Robert White, presbyter at Cupar in Fife, was consecrated at Carsbank, near Forfar, by bishop Rattray, bishop Dunbar, and bishop Keith. *He died in 1761.*

SEPT. 10, 1741.—Mr William Falconar, presbyter at Forres, was consecrated at Alloa, by bishop Rattray, bishop Keith, and bishop White. *He died in 1784.*

OCT. 4, 1742.—Mr James Rait, presbyter at Dundee, was consecrated at Edinburgh, by bishop Rattray, bishop Keith, and bishop White. *He died in 1777.*

AUG. 19, 1743.—Mr John Alexander, presbyter at Alloa, was consecrated at Edinburgh, by bishop Keith, *Primus*, bishop White, bishop Falconar, and bishop Rait. *He died in 1776.*

N. B. Anciently, no Bishop in Scotland had the style of Archbishop, but one of them had a precedence, under the title of *Primus Scotiae Episcopus*.

APPEND. copus. And after the Revolution, they returned to the old form, one of them being elected *Primus*, with power of convocating and presiding, according to their Canons of 1743.

JULY 17, 1747.—Mr Andrew Gerard, presbyter in Aberdeen, was consecrated at Cupar in Fife, by bishop White, (having commission from bishop Keith, the *Primus*, for that effect) bishop Falconar, bishop Rait, and bishop Alexander. *He died in October 1767.*

JUNE 24, 1762.—Mr Robert Forbes, presbyter in Leith, was consecrated at Forfar, by bishop Falconar, *Primus*, bishop Alexander and bishop Gerard. *He died in 1776.*

SEPT. 21, 1768.—Mr Robert Kilgour, presbyter in Peterhead, was consecrated at Cupar in Fife, by bishop Falconar, *Primus*, bishop Rait, and bishop Alexander, and appointed Bishop of Aberdeen, in room of the late bishop Gerard.

N. B. Though the districts, into which the Scottish Bishops have divided their Church, are not exactly according to the limits of the Dioceses under the legal establishment, yet they still retain their old names, and every Diocesan Bishop has his distinct charge.

AUG. 24, 1774.—Mr Charles Rose, presbyter at Down, was consecrated at Forfar, by bishop Falconar, *Primus*, bishop Rait, and bishop Forbes, and appointed Bishop of Dunblane, in room of bishop Alexander.

JUNE 27, 1776.—Mr Arthur Petrie, presbyter at Micklefolla, was consecrated at Dundee, by bishop Falconar, *Primus*, bishop Rait, bishop Kilgour, and bishop Rose, and appointed Co-adjutor to bishop Falconar, whom he afterwards succeeded as Bishop of Moray. *He died April 19, 1787.*

SEPT.

SEPT. 25, 1782.—Mr John Skinner, presbyter APPEND. in Aberdeen, was consecrated in the Chapel at Luthermuir, by bishop Kilgour, *Primus*, bishop Rose, and bishop Petrie, and appointed Co-adjutor to bishop Kilgour, on whose resignation he succeeded to the charge of the Diocese of Aberdeen, in October 1786.

MARCH 7, 1787.—Mr Andrew Macfarlane, presbyter in Inverness, was consecrated at Peterhead, by bishop Kilgour, *Primus*, bishop Petrie, and bishop Skinner, and appointed Co-adjutor to bishop Petrie, whom he succeeded soon after as bishop of Ross and Moray.

SEPT. 26, 1787.—Dr. William Abernethy Drummond, one of the presbyters of Edinburgh, and Mr John Strachan, presbyter in Dundee, were consecrated at Peterhead, by bishop Kilgour, *Primus*, bishop Skinner, and bishop Macfarlane, the former being appointed Bishop of Brechin, and the latter his Co-adjutor: That Diocese having been vacant since bishop Innes died in 1781, whose consecration is not mentioned in this list, as he had no hand in carrying on the Succession. For the same reason, several other consecrations are omitted. *N. B.* Bishop Abernethy being, since his promotion, elected for Edinburgh, is now appointed to that district, and having resigned the charge of Brechin, is succeeded in it by bishop Strachan: So that the Episcopal College in Scotland consists at present of the following members:

- MR ROBERT KILGOUR, PRIMUS.
- MR CHARLES ROSE, Bishop of *Dunblane*.
- MR JOHN SKINNER, Bishop of *Aberdeen*.
- MR ANDREW MACFARLANE, Bishop of *Ross and Moray*.
- DR. ABERNETHY DRUMMOND, Bishop of *Edinburgh*.
- MR JOHN STRACHAN, Bishop of *Brechin*.

ERRATA IN VOL. II.

| | | |
|---------|---------|-----------------------------------------------|
| Page 19 | Line 17 | for "Bur" read "But." |
| 21 | — 7 | leave out "but." |
| 24 | — 33 | for "ft te" read "state." |
| 57 | — 29 | put a comma between "Alciat and Blandrata." |
| 61 | — 32 | leave out "of." |
| 93 | — 19 | read "been deferred." |
| 101 | — 14 | for "p ry" read "party." |
| 121 | — 5 | for "throw" read "threw." |
| 131 | — | leave out "Sleidan" on the margin. |
| 132 | — | leave out "Sleidan" on the margin. |
| 158 | — 26 | leave out "at." |
| 187 | — 5 | for "either joined" read "either not joined." |
| 193 | — | on the margin, for "158" read "1568." |
| 195 | — 33 | for "retun" read "return." |
| 329 | — 31 | for "On this day" read "On this," |
| 330 | — 24 | for "1612" read "1621." |
| 338 | — 20 | for "formerly" read "formally." |
| 415 | — 14 | for "for" read "from." |
| 489 | — 10 | for "aw" read "law." |
| 522 | — 22 | for "This" read "Thus." |
| 644 | — 30 | for "As" read "At." |

N. B. In the Dedication, Vol. I. l. 7. p. 2, for "Veniret" read "Venerit."



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1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. This is essential for ensuring the integrity of the financial statements and for providing a clear audit trail.

2. The second part of the document focuses on the need for transparency and accountability in financial reporting. This involves providing detailed explanations of all significant transactions and ensuring that the information is presented in a clear and concise manner.

3. The third part of the document addresses the issue of internal controls. These are the policies and procedures that are designed to prevent and detect errors and fraud. It is crucial to have strong internal controls in place to ensure the reliability of the financial data.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the role of the auditor. The auditor's primary responsibility is to provide an independent opinion on the fairness and accuracy of the financial statements. This requires a thorough understanding of the company's operations and a high level of professional skepticism.

5. The fifth part of the document concludes by emphasizing the importance of ethical behavior in the accounting profession. Accountants must always act in the best interests of the public and maintain the highest standards of integrity and honesty.

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