THE

LETTERS AND JOURNALS

ROBERT BAILLIE, A.M.

PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

M.DC.XXXVII.—M.DC.LXII.

EDITED FROM THE AUTHOR'S MANUSCRIPTS,

BY DAVID LAING, ESQ.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOLUME FIRST.

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED FOR ROBERT OGLE,
49 SOUTH BRIDGE.
M.DCCC.XLI.
EDINBURGH: ALEX. LAWRIE & CO. PRINTERS TO HER MAJESTY.
The Third Volume of Principal Baillie's Letters and Journals, which completes the work, is in the press, and it is expected will be ready early in 1842. It will contain his Letters from 1647 to 1662, with an Appendix, a Glossary of obsolete words, a copious Index, and an account of the Author's Life and Writings.

The Editor in the meanwhile will feel grateful for any information respecting the Author; or for the use of any Original Letters and Papers of that period. Communications may be addressed to him, at the Signet Library, Edinburgh.

July 1841.

Meeting.

DAVID LAING, Secretary.
At the Annual General Meeting of the Bannatyne Club,
held at Edinburgh, in the Hall of the Antiquarian Society, on
Monday the 3d day of December 1838:—

Resolved, That the Letters and Journals of Mr. Robert
Bailie, Professor of Divinity, and Principal of the University
of Glasgow, be printed for the use of the Members, from the
Original Manuscript preserved in the Archives of the Church of
Scotland, under the superintendence of the Secretary of the
Club; and that an extra impression of the Work be thrown off,
for General Sale, according to the Specimens exhibited to the
Meeting.

David Laing, Secretary.
PREFACE.

THE Letters and Journals of Principal Baillie chiefly relate to public affairs, civil as well as ecclesiastical, and extend in a regular and nearly unbroken series from January 1637 to May 1662, or within a few weeks of his death. The value of this series in illustrating the history of that remarkable period has long been acknowledged, although the work is only now for the first time printed in an entire and genuine form, from the Author's Manuscripts. The very nature of such Letters, sometimes intended for the information of a wide circle, yet addressed to different individuals, on a variety of topics, and with no view to ultimate publication, precludes the work from being regarded as strictly historical; yet these Letters not only serve to exhibit the succession of public events, but what is equally valuable, to convey the expression of the hopes, the fears, and the prevalent feelings of the time, in immediate connection with such occurrences. That Baillie has done so in a clear and interesting manner, will not be disputed. What else indeed has he handed down to us in his descriptions (to use an illustration of his own) but the stirring scenes of a great National Drama? His earlier letters allude to those measures of Charles the First that awakened an irrepressible spirit of religious zeal and independence, which ere long triumphed over every obstacle, and secured the re-establishment of Presbytery in Scotland. His letters then detail the origin, the changing fortunes, and the
tragical incidents of the Great Civil War, which desolated these kingdoms; interspersed with accounts of the trial of the Earl of Strafford, the proceedings of General Assemblies of the Church, and of the Westminster Assembly of Divines; and they carry us on to the period when the dominant power of Cromwell and his sectarian forces, aided by the infatuated conduct of the English Monarch, prevented that Uniformity of Religion in Doctrine, Discipline, and Church-government, to the accomplishment of which both Nations were deeply pledged by the Solemn League and Covenant. This vision being at length dispelled, there was also an end put to the long cherished expectations of peace and concord when the death-warrant of Charles the First was signed, notwithstanding the public remonstrances and protestations of the Presbyterians both in Scotland and England. "One Act of our lamentable Tragedy" says Baillie, "being ended, we are entering again upon the scene:"—And now the affairs of the Church, in which he continued to sustain a somewhat conspicuous part, chiefly occupy his attention. It will be seen, that the attachment of the Presbyterians to a monarchical government, was the primary cause of those unhappy differences which sprang up and divided the Church of Scotland into the two parties, known as "Public Resolutioners," and "Protesters," each of them actuated by the best motives, yet whose opposition proved not less ruinous to both, by eventually leading to the overthrow of the Presbyterian form of Church government in Scotland after the Restoration:—With what deplorable results to the interests of religion and the country at large, this last measure was attended, Baillie himself did not survive long enough to witness.

Such are the leading topics in the following series of Letters. That the Author was a faithful as well as a diligent observer of public events, may be asserted; and his personal share in many of the important transactions alluded to, and his habitual intercourse with the chief actors of the time, furnished him with the most favourable opportunities for obtaining correct information. That
his Letters should so fully describe the progress of public affairs, arises partly from the circumstance of so many of them being addressed to his relation, Mr. William Spang, minister of the Scotish Church at Campvere, and afterwards at Middleburg, in Zealand, during the whole period of twenty-five years stated correspondence; while the practice which Baillie fortunately adopted at an early period, of retaining copies of his Letters, has furnished after-times with a work which must always command attention both from the importance of the subject, his own integrity and honesty of purpose, so conspicuous in his familiar and most unreserved communications, and the lively and graphic manner in which transactions, whether of a public or private kind, are narrated.

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

\(^1\) The first seven leaves of Volume First appear never to have been copied, perhaps from being wholly in Baillie's own hand, which subsequent transcribers could not easily make out, and six of these leaves are now unfortunately lost. From a partial list of contents, on the last page of the volume, we may conjecture they were chiefly Letters in the year 1636.
be discovered, as no attempt was made to adopt strict uniformity in this respect.

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

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

(3) In four volumes folio, the first volume being bound in two.—On the last page of the second volume is written,—"Finem posui hujus libri, 11mo die Septembris 1701."
transcript mentioned as dated 1701, remained however with the Author's descendants, till within a comparatively recent period, when, along with some manuscript volumes of Sermons and Treatises, written by Baillie, it came into the possession of Dr. M'Crie, the late eminent biographer and divine.

From one or other of these MSS. the work was frequently used in the course of the last century; and more especially by Stevenson, who originally contemplated to publish it entire, previous to the compilation of his own History of the Church, (1) a great portion of which is a literal transcript from it, yet not without ample acknowledgment. In noticing the vouchers for his History, he says, "But the great repository from whence I am chiefly furnished is, The Historical Letters and Collections of Mr. Robert Baillie, consisting of four volumes folio," &c. In fact, these Letters, to a greater or less extent, have been used by all succeeding writers respecting that period of our history, although they generally contented themselves with referring to the printed edition which appeared at Edinburgh in the year 1775, in two vols. 8vo. The name of the Editor is no where mentioned; nor can much reliance be placed on what used commonly to be stated in Edinburgh booksellers catalogues, in the early part of this century, and has been repeated by Mr. Orme, (2) that it was undertaken at the recommendation of Dr. Robertson and David Hume. On the title-page of some of the copies, the Letters are said to have been "carefully transcribed by Robert Aiken;" but who this person was does not appear, except that we may conclude he was the same individual who is named in proposals

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

(2) Orme's Bibliotheca Biblica, p. 17. Edinburgh, 1824, 8vo.
for printing the work, dated March 17th 1775, which bear, that
"Subscriptions are taken in by William Gray, front of the Ex-
change, Edinburgh; by Robert Aitken, schoolmaster at Ander-
ston; and by all others entrusted with proposals." Had either of
the learned historians above named taken a special interest in
the work, it is very improbable that the services of an obscure in-
dividual in the West Country would have been required.

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

The present Edition of the Work was undertaken for the Mem-
bers of The Bannatyne Club; a literary Association in Edin-
burgh, instituted several years ago, for the purpose of preserving,
in an accessible form, the more valuable remains of our National
History and Literature existing in manuscript, or in printed works
of great rarity. In regard however to the acknowledged import-
ance of this work, and as the Rules of the Club do not restrict the
circulation of works so printed among the Members, when of a
kind likely to interest the Public, it was resolved, although the
chief expense of collating and transcribing would fall upon the
Club, that some arrangement should be made for having an extra impression thrown off for general sale, and for securing its publication at a moderate charge. The usual quarto size of the Club publications being less suited for that purpose, as necessarily adding to the expense, the lines of the pages have been overrun, to alter the form into royal 8vo., so that both Editions might usually correspond page for page, as well as in other respects. This plan, however, has proved the means of greatly retarding the completion of the work. As to the mode of editing, I may add, that the text has partly been given from the Manuscript belonging to the Society of Antiquaries, but chiefly from that of 1701, (which was most obligingly granted for that purpose by the Reverend Thomas M'Crie,) and then very carefully revised and corrected by the Author's original copy; the use of this latter MS. having been obtained three years ago for The Bannatyne Club, by the special permission of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

The Author, in the course of his correspondence with his cousin William Spang, frequently transmitted him copies of public papers, and other documents relating to the affairs of the time. Many of these he also caused to be transcribed along with his own Letters. To have inserted the whole of such extraneous matter would greatly have increased the size of the work without materially adding to its value. On the other hand, either to have incorporated some of them in the text, or entirely to have omitted them, might have been equally liable to objection. The plan that has been followed, was not adopted without due deliberation. In the Appendix to each Volume is given, first, a complete List of the various Papers

(5) For this purpose the services of my worthy friend Mr. David Meek were secured; but besides the necessary collation and transcription, numberless minute investigations were required, (which my own time did not permit of making,) for ascertaining the dates of letters, &c.; and to his great fidelity and familiar acquaintance with the ecclesiastical transactions of the period, it is but justice to add, that the work is greatly indebted.
interspersed with his Letters, and references to works in which a very considerable portion of them have already been published; and next, a Selection of such contemporary Papers as seemed most worthy of notice. This includes from Baillie's M.S. such as either related to his own personal affairs, or to the University with which he was so long connected; but instead of swelling the work by re-publishing papers merely from the circumstance of their having been collected by Baillie, this Selection generally consists of Original Letters and other documents hitherto unpublished. These have been collected from a variety of sources, and chiefly refer to the state of Ecclesiastical Affairs in Scotland during the period which each volume embraces. This Selection however is much less numerous than I could have wished, owing to the limited space. The articles in the Appendix to the present volume being mostly written by the opponents of Baillie and the Presbyterian party, that such additions may not be thought incongruous to a work like the present, I may observe, that nothing seemed so well calculated to illustrate and confirm the Author's statements, or so clearly to point out the objects which the Scotish Prelates and their adherents had in view, when the troubles commenced, than the publication of such of their Letters and Papers, between 1633 and 1639, as could be recovered.

Signet Library, Edinburgh,
June 1841.
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**OF**

**MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.**

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22. —— from the same to the same, 28th April,  
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LETTERS AND JOURNALS

OF

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

VOLUME FIRST.—M.DC.XXXVII.—M.DC.XLI.

...
LETTERS AND JOURNALS

OF

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

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

The Proclamation of our Liturgie(2) is the matter of my greatest affliction. I pray you, if you can command any copie, by your money or moyen, let me have on[e], and it were but for tuo or three days, with this bearer. I am myndit to call my studies for disposing of my mind to such a course as I may be aunfuerable to God for my carriage. Whouever, I am greatly affrayit that this aple of contention have banifiht peic[e] from our poor Church heireftir for ever. In Ingland, to this hour, as sun[d]ry Epifcopall books latly printit does teftifie, this fyre is yet reikand, and reddie upon occafion to brek out for the trouble of that Church farde,r then ever. Ar we fo modest spirits, and fo towrdly handlit in this matter, that ther is aperature we will imbrace in a clap such a maffe of novelties. I find Andreus himself, the semigod of the neu faction, preaching befor King James, in a wret dedicat to

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

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

VOL. I.
King Charles by this fam Canterburie,(2) heuing that all Church Lanes, that all Canones Ecclefiafticall, have allwayes been made in Church Assemblies, and not elfwhere. In Ingland it wes fo ever; the leift cereonie never appointit but in the Convocation; though Andreus wer silent, the constant praefite of the Church, both univerfall and particular, does evinc this. It is to me a matter above mervell, whou any hes mintit to move our fueit Prince, to begin a new praefite fo late on our poor Church. Had [we] been truly, as onc[e] we wer falfly allegt, but a pendiacle of the dioces of York, yit more then a mislive lettre would have been ufit to have movit us imbrace a hole book of neu Canons, and mor then ane Act of Councell to have mad[e] us receev a neu Forme in the whol worship of God, prayer, faeraments, mariag, burial, preaching and all. For myself, I am refolvit, what I can digeft as any wayes tolerable with peic[e] of confience, not only in deu tyme to receve myself, but to difpoze others also, fo farr as I can by word and writ, to receve quietely the fame; but what ever be my mind, yit I am affrayit fore that there is a starome raifit which will not calme in my dayes. It's a pitie that we shoud have none to give our gratious Princ[e] deu information. They ar dear coft honour, which ar the prye of our poor Countrie and Church peic[e] and liberties, betrayit to the luft, and fett onder the feit, of some feu forrein Prelats, if not on[e] alone. I mey vent this much of my grevit mynd in thy boforme.

I think reddily the tuo vacant Bishopriksshall be ocation of thy provision; but God mak the[e] a better on[e] than to[o] many among us ar. Bishopes I love; but pride, greid, luxurie, oppreffion, immerfion in faicular affaires, was the bane of the Romifh Prelats, and can not have long good succes in the Reformit.

Thy Brother,


R. BAILLIE.

[To Mr. William Spang.]

DEAR AND LOVING COOSING,

ETTER long expectations, and marvelling of your silence, at

(2) The English prelates here alluded to were Dr. Lancelot Andrews, successively Bishop of Ely, Chichester, and Winchester; and Dr. William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury.
last this 20 of Januarie, I receaved your last two together, and your Currents to the 53. I must entreat you to continuw, not so much your old kindnede to me in wryting, for of this I do not complaine, as your old prudence in directing them; it wes above, I think, fix weeks after the coming home of our Glafgow merchants, that your letters promis'd with them come to my hands. It is mervellous that in all our countrey we should have no word from over sea, more nor we were in America. Will yow be pleased to send it; possibile ye let us whiles want, of purpose, that we may know the better to whom we are indebted. For my self I am fo evill a payer, that yow may refuisse to furniſh me any longer in this ware, as a desperate bankrupt; always, to give yow some hope, I minde to pay the principall, even a whole Olympiad of Gazets. I have sent yow for annuallrent, half a gallon of our Glafgow water; I will intreat yow drink my service to your wife, affuring her that I did with her all pro- speritie, and could be moft glad to doe her pleasure if ever the came to Killwinning: tell her that she may have confidence of a long and vigorous life to her husband, who wes born and brought up in fo happie a citie, where such livelie waters runnes in everie fireit.

Your Currents and letters make my heart both forie and glad; glad I am to fee the help of God with the poor Langrave, by the victory of the Swedds; glad I am to fee the wickednes of that foolifh prince of Saxone punisht; glad I am that both the Cardinall was forced to retire from Picardie, and Galace from Burgundie, without any gaine of all their fearfull enterprizes; I am also glad that the Swedds hes forced Lumenburgh to a neutralitie, and Brandeburge (as it feems) either to a confederacie or contribution; also that the diet of Ratilbone is broken up without a conclusion for a King of the Romans, and with a plain refusall (if we will hear it at last after fo many hunder repetitions of the fame reall anfwer) to restore the Palatinate. Bot moft glad I am that the meeting of Culen is like to evanifi; for I wes and yet am greatly afraid of the French their levitie that they fitt down, being evill breathed men and foon out of wind, and leave their good friends, both Witinberge, and Trier [Treves], and Parme, and your Estates, to fee to themselves, let be to conjoyne with our King in any league how neceffarie forever at this time to both. Bot if it be true that they yet have courage and meanes to renew the warr on that fyle, and the Swedds continue on the other, if the Turk would truely come downe
on the south, I hope that the Auffrians, albeit they once again gatt the Croone, and Bavar also, for all his done and heir, might be moved to suffer our banished men after so many yeares, come home and live in peace. I was forie to see so much Christian blood monethly shed, and so great appearance of more to be shed, these warrs being yet, as it were, bot in the beginning.

For our estate at home, I doe not understand it; neither does any I meet with understand it better. After we were beginning to forget the Book of our Canons, before Zuile vacant, a Proclamatione was made by one Act of Councill, at the King's directione, brought home with the Bishope of Rosle, (who the last year also brought us down our Canons,) to receave the Service Book. This all the Churches in Scotland are commanded to doe against Pasche nixt, under the paine of horning; yet to this day we cannot gett ane sight of that Book. The reafone, some fayes, is because our Scottifh editione is not yet compleatlie printed. I would rather think that some of our Bishops makes delay, as not being at a full point themselues what they would have in, and what out. I know much of it was printed in Edinburgh before Zuill was a year. We heard then that the Bis hop of Edinburgh chiefly had obtained that we should be quyte of the Surplice, Crofsée, Apocrypha, Saints dayes, and some other trasure of the Inglifh Liturgie; but since that tyme, they say that Canterburie sent down to our Chancellor a long wret of additions, which, ill he, will he, behooved to be putt in. However it be, my Lord Treasurer brought home a copie of our Scottifh Service printed at Londone; which fundrie hes perufed, and fayes, they find no difference betwixt it and the Inglifhe Service, fave in one; to witt, in additione of fundrie moe Popifh rites, which the Inglifh wants: We must croffe in Baptifme, have ring in marriage etc. bot byede, we must confercate at fett tymes, with fett prayers, holy water to fland in the font; at the delyverie of the elements there is ane other, and that a very ambiguous prayer, as they say, looking much to Transubstantiation; the Deacone, on his knees, must, in ane offertorie, present the devotions of the people to the Lord upon his altar or table. For myself, I suspend my judgement till I fee the Booke, only I fear the event be to the hurt of our poor Church. These which are averfe from the ceremonies, whereof there is great numbers, yea, almost all our nobilitie and gentrie of both sexes, counts that Booke little better then the Maffe, and are farr on a way to separate from all who will imbrace it. I think verilie, if they knew
[themselves] to be in no greater danger then Papists among us are, they would not faill to abtaine from the publick asembleies, as well as they doe; and their number and qualitie is such, that readilie it may procure from the Prince that libertie which the Papists hes; and of this, without farder for the present, I think they will be glad; yea, upon all hazards, though the law should take away all they have from them, it is like, when all minifters hes obeyed, they will never countenance a conforme Asembleie. God grant I may prove a fальe prognodicator; I look for the moft pitiful schifm that ever poor Kirk has felt. The affections of both fydes dayly funders more and more, and both gives to other new occassions of mifinterpretations; the one puts poperie, idolatrie, superflitious, in sundrie things which are innocent of these faults; they speak of the persones and actiones of men otherways then it becomes; they give appearance that for the changes already made, albeit no farder were, of their mind to feparate. The other feemes wilfullie to add fewell to their flame; to command upon sole authoritie, without ever craving the advyce of any, (fo far as we can hear,) if such things be expedient; yea, if they be lawfull: bot Prefbytries, Sessiones, Asembleies, mutt down; the Bifhop and his officiell, the Warden and the clerk, and the Priest of the parifhe mutt up; the new formes of Baptisme, Eucharill, Marriage, Buriell, Prayers, Pfalms, Preaching, must be received under the paines of de- positione, excommunicatione and horning; who will not yeild, he is a feditious, factious rebell, not only against the Kirk and King, bot God and his fyfte command: Sundrie of them, in their preaching, difcourfes, and printed books, declaring their mindes for many tenets of Poperie and Arminianifme; none of them shewing any appearance of zeall for reprefling of Papifs or Arminians at home, for redreffing the afflicted state of Pro- testants abroad; the moft of them openlie hunting for advance- ment, state offices, pensions; cafting the modeftie, painfull lecture, preaching, and fuch other ecclesiastic vertues underfoot.

Allace! We make our felf more and more unfavorie daylie; when we have gottin our augmentationes, we are fo fevere in exacting, that we are a common talking. The 34 year of God wes a fore year to our labourers; bot the 35 yer wes the worft that in this laft age wes feen. The Commiffar feirs wes ten pound for meill and bear; bot sundrie of our brethren are charg- ing, to the flame of us all, for twelve and above. Others of us are breaking out in vyle adulteries; mutterings of many; two
under publick cenfure; Mr. Archibald Grahame deposed by the High Commissione. He was thought one eunction, and so gives it yet out with the greatest oaths; but I chanced to be at one of his tryells in Glafgow, where so fowll practices were de-
poned against him, that had he bein my father, I would have subcribed to his depositione. Mr. David Henderfone of Kill-
maurs is fuspended, and, as I think, shall shortlie be deposed for this fame cryme; never a papifit preift accused of moe foule tricks than are deponed against him. We are like to become verie vile. The Bithope of Argyle was no sooner dead, then a number lope to their friends for recommendations to Court; yet three only could get themselves leit. Mr. Henrie Rol-
lock, (4) for whom the Chancellour (5) dealls, and many courtiers: he is your good friend, but hes loft all his reputatione, as it seemes, moft desveredlie; it were good he wer a Bithope, for then he needed preach none; he might eat, wear, play, and look as flatelie as now he does, without challenging. The next is the Deane, for whom Roffie dealls. The third is Dr. Monroe, who for that place is thought meett, but hes no hope, be-
cause few friends at Court. The Thefaurer, (6) who now guides our Scotts affairs with the moft abolute sovereignty that any subjekt among us this fourtie yeares did kyth, is for his old matter, Mr. James Fairley; and he is moft redoubted (though not upon the leits) for the greatnests of his friend. This in-
creaseth his colleage, Mr. Andrew Ramfayes malcontentment, who now is clean misregarded by our great cleargie; so he hes been preaching to the people's contentment against the Anti-
christ, and is speaking of dimitting his miniftrie, and retiringe to his own lairdhipe; yet they are few years past since moft bafelie he wes begging the Subdeanie of the Chappell, which yet I think he brooks.

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

(4) In the MS. this name is usually written, in a contracted form, Rocke. Henry Rollock, the person referred to, was one of the Ministers of Edinburgh.
(5) John Spottiswoode, Archbishop of St. Andrews, was appointed Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, 14th January 1635.
(6) John Earl of Traquair, Lord High Treasurer for Scotland.
of Parliament should have been erected for the Church. This all the Nobilitie did fo band themselves against, that the King's minde was drawn clean off the designe. The next rubb they gatte wes in the matter of the Thefaurer, fra Canterberrie had gottin the Bifhop of London Thefaurer of Ingland. At the word of Mortoun's dimiffion, Rosle(?) thought himelf sure of that office, and fo did we all; bot the Duke and the Marqueifs, fett out by a number of our Noblemen, did concurr to ftrir up Traquair (as he letts out fore against his heart) to make meins for that place, that he might, by his great partes, be a barr to hinder the inundatione of our impetuous Clergie, which wes like to overflow all. This place he obtained in defpyte of them; and since hes ever been a thorn in their fide. Rosle being disappointed of his hope, went to Court to follift the breaking up of the Commissiion, as a thing moft prejudicall to the Clergie; for indeed it is an annihilation of the feinds for all tyme coming, except that small portion of them which is allotted to the Minifters. This Rosle obtains, and the King's will discharging the Commissiion is given to Traquair to carry to the Councill in a closed letter; bot being informed, I think by the Secretar, what he caried unawares in his bofome, he makes fuch remonfrances to the King, that he is content to give him a new direction, to be presented to the Councill after the firt, willing the Commissiion to be continued, if fo be after adyfement they fand it expedient for the weill of the countrie. Traquair and Rosfs came home together; bot Traquair having the King's posterior warrand for the Commissiion's continuance, and having moved the moft part of the Lords of Councill, even of the Bifhops themfelves, to fubferyve the expedience of that continuatione, he hes obtained from the King a new warrand for the dounfitting of that Commissiion, the 8 of January, which wes up since the 24 of July: This is thought the greateft affront that ever Rosle gatt, and hes cooled much his courage. Befyde the whole nobilitie, both here and at Court, which backs Traquair, he has made a part of the Bifhops themfelves to be for him; Brechin, Murray, and whereof moft I marvell, Galloway, evidently are his men; the Chancellor is fo terrified by him, for fear of fome his own practices, what I know not, that he is not, nor dare not be much oppofed. Glasgow he abufes pitifullie at his pleafure, after, with very much adoe, Brechin had obtained to him the

(7) Dr. John Maxwell, Bishop of Ross.
King's hand for the annuities in his Diocefe, till he was fullie payed of his fyve thoufand pound fterling. Traquair, after long delayes, at laft gave him waye, bot, to this day, doe what he can, he frustrates him, and receives himfelf those annuities, to Glafgowes infinite malecontentment: yit he hes plaid him a worfe hurt fince. After the Bifhop had made incredibJe dinne and bufinefs with our honeft Town, when by no means he would be contented, except he were relieved of their Ministers' ftipends, and receaved acknowledgement of everie particular holder in the town as the matter of their ground; Patrick, (8) by Traquair, obtains the King's hand to a fignature, wherein their holding of the Crowne immediately their patronage of the Blackfriers and Laigh Church, and many moe of their rights, challenged by the Bifhop, are confirmed; this Patrick gets through all the Scalls, and home to Glafgow, by their deir friend the Thefaurer, in spite of all that opposition which the Bifhops conjoynd could make. If he doe a third like thir two to poor Glafgow, I think he will kill him with difpleaure. There is a God. We hear the Bifhops are confident that Traquair fhall be their arme to force the country, by horrible fynes, to obey all their injunctions: they fay he gave Canterberrie this affurance at his firft advance-ment; but others doe hope that he will be moved to remon-strate to the King the countrie's grievances at the Bifhops pro-ceedings: it is evident that he fetts himfelf to croffe their generall defignes, and almoft profefes to doe particular defpite to his agonift Ross, alfo to Glafgow and St. Andrewes.

Mr. Rutherfoord, of whom you write, was filenced and confined to Aberdeen, for preaching againft the Articles of Perth and fuch things. It is true he refued to give the Chancellour or any of the Bifhops their ftylies; they were animat alfo againf him for taxing Camerone in his book, and moft for his indifferent railing at Jackson; alfo it is long fince the Regifter, dealing to have Mr. Henry Rollocke coadjutor to the blind Bifhop of Galloway, did put in the King's hands a treatife written by Rutherfoord upon Conventicles, or the extent of private men's libertie in publick praying and exponing of Scripture, to be ane argument of that Bifhops negligence. All thir things and fome moe did provoke them, bot the alleaded caufe of their cenfure was onlie Conformity. The man is godly and a prettie

(8) This person was evidently Patrick Bell, who had been Provost of Glas-gow in 1634, and again in 1638.
scholar; however I like not well his obscuritie in that book, and I mislike also his conclusions and reasonings in a pamphlet of his, goinge a Alonsoe our people, A Relation of a Conference of his with Sincere of Galloway, (9) wherein he will have our kneilling black idolatrie. One of his grounds is a tenet which he imputts to the Bishop, that the Act of Perth does injoyne to kneill, for reverence, to the mysterious elements; this kneilling I think a Papit would not maintaine, fo I take it for a calumnie; always I take the man to be among the moft learned and best ingynes of our natione. I think he were verie able for some profellone in your Colledges of Utrecck, Groninge or Rotterdame; for our King's dominions, there is no appearance he will ever gett living into them (1): if yow could quietlie procure him a calling, I think it were a good service to God to reliefe one of his troubled minifters; a good to the place he came to, for he is both godlie and learned; yea, I think by time he might be ane ornament to our natione.

Concerning Duræis (2) busines, when ever I hear of the advancement of it, I am refrehed; yow neid put no queftione on our fide, for we did ever earneftlie fute it. I marvell of your Hollanders that does oppofe it now. The beft of them, Voetius, I am fure, and, as I remember, Rivet and Valle, hes declared in print their judgement for that Unione. I fear the Saxon divines shall now retrace their Leipplick Conference. I with Durae would turn his Hyponnemata into a full florie, like that of Hofpinian, in Re Sacramentaria. His anfwers that he hes gotten from Divines and Princes, if they were in print, would be much for edificatione. I was much bettered by the wreit of the thrie Ingith Bifhopes. I with yow went to the Colledge fome wrytes of that kinde, fuch as Paræi Irenicon, and Crocii Affertio Auguftanà, with Menzeri Anticrocius, and one Chriftophorus Maffenus, or fome other, who writes weill on that fubject. However, it be now two years fince Duræe wreit to St. Andrewes of that purpole, yet never did I hear of any fuch purpole, no, not to this day, bot from yow, albeit, in fuch purpofes, I am curious

(9) Thomas Sydserff, Bishop of Galloway.
(1) Mr. Samuel Rutherford had been deprived of his living as Minister of Anwoth, in 1636, by Bishop Sydserff:—he was restored in 1638.
(2) Mr. John Dury, (in Latin Duræus,) a learned Divine, who laboured assiduously, both at home and abroad, to bring about a Union betwixt the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches.
of intelligence. I approve well the Bishop's wisdome in concea'lling that from our people, for they would not fail to tak it for a policie of theirs, to bring us on that farr. to yeild first to the Lutherans and then to the Papists: so if they saw any such matter in hand. they would, by that means, be the more confirmed in standing still where they are. I have a mind to have some books from London, if you had any acquaintance there that would take paines to buy and fend them to yow. I think I might have them so als foon and als safe, as any other way. Yow will wrie to me if yow think this course expedient, also what way I shall fend yow the moneys. If yow had any thing to be anwiered here, it were my greatest eafe to give money to your Father. For the preient, I defyre from Amsterdam fome little things; if it might be, I wish they were bound, and that in leather, for I love not your whyte parchent. I defyre then, Acta Remonfrantium, and Amellii Antifynodalia, Vollii Historia Pelagiana, Ufserii Godeschalcus, Dofiat's Letters compleat; thir books I hope to fee. and wishes them of my owne, also Apologia Remonfrantium, and Vorfilus de Deo, cum notis completis. I have many other of Vorfilus' wreits. I have fein that of the Colledge, bot the notes were not full, being ane evill edition. I wish yow [would] fend to the Colledge fome who refutes his Reafons, and alto that yow fend to them a Mercurius. I must be in your debt till yow wrie to me the belt way of fending yow money. Hereafter I shall have money at yow; God willing ere I wryte for books. If I wryte feldome, yow feie I am fo long that I fach yow; but what shall I doe, we must meafure our neighbour by our own foot, the longer your letters to me are, they were ever the more pleafant. I fend yow heir inclofed one of my letters to my coofing, Mr. Creichton; yow will fend it back to me, for I have not ane other copie. Shew me your opinion of the trueth of my arguments, and if yow advyfe me to goe on in fuch Conferences; for the preient he has fent me his judgement of Predestination, wherein he is fully with Arminius. I am upon your anfwier, which if yow pleafe yow shall fee.

We are in good hopes, that Arundell's return to Court shall doe us much good. It appears that all the King's subjeets are molt willing to give of their goods and perfons what can be craved for the Palatin's reditutione. Only the question will be to give the Parliament-men way to complaine of some pretended abufes in Church and State. We hope that no Churchman nor Statefmman will be fo divelith as to marr that fweit
harmonic betwixt the King and the Parliament, which now is altogether necessary for the removing of that grievous infamie under the quhilke our dominion long hes lyen, to the infinite grief of our sweit Prince. It's our heartie prayer there might be a Parliament in Ingland which might obtain all miforders there redrelfed: this would be some hope for us alfo to be heard in our like greivances; except this, we have no other worldlie hope; if the Palatine be longer neglected, if any wicked spirit hinder the calling of a Parliament, or a just hearing when it is called, we are feared for worse evills then yit we have felt. Our Thesaurer, they fay, is written for to Court; his freinds gives out it is to perfuade the Duke,\(^{3}\) with whom he hes great credit, to that match with Pembroke's fones widow, Buckingham's daughter, whereto the King cannot get his minde, how facile evere, yet fully wrought, for all her infinite portion. We had hopes he might have obtained one of the Palatine's fitters, but now, if he would look thereaway, frae the King hes thowed his will of his matching otherways, it might prove his hurt: Poor Prince, God helpe him! Buckingham his friends hes drawn him down from high hopes, (if it be as the report is;) however, our Thesaurer is a great courteour, bot I feare he cannot fland long; he caries all down that is in his way, with fuch a violent fpaite, oft of needlefs passion. They fay he brake up the Counsell the other wecke in spleene, without conclution; Glafgow and Galloway, and the Advocate, againft his minde, flanding to the dissolution of a late Border marriage, wherein an heretrix was seduced to content to ane youth of my Lord Hume his friends, and thereafter was brought by her own freinds to repent and crave the annulling of her pretended marriage. It is marvailed that Galloway would have croffed him; alwayes he fell upon the poore Advocate pitiefully with his tongue, and hes affrayed him with Sir Lewis Stewart's fuccedion to his place. I pray God to guide our Statefmen, that they may agree to feck the weell of our fighling land and our Church, more affrayed for a florme then it was this long tyme. I mutt close at laft, remembering my service and my maffres to yow and your maffres, whom I am very defirous to fie in Scotland. The Lord be with yow, and fend yow matter abroad, and me at home wherewith

\(^{3}\) James Fourth Duke of Lennox. He married Lady Mary Villiers, only daughter of George first Duke of Buckingham, and reliet of Charles Lord Herbert, who died in 1635.
your nixt letters may refresh me, and myne yow, more then thir our laft can doe. So I remain your loving counse,

[R. Baillie.]

Send me also, if ye can have it, Latii Historia Pelagiana, and some good Treatises of Brounifme. I hear Answrth hes written for their separation, and Paget or some other against it, which I gladly would have, for I feare to have too much use of such pieces. Yow have here also my Conference with Mr. Creichton anent the matter of heresie; if yow keep all close to yourself, as I know ye will, and send all thir 7 sheets back, yow shall have any other you require.

Jan. 29, 1637.

To My Lord Archbishop of Glasgow.⁽¹⁾

Pleaze your Lordship, your Lordship’s letter of the 7th of this inst. I receaved the 13th late, wherein I am desired to preach the laft Wedenfday of this instant before the Assembly, and to frame my sermon to incite my hearers to the obedience and practice of the Canons of our Church and Service-Book, published and establifhed by authoritie. I am much obllg-ed to your Lordship’s estimation of my poor giftes, and does humbley thank your Lordship for intending to honour me with fo great a service; but, withall, am sorry that my present dispositions necessitates me to decline the charge. I will confede myself to your Lordship freely, for I have found ever such equietie in your Lordship, and so favourable a respect towards me in all my affaires, that I am imboldened, without all dissimulation, to speake what is in my minde; the truth is, that as yt I have not studied the matters contained in the booke of our Canons and Common Prayer; only I have taken a slight view of them, whereby, for the present, my minde is no waves satisfied; yea, the little pleasure I have in these booke, and the great displeasure I find the most part, both of paiftours and people whereever I come, to have conceived against them, hes filled my minde with such a measure of grief, that I am scarce able to preach to my own flock; but to speake in another congregation, let be in fo famous a meet-

⁽¹⁾ Patrick Lindsay, of the Family of Edzell, in Angus-shire, Bishop of Ross, was translated to the See of Glasgow in April 1633.
ing, and that upon these matters, I am at this time utterly unable. Your Lordship, I put no question, is so equitable as to take in good part this my ingenuous confession of the true cause why I am unable to accept that honourable employment which your Lordship's more than ordinary respect would have laid upon me; so for this and many more favours received, far from my deserving, I pray God to bless your Lordship, and to continue you many years to be our overseer; for be persuaded that many thousands here where I live are greatly afraid, that whenever your Lordship shall goe, their peace and quietness shall goe away with you. This is

Your Lordship's very loving Friend, and obedient Servant,

R. Baylie.

Kilwinning, August 14, 1637.

To . . . . (3)

Reverend and Beloved Brother,

As I promised to you, so I have performed. Yesterdav morning I shew to my Lord, that I intended on Sunday to have a Session for to send a Commissioner to supplicate the Council, as I trusted many of my neighbours would doe. After he had for a little disliked my purpose, and proposed some impossible ways of his own, at last he was well content to approve our Supplication, and, if he had health, to back it, or else to write to his friends. At my departure my Lord Montgomerie lighted; he allured me, that whether his father went or no, he would not fail to go to Edinburgh for this errand. Thence I went to Stevenstoune. Mr. John Bell, I left him willing not only to cause his Session supplicat, but to go to Dalry and acquaint Mr. Robert Bell with the purpose, and to writ to Mr. James Fullerton, Mr. William Ruffell, Mr. Hew Eglintoun, to send the chief gentlemen of their parishes with the Supplication. Thence I went to Ardrossane. Mr. Alexander hes promised to send a Supplication, and to intreat himself, James Mitchell to carry it. Also to go to Kilbryde this day, and to request Mr. George to move his Session on Sunday to send Hunterstoune or

(3) In the MS. this Letter has no address. It probably, however, was directed to one of the Ministers of Glasgow, either to Robert Wilkie or John Maxwell: Vide infra, p. 19.
Letters and Journals. 1637.

Waterfoune with their Supplication; he hes promised to write thence to Mr. Thomas Craig, that it was our defyre heould be earnest with old Skelmurlie to carie their Supplicatione. In my return, I came be the Kirilaw, where I left Cunninghamehead resolved to carie the Supplication of Stevenfoune, and to tak Mr. John Bell with him to Edinburgh. He promisef also to goe this day to requeift old Blair to accept the Supplication of Dalry, for I thought it expedient that he wer in Edinburgh, especially to move his goodfone Blakhall, to informe my Lord Duke of Lennox. I have written to Mr. Michael in such a fafloun as yow would laugh at. I have told him how I under-flood of the Supplication to be prefented; bot of your dealing or mine, I have told him nought. I have defyrred him to fend me a double of his paroche Supplication, that I may conforme mine to it, and intreats him for this courtefie as a great favour; alfo I defyre him to thaw if they will give their Commifion to young Rowallane, or to whom elfe. This I think be all that yow requifited of me at parting. Every thing hes suceeded according to our minde. It refles that we pray for a happie event to God, that he would avert the poprie of the one fide, and the feifme of the uther, and the bloodie fword of both. It were good that Heifild were in Beith on Sunday to accept the Commifion of his paroche. Cunninghamehead promised to write to Carringtoune to accept the Commifione of Dundonald. We adverfeif Mr. John Fergusfhill that was in Dalry to adverfeif his neighbours at his returne. Yow have negleefed Kyle and Carrick ill: yow have tyme to adverfeife Kyle yet, that out of mony paroches there may go a gentleman. When yow come to Edinburgh, yow will doe weill to imploy Mr. Archbald John-ftoune rather then they yow named to me, to mak that Toun supplicat. Negleét not to caufe Angous and Rothus at leaff, if no mo, to fpieik plaine Scottifh to my Lord Duke of Lennox and the Thesaurer; what may coft them readilie their life and their lands, fall they not ufe means diligentie to avert it. Wherever yow goe, imploy the Supplicationes of these yow know ufed to pray in earneft; however I differ far fra yow in judgement about many things, and ever the longer the more, yet the troubles of our poore Church and State I would redeem with the loft of my right hand, yea, of my head, and all that I have, bot my foule alone and my confience. The Lord be with yow, as happie as yow have been, to procure this good and wife courfe of suppliying, both now and before. I truft
God shall make you as happy hereafter, if this meaneth prevail not to be his instrument to withdraw people from enraged, seditious, unchristian, and diabolical courses, whereupon nature doeth feft too many, and the devil spurreth them under the false pretext of religion.

Your Brother,

[R. Baillie.]

All that I have done is with so little dinn as was possible. The double of your Supplication will be given to all the Ministers I have named, except to Mr. Michael, for fear to marre him be any kind of our prescriptiones. As you have defired, I have written also to Dunbarton.

[To Mr. William Spang.]

Deare and Loving Cusing,

My best reply to your complaint of the rarity of my letters, is their prolixity, if not superfluous tediousness, when they come. I delayed also for a while to wryte, till ye had answered, as sundry tymes ye promised, to some passages of my last, which did requyre anwser. Ye shall doe weell hereafter when ye take leisure to wryte to me, to have my last befyle yow, that when ye take a blenk of it, ye may remember the cheif points wherein I crave your answere; bot the cheif caufe of my so long delay, was my hovering expectation till our present commotions had come, if not to some conclusion, yet to some crife, that from thence I might have advertified you with some certain ground, what was our present state, and what hopes or fears we had for the future; bot left this my expectation should occation in yow thoughts of my undutifulnes, if it continue any longer, I shall shew yow the eflate of our affaires as they are, at least as I am informed of them; though as yet, they are hinging without any certaine, so much as propension to settle in any posture, which is known to us, or well imaginarable to any man; only God knowes what he will doe with us all; for all, King, Court, Church, State, England, Scotland, seemes to be in a very flagging state, if God with his hand hinder not men and devells from their humorous inclinationes; for, as yet, I think there be no resolution taken on any hand.

In my last I shew yow how that, in the breaking up of the Winter Session, there was a Proclamation, by found of trumpet,
commanding all subjects, ecclesiastic and civil, to conform themselves to the Liturgie against the next Pash. Till that term there was no dinner; for the books were not printed till April was past, and a while thereafter. No diligence could obtain a sight of them; but in May, when letters was obtained by divers of the Bishops, commanding, under the paine of horning, every Minifter in their Diocelfe to buy, for the use of their paroches, two of these books, there began to be much talking of that busines; which increased when the Bishop of Galloway, in his Assembly, had purchased the content of the most part of his ministers to take these books, to use them; as the word went, to buy them when they come from the preffe. Well I wot his Lordship also held in Galloway an high Commission, where, for matters of conformity, he fined some gentlemen: he confyned the Magistrats of Kirkubrie to Wigtoun for a tyme; the Laird of Earltoun, who, by Lorne, and the rest of my Lord Kenmure’s curators, was intrusted with the most of that pupil’s affairs, for his absence, he fined in 500 merks, and confined his person to Montrofe. No dealing could move the Bishop to pass from the execution of this sentence; yea, at the Council table, when Lorne was relating some circumstances of this busines, he got a reply from the Bishop, which he called a lie, and so raised in high passion, and yet remains malcontent for that injurie. For myself, I think the Bishop could not be so impertinent, but that rather that wise nobleman would make use of some rash word, which he has fallen from his mouth; however, he and all the nobles takes it for a very pert affront done to their estate, even in Council. The matter, I hear, is before the King, and yet not agreed. It went also braid and wyde, and was told to the Bishop’s face, by my Lord Dumfreis, before the Treasurer, that he did wear under his coat, upon his breast, a Crucifix of gold; to which challenge his reply was but faint. A certain gentleman told me, that he did see, and handle, and confer concerning that crucifix, with the Bishop. For all this, I doe not believe it, for I, upon my old respect to the man, made M. R. Hamiltone his familiar pose him upon the matter; who reported to me his full purgation of this calumnie. However, that Synod and Commission in Galloway, that supposed lie and crucifix, did give no little occasion to the increase of the people’s murmures. The Bishop of Ross’s himself, in his Cathedral at leaft, did, long before that time, and so to this day continues to read a Liturgie, whether the English, or ours printed at
London, I doe not know. The Bishop of Dunblane, at his Synod, did read it; and gave all his Ministers Michaelmes terme to advyfe, whether then they would use that Book, or leave their places. The Bishop of Edinburgh in his Synod, when Mr. H. Rolloke had preached at length for the obedience to the King and Church, did read the Book. Mr. D. Michell and young Durie were the chief anfuerers. St. Andrewes in his diocefe did propone the buying and ufeing of the Booke, and thereupon took instruments. Glasgows was sick in Edinburgh; fo in our Synod was no word of this matter. In the meantime, fome copies of the Book goes from hand to hand; fome of the unconforme pairtie makes it their text daily, to fiew the multitude of the Popifh poynts contained in the book; the grofinefs of it far beyond the English; the way of the impofing of it, not only without any meeting either of Church or State, bot contrare to fanding lawes both of Church and State; in a word, how that it was nought bot the Mafs in English, brought in by the craft and violence of fome two or three of the Bifhops againft the minde of all the reft, both of Church and Statefmen. Thir things did found from pulpits, were carried from hand to hand in papers, were the table talk and open difcourfe of high and low. So it goes to the mids of July, when the King's letters comes down to diffove the Commiffion for the Tithes, till farder advyfement, procured, as moft thought, by the Thesaurer, to croffe the Chancellour; who at that tyme was to draw in the Churches of the Abbacie of St. Andrewes, his new caufality, and to caufe provide each of them a locall fipend within the parifhe, which would have annihilate the tacks of many noble-men and gentlemen athrow all Fyfe, fet by my Lord Duke of Lennox; for many paroches were all dilapidat, and the Mini-fters, whiles two or three, provided out of the tithes of other parifhes: fo the Chancellour obtaining a locality to the Minifter, according to the Act of Parliament, within the paroche, would have much augmented his own rent, and diminifhed that of the tackmen, and hurt the credite of the houfe of Lennox, who had receaved moneys for these tacks, which they could not warrand till expedients could be found. To remed this evil, the Thesaurer gets the Commiffion diffoved. St. Andrewes, whether to preveene this plot, or for what other defigne, re-foles to Court, and to Winter there. He thought to have ufed meanes to have been fent for; or, if thefe failed, to have pretended a voyage to the Bathes. Glasgows also did proteft,
oft tymes, that he would goe and complaine of the Thefaurer; who did continue, notwithstanding of all his contrarie promises, to frustrate him of his gift of fivye thoufand pound fterling, out of the annuities of his Diocefe: for this voyage he had cost his horfe. So then, my Lord Arch-Bishopes being resolved for Court, they thought meet, ere they went, to doe a pece of acceptable service to the King, that when they came, they might be the more welcome: they will have the Liturgie practifed in all the Churches of Edinburgh, without farder delay. A letter comes down from the King for this effect: The Bishop and Minifters of Edinburgh are sent for: St. Andrews will hear no reafon of shifting, but peremptorily commands them all to intimate, out of a printed paper, the King’s command to have the Scottif Liturgie read the Sabboth following in all their churches. The Commiffion is read out of all the pulpits; only Mr. Andrew Ramfay figns it. The whole body of the Towne murmures and grudges all the week exceedingly; and who can marvell, discourses, declamations, pamphlets, every where againft this courfe; no word of Information, in publick or private, by any to account of, ufed for the clearing of it. So, on Monday morning, when the Bishop and his Deane, in the great Church, [and the] Bishop of Argyle in the Grayfriers, began to officiat, as they fpeak, incontinent the ferving maids began fuch a tumult, as was never heard of fince the Reformation in our nation. However, no wound given to any, yet fuch was the contumelies in words, in clamours, runnings and flinging of ftones in the eyes of the Magiftrates, and Chancellour himfelf, that a little oppofition would have infallibly moved that inraged people to have rent fundry of the Bifhops in pieces. The day thereafter, I had occafion to be in the town; I fand the people nothing fettled; but if that Service had been prefented to them againe, resolved to have done fome mischiefe. Some fix or feven fervants were put in ward; the Towne put under ane Epifcopall interdict, which yet continues; no preaching, no prayers on the week days, no reading nor prayers on Sunday. The Chancellour wrote up prefently the flory to the King, with fome wype to the Thefaurer; who that foule day was from the town. The Thefaurer and Counfellors being highly offended, that the Chancellour fhould wryte in fuch a buulnes without their privity, delayed to write or fend their post till the Fryday. It was thought the Counsell’s letter did extenuate the matter fo much, as it might be laid on the rafcall mul-
titute, with some reflexion on the Bishops imprudent precipitation. In the mean tyme, there was great fear for the King's wrath: the towne and countrey did quake till the return of the King's pleasure. Our gracious Prince was glad that the Towne, and all of any note, had been free of that tumult; as for the raukall multitude, he committed the tryall and the censure of the fact to the Council, only did command the use of the Service book with all possible diligence. Before this tyme, the moit of the Bishops had raised letters of horning, to charge all the Minifters in their Diocefe to buy two books for the ufe of their parifhes within fiftein dayes. Glafgow was very diligent in chargeing all his Prefbyteries; and by no in-treatie, would delay fo much as to his Assembly in August, bot would have us all to the horne prefently who would not buy. St. Andrewes moved many to buy the books without chargeing; only two or three unconforme men were charged in his Diocefe. Their wes ane overture made to us in Irvine, to fupplicat the Council for a fuppenfion of this unreafonable charge; after much advifeement and doubts, we concluded to fend Mr. William Castellaw to the Council, with a Commiffion to fupplicat in the name of us all, for a fuppenfion. We fend over to Aire, to require them to conjoyne; but Mr. William Annan, their modera-tor, pro imperio, did discharge all fuch motion; only Mr. James Bonar went to Edinburgh for himfelf, and two or three others of his brethren. I having occasion, within two dayes thereafter, to be in Glafgow, did motion the matter to their Minifters, who had gotten prefently letters to be ready againft the Sunday nixt, to read the Service in all their churches. I had not much adoe to caufe them call their Prefbytrie, and fubferyve all of them a pithie Supplication, penned by Mr. John Maxwell, carried by Mr. Robert Wilkie, on Wednesday, to the Council. Upon that Supplication mainly, there was no more bot ours in Irvine; Mr. James Bonar, for two of Aire; Mr. Alexander Henderson, for himfelf, and two of St. Andrews, (whole Supplication, because much esteemed by the people, I have fet down;) I fay, Glasgowes Supplication, and Mr. Robert Wilkie's diligence, to his infinite praiie, did obtain from the Council that strange letter to the King, which here ye have, and ane Act from the Council, declaring that their minde in their letters, of chargeing the Minis ters, was alone to buy the Books for their own information, bot not for any prefent ufe in their parifhes. Many noblemen by letters, many gentlemen in perfon, did folid the Counfellors,
one by one, and gave them all these Informations, which here ye have also. All the Council was most earnest to satisfy the country in holding off the yoke of that black book; only at the Bishops vehement solicitations, for the refounding of the printer's expences, for which they stood obliged, there was no Tulpfenfion given for the buying of two books. Whill ane answer should be returned from the King to this letter, all the farther prosecuting of the matter was delayed to the 20 of September. Our Synod in Glafgow was indicted on the laft Wedensday of Auguft. The Bifhop wrote to me from Edinburgh, to preach thereat; and, withall, to incite all my hearers to obey the Church Canons, and to practife the Service. I wrote back a flat e refuall, shewing the irresolution of my own minde. For all this, in the Fryday before the Synod I receave new letters, commanding me, upon my canonical obedience, to preach on Wednesday before the Synod, committing the matter of my Sermon to my own discretion. However I had bot two free dyes, yet I choofed rather to obey then to have caft my felf in needle's contefts with a troublesome man, and made my felf ready as I might, on that 2 of Timothy: "I charge thee before God, to preach in feafon, and out of feafon," &c. The Bifhop, as I was informed, had written to Mr. William Annan to preach on the Thurfday; bot coming to the town on the Monday, whileas I could not winn till the Tuefday late, the Bifhop agrees with him to take the Wedensday, and thinks to keep me for the Thurfday, (as he faid idley to me) being the chief day of the Synod, when yet he might know that then the Synod would be difolved. Glad was I that Mr. William Annan took that burden off me; for indeed I was not prepared as the tyme required. I would have fpoken no fyllable of any conformity, but preffed thefe paftorall duties, which would not have pleased all. So I took it: and the event proved it to be a good providence for me, that I was free to Thursday I peremptorily refused. Mr. William Annan, on the 1. of Timothy, "I command that prayers be made for all men," in the laft half of his fermon, from the making of prayers, ran out upon the Liturgie, and fpake for the defence of it in whole, and fundry most plausible parts of it, as well, in my poor judgment, as any in the Ifle of Brittain could have done, confidering all circumftances; howsoever, he did maintain, to the diflyk of all in ane unfit tyme, that which was hinging in suspence betwixt the King and the country. Of his fermon among us in the Synod, not a word; bot in the town among the women,
a great dinne. To-morrow, Mr. John Lindsay, at the Bishop's command, did preach; he is the new Moderator of Lanrick. At the ingoing of the pulpit, it is said, that some of the women in his ear assured him, that if he should twitch the Service Book in his sermon, he should be rent out of the pulpit; he took the advyce, and lett that matter alone. At the outgoing of the church, about 30 or 40 of our honestest women, in one voyce, before the Bishop and Magistrats, did fall in rayling, curling, scolding with clamours on Mr. William Annan: some two of the meanest was taken to the Tolbooth. All the day over, up and down the streets where he went, he got threats of fundry in words and looks; bot after supper, whill needleslie he will goe to visit the Bishop, who had taken his leave with him, he is not sooner on the caufe, at nine o'clock, in a mirk night, with three or four Minifters with him, but some hundredths of iraged women, of all qualities, are about him, with neaves, and flaves, and peats, [but] no tones: they beat him fore; his cloake, ruffe, hatt, were rent: however, upon his cries, and candles fet out from many windows, he escaped all bloody wounds; yet he was in great danger, even of killing. This tumult was so great, that it was not thought meet to search, either in plotters or actors of it, for numbers of the beft qualitie would have been found guiltie. To-morrow, poor Mr. William was convoyed with the Baillies and fundry Minifters to his horfe; for many women were waiting to affront him more. Always at his onlouping, his horfe unhapiely did fall above him, in a very foule myre, in presence of all the company; of which accident was more speche then of any other. I think that Town's commotion does proceed most from Mr. John Bell's vehement dilyke of the Booke, whereto I take him much to be furthered by his good fone, Mr. James, fo shamefully abusd by the Bishop, as I wrote to you before. Always, I suspeet, these tumults will hinder the Bishop, for all his floutnefs, in haffe to caufe read Service in his Cathedrall. Great was the longing of the whole countrey for the 20 of September; against it, all did expect this busines should take some crife. The most of the parifhes in the Sherifdom of Aire, Fyfe, Louthian, Cliddesdaill, Stirlingshire, Stratherne, did fend in Suppllications with their chief gentlemen, to befeek the Counciell to deprecat the King, that he would not urge the heavi burden of the Liturgie. A number of Earles and Lords, whose names ye have, a great number of Barons, fundry burghes Commissi-
difficulties,) went to keep the dyet. My Lord Duke of Lennox
coming down post for his mother's burial, who had died of a
feaver, and was buried the 17 of September in the night without
ceremonie; for her husband, mainly by her princely carriage,
is more then four hundred thousand merks in debt; my Lord
Duke, I say, had the carrying of the King's letter to the Coun-
fell. A copie of it I have sent yow. For all the hardships of it,
the Commissioners prezentened their severall Supplications. There
was one common one prezentened by my Lord Sutherland, the
first Earle of thefe who were prezent, in name of the Nobilitie,
Barrones, Minifters, Brughes, there prezent. Ye have the copie,
both as it was prezentened, and as it was thereafter corrected and
mended to be sent up to the King. My Lord Duke was care-
fully follifted to agent this weighty buinefs, and hes promised to
doe his endeavour. In his paflage, he was magnificently inter-
tained in the Town Houfe of Glafsow,—he hes subfcryved, in
the Bifhop's prefcence, an ancient band of his houfe, to maintain
that good towne under the King, againft all whomsoever to his
power. His Grace did avow, that the King was misinformed
much about the nature of the buinefs. It is thought, that two
yeares since, the Bifhop of Roffe and Deane of Edinburgh being
at Court, did give assurance, that the nobilitie and body of the
land did much long for this Liturgie, and would give the King
great thanks to give it; also, that with this laft letter of the
Council, which all who were prezent, even the Bifhops thems-
elves, whose names ye have here, did subfcryve, there went up
privie informationes from the Bifhop of Dumblane to Canter-
burie, (for the reft promised to wryte nothing diffonant from the
publick letter,) shewing that if the King would goe on, he shoul
donde it little difficultie, though some few puritanes in the Council
would make it feem otherways. However, the Council made
that Act which here ye have; and all, with most earnest affection
commended the affair to the Duke's Grace. The Thesaurer, his
guider, lays it much to heart; and albeit it was greatly feared
that he should have been the violent executor of the King's
commands, yet he hes given the Noblemen full assurance, that
he will venture all he hes before our Reverend fathers get our
sweet Prince fo farr abufed, as to loffe needlely the hearts of all
his subiects. By the King's peremptory command, the town of
Edinburue was forced to receave, the 18 of September, Sir John
Hay, Clerk-Register, for their Provost. When they would have
joyned with the reft of the burroughs to supplicat, he did hinder.
After the Councill raie, a committee, as ye fee in the Act, was ordained to sett still, for to finde means how the Book should be quietly recceaved in Edinburgh without farther delay. The people hearing of it on the Saturday, publickly, before the Bishop, raile on their new Provost. On Monday he calls in the Tolbooth a Council; the body of the town keepeth the dyett; men, women, and all rushes in: All the threats of the imperious Provost could not make any of them move. The Book, all of them cryed, they wold never have. At last, they were moved to go forth, by the Baillies request, till the Councill had advyfed; but with assurance, they would not goe from the doore till they had concluded to supplicat for the town to the Committee. The Provost, after he had drunken all these contumelies, was glad to promishe a Supplication, and to assure they shoulde as little and as late be troubled with that Book as any Burgh in the kingdome. Against the next Councill day, the 1 of November, it is expected, that the most of all the Nobility, Gentry, Burrows, shall be present, to fend up their Commissioners to Court. What shall be the event, God knows: there was in our Land ever such ane appearance of a flour; the whole people thinks Poperie at the doores; the scandalous pamphlets which comes daily new from England, adde oyl to this flame; no man may speake any thing in publick for the King's part, except he would have himself marked for a sacrifice to be killed one day. I think our people possessed with a bloody devill, farr above any thing that ever I could have imagined, though the masle in Latine had been presented. The Minifters who has the command of their mind, does disfayow their unchristian humour, but are noways so zealous against the devill of their furie, as they are against the seducing spirit of the Bishops. For myself, I think, God, to revenge the erring faults of all estates and professions, (which no example of our neighbour's calamities would move us to repent,) is going to execute his long denounced threatenings, and to give us over unto madnefs, that we may every one shoot our swords in our neighbours hearts: our dreggs is like to be more bitter then was the brimme of God's cup either to the French or to the Dutch; ye and all your neighbours had much need to pray for us, as we have oft done for yow in your dangers. The barricads of Paris, the Catholick league of France, is much before my eyes; but I hope the devill shall never finde a Duke of Guife to lead the bands.

The Minifters being mett at dinner together, in a great num-
ber, at the Councill-day, Mr. Andrew Ramfay, Mr. H. Rolloke, Mr. David Dick, Mr. Alexander Henderfone, Mr. J. Ker, and many more did advyfe of overtures to caufe this storme. Ane of them drew them up in this forme, which here I fend you: the updrawer is averfe from all conformitie, yet modeld here as could have been expected. I defiderat one overture, namely, a clear demonstration of their madnefs, who in this or any caufe will goe loffe their foule in refiling authority. The moft of thir things I think ye knew before; yet, that ye may fee it is neither unkindnes nor lazinefs that makes my letters to yow fo rare, I thought good ye shoule hear them altogether from me alfo. Weele is you, whom the ocean divides from thir evills, but yet grace and nature will not let yow be separate from the near fenfe of them. Your Father this halff year hes keeped the house; it were good ye came, and bade him once fareweell, and viewed your mother countrie before it be defolate: the hearts of all doe tremble for feare.

I wrote to yow for some books, as ye will fee in my laft letter; some of them ye have sent, the refl it is no marvell ye have not fent, I am fo great a dyvour: But God willing, if we be all living about Candlemas, I shall have moneys at yow for all I wrote for, and for my four years Currants. Send me no books unbound: I will all in leather; bot frace it cannot be, it’s better to have them in your parchement, then to be fitched and extortioned with James Sanders in Glasgowe. Dear and loving Cousine take all this in good part; commend me heartily to your wife. My heart is for the preſent fulle fore for that poor Land wherein we were borne, and Church wherein we were regenerat; if it were not a God who permitted a powerful devill to blinde and inrage men against the common principle of cleare naturall reafon, let be equity or religion, I think both our Bifhops and their oppofers might be eafily withdrawn from destroying themselves and all their neighbors; bot God and devills are too strong for us: The Lord fave my poor foul! for as moderate as I have been, and refolves in the fpite of the devill and the world, by God’s grace to remaine to death. For as well as I have been beloved hitherto by all who has known me, yet, I think I may be killed, and my house burnt upon my head; for I think it wicked and base to be moved or carried down with the impetuouſ fpait of a multitude; my judgement cannot be alterd by their motion, and fo my perfon and state may be
drowned in their violence: I with my fears may be disappointed. The Lord be with you.

[**R. Baillie.**]

October 4, 1637.

My fears in my former went no farther then to one ecclesiastic separation, but now I am more affrayed for a bloudie Civill warre. My seven sheits of writs with Mr. Clrichtoune(!) yow will send with your particular censur well clofit. I have written another since on Predomination: if you pleas I shall send it you. I with that some of your letters were far more particular and large then this long tymes they have been: yow continually forget to send to the College a Mercurius.

Ther cam a comand to the Counfell, and from thence to all our Borrowes, that no Magistrat should be chosen but of men conforme. If that Act were urgit, we could have in all our Tounes no Magistrates at all, or very contemptible ones. But impossibilitie here will crave a dispensation; yet it shows our Bishops intention to be heavie urgers of thir traditions on all publick officers as well as on poor minifters.

**A Note of Proceedings since the 5th of December.**

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

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

Upon Monday the 11th, Proclamation for sitting of the Counfell and Session at Stirling the 2d of February, and untill that tymce, of the Counfells sitting at Dalkeith, Tuesday and Thurf-

(!) John Crichton, Minister of Paisley, was deposed for erroneous doctrine, by the General Assembly, in November 1638.
day weekly. Upon the self same day the Commissioners were dealt with be the Thesaurer and Privie Seall, to goe to Dalkeith the morn; thereafter to attend the Counfell in a small number, not exceeding twelve in whole; and to divide their supplications, every rank and Shirefdome coming with their supplications apairt: which, because it tended to division, was refufed.

Upon Tuesday the 12th, the Commissioners coming forth as they were appointed, were aflayed, If they would divide their numbers? If they would fend in their supplications by a maiffer or clerke, and not come in themselves? If they were come as The Three Eftates, or as supplicants of all ranks? Whereunto was anfwered, That they would not divide, nor fend in their petitions by the clerke nor maiffer, nor call themselves otherways than supplicants of all ranks. At length, the heads of their supplications being underftood, they were delayed till the morn.

Upon Wednesfday the 13th, the Commissioners coming againe, as they were appointed, were dealt with to alter their fubferuyved supplication, in the poyn that concerned the Prelates as their parties; which being found by the whole Commissioners defteructive of the fubferuyved supplication, and without the bounds of their commifion, was refufed; whereupon the Counfell refufed to receive it on these terms; and while the Commissioners were about to take instruments of their diligence, and the Counfells refufall, the Counfell brake up abruptlie.

The brethren mett daylie, and likewife the rest of the Com-missioners, and by conference, by reafons of fubfcriptiones, by reafons of not altering any thing in the fubferuyved supplication, by reafons of union, and to conform themselves in unity in the good caufe more and more unanimoufli, and to infift for anfwer to their supplication; whereof, when they faw no apeirance of anfwer, they refolved upon a protestation before the Counfell, and a supplication to his Majeftie; and faw a necciffity of humbling themselves and their flocks, in repect of the prefent diftres of our Kirk; bot would not take upon them to indyte a fett univerfall publlick faft, bot thought it fitt that every man be himfelf, in his own tyme, fo conveniently as he could within their own charge, with confent of their feffions, fhould humble themfelves publlicklie, and acquaint their people with this obtruded Liturgie, how farre contrarie it is to the Confeffion of Faith, sworne and fubferyved be all ranks in this kingdom.

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

Upon Tuesday the 19th of December, we went to Dalkeith to attend the Councils answer to our petitions formerly given in, and presented this Bill, the copy whereof followeth. (2)

For Mr. R. Wilkie. (3)

16th of January 1638.

Right Reverend,

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

For Mr. Alexander Cuninghame. (4)

January 16, [1638.]

Alexander,

These are thanks for this dayes letter; the larger it was I

(2) The Bill here referred to, and the various other Papers which Baillie mentions as transmitting copies of to Mr. Spang, are transcribed in his MS. Register of Letters. It was thought advisable, however, to keep his own Letters and Journals distinct from such documents, most of which are easily accessible in a printed form.

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

(4) It is probable that this person was the same who was proprietor of the
lyked it much the better, yet ye muft not lyke this the worfe that it is short, for it is now paft eleven at night. I marvell upon what ground the report of my scrapings is rifen; the truth is, at my going to Edinburgh, forefearing I would be fppeared at my reafons of my diflyke of our book, I call my thoughts on the new fafe doctrines, which I had read of late in fome English treatifes, wherefo our book in fundry paffages was applicable. Of thir I fpake in the meeting when I was posed; my difcourfe I was intreated to put in write, by fome of the hearers, as alfo by fome of the brethren of Glasgou, who foreminded to lyke the purpofe. At my returne I made a little collection for their fatiffaction; this I did fhew to fome very few, who to my knowledge hes no copie of it at all, and did keep it fo fure and clofe as I could wilhe, having their faithfull promife to that end; for my Lord Montgomerie, he knew not of it by me leffe or more. Alwayes fince ye are defyrous to fee thefe fcribings, I have written to Mr. William Wilkie, to whom I communicat all I have, to fhew yow them. I know ye will be fecret, for wrytes of that kinde are very dangerous. For matters of ceremonies, I know no reafon of changeing my minde; yea a late book, which others admire as a peece unanswerable, hes made me more averfe then I was from thefe mens doctrines and practifes; bot withall I am glad to joyne with them in oppofing a common enemie; fince no other way is left, bot either to swallowing down all that the Canterburians can invent, or elfe to oppofe them plainly in their lawlefs practifes. I pray yow to study much, and pray much, that ye may be a good man and a fchollar, which are not too oft together.

If ye have befye yow my letter, written the 6th of March 1636 to yow, at the firft publishing of the Book of Canons, the double whereof this day I finde, ye will fee that what now I doe is no change of my minde, bot the performance of that [which] then I refolved; yea, if ye will read a leffe in Latine, which about this fame day four year I penned, and about that tyme fhew to Mr. William Wilkie, who now hes it, ye will finde me altogether the fame man this day which then I was. I moft inure by fome ignaries to be counted a penitent, as retracting of confidence my diuerfities which, in preaching and wryting, I had with fome men; bot it is not fo.

small Estate of Hyndhope, in Selkirkshire, and afterwards became Minister of Ettrick. Alexander Cunningham the Historian was his younger son.
For the Principall. (5)

Reverend and Weel-Beloved Brother,

I have been, I suspect, too long in your debt: receive now from my boy seventeen dollars, two shillings, and a sixpence, which in my counting is forty-eight pounds; this is eight pound for each of your six volumes, if any man more bidd, at my coming I shall either make it out, or restore the books. I have sent yow also my little collection from the late English treatises I have seen. I wish indeed ye did consider the passages: I did draw it up mainly for yow; for by your defyre that I shold doe so, my earneft defyre that ye shold be acquaint with all I knew, made me take that paines to the end, that finding these men who now rules all, so corrupt in the maine poynnts of our doctrine, ye might be moved to help the Church of God at this so needfull a tymge. Your great place and great abilities does call yow to it before any man I know in the west of Scotland. Your first concurrence did a great deall of good to further that univerfeall refufeall of the Book which followed. Your withholding of your hand from the laft complaint, I hear much spoken of, and heavily taken; but what I can I Justifie it, at leaft excludes it to my power. However ye continue to joyn in that complaint or not; yet I wish earnestly that ye may try the way of our Court Clergy, and if ye finde them to be in a course of undermyning our religion, that ye would not faile to bear witnese of it, as none can doe better. The hazard of so doing will not be so great, as the confidence of so good a turne will be comfortable, come what may. But I have clean forgot myselfe by my idle presumption to aduyle the like of yow in such a matter. I have sent yow my laft tuo conferences with Mr. Creichtone. When ye get leasure, ye will call them over, and at meeting give me your cenfure. Mr. John Maxwell was earneft with me for a fight of thefe papers; if ye thinke it expedient when ye have read them, let him fee them; ye may fee what I wret to him: if ye think it not expedient, burne the letter to him; as for my conferences with Mr. Creichtone, keep them for your self alone. We are all well, praifed be God, and defyres to hear the lyke of yow all. Our commendations remembred. I ref,

Your Brother,

Kilwinning, January 16 1638. R. B[AILIE.]

(5) Dr. John Strang, Principal of the University of Glasgow.
Stafford and Cooftns, and what other books I left with you, I pray yow give to my boy: I am much craved for them. Ye will clofe Mr. John’s letter if ye think meet to delyver it.

For Mr. John Maxwell.(6)

Reverend and Weel-beloved Brother,

Ye refreshed me at our laft two or three meetings, and still I am refreshed when I remember your full consent with me in all the points now in quetion, and your note zeale against the new doctrines of the English faction. Ye defyred me to draw up thefe things in write, whereof I did fpeak to you, and fend them to you, that ye might in your fermons, in that eminent place before the fcholars, fett yourfelf againft thefe new errors as manfullie as the yeares bygone ye had done. In the matter of Antichrift, I have done as ye defyred; receave therefore thefe my papers: if there be any paffage whereof ye doubt, I hope to make it good, for since that wret, I have fallen on other their treatifles wherein they vent the fame errors which are there, and some moe and worfe, if moe or worfe can be. Thir are times that every one of us muft help others, and ftrengthen others to maintaine the truth of God committed to our cuftody. When they troubled us bot with ceremonies, the world knowes we went on with them, (whereof we have no caufe to repent,) fo farr as our duty to God or man could require: bot while they will have us, againft flanding Lawes, to devoir Arminianifme and Popery, and all they pleafe, shall we not bear them witnes of their oppreffion though we fhould die for it, and preach the truth of God, wherein we have been brought up, againft all who will gainfay. Much good may ye doe in this caufe; your firft Supplication did much help: goe on in the name of God; whatever danger ye can fall in by doing God service, it will not be comparable to the great curfe of God upon Meroz, who, when able, and called, wer unwilling, for their own reafons, to help the Lord againft the mighty.—Had I one half dozen fo able and flout as ye to goe before me, I would not be afraid to reafon the equity of our caufe in the face of an Òecumenick Synod, againft all the Canterburians in Britaine, though they had on their fyde all the Bifhops with them, as they have not the halfe. The Lord be with you,

(6) One of the Ministers of Glasgow.
most loving Brother, and direct you what you have to doe in
your place and at thir times.

Your Brother.

Kilwinning, January 16, 1638.

To Mr. William Spang.

Feb. 27, [1638.]

Coosing,

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

What had past to the 20th of September laft, ye have in my
former letter. I shal send you now what hes befallen since,
after some gleanings of the former tyme, whereof since I have
had intelligence. The 20th of December 1636, there come a
miflive to the Councell, brought doune by the Bithope of Roffe,
commanding all to conforme themselves to a Liturgie, which the
King had seen in write, and approven. The miflive ye have at
the letter (A,) the Act of Councell and Proclamation made there-
frac is printed in the frontifpeece of our booke. It was well
near May thereafter ere the books were printed: for, as it is
now perceaved by the leaves and sheets of that booke, which
was given out aethort the shoppes of Edinburgh, to cover spryce and tobacco, one edition at leaft was destroyed: bot for what cause we cannot learne; whether because some gros faults was to be amended, or some moe novations was to be eiked to it; both reaons are likelie; only it is marvellous that so many being conscious of necessity to this deed, the secret of it should not yet come out. Bot shortly after the outcoming of the booke, the Bishops, upon a narrative not well grounded, as the event shewes, obtains ane Act of horning on all minifters, the 13th of June 1637, who will not buy two of these books for the use of their parishes; this Act ye have at the letter (B): what followed on the first practixe thereof in Edinburgh, I wrote before. From the 24th of July to the 10th of Auguft, the pofts ramm thick betuixt the Court and the Counfell, which fatt every other day, to finde means for peaceable introduction of the Service. There wanted not good will in the Magiftrates and Minifters of Edinburgh, for to do his Majellie service, as ye may fee in the minut of the Counfell acts at (C;) yet all wes delayed to the 20th of Auguft; at which tyme the foure Supplications (which by the diligence of one man, D.D.(7) upon very finall, or no hope of sueccell, was procured from Glafgow, Irvine, Aire, Fyne,;) were prented, and that favourable letter which ye have before, was written by the Counfell to the King; to the which come down that sharp reply, the 20th of September, which ye heard likewise. The sharpnes of it I nothing marvell, confidering, befides the Bishops information, that the Magiftrates of Edinburgh, as they fay, in name of the Towne, did wryte to Canterburie, that however some of the bafe rafcall multitude had made dinm for that service, yet that they themelves, and the greatest and beft part of the city, was most willing to obey the King in that or any other commandment he would be pleased to enjoye; that they had offered ftipends above their power, to their fecond Minifters for to read the books: I hear indeed that their fecond Minifters were content, upon the offer of some more then was promifed, to embrace that charge; and that they would count it ane accumulation of favors, if the King would, by his Grace's meanes, rest affured of their obedience. For this offer of so heartie obedience, and charges to their fecond Minifters, Canterburie, in his anfwer, returned them both in the King's name, and in his own,

(7) David Dick or Dickson, then Minister of Irvine, and afterwards successively Professor of Divinity at Glasgow and at Edinburgh.
mott heartie thanks. What marvell then if the King should call all that din and tumult, whereof the Councell wrote the 24th of August, a needles noise; as we heard it was called also before by my Lord Alexander, who went to Court after that Councell day, and yet there remains, a man very favourable to the Book, and a great reafoner for it.

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

Wee expected not a Counfell day againe before the frit of November, at fooneft; yet St. Andrews did advertife the towne of Edinburgh to expect the anfwer of their supplication the 18th of October. We were informed that their supplication was suppreffed, and never fent to Court; only the Provost wrote to Canterburie, that that confluence of innumerable people the two laft Counfell dayes, had fuggelct such things to the poor ignorant people, that had razed the good refolutions, which, by their continual paines, had been before impressed in their minde; and however they had affURED of their ready obedience and obfequioufnes, upon the confident affurance which from tyme to tyme they had taken of the greatefl and belt part of their citizens, yet they were forced to fupplicat the Counfell, that they might be continued in the fame effate with the ref of the kingdome; promifing, that they would not forbear to do their matter service to their power, and would ftryve to reimprint in their people their former good refolutions, that for the prefent were taken away. To the fame purpofe they wrote to my Lord Stirling. The appointment of the 18th of October, for the towne of Edin- burgh, was keepe long secret; but when it drew near, our neighbour hearing of it, took it for a deepe policie to separate Edinburgh, who now was joyn'd with the ref of the kingdome.
fo we are all advertised to keep that 18th day, who otherways were not minded to appear before the first of November. That dyett I keepe, at my Lord Montgomerie's defyre, and my Lord Rothus in treaty by letter to him. The noblemen, gentlemen, and minifters of the West and South, did meet in frequent number; bot, at the beginning, were verie forrie of their voyage. St. Andrews had not come over; none of Fyfe to count of were prefent. We expected no Counfell day: we took our advertise-

ment to be a falfe alarme, and our warner, [Mr. Johnstone] befide his cuftome, to have been too rash: we began to be ashamed, and feared that meeting of ours should be mocked by the adverfe partie; bot at once we fand our felf farr miftaken: A Counfell meets; we hear a dumb rumor that hard letters were come from Court; that St. Andrews of purpofe had abfented himself to deceave and withdraw Fife from that meeting; or rather, as I thinke, becaufe he defyred to be abfent from the ungracious employments of that day. However, the commitioners of parifhes, above two hundreth, gives in their supplications to James Primrofe, the clerk, together with a dollor at leeft the ppeace. This done, all goes to consultation; the noblemen to one house, the gentry to another, we to a third. Mr. Andrew Ramfay is our moderator; he enquires of every man, if he dilented from the Book: all did, both for matter and manner of impoifting it. I was pofed somwhat more narrowly, becaufe they fuppected my minde in thefe things. I repled, with fome peice of blushing in fuch ane auditory, the like whereof I had never fpoken, That albeit I thought myfelf obleiged, in charitie, to conftruct all that caufe from authoritie in the bell fenfe that any veritie would permitt, yet I behooved to difapprove the Book, both for matter and manner; upon thefes reafoons, which at more length I had to fhow. I was not minded to fpeak any more in publick; yet after I heard tyme spent by many in their poor and foonie anfwered objections, I was the more content to yield to the importunitie of fundrie, who drew me with their hands forward, to fpeak fome of my reafoons. I had thought on a way of oppofing the Book, by God's providence, which had come in the minde of none of that company, fo farr as I yet know, to prove the errors that were apparent, or might be deduced by confequence from the Book, to be the minde and avowed doctrine of the book-

makers, by testimonies of thefe books which Canterburie of late had printed. A number of thir paflages I had perquire; fo I was heard with very great approbation, and ere even was too
famous a man in all the toune, and intreated that what I had 
maid, or could say more to that purpose, I would put it in write; 
for that way of proceeding was counted to be verie advantagious 
to our caufe. This I did; and since hes, from manie hands, 
gotten manie thanks, and expcets from the Bihops, if ever they 
gett up their heads againe, manie stroakes: readily I shall send 
yow a double of it. It is after the order of Vedelii Arcana, and 
Fedli Hommii Specimen, et Socini Remonftrantifmus.

While we were thus occupied, some of our number, who had 
been abroad, comes in and showes us, that by sound of trumpett 
we were all discharged the toune within 24 hours: the tenor 
of the Proclamation ye have, and the King's letter, whereupon 
it was founded, at the letter (E). A little thereafter, the same 
day, by another Proclamation, as I remember, the Seffion and 
Counfell was indicted at Lithgow, the first of November, for 
the first Seffion, and thereafter at Dundie. All thir things were 
feared and foretold by some of the Bihops. The beft policy 
that could be ufed to break the combination of the land, was to 
delay them, that, being wearied with tyme, they might fall off. 
The Proveit's information, that their people's good resolutions 
was altered by the confluence of strangers to the Counfell, did, 
as feems, procure their discharge to remaine longer in toune; and 
it was thought that the Counfell and Seffion was that toune's 
god, so that the fearing to want these, would draw that people 
any where. To counterpoe this policy, the other party, after 
a little aftenishment and rage, resolved, in the short tyme was 
given them to stay, to draw up a formall complaint against 
the Bihops, as authors of the Book and all the troubles that 
had and was like to follow on it. This is done very secrettelie; 
to the gentry and ministrie is letten fall only a small generall. 
We are all defyr'd by the nobilitie, to stay till they sent to us 
to communicat their resolution to-morrow. In the mean tyme, 
they committ the penning of that complaint to Mr. Alexander 
Henderson and my Lord Balmerinoch, on the one hand; to Mr. 
D. D. and my Lord Loudon on the other: that night thefe four 
did not sleep much. To-morrow two formes were presented 
to the Nobles. Our westland one was receaved, and inconti-
tent subforyved by some 24 Earles and Lords, some two three 
hundred gentlemen of quality: all did flee upon it without much 
advymement. It was done very shortly and secrettelie; for tyme 
straited. About four afternoone it came to the ministres roune. 
At that tyme I was abroad: when I came in it was going fail
through the hands of breither. I speared at one or two what they had subfcryved, who could not informe. It seems too many went on fide implicita. I defyred the write to be read over to us who new come in. When I heard the piece, I was putt in great doubts what to doc: some hard paflages were in it; it had neither been reasoned nor voted, but only read, and after all the nobles and gentries subfcriptiones, presented to our hands. If I had refufed my hand to it, I had been as infamous that day, for marring, by my example, a good caufe, as yesterday I was famous for furthering it with my difcourfe. After a little silence and advyfement, I got my minde extended to subfcription, upon thir two grounds: 1. That the words "Seeds of Idolatry and Superftition, and the Maffe," without throwing, might reach farre; and indeed, according to my minde in the Book, after the Englifhmen's late commentaires, fuch feeds truely were fowen. 2. That who subfcryved a complaint upon the narrative of many wrongs, it was enough to bide by the conclufion, and fo many of the premifes as truely did juftifie it. It was declared by the penners and chief hands in that write, that they intended no farder then to obleedge all the subfcryvers to complained againft the Bifliops, who had been the authors of a Booke fo many wayes faultie; but not that every subfcryver shoulde be tyed to believe all the parts of the narrative. Upon thir two grounds I got my hand to that write, which here ye have at the letter (F,) and did never repent of that subfcription; for after trial, and much fludy, I thinke there is no word into it bot I could defend it in reafon. However, I thought then, and yet does thinke, that the penners were much more happie then wife. I thinke they were very imprudent to make that piece fo hard, fo rigorous, fo sharpe, that they minded to present to fo many thousand flomacks of diverse temper. Had they been to require the hands of none bot men who were of their faith of Bifliops and ceremonies, they had not been rafh; bot their strength confifting in the union of a multitude, the greateft part whereof was farre otherwayes, and flill are, of ceremonies and sundry things in that Booke, then they are, they shoulde have attempered their words in more generall termes; which they might have done, without hurting their maine intention, and ventureing to loffe the hands of the moff, and most confiderable of all the Clergy of Scotland. For this their ventorious rashnefs, I much chyded the authors of that write. They gave contentment by this, among other speeches, that hereafter, if the lyke service were
put upon them, they should be loath but to take more of our advyce, who in some things were otherways minded then they. However, the goodnes of God has covered their infirnity, as still I take it. Of men who are oppofit to the Book, I know very few at all, yea none of any confideration, who hes refufed their hands to [this] write, except our brethren in Glafgow; for they all, except old Mr. John Bell and Mr. Robert Wilkie who are both very forward in all this caufe, have yet refufed to subferyve upon their own reafones; but they are not thought of in fo great a number. There are at it now above 38 nobles, gentlemen without number. I heare [of] none away bot Craigie, and Pollok Maxwell, and the Conftable of Dundie. All the townes have subferyved, except Aberdeen, whom they fufpect.

While this write is in subferyvings, the burgeffes of Edinburgh are putt in a high rage. They finde their supplication had never been prefented to the King: they fee the Counfell and Seffion removed, the greatest evil that they did feare execute upon them: they underftaud, by the former letters, that promifes were made to work them to the embracing of the Booke: they feared that the nobles and gentry were put off the towne, that they, being left alone, might, by threats and allurements, be brought by their Provfeft whereto he would. Thir reafones make the multitude in a high moode to flock to the Counfell-houfe, where their magiftrates did fitt, and fent in to require that the Provfeft and Counfell would appoint Commiffioners for to joyne in fupplications and complaints, with the refit of the countrey; alfo to affure them of their minifters and readers reftitution to their places; with demuntiation, reall and intelligible enough, that except all were preffently granted, they needed not to expect to come out of that houfe with their lives. Upon thefe fears all was granted. James Cochrane, John Smith, and a third of their old bailiffs, in whom they had moft confidence, were chofen for Commiffioners; an Act in write, subferyved by all the Magiftrates hands, was given out to them, for their minifters and readers; fo the moft of the people went away in triumph. While thir things are in doing, the Bisbop of Galloway comes up the streets towards the Tolbuith, for the examination of some witnes, in the caufe of Francis Stewart, Lord Bothwell, and Roxburgh. While he is near the doore, the women, after fome quarrelling of him for his crucifixe and clamours, begins to pluck at him, and fo affrays him that he cryes to the gentlemen for helpe; who, prefently, with their fwords and good words, holds the peo-
ple off him, and carries him to the Laigh Counfel-house. It was not much from ane dangerous uproare; but the diligence of the gentry, whom the people did respect, and the obtaining of all their defyres, held all in: yet durft not the Proveift or the Bishop either flirr out of doores till the Thefaurer and Wigton came to them, and convoyed them through the street. In the afternoon a Proclamation is made, declaring this tumult to be barbarous, insolent, and all the evils you can call it, and commanding that none of the inhabitants should, under the highest paines, be seen on the streets, but for their necessary affairs: so it seems they informed his Majeftie of that hour's work, as ye will hear in the sequel. The Proveift and Bishop were fo evil feared, (as I thinke indeed they had reafon, for, it seems, a little matter would have made them be pulled in small pieces,) that they durft no more comppear in the toune. The Bishop held him about the Thefaurer. The Proveift went off the toune in a rage, as was thought, to poft to Court with his complaints: bot, after fleeping, he flayed in Leith and about the toune for fome dayes, till the calmeing of the people's mindes.

That afternoone the Nobilitie did ufe all diligence to have a Counfell for prefenting their Magna Charta; which, after great paines, they obtained. My Lord Loudon penned a letter in their names, containing a smooth complaint of their hard ufeage, and requiring licence to flay in the toune for terme affairs, with-all intreating to receive the Supplication, which was inclofed in a paper by it felle. The Counfell gave them leave to flay 24 hours farder; and to all who would come and shew the neceffity of their particular affairs, they promiffed licence to flay longer: bot as for their new Supplication they would not read [it,] because they were fimple discharged to meddle with any thing [that] concerned the Church in that dyett; however affuruing their willingnefs, when their hands were lowfed, as they trusted they should be fhortlie, to receive it, and give it ane convenient anfwer. The Bishop and Proveift, in this conference with the Noblemen at the Counfell, were fo farr from giving them thanks for refcuing their lyfe that day, that to their faces they imputed the appearance of tumult, and their particular danger to the coming of the nobilitie and gentry to the toune in fo frequent number, alleadging that thefe tumults fell not out but when they were in toune. The other made much vantage of that calumnie, making this their fpeech a ground of their nift famous meeting the 15th of November, for to choofe
Commissioners to wait in small numbers on the Counsell, according to the Bifhop's and Provel's motion. This was the presence; but the truth was, that night after supper in Balmerinoch's lodgings, where the whole nobilitie, I think, fupped, some Commissioners from the gentrie, tounes, and minifters met, where I was, quoth the dogge, among the rest. There it was refolved to meet again, the 15th of November, in as great a number as possibly could be had, to wait upon the anfwer of their prior fupplication, and to get their complaint once tabled and receaved, and to doe farder pro re nata; for, to this houre, I cannot learne that any plott or defigne has been laid by one or moe, but only a refolution taken to make the beft ufe that willfome and diligence could, of every occafion, as it prefented itself, for their maine end to free us of the Bookes. In this meeting, Loudon and Balmerinoch were Moderators; both of them, but efpecially Balmerinoch, drew me to admiration: I thought then the beft fpoken men that ever I heard open a mouth. The harmony, mutual love among all, zeal and gravity, was greater, in my minde, then was in a meeting of very churchmen this fourty year. With prayer, Mr. Andrew Ramfay began and ended. Mr. Thomas Abernethie fpake exceeding well in the farewell to the Nobles, for the reformation of their perfones, and ufing the exercife of piety in their families; which all took weell, and promifed fair.

The fame of that 15th day fpread at once farr and broad, even to the King's eare, and all were in great fulpence what it might produce. To counterpofe all finifter accidents, the Thefaurer indicted a Counfell at Lithgow the 14th of November. We thought all that the King's minde was come done with my Lord Thefaurer deput, Sir James Carmichael; but he had nothing, neither in write nor word. Mr. William Livingftone told a number of us, in the meeting, that Sir James had faid to him, he heard the King affure, he would have the Booke through, on all hazards, and would never have a letter of it altered; yea, Mr. William reported thir news to Traquair; who advertifed Sir James of the inconvenience of this report, whether true or falte. Sir James, highly commoved with Mr. William's rahnelle, affuring the utter fallet of that brute; that he had reported the cleane contrare to fundrie, to witt, that the King, upon the information that our Scotifh service was diverfe, and much more near to Popery than that of England, had, with his own hand, noted fome of thefe diverfities, and was difpleafed
with them, showing, he had no intention that our Booke should be any thing worfe than the English; also, that the King had given ane very late proof of his good affection to religion, who, on my Lord (as I thinke) of Devonshire's complaint, that his lady was seduced by the priests, and made goe to masse, whence he had pulled [her] almost by violence, crying to all that were at that masse to give out his wyfe, or else he would burn them all together; upon this Lord's complaint, the King had made a very strict proclamation against these seducing priests.

At this Counsell day, to gett the numerous meeting of the 15th day following keeped in order and quietness, they did it by privie conference. The Thesaurer, Lauderdale, and Lorne, as the three wyfleft and most gracious of the Counsell, wrote to the roome where the Noblemen mett, and shew the informalitie and danger of that their meeting. After much reasoning, it was agreed, that their meeting was legall and neceflaire to expect the King's answer to their heavy greevances; that because this was like to take some tyme, they had mett, in a good number, to choyfe some few Commissioners, some two gentlemen out of each flyyre, and two or one ministers of a prebytery, who hereafter ought to attend, without fo great confluence; and, for this time, they had fo divided themselves in severall companies, and keepe within doors, that their numbers were not disorderly. The Counsellors were content of their choosing Commissioners, whom they undertooke, by some few, who were to wait in the towne, to advertise tymously of the King's answer, which they trusted should come shortly; for they heard of a Commision, given by the King to the Earl of Roxburgh, who was then in his way. Such matters as thir paffed that night. To-morrow, when the noblemen had advyfed, they went down some foure of them, with some others of the gentry, townes, and ministerie, to the rowme where the Counsellors were mett, so many as were in the towne; albeit thse oft protested they were not a Counsell. Here Rothus spake for the Supplicants, and Traquare replied, with great admiration to some, of his wisdome and facultie of speeche. It was required, first, That they might choyfe their Commissioners from all flyres, as well absent as preuent, who had, or were to give in their suppllications, to attend his Majesties answer; which, if it was not satisfactorie, they craved, that their meeting again in frequent numbers, might not be mistaken. The Advocate, after some little displeasure of the Thesaurer at this motion, resolved, that they might meet
in law to choose Commissiromers to Parliament, to Conventions of Estates, or any publick busines. 2. It was required, That order might be taken with some Bishops and Ministers, who, in privie discourse and sermons, had flandered them as mutinous, fe-
ditious, and rebellious. When the Thesaurer had flighted these
men's passionat words; it was thirdly required, That the people
of Edinburgh, who in words and clamours had paff bound, bot
done no harme, might likewise be paff; upon which condition,
they would pafs from the former paff greater and more consider-
able injury done to them. In this, it was said, ought could be
done in the Proveift of Edinburgh's abfence; for he, of purpose,
with the clerk and some of his faction, had gone off the towne to
behold the event of that meeting. It was fourthly required,
That the Ministers of Edinburgh might be restored to their
places. To this the Bifhop protested his willingnes; bot be-
hooved to deal with the Chancellor and King, that they might
be replaced, fo as might be moft for the content of themelves and
all others. Fifthly, it was required, That the Bishops and others
might furceafe the urgeing or præifie of the Book till the King's
minde were knowne; and that so much the more, as the Baillie
of Brechin did report to the Counfell of their Bishop D. Walter's
importunity to take instruments in God, the King, and in
his own name, being a counsellor, that he discharged their choof-
ing a Commissiromer to supplicat against that Booke, which now he
was minded to read. This the Counsellors promis'd they would
advise the Bishops; and, as it is thought, both the Thesaurer and
the Chancellor advertifed D. Walter [Whitefur], that he should
forbear the Book for a tyme:—Bot he being resoluted to serve
the King in a tyme when other feeble cowards couched, would
not be counfelled; bot on the Sunday following went to the pul-
pit with his piftoles, his fervants, and, as the report goes, his
wife, with weapons. He entered earlie when they were few
people, he clofed the doores, and read his service: but when
he had done, he could scarce gett to his houfe; all flock'd
about him, and had he not fled, he might have been killed:
since, he durst never try that play over againe. The effect of
that dayes meeting ye may fee in the Counfell's letter to the
King and Secretar, at the letter (G); the fruit of it to our coun-
tries caufe, was the conjunction of the Towne of Edinburgh with
the reft; for at their commiffioners motion to the noblemen, it
was resolved, that their caufe should be defended as common, so
far as law could fultaine, and then it was thought fultainable;
that the matter which the Bishops called so barbarous a tumult, was nought but a very modest keeping of their posseffion, when thefe, against all law, would have intruded the corruption of their Religion: so whatever skaith had followed on that intru-
flion, the usurpers, not the defenders, must be charged with it, according to King James maxime of the Pouder treason, "That in the danger of the Prince, or of the Religion, every one, with-
out reproof, may run to their defences." Such things are now
begun to be more then muttered. The other advantage we
gott, was the settleing of ane adyfed and conitant order by
Commissioners, countenanced by the Counfell; that we may
purrue and defend our caufe against the Bishops, no more by a
tumultuary confluence, but by the staved resolution of a great
number of the choyceft heads in the Kingdom. The Noble-
men meets all; of the Miniftry, one from every presbytrie; of
the Gentry, two from every fhyre; and one or two from every
burgh: the forme and tennent of the Commillion is at the letter
(H.) The diligence and policy the Gentry resolved on for to
advertife one another, to the remotest parts of the Kingdom,
that all in a truce might be convened, see at the letter (I.)

At this dyett I was prefent againft my mynd; for I love no
travell: but the Presbytrie was importune with me to goe, on
the report of my service at the meeting before. When we mett,
at the Counfellors defyre we were divided in three companies;
the Biphoprick of St. Andrewes and Edinburgh together; of
Glaifgow, Galloway, and Argyle together; and the reft in a
third roume. There was a Committee of all thir, fome eight
or nine, by themselfes. the reft had nought to doe bot give our
prefence: for, in effect, all was done by the witt and grace of
the two archbishops. Mr. A. H. and Mr. D. D., joyned with
three or foure of the Noblemen. In our roume we could scarce
gett our countenance keeped for lake of purpole. I was putt
oft to speake of my collections, which I did with greater con-
tentment, as it seemed, to others then myselfe, they were fo oft
rechanted.

Wee are not well at home, till we hear of my Lord Rox-
burchi's arryvall, of his letter to the Thesaurer to keep a Coun-
fell at Linlithgow the 7th of December, of the Thesaurer's ad-
vertifing hereof our legers at Edinburgh, who prefently, by post,
acquaints all their colleagues in the countrey. All [the] Com-
millioners came to Edinburgh on the 5th of December. They
were earneftly dealt with not to goe to Linlithgow, upon affure-
ance nought should be done to their prejudice, and that within four days they should have a new meeting of the Counsell. This, after much debate, was granted. At Linlithgow, the Counsell was frequent; the King’s letter of truth to Roxburgh was read; ye have it at (K.); also his Majesties declaration of his intention to make no change neither in religion nor laws: this was proclaimed by founde of trumpett; ye have the Counsell’s Act at (L.) Another Act that same day, intimating the fitting of the Counsell weekly hereafter in Dalkeith, and of the Session, after the first of February, at Stirling. At the first of November, the Thesaurer and some of the Lords came, and made a phrase to sett down the Session in the Palace of Linlithgow; but finding that house out of order, and all the subjects grievous to see Edinburgh deferted for the common cause, and the Members of the Session extremly unwilling to leave that toune, wherein alone they found themselves accommodat, they wrote up to the King the incommodities of that place for the Session, and obtained the removeall of it to Stirling at the named day, hoping to obtaine, before that tyme, the returne of it to the old seat. The King’s declaration was heartily receiv’d, as most gracious in it self, and most advantagious to our caufe; for if it be not made cleare, that the Bishops prelling of this Booke is contrarie to the declaration of the Prince, the undertakers to prove it in their complaint are most willing to bear the blame. I have heard some men very politick, I think, in finding out, or rather imagining policies where readily there is none, thinking, that it is the Bishops intention, by this declaration, to have stop’d for ever all mouths that would have muted against the Booke or them, as, in the last Parliament of England, the King’s declaration of his minde in Religion was the stopp of all procelle against these who were like to be confur’d for innovating therein; and that our taking of our selves to accuse the Bishops as our party, before that declaration, was a preventing and countermineing of that plott; but my bluntnes pierces no thus deep. Roxburgh’s Commission, ye see, is generall: it was thought he had many private instructions, and some of them hard. The word went, that some letters he sent back clofed as they were, knowing the impossibility or inexpediency of their execution: Some suspected it might be the apprehending of some of the most fearing nobility; for it is alleaged, that some Minifters about the Bishops, from [whom] many of our Canterburian affections descend before they come downe, gave out, that it had
been good to have past Balmerinnoch when he was in before the pannel; and that if the heads were removed, this body of petitioners would soon dissolve. Others fayes, that he had warrant to deal with men as he fand them disposed, by huge and vast offers. Whatever of this be true, the event feemes to declare, that his maine direction was to affay all poiffible meanes of divideing these who were fo straitly combined, and that in a way legale, which none could reprofe. The Thesaurer at that tyme was much, as is thought, threatened by the King: and it is no marvell; for, befide other miinformationes, Sir Thomas Thomson, [the] Regifter’s good-brother, had written to Canterburtle of him exceeding maliciously; which letter he gott, and chal lenged on his calumnyes, bot imputed them mainely to [the] Regifter, with whom he bears almost professid enmity. Wigton being taxed in that misinformation, took occaſion, in the Counfell-day at Linlithgow, upon some idle words of the Regifter, to fall on him with moft opprobrious words, as a base villain and pultron, whom he threatened to flieck, but was holden off him.

In the Counfell-dayes following at Dalkeith, there was much adoe; the Thesaurer, Roxburgh, and Lorne, dealing with all their might to caufe the Petitioners, for eschewing the appearance of multitude, to divide their supplicationes, and appear, the nobles, gentry, townes, miniftry, severally, and that according to fhires and prelbyteries; thefe, that they would not deale with the Bifhops as parties, but feek the Books to be away, and their matters helped without taking to any man’s perfons; at leaft not to take them to the Archbifhops and Bifhops without exception, bot to fo many of them as they could finde faulty. Thofe poynts were fo profeid, that Rothus and Loudon both was in yielding; bot after advyfing, all concluded, that they neither could, by vertue of their commiffion, nor would, for many seen reafons; fee thir at (N.); as alfo reafons to subferve the complaint putt abroad and penned by the author of the complaint, efpecially the loffing of the subscripitiones and hands which were at the complaint as it ftood, and the division of the body, which fo would infallibly ruine. For thir and the like caufes they all peremptorly refolved, that one letter of that wreit they would not alter, and in no cafe divide. They were content, at the Counfell’s pleaſure, that in the moft of their dealings there forth the Counfell, there should appear bot twelve choſen from the whole Commiffioners; Rothus, Loudon, Montrofe, Lindefay, thir four nobles; Cunninghamhead, Keir, Auldbarr, as I reemember.
ber, from the gentry; James Cochran, John Smith, and the Provost of Culros; Mr. James Cuninghame minister at Cumnock, and Mr. Thomas Ramfay at Dumfries. The Thesaurer was so earnest in agenenting these matters, which they, after advyement, elumed the losse of their cause, that sundry concluded him to be a most dangerous peice, and one in whom they might not trufl. I thinke indeed that man holds the wolfe by the eares, and hes adoe with all his parts, which truely are not found to be many and great; but whatever be his intention, my heart hes a great respect to him. I take him to have been hitherto a very happy instrument to the Church and Kingdome, and a molt true, and faithfull, and molt happie servant to the King. St. Andrewes fatt a dyett or two in Dalkeith, and held off the Counfell to receive any of the Petitioners complaint; which when they did finde, they prepared a protestation; and being frustrate two or three dyetts, the Counsellors rifeing abruptly, thinking to weary or to shift them to the rifeing of the Counsell, which drew near, at the Zule vacantts, they lett two or three noblemen at the fore doore, with two notars and their protestation; [and] as many at the back doore, alyke furnished, resolute to protest without farther delay. The Counsellors seeing there was no better, for feare of this protestation, which ye have at the letter (O.), did grant them alluence to hear fully what they had to say. So on Tuesday the 20th of December, the Petitioners gives in their bill, and the Counsell gives out their answer in a written subcribed act, for leffe would not content after so many shiftings; the doubles of thir ye have at the letter (P.)

The first dyett at Dalkeith the Counsellors thought to have eluded the vehement earnestnes of the Petitioners, as it feemes by their letter to my Lord Secretar, which ye have at (Q.); but that hope failling, and St. Andrewes foreseeing the necellity to yield to the suppliants importunity, he gave over any more to come to Counsell, and all the Bishops with him; for all the Petitioners complaints ran mainly to have the Bishops declyned, and so raifed from the Counsell-table; they thought meet therefor themselves to praveene, left if they had been forced to it, it should have forestalled their cause. So then the last Counsell-day, Thursday the 22d of December, was act[ed] the last part of our fcheme [scene]. The twelve Petitioners came in name of all the Commissioners. My Lord Loudon delivered this speech, see the letter (R.) and with it gave in the two old supplicationes, thefe of the 20th of September and 18th of October, which had
lyen in the Clerk’s hand, not acknowledged by the Counsell, because discharged then to meddle therein; albeit privately they were looked on, and sent up also to the King underhand; also with these two old pieces was given in a new bill and a declinator, which ye have at the letter (S.) and upon the deliverie of these foure wreits, my Lord took instruments by a double piece in a notar’s hand. Thereafter the two miniters spake. Mr. James Cunninghame had this short speech, at (T.), which moved all the Counfellors, and drew tears from fundry of them: the postscript is right quick; so much the more as it could not be forethought. To all thir wreits and speeches was given, after ane interlocutor, this Act in answer, at the letter (U.)

The nixt question [was.] How all this shoule be signified to his Majestie? All agreed, it was no way safe, nor sufficient, to committ the busing to packet; that it was necellare altogether for some of the Counsellors to goe up to Court. Both Traquair and Roxburgh seemed willing to accept the charge, if it had been laid on them; yea, to be æmulous of it. Some inclined to the imploying of the one, some to the other, most to both; at last, all the Counsell resolved to wryte of the necellity of his Majestie’s information by some of his servants, the choyce of the men they remitted to his own difcretion. With this the vacants came; all went home, bot some few Comissioners, appointed by turne to lye still in Edinburgh for all occurrences. When the countrey wes away, the Proveft fell a freth to his policies, deales mightily to make the towne supplicate apart to seek the King’s favour, and pardon for their tumults; gives them full affurance, will they bot use these formalities, the King shall freely pardon them, shall quyte them of the Service Book for ever, except the whole Kingdome be moved willingly to take it, which he thought would never be: for in all his discourtes from the beginning, he enveighed against the Booke as much as any; also, that Counsell and Seffion should prefently be restored to them, and their privileges much augmented. It seems the man had undertaken to make that towne come in the King’s will; and fo, for the effectuating of his promife, did give assurance of many things which neither he could nor would be any wayes carefull to have performed. By this dealling, he had prevailed with a great number of the Counsell; bot the Comissioners that were in the towne finding it going so, remonstrated to the Towne Counsell by James Cochrane and John Smith, (very good instruments in all this matter,) That their supplicating apart might be the betraying of
the whole Kingdome; their craveing pardone for any thing some base people in the toun, which could not be found, had done against the innovators of religion, would be a preparative to bring the whole City, and all in the Kingdome who had oppofed the Booke, within the compafle of law, and the courteous mercy; also, that the crafts and commons would be inflamed to violent them all, if they would affay to conclude any fuch things, as it is faid they were indeed ready to doe. Upon thir remonftrances, the Profeft’s dealings Evanifhed, and all the Counfell resolved to flick by the reft of the Kingdome, to defend their juft caufe by the law, and fuffer all inconveniences ere they, as they had done too oft before, shoulde be ane evill preparative to the reft of the Kingdome. In the meantyme, the President flipps to Court. The Counfellors had advyfed, and entreated him not to goe, upon the Nobles defyre, who required, that none fhould be permitted to goe, farr leffe he, who was almoft a profesfled enemie to them, and an agent for the Bifhops, that the King’s firft information might be by thefe of the Counfell whom they expected shortly the King himfelfe would call for. Notwithstanding, he went his way; bot to the great malcontentment of all. His friends gave out, his only eirand was, for his Father’s (1) dimiffion of the Chancellary, and compofition therefore; for the fettleing of the Seffion, which, to the great prejudice of all the members of the houfe, had long vaicked, and was longer like to vaicke. In his way, it is faid, he diverted to York and Durehame, and fome other of the Bifhops. When he came to the King, they fay, his information was fo hard, that the King was penfive, and did not eat well; bot that my Lord Haddington hearing of his mifreports, was bold to putt in the King’s hand a late miffive which he had got from his good-brother Rothus, having a short information of the countrey’s proceeding; for the abolute truth whereof Haddington undertook. The reading of this contented somewhat the King; whereupon his minde being disposed towards the Lord Thefauer, my Duke of Lennox wrote for him to Court, and thereafter the King himfelf, and Marques of Hamilton alfo. With all this, he went to Roxburgh, and fliew it to him, of whom he was jealous. Roxburgh was nothing content that he was not fent for; yet he pretended the neceffity of his flay for his onely fonn’s marriage with Arroll’s

(1) Sir Robert Spottiswood, the Lord President of the Court of Session, was the second Son of John Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Lord High Chancellor of Scotland.
daughter, and in the meantime, did write with the Thesaurer favourable letters to the King; in the prejudice of any misinformation the President, or any other, could make.

The Commissioners were very earnest, that the Thesaurer would take up an Information, which Balmerinnoch and Mr. Archbald Johnston (the only advocate who in this cause is trusted,) had penned, to prevent it, together with their Bills, which else would be bot naked pieces. This he absolutely refused to look upon or touch, for he said he was to purge himself by his oath to the King, that he had seen no such thing, only he was content it should goe in his company, and assured it should come to the King's hand. So he went away with my Lord Orbittone, (2) whom he keeps by all meanes to hold the Marques fæt. By the way he was almost drowned; he come out of a water, they say, hinging by his horse taille. His porter being dismiffled for evill service, fell upon his Lady, in the garden of Dalkeith, with a drawn sword; and had not other two servants gone betwixt, who both are hurt, the villaine had certainly killed her. They say, that Stirling is like to be disgraced; that the King being malecontent he was not more tymouly informed of all thir matters, the Thesaurer shew, that though they were discharged publicly to send any word of that buifnes, yet they had acquainted ever privately the Secretar, (3) that he might advertife. This the Secretar granted; but shew that he was hindered by Canterburie to present the King some pieces. Canterburie denied this, hoping to bring Stirling off another way, though in this he f succumbed: but all this is bot uncertaine rumors.

So ye have all I know in this matter, whether true or false: readily there is not any one from whom ye can get a more full narration. I have conferred, and had ufe of the wreits of these who had chief hand in all the matter, both of the Nobility, and of the Gentry, and Miniftrie: for your satisfaction I was the more curious; what will be the end, no living can guelfe. If God be pleafed to bring upon us the year of our visitation, the devill could never invented fo pregnant a meanes, and have ruined this Ifle, one and all, from the prince to the ploughman: for will the Prince, at the clergies defyre, goe on in violence to preffe their course, the mischiefs are prefent, horrible, in a clap:

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

(3) Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, was Secretary of State for Scotland.
will he relent, and give way to our Supplications, the danger is not past: We wot not where to stand; when the Bookes of Canons and Service are burnt and away, when the High Commission is done, when the Articles of Perth are made free, when the Bishops authority is hemmed in with never so manie laws; this makes us not secure from their future danger: so whatever the Prince grants, I feare we prefie more then he can grant; and when we are fully satified, it is likely England will begin where we have left off; to crave order of the greater and more intollerable abuses of their Clergy; so that it is not probable our dangers can be soon easly evited; to prevent thir, the courfe we use is humiliations in privat and publick, which indeed hes gone through oft the most of our congregations. If God be pleased to be gracious, we know he hes wisdome to turne this affaire, which may wracke all, to the redreffing of all, to purge the Church of all that heaven and tyrannie of the English Bishops whereunder it long hes groaned, to give to our Laws and Parliaments the old and full [authority] and liberty and truth, to joyne the heart of the King and his subjects fatter in love then ever, and remove the jealousyes and griefes whereof the minds of both this tyme byegone has been replenified, to enable us to help the Churches abroad, and to contribute all our forces of wit, learning, and armes, against the Antichriftian faction. Thir are our prayers and flender hopes in the midst of our desperat feares.

This farr I had written long agoe, but now many things are fallen out. The Thfaurer came backe from Court the 19th of February. About eight dayes before, his man had come done with a peremptorie command, by found of trumpett, to caufe the Members of the Seffion to be at Stirling, for their office. The Lords obeyed; but the Advocates of any note would not goe thither. The Thfaurer, when he mett with the Nobles, affured them, with oathes and great aflerationes, that he had no direction from the King concerning their Supplications. In this Roxburgh did joyne with him; but from friends at Court, they were informed of the contrare, and shortly, by privie intelligence at home, gott a double of the King's injunctions, which was a proclamation to be made at Stirling February 20th; wherein the King took the Books on himself, and discharged the Bishops of all fault, condemned all the supplications and subscriptions, commissions and all meetings hitherto for that end;
bot did pardone bygones, discharging all such meetings in tyme to come, under highest paines, and yet was willing to hear supplications which did not incroach on his royall prerogative, either in matter or manner, as the former had done. This coming out to light, pofts went forth ahort the whole countrey, with this information, written by Mr. Archibald Johnstone, for to him the prior informations, both from Court and otherways, oft after midnight, are communicat. This information the Bishops caft on the Th faurer, and fo it is thought; yet Mr. Archibald affured me it came from none of his.

This alarne being given, all did make haste. The Th faurer finding his purpose revealed, intended to have the proclamation precipitat. He had before persuaded the Nobility that onlie two shou'd goe to Stirling, where he assurred no prejudice should be done to their caufe: bot it was found he intended to keep these two, Rothus and Lindefay, prifoners in the Caftle of Stirling; therefor the Nobility resolvd to goe together. To prevent this, the Th faurer and Roxburgh went from Edinburgh a little after midnight. One of their footmen being taking a drinke in a tavern, where a man of Lindefay's, I think, lay, told, that his matter was that earlie on borfe for Stirling. His companion was not long in advartising his matter; who at once wakened others of the nobility: to Lindefay and Hoome took poft, and outrode the Th faurer; the rest followed at leasure. The Th faurer not finding a number for a quorum, without Counsell did make the proclamation early in the morning. Hoome and Lindefay flood in the croffe with the Lyon herald, and made a protestation. The Counsell meeting in the afternoone, did approve the proclamation; which was much marvelled at, especially that Angus and Neper should put to their hands to it. It was thought that Lorne, Southesk, Lauderdale, and Wigton should be put off Counsell; bot we see it was not so. Angus and Neper hath showed their repentance for their rafhnefs. The Advocat cominge the morne, would by no meanes subferyve the act of approbation of that proclamation, for this reafon especially, that the King's direction in it was tranfgreffad; for the King's warrand bare bot the hieft paine, bot the proclamation did beare the paine of treason. Thir things hath much alienated the minds of the Nobility from the Th faurer, both that he should have deceaved them with his oaths, and also extended his commision, to the uttermost bounds, if not beyond, to the ruine of their caufe and persons. Yet it is paid for him, that at Court he
was putt in great danger of his place. The King did pose him upon thirty-eight articles in wryte, furnithed by the President against him; wherein he gave the King reasonable answerers, withal that he gave the King a full information of all the wryts and deeds had past, that he had brought the King to a tollerable mood, till letters come from the Chancellour, asfuring, that as the Noblemen who were banded for the slaught of David Rizio did difband and flee away fo soon as the Queen, his good dame, had proclaimed them traytors; fo upon the King’s condemning of the Nobles proceedings, and difchargeing them hereafter under thefe paines, all this combination would evanifh, and the King would fo come by his intent. Thir letters altered the King’s minde, and put him to take the courfe which may prove wonderfull unhappie: peremptorily he commands the Thefauber to execute it, and for his fidelity and secrecty put him to his oath. This he undertook, yet leaving under his hand his contrare opinion and advice. Howsoever, the Thefauber, who indeed hath been an happie instrument in this buffines, is like to loffe both the King and the Countrey, which will feeme sweetness to the Bifhops in the midft of their ruines. The charge was to remove from the towne within fix houres. The Noblemen who came in frequency against the afternoone, stayed all that night, and for no request would remove; for they alleaged their proteftation did warrand them. Yet when the Chancellor and Thefauber had yoaked their coatches to depart, profelling that the Seffione and Counfell would break up as troubled by them, they were content to goe; and fo they did, leaving di- rection to thefe who came there to attend the common buffines, to follow them to Edinburgh; also when the Counfell did meet, or the admifion of my Lord Doune to their number, Arthure Erkine and Poomeehe thronging in with the multitude, after the ufting of the house, did prefent the declinator, and tooke instruments thereupon. My Lord Doune subfiery was prefently the supplication, to the great discontentment, as they fay, of Murray his father. The Bifhop of Galloway was like to have receeved injury in Stirling; but the Magillrates faw to him. In his returne at Falkirk, the wives railed, and fhor’d him with ftones, and were some of them punifhed; also at Dalkeith, upon Sonday, the wives fo railed upon him, that the Thefauber put two of them in prifon. The Bifhop is in great fear and danger, and fhowes little of his old defyre of martyr dome in this fo good a caufe. When we come to Edinburgh, the 22d of February, we found
that the proclamation had been repeated there, that sixteen Noblemen had gone up to the croffe with the Lyon herauld, and after their reverend hearing of the King's proclamation, had caused Mr. Archibald Johnfoune, at the fame tyme and place, to proclaime their protestation. In the meane tyme, the countrey gathers faft to the toune. The Noblemen, Gentry, Cities, and Ministers, meets in severall roomes. The Noblemen, with Mr. Alexander Henderfone and Mr. D. D[ickfon,] resolves the renewing of the old Covenant for religion. A little incling of this is given out at firft to the ref't. Mr. D. D. is impoyed in the Colledge church to preach, where, in a great congregacion before noone, he fhews the expediency of renewing the Covenant. Mr. H. Rollock fecdons that motion, with amplification, in the afternoon. In the Grayfriers, Mr. John Adamfone ftrykes on the fame ftring before noone. Mr. Andrew Ramfay, in the afternoon, for sparing, was miffliked. The two other kirks are not regarded. Mr. Henrie's (1) plainnes made me fufpeect their intention, in this new Covenant, to make us forswear Bifhops and Ceremonies in our meeting. I had discovered the fame minde in fome, alledging over and over, that the Achan of our land was the breach of our Covenant, in admitting, againft the oath of our nation, the government of Bifhops and Articles of Perth. To this I gave fo sharpe and fo modeft a reply, that excluded thereafter this motion from this meeting. Bot I was filled with fear and great perplexity, left the bond, whilk I found was in conceaving, fhould containe any fuch claufes; for this I thought would inevitably open a gape, and make a prefent division in the Miniftrey, which was the earnett defyre and fure victory of the Bifhops. This I caused remonstrate to the Noblemen whilk they took well, and made Loudon fhew me and Mr. George Young, whom I had fent to Loudon to declare my fears, their write, which was fcerrolled, profefling their minde to give us all contentment, and rather to deftoy it, then that thereby any rent fhould be made amongft us. The write had three parts; Firft, the old Covenant, word by word, as ye have it in the Harmony of Confefions, after our Confefion of Faith; the nixt part confifts of Acts of Parliament, whilk all are for our Confefion againft Poperie; the Third he's ane application to the prefent cafe: in this was all the difficulty; for there was indeed claufes in it requiring the fuppenfion of our practife,

(1) This evidently refers to Mr. Henry Rollock, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, and not, as in the former edition, to "Mr. Henderson."
then of our approbation of Bihops and Ceremonies. After reasoning, it was yielded to me, to change this clause, to forbear practice. I saw it was ever my mind, since I was a minister; but not to approve in judgment, it was impossible till I was otherwise informed. So they required but my disallowance of the corruption of the Bihops government; whereunto I yielded. Some other clauses also, whilk might have seemed to import a Defence in armes against the King, this I could not yield to in any imaginable case; for the grounds I had learned from Monfieur Cameron (? I had not yet leasure to try; so, for the present, I could subscriue nothing whilk was against my minde. These were also changed; so that no word, I hope, remains in this write, whilk, in any congruitie, can be drawne against the Prince; but many sentences are expressly to the contrary: so in thir two poynets of my feares, Loudon, by his wifdome and equity, gave me contentment. This courtesie was due to me; both because they hoped what would content my scrupulous minde, might be appearance fatissifie others who were of my judgement, whereof there was a great number; as also for the regard to my selfe, to whom they proffered some respect for my paines in this cause, not only in my first write of Queries, but also of my second of the Parallell, whereby they esteemed their cause somewhat furthered; befyle that they expected, that I being satisfied, would be an instrument to give others contentment, as since they have found.

My Lord Caillils had my scrupul anent the Defence with armes. He sent for me; but I eschewed to conferme him in that whilk he proffered he had from Monfieur Cameron. He gott in a clause in the write whilk contented his minde. Thus we being contented, they ventured yesterday to present it to our meeting. Rothus, Loudon, Aldbarr, and others come down. They read it first in private to a number of us who were Commillioners for Prefbytries, and thereafter to all. The objections which were moved by some few were soon satisfied: all being interrogate, man be man, gave their hearty attent; only some three or four brother of Angus, who had sworne obedience to the Bihop, could not finde how to dispense with their practife and oath. My Lord Rothus finding our great harmony, departed with the

(? Mr. John Cameron, an eminent Protestant Divine, who resided abroad during the chief part of his life. He was Professor of Divinity at Saumur, previous to the short period that he held the office of Principal of the University of Glasgow. He died at Montauban, in 1625.
profession of great joy: for this union was the great pillar of the cause; and it could never have been obtained, if distraction had been in the ministry who had subscribed the former supplication, whilk miscarriage was much feared; and, indeed, great occasion had the imprudence and rigidity of the first formers of that write given of these fears. It is expected that this day the hands of all estates shall be put to it, and thereafter a declaration shall be made of our innocency in this whole proceeding, and of the injustice of the Bishops, with an earnest desyre to have our Prince informed in the truth of this cause, be way of the most humble Supplication. To-morrow, in Stirling, is expected a frequent Council, where there is hope that the Council will lay the wyte of all those evills upon the Bishops back. What will be next, the Lord knows! we are to humble our selves in fasting and prayer. It becomes yow well, and all the Reformed churches over sea, to commend our cause heartily to God, as we have oft done for you in the like case. We have no assurance yet or warrant that any one line of the Book shall be remitted, but hopes are made of withdrawing both Liturgy, and Canons, and Commission, and all, if we would let the Bishops alone; but the most part is peremptorily resolved not to endure any longer their lawless tyranny.

A Narration of the Proceedings from the 21st of December [1637.] to the [24th of February 1638.]

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

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

On the 16th, some of the Supplicants got notice of ane proclamation to be made, which contained his Majesties approbation of the Service Book, as only fitt for the use of the Holy Church, and taking on himself the causing forme it; a dispenseing with
the nobility and gentry for their bygone meetings; and a discharge
of all the meetings hereafter, under the paine of treason. Where-
upon four or five of the supplicators were sent from the rest, to my
Lords Thesaurer and Privie Seall; who meeting first with my
Lord Privie Seall, and disclosing to him the tenor of the sup-
plication, he seemed unwilling to speak any thing thereof, pro-
fering he had no commision, and knew nothing of that busines.
Going to my Lord Thesaurer, and expressing their grief at the
said proclamation, they defyred to know the truth of him; who
refused to make known to any what he was commanded to deli-
ver to the Counfell only; and keeping all very close, seemed to
profle the necessitie of inhibiting meetings, and that by procla-
mation. It was anfwered, That the obedience of the charge was
the way to let all these evills come upon them, wherewith the
Church and State were threatened; for they mett together to
advye anent supplicating and consultig about the best wayes
for preventing evills; and as the end was lawfull, fo had they
never fallen in disorders at their meetings neither in word nor
action, but had alwayes concurred in electing the best and humblest
motions, restraining thefe that were rude; which would have
appeared and given offence, if ilk fhyre had petitioned apart;
and if they should stay at home, what could they doe, but every
one induce what foever was imposed, and so the Church and
State to fuffer.

These returning to the rest of their number, they all resolved
to fend four or five to Stirling, to give information to the Counfel-
lors concerning the proclamation, as after follows. Firft, That
the Supplicants had been from tyme to tyme put in good hope of
a gracious anfwer, especially by the Act of Counfell in Auguft laft,
declareing, that the buying of the Service Book, and not the ufe-
ing of it, was only intended, and by his Majesties declaration in
December laft; but by this proclamation, their former hopes
would be turned into feares. Secondly, That the proclaiming
of a dispensation to the Supplicants, for that which they were
affurred they were doing in duty both to God and his Majestie,
would either make his mercy misregarded, or force them to con-
demne their own doeings, fo jufifiable before God and the world.
Thirdly, That the prohibiting of such like peaceable proceedings,
under the paine of treason, would make the Supplicants either
incurre the imputation of treason, or else be caften all into the
hands of the adverfaries, and caft themselves loose of religion,
liberty and peace, against the duty which they owe to God,
the Church, and the Country. Fourthly, That, contrare to the King's Majesties declaration in December last, this proclamation transferred the guilt of these novations from the Prelats upon the King's Majestie; not that he can be judged the author thereof, but that they may escape ceniture; whereby it is hard to say, whether his Majestie be more dishonoured, or justice frustrate, or his Majesties good subjects disappointed. Fifthly, That the Supplicants tremble, that after so many supplications and declarations, bearing the manifold seeds of heresie, superstition and idolatry, to be contained in the Service Book, it should be declared, be proclamation, to be the forme of God's publick worship, and the meane of maintaining true religion, and holding out of superstition; which must make the subjects either receive what their consciences doe condemne, or directly oppofe themselves against his Majesties proclamation. Sixthly, Since that many worthie Counfellers hath regeated the paffing of the first Act in favour of the Service Book, and hath made many excuses for the famen, the Supplicants are confident, that having a new occasion of more mature deliberation, they would rather give counfell to his Majestie tochoose a courfe that may give satisfaction to the defire of his good people, than by confirming fo fummar a conclusion, grieve many, wound their own hearts, and work further disturbance in the church and country.

The Thesaurer and Privie Seall hearing, that fome were to be directed to Stirling, fent for three or foure of the Supplicants; and understanding their resolution, preaied to difpofe the famen: but these showes the necessity they conceaved thereof, and that for preventing the inconvenience of the proclamation, which would prove fo hurtfull, falling upon these particulars in the Information, and upon the report, that the Burrows were excluded from the dispensation offered to the Nobility and Gentry by the proclamation, that a criminall purfute might be intended againft Edinburgh, did show a resolution in the whole Supplicants, to intend a criminall purfute againft the Bishops and their followers, as foon as the other fhould be wakened, and that for fcandering of fo many of the faithfull subjects to be mutinous and rebellious for oppofing innovations brought in religion by them againft the lawes, and their exercicing of the judicatures not established by Parliament, to the heavy opprefion of the lidges; for the which faults, as in law, their lives could not escape, fo thefe of Edinburgh did not fall within compafs of law for life or fyne, considering how little they did,
how great evills were inforced upon them, and what was their Magistrats dealing towards them. The Supplicants, upon better advysement, fand a necessity of uſing a declinator at Stirling, left there the Bishops should fitt in judgement, and give out any Act in that buffineſse, wherein they were declared parties, and ought to be declyned; resolving to propon the faid declinator only by two of their number. They were advertised upon Sunday in the morning, that fome of the Bishops followers had faid, that the proclamation would inhibit any of the Supplicants to appear where the Counfell fatt; that if they should preſent the declinator, they should be put faft; which made the Supplicants to determine to goe together to Stirling, and to be preſent in the towne at the proponing thereof; thinking, that being together, they were more able to give the Counfell information and satisfacon, then by fo few, which might be dazaled with difficulties of new propofitions and actions not expected. And few hours after this resolution, fome of the Supplicants, by permifion of the reſt, declared the fame to my Lords Thefaurer and Privie Seall for preventing of mistaſke; who immediately went for foure of the Supplicants, wishing them to change their resolution of going to Stirling, and expofulating with them for the way of carrying their buffineſſes, allledged, If the Supplicants had folowed their advyſe in fpuplicating apart, and againſt the Book of Common-Prayer, Canons and High Commiffion only, it had fucceeded better with them; they might have petitioned for the reſt of their grievances, after once hearing and proveing fully their first complaints; that, by appearance, the King would never hear them fo long as they complained upon Bishops; and affur'd, that the Supplicants did now fee their own error in not following their former advyſe. It was anſwered, That being a publick buffineſſe, which concerns the whole kingdom, and the matters of fuch conſequence, it could not be carried in fo private a way as your Lordhips propofed; the matter being fuch as religion and policy were extremely wronged, the subjects thereat grieved, behooved to have recourfe to their Prince, for commanding redreffé by the ordinar courſe of law, which hath been alwayes cuſtomable to subiects in the lyke caſe; and if the whole Supplicants had been fo truſtfull in a matter fo great and univerfal, as if it had been any of their own particulars, their Lordhips could not engaged life, fortouns and honour, for a good fucceffe to follow their advyſe; and though their suppliantions being refrained, as your Lordhips defyred, might gett
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audience, yet if, after supplicating against these other evils which are the root that hath produced such fruits, his Majesty should then refuse to hear any further, would it not grieved them to see the subjects suffer by the relying upon unpauned trust, and the whole envy transferred from the Bishops upon their own heads? They asking them, What course the Supplicants would take? were anfuered, They would propose their declinator at Stirling for the reasons forfoads. They faying, It will be refufed, were anfuered, The Supplicants would then protest for ane immediat course to his Majesty, upon their denyall of justice, and prefent their fupplications to his Majesties felf. They doubting his Majesty will accept the famen, were anfuered, The Supplicants would doe their duty, and committ the event to God Almighty, who is sufficiently able to protect his own caufe, and their juft proceedings.

Thus parting, and returning to the reft of the Supplicants, they appointed four or five of their number to goe very tymely to Stirling, for preventing the Thefaurer and Privie Seall their accustomed diligence, in omitting no means that might conduce to their ends; and alfo the Counfell-day was appointed to be the following Tuesday at ten o'clock. Yet was the Lord Thefaurer and Privie Seall on horfeback to be two o'clock, and in Stirling be eight in the morning on Monday the 19th; bot were outridden be some of the Supplicants, whose being before them made them expect the coming of the reft, and fo conveened all the Counfellors prefent in the toune to haften out the proclamation before their coming.

The Counfellors then prefent could not make a quorum; yet did they proceed with their proclamation at the mercat croffe by ten o'clock, where the Supplicants made protestation. The reft of the Supplicants coming after noone, and hearing of the proclamation, went to the Thefaurer, Privie Seall, and other Officers of State, requiring a figh of the proclamation, that they might advyfe with the fame; who denied any figh thereof till it fhould be proclaimed in other places; but by relation, they smoothing the contents thereof, and differing much from others who heard it read at the croffe, made the Supplicants uncertaine what it contained; who refoolveing to leave no lawful means unfayled, fent one of their number to the Clerk of Counfell, requiring only a figh of the proclamation for their perufall; upon whose refufeall, instruments were taken. The Counfellors grudged to finde fo many to refort there to Stirling, who had come very
frequently from all the nearest adjacent places, and that upon very small advertisement. The Thesaurer and Privie Seall sent for some of the Supplicants; who being asked, What they were minded to doe? They shewed them they would use a declinator, and, in case that were refufed, a protestation, as they told them at Edinburgh. They renewing their often repeated motions of division without successe, were earnest, that the Supplicants should remove all out of the toone, seeing they were to doe no more in that busines. The Supplicants objected the ratifieing of the proclamation in Counfell, which as yet wanted that warrand; they affured them of the contrare very firmly, as also gave allureance that no prejudice should be offered to thefe who presented the declinator or protestation. Whereupon they undertook to deal with the rest of the Supplicants; who being convened in the Kirk, filled the fame; and with very great difficultie, obtained their consent to remove after dinner toward Edinburgh, upon the relation of the allureance they had gotten the proclamation should not be ratified in Counfell; and having appointed some few of their number to flay, and propose the declinator and protestation foraid. After dinner, as they were going to Edinburgh, two or three of the Supplicants went to the Thesaurer and Privie Seall, having some other Counfellors with them, and defyred their flay should not be interpreted to proceed from contempt, for they could not obtaine sight of the proclamation, neither from their Lordships, nor from their clerk; having asked it, and taken instruments of his refufall, thereby to be informed what it injoynd; and although it had no legall strength, yet conceaving it to be a declaration of his Majesties minde, which they had been, and would be always most willing to obtemper, without prejudice of the caufe they had in hand, they were resolved to part. When the noblemen were gone, the Counfellors went to Counfell in the Castle of Stirling at foure a' clock, where two of the Supplicants gave in the declinator; which being refufed, contrare to the Act of Counfell at Dalkeith, they protefted, and offered to take instruments in the notar's hand; and being reproached, that they brought in common notars before the Counfell, they offered to take instruments in the clerk of Counfell's hands, which he refufed; whereupon they took instruments in their own writers hands. That night the Counfell ratified the proclamation. One who had the informations, and by the forementioned promife was put in security, hearing thereof, caufed delyver some of them the nixt morning to some Counfellors
there that most relishd religion, and best know the Service Book; who being informed, found themselves inflamed by their contenst, and was heavily grieved.

The proclamation was made at Linlithgow upon Wednesday the 21st of February, where protestation was made, as at Stirling, by three or four of the Supplicants; and at Edinburgh on Thursday the 22d of February, where a great many noblemen, barons, minsters, and others, suppicablec, standing within and about the Cross, after the proclamation was read, the protestation was also read publickly, and instruments taken in the hands of notars.

On Fryday the 23d, the number of the noblemen and others being increased, at their meeting they treatef [traced] the suggeftion to fundry of the Supplicants labouring divided Supplications, which was generally diflyked, and ane new dealing with the Counfell by way of supplication, refrained to the Service Book, Canons and high Commiffion, which was apprehended by very few. This made all confider the particular condition and former proceedings of thefe prime flafeMen, principall fuggeftors of fuch motions: and although the Thefawer and Privie Seall, both for the greatnefs of their fortouns and hereditarie conditions, were confiderable with the chiefeft of this land, as deeply intereft in the good of this flate, which, with their approved underftanding, might induce the expectation of all needfull care and faithfull carriage befeeming their place, intereft, and knowledge; and although they feemed extremelly grieved for their prefent evils, and, by frequent information, fully perceived the root whence they flow, yet the prefervation of their places and credit with his Majeftic, by appearance hath made them forbear to doe or informe fully about thefe who they thought was fo acceptable to his Majeftic; and many of the Bifhaps being the yoke fellows with them in burden of the flate, and others of that minde watching over their wayes, ready to informe againft them for any thing that appears not conduceable to their end, and obtaining folicitations from perfones of power in their own favours to the faid flafeMen, hys made them all this while to labour rather the quenching of the paine, then the curing of the difeafe, and to make a diversion from the root of evils by a fair addrefs of thefe Supplicants, for the prefent pruning of the branches. All their proceedings in this buffernefs being fully confidered, was found to intend this end, fuch complying being fitter for the fervants of a perfon, then of ane flate. Some of
them, by words and actions, so much laboured amidst right and wrong, as they will, except they mend it, get the like recompence to them, who indeavour reconciliation betwixt Protestants and Papists, which is neither thanks nor trust from either, as our own late experience proveth. Bishops had their Commissioner.

To Mr. William Spang.

April 5th [1638.]

Cousine,

Thir are in such hafte, that they cannot be satisfactory. I sent your by William Cuminghame, with one Gibfon of Leith, two double pieces and a five merk piece: before we be miserable, I wish my debts were paid. Also I sent you two quarts of Roia Solis, that once yet ere we die ye may drink my good health. Your letters are more unfrequent to me then ordinary; ye know the caufe. The doubles of the King’s proclamation, and the country’s protestation, with the newly subscriyed Covenant, I would have sent to you, according to my promise in my last, had not Mr. William Wilkie assured me that he would have them at yow before this. The great business among us since that time has been, to have that Confeffion subscriyed be all hands; and through all hands almost his it gone. Of Noblemen at home, who are not counsellors or papists, unto which it was not offered, I think they be within four or five who has not subscriyed. All the Shyres have subscriyed, by their Commiffioners; and all the Townes except Aberdeen, St. Andrews, and Craill; yea, the particular gentlemen, burgesses and ministers have put to their hands; and the parishes throughout the whole country, where the Ministers could be persuaded, on a Sabbath day, all have publickly, with an uplifted hand, man and woman, sworn it. Mr. William Anan himself has thus farre proceeded, to all our admiration; our marvel is increased, when he is said to repent it, and to say, he was constrained to doe what he did: the man is so refolute, and the oathes of this wryte are so frequent, clear, and deep, that who has taken them, I think, he cannot readily recall them. I hear for truth, that Mr. William is put in a great dumpe, and, after some trouble both of minde and body, has gone to Glasgow and Edinburgh; to what purpose I cannot yet say. I suspect the town of Air's motion to him to content to receive a helper, which they would name, and
provide him, without any diminution to his stipend, he's troubled
him more then anything else; for they seem peremptor to have
a minister conjunct with him, and that, either Mr. Robert Blair
or Mr. George Dunbar their old minister, or such a man who
will bear down Mr. William, and so kill him when he hes loft
the Bishops his old freinds. This peremptory and unexpect-
ated motion, I fear, is the caufe of his perplexity and change, if
he doe make any.

The greatest opposites in the Weft to this subscription are
our friends in Glasgow; all the Colledge without exception;
Mr. John Maxwell, Mr. John Bell younger, and Mr. Zacharie,
they are not only withdrawers of their hands, but all of them
pathetick reasoners against it. How this comes I will not say,
but I have my own thoughts; yet old Mr. John Bell and Mr.
Robert Wilkie are pathetickly for it, albeit half derided by
the other as simple fools; it is like to fall out evil among them.
The body of the Burgeffes hes subscribved. My Lord Boyd, old
Blair, Keir, Mr. David Dick, Mr. Michael Wallace, and I, went
in, as Commissioners from the meeting of Edinburgh, to deal
with the Colledge and Miniflers to joyn with the ref: but I
forefaw it was in vaine; for no reasoning could move any of
them to paffe from the smallleft of their scruples, which yet they
multiplied. We left them resolved to celebrate the Communion
on Pafche day, in the High Church, kneeling; but Mr. Robert
Wilkie and Mr. John Bell are resolved to paffe that day, and
the next Sabbath to celebrate, fitting, in the Laigh Kirke. Af-
ter our departure with small contentment, they did agree to de-
lay all celebration for a tyme, and so did intimate to the people,
from pulpit; but when it was found that Mr. John Bell and
Mr Robert Wilkie would delay only Pasche day, and no longer,
Mr. John Maxwell and young Mr. John Bell thinking their credit
interested in ceeding this farr, made intimation to the people at
the evening prayers on Saturday, to come the morne to the
Communion in the High Church; some few base people did
come, and filled fome four or fuye tables, who were ferved by
the Principall, and Mr. John Maxwell. The next Saturday,
Mr. David Dickfone had the preparation sermon in the Laigh
Church, and Mr. John Maxwell in the High: to the one's
sermon, all flockd who could throng in; to the other's much
fewer. This, I fear, be a proclamation of reddre warre among
the clergy of that towne; but the pley I thinke shal be shortly
reedde.
To Aberdeen the burrows sent Mr. Robert Barclay prouest of Irwine, and the Clerk of Dundee, in commission; but thir people, by the Marquess of Huntley's infligtion, and the Northland Bishops, were so preoccupied, that willfully, without allegation of reason, they refused. Their Doctors for the most part are favourers of the Books; and how far our folks of Glasgow, or any non-subscribers, are opposit to the Books, I cannot speak much for the present. D[actor] Baron hes given out somthing in write for the Booke, whereof I am forrie; not for the write it self, for if the piece I faw be it, it is a very poor one, that will never hurt our cause, but because I tender that man's estimation as one who was half designed to our Theologick profession in Glasgow, which he can never attain to with any tolerable contentment of our country, were he ane angell, if once he have fyled paper in maintenance of the Booke. Edinburgh continues constant. Mr. Henry [Rollock] and Mr. Andrew [Ramfay,] yea, Mr. Robert Blair, and Mr. James Hamilton, and Mr. John Livingstone, preaches there to the peoples heart. Mr. Matthew Weems in the Canongate, Mr. Forfair in North-Leith, all the Colledge, Principal D. Sharpe, Regentes, [and] all the Schollars, (except Mr. Robert Rankine and Mr. John Broune, with some few boyes with them,) have subfcrived and sworne. The Minifters of Stirling, before the Lords of Seffion, are in-weighing dayly against our Bishops. St. Andrews itself, we hear, for the most part, hes subfcrived. What shall be the end, God knows!

The Counfell sent to court my Lord Orbifone with thir instructions, here inclofed. The Noblemen sent Mr. John Livingstone before him, with what instructions I know not; but it was fore against my minde that he should be imploied at this tyme, being a Book man, a preacher rigide and passionate, and, which was worst, standing under the sentence of excommunication of the Irish Church. He was not at Court four houres till the King spoke of his coming, of the way and manner of his voyage: this made him to poffe back, after one day's, at most, lurking at London. It is thought that Orbifone, who overtook him by the way and outrode him, behooved to be the informer; which will impair much of that trust which Orbifone hitherto did enjoy amongst us. The noblemen drew up a common letter, to be prentented by the Earle of Haddington to the Duke, Marques, and Morton, conjunctly, intreating them, if they thought to undertake the prentement of their supplications to the King. The
letter and supplication I will stryve to send to you with the nixt; thir were not ready when Mr. John Livingston went away. Orbifone at his returne filled the countrey with good news; but we fand thereafter, that all resolved on the King's letters calling up Roxburgh and the Thesaurer, and my Lord of Lorne, for to consult before any farder was proceeded in that matter, according to one of the articles of thefe instructions which Orbifone carried up, and did nothing pleafe the countrey; for we thought them bot only complements, and inclyning to cenfure our meetings of unlawfullnes. However, we are informed, that the beft lawers, both Hope, Nicolfone, and Stewart, being consult by the King, does declare all our bypast proceedings to be legall. The three Counfellors(6) are all to Court; we are full of feares: the Thesaurer hes loft all his truft with us; Privie Seall never had any; we tremble for Lorne, that the King either perfuade him to goe his way, or finde him eirands at Court, for a long tyme. Brechin and Roffe are both to Court, the two moft unhappy of all the Bishops. It is faid, that Roffe, before he went from home, was affrighted with the boyes who burnt the Service Book where he was; this made him flippe away difaguysed over the mounts. It feems, according to Orbifon's instruction, that the King hes called up these two of the clergy as his former informers. We are praying to God, and wishes you to concurr with us, that this affaire now in the balance may have a fair end: Our country is at the poyn of breaking loufe; our lawes this twelve moneth hes been filent; diverfe mifregards their creditors; our Highlands are making ready their armes, and fome begun to murder their neighbours. Dowglafs, Abercorne, and Semple, are openly arming among us; ready after their example other Noblemen will provide prefently their houfes with mufquett, picks, powder and lead. We hope, that since the Palatine is gone to Germany, and the King has fent to Hambrugh to renew the league with Sweden, since the prentifes of London, as we heare, does force the deleyverance of Canterburie's prisoners, and fundry there intends a legall proceed against the Bishops ufurpations, we hope that a peaceable decifion may come from Court; yet we feare God let us not go fo soon out of the fhare, fo fmall hitherto hes been our repentance; the violence alfo, which we fee breathed out of the Bishops and their fol-

(6) The three Counsellors here named, were the Earl of Traquair, Treasurer, the Earl of Roxburgh, Lord Privy Seal, and the Lord Lorne, better known by his subsequent title as Marquis of Argyle.
lowers mouths, against their opposites, and the countrey's undifembl'd rage against them, as the only authors and contrivers of all this danger, I fear it end not smoothly. Mr. Robert Hammitlon, and Mr. John Lindsay, hes been very ill used in Lanerick, by the women, as I doubt not Mr. William Wilkie will informe yow. Mr. Robert Hamilton is fully refolved to be revenged for his wounds; and for this end, wrote sharply to the Thesaurer and Chancellour, yet all yyes over; this fame may further the milchief.

I have made all the Colledge wryte to yow for a Rituale Romanum, Missale, Breviarium, and Pontificale. I pray yow, because I have present use of them, fale not to purchase them fair and lately printed, for we have old Sarum; also Josepheus Vicecomes de Ritibus Baptistini, etc.; take my affurance, that for thefe the Colledge will give yow thanks, and I alfo. The Lord be with yow; and, pray for us.

[To Dr. Strang, Principal of the University of Glasgow.]

Reverend and Dear Brother,

Your Letter to me was moift acceptable; that ye thought not good to conferr with me by write, I likeways approve; for of that kinde of jangling I am over weary. Glad should I have been to have come unto yow wherever ye had desired, if so I had conceaved any hope to doe yow pleafure; but it was another, and not your felfe, who required me to come to Glasgow that day, when I could not well winn; and the laft voyage I made to that place, for the like end, was allutterly fruiteles, for there I fand my felf allutterly unable to fatiffie any of thefe brethren, in any the leift of their objections againft our late Confeflion; but I thank God that ye are come much nearer, by thefe good means ye name of your reading and prayer: I am confident, upon the continuance of the fame, that ye shall come on that little ftep which remains; and, if it might be the will of God, from my heart I wil, fo soon as is poftible, to fee yow come clean over, where fo many of us are who loves yow dearly, and whom ye alike doe love. Our maine feare to have our religion loft, our throats cutted, our poor countrey made an English province, to be disposed upon for ever hereafter at the will of a Bishop of Canterburie; thir our feares are builded mainly
upon the withdrawing of our brethren's hands and countenances from us, in that course which we conceive to be most necessary at this time. Our hopes, under God, which we have, to wrestle the underminers of our whole religion and civil liberties also, is in the universal harmony and conjunction of all brethren. Your hand I took ever to be of especial importance; I know not only the deferred dependance which many brethren had upon you, but your great estimation and abilities whereby this good cause might be furthered, if ye had joined: I think it is one of the greatest occasions that ever ye had in your life, or shall have to your death, to do God, our Church, our Country, a piece of good service. The declaration of your mind before all the world, let be these your name, in the points ye express, readily will be granted; but a band in write in the terms ye set down, I fear be not yielded: so far as I know, the like was not craved of any. The first part of it, That you did subservyve so far as that Confeffion was not prejudicial to the King's authority, the office of Episcopall government it self, and that power which is given to Bishops by lawfull Assemblies and Parliaments, and in so far as we are bound to withstand all innovations in the worship of God, contrare to his written word, and the Confeffion of Faith of the Church of Scotland, this I think it very needless to crave; for if ye saw any thing into this Covenant, which, either in express terms, or by any good consequence, could infer the contradiction of any of these things ye name, ye might not in any terms, on any exposition or limitation, offer to subservyve it. I doe not only believe that there is no word into it that makes against the King's full authority, so far as either religion or reason can extend it, or against the office of Bishops, or any power they have by any lawfull Assembly or Parliament; or that by this write we are obliged to oppose any novation, or any thing at all which is not contrare to God's word: not only I believe this, but he professed so much before the whole meeting at Edinburgh, oft both in word and write, without the least appearance of contradiction of any to this hour. But for me to have craved this much under any their hands, I thought it needless, and very inexpedient for them to have granted; for it had been ane express granting in write, to be registrate to the world's end, that they thought there was just occasion given to suspect that, in that write, there was something which truly did oppose the King's authority, etc. If any presently, or hereafter, shall abuse any clause of this write, to overthrow the King's authoritie, &c.
as many abuses Scriptures themselves to their own bad intentions, I think it abundantly contents me, that I can make it evident, not only that at my subscription I professed, by word and write, that I did believe there could no such thing be deduced from that write, of which profession I have many famous witneffes; but the chief ground of my satisfaction in this case is, that I can make it evident before the world, that the write lies no such errors, else would I never have subscribed it. So, Brother, in my poor judgement, the first part of your dehre is not meet to be fought; as for the other, that requires the admitting of a Protestant to practice conformitie, in case of deprivation. Though the fear of the Books be not removed, however I think, in that case, ye will be very loath to conforme upon any danger that is likely to come, yet, in my minde, it might be easily obtained, by Duchall or Mr. Matthew, from thePrime of the Nobility, to take that your subscription, with a express declaration, albeit, no written profession which they should subscribe, that ye should be permitted, in case of a danger, which your conscience thought real and true, of present deprivation, to doe in Perth Articles as ye thought expedient, without any note of infamy or perjurie. For my own part I was not minded, on any hazard whatsoever, to practice kneeling, so long as the danger or feare of their late novations did remaine, whether this late oath had been taken or not; and this feare, I think, cannot be removed without a lawfull Assembly or Parliament; so that indeed I take all subscribryers to be oblied to abfaine from kneeling, &c., on whatsoever hazard, till that terme at least be past, and in my selfe I finde oblied to abfaine possibly longer, I mean ever, till the feare of thir dangerous innovations be away, where-to I take the Articles of Perth to be now inductive and so scandalous; which just fear cannot anyways be removed by the discharge of the books by proclamation, yea readily not by Assemblies or Parliaments. However, I take all subscribryers, after the allowance of the first Assembly and Parliament, to be as free in the matters of Perth as they were before their subscription; and ye who hes obtained to subscribe with the reservation ye crave, to be free in your practice of these Articles even before either Assembly or Parliament; this freedome, I think, your subscription takes not away, being taken with that limitation proponed; for my own part I would concur to have it freely granted to you, hoping that ye would not stand upon the formalitie of a publick write, if ye obtaine the witnessing by word of so many
and so famous men as ye could require: this I take to be the only thing whereon ye hand, which I think may be obtained to you most readily. As for formalities ye wond not to be carefull: I am hopeful, when the practice of Conformitie is put in your will, ye will not be flout for it, if ye see that the urgeing of it is mainly to put away the best and ablest opposites to popery out of the land; and that their removers are avowing, so fast as they can, the grossest poyns of popery, in print, with applaufe and advancement for that only caufe; if ye fee that, I know ye have a tender heart and will not for your life, let be places, doe any thing which may truly further so wicked a plott. That it is no leffe then popery in groffe which the Canterburian faction is now aiming at, I ftryve to fhew in thir Queries which here I fend you; I doe it farther in another little write of Paradelle of our Service with the Maffe and Breviarie, which I fhall fend yow if ye like this. However, doe what ye will, subfcryve or not subfcryve, be aflured of my high estimation of yow, and affection to yow, and confidence of your zeal and orthodoxie; trufing that when the subfcryvers of this Covenant are made away, either banifhed, or made foulie to recant, which I feare shortly, (if God avert not,) that ye and fundry other of your brethren fhall begin where we have left, and be ready with your blood to feall the truth of God as fervently as the forwardest of us. Only let me intreat you moft earnestly, as ye would refreh my heart singularly, subfcryve this write fo shortly as ye can with any condition ye can obtain from your Commissoners: there is no hand now in Scotland which I doe fo much defire at it as yours.

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

Your loving Brother.

[To Mr. William Spang.]

Reverend and Well-Beloved Brother,

I writ to you my laft with James Brown of Saltcots; after a quarter of yeeres expectation, I receaved your laft; I was not content of your fo long delay. You fee in fo dangerous a tyme you want not mine of the lieft purpofes; I feare I muft now
leave off to write, lest by the King's shippes my letters be intercepted.

After the departure of Privie Seale and the Thesaurer, Lorne also went up. He was sent for by a privie missive, not by a letter to the Counfell, as the other two: his going was against the heart of many his friends; yet he was peremptor to obey. There followed the Chancellour, President, Regifter, Rolfe, Brechin, Galloway; the Marques shortly after called up for Orbeftoun. We were all long in suspense for newes: at laft we heard of the violent and wicked counfell of Rolfe and Chancellour, shewing, that a partie might eafelie be made within the countrie; that Huntie, and Aberdein, Seafort, M'Kay, Grant, and the Northland Clanes, which had not subfcryved, might eafily overfway all the subfcryvers, with the concurrence of Hamilton, Dowglas, Nidfdale, &c., if so the King would impoy a little of his force, and lay by Lorne. For the preveeening of this, diligence was used to fend some lawers to the uttermoft North, who obteened the hands of all thefe Clanes to the Covenant of the countrie, with the moft of the name of Hamilton, Dowglas, Gordoun, and all the Campbells without exception. No a Burgeffe of St. Andrewes or Dundie refused; and in Aberdein there will be as few recufants as in Glaftow. This word being fend to Court, made the King mildly Rolfe's advyce. Great hes beene the accusations of our Bishops againt the Thesaurer, as one who had intelligence in this matter with the countrie; and his recriminations against them was great, as thefe who, by their mifcarriages and imprudencies, had mifcoocked all the matter. The course they resolved upon, after many toe's and froe's, was to fend downe the Marques of Hamilton, with a commifion to treat with Mortoun, Haddingtoun, Thesaurer, Privie Seale as affellours. The offers they are to make are fecret: We heare they are fuch as will give no kynde of contentment; albeit the Bishops are confident they are fo reafonable, as will give content to many, and fo be able to make a division among the subfcryvers, which to them is a win field. For to preveene this, the Noblemen and Commifioners drew up these things which they wer minded to crave, and without the which they could not be content, which they fend ahoft the countrie, and to Court also, for the Marques' light: for when the Noblemen had returned anfwer to our letters, the Duke to Montrofe, the Marques to Rothes, Mortoun to Lindefay, that the King was to give an anfwer to their desieres by proclamation, and thought
not meet to answer or look upon the supplication, which they sent back closed as they got it; our Noblemen hearing that this proclamation was to come downe with the Marques, they wrote up to him earnestly, not to accept any commission wherein he had no full power to give the country some reasonable contentment. However it be, the commission is put on him: his letters are come to all his friends to meet him at Hadington, the fifth of June. The Thesaurer and Lorne are returned, and have holden a council at Dalkeith; he's written for all the Counsellors, none of the Bishops are forgot, to meet at Dalkeith, the feast of June in Council, with the Marques of Hammiltoun, the King's Commissioner. The Commissioners here at Edinburgh he's advertised all the country to be in Edinburgh some days before. What will be the event of this great day, God knowes! We can not hear that the Marques of Hammiltoun is to offer farther than the recalling of the Books, and limitation of the High Commission; and that upon the condition, or rather command, that we surrender all our subferryed Covenants, and by under the old danger of Perth Articles and the Bishops’ unlimited tyranny. If this be not accepted, as there is no appearance it will ever be, we are threatened with a bloody onsefet by the Navie on the East Coast, by an Irish Armie on the West, by all the power three Marqueffes in Scotland and the Popish partie can make, with the help of the North of England. We have indyted a generall Fast the third of June. In God is our great confidence: we see yet nothing but appearance of mischief. Our people many of them are not humbled, nor in the state of penitents; our Bishops and their followers are yet in a furie, and have adoe with a people like themselves.

You write not to me what your people in Holland thinks of our matters. We hear that your Consvratour has written to the King, that some munition is coming to us from Camheir; be assured, if it be true, he could not do us an office we would take in worse part. Some are muttering that you are in your church-service practising some part of our books. I think you are not mad at thyr tymes needlely to fyde with the unhappie and unjust partie; what the matter is, write to mee in your next. If you mint to any such thing, expect a short deposition; and if the Burrowes be overthrown, that they cannot remove you, be assured to be removed out of their hearts for ever. We know yet no other but that our religion, liberties, lives, are in extreme danger: the Lord help us.
Lorne he's beene very plaine with the King: and now, when he is returned, is alfe farre our way as ever, God be thanked. The Marques is thought to be changed the King's way; all macks for the ruine of this Isle, and I see yet no meane to re-meed it. Canterburie will remitt nought of his benfall; he will breake ere he bow an inch: he is borne, it seemes, for his own and our destruction; yet there is a God. When our Noblemen were on the point of departure from Court, the Bifhop of Rofle prefented some sheets of paper, penned by Brechin, against the Thefaurer; thir stayed their journey some dayes. Galloway fyled heere with the Thefaurer; but Brechin, with a marvellous ingratitude, became a traitour to him, revealing all his secreets he had gathered in his companie: much fowle flying was among them. The mater is rather delayed than fully componed; however, some are come home, and the rest expected daylie.

**Newes from England the 15th of July [1638.]**

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

To Mr. William Spang, July 22, [1638.]

Reverend and Well-Beloved Coosin,

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

After that our gracious Sovereign had taken at length information of thefe he lent for to his Court, and of the Bifhops who come up unfent for, it is thought that for some days he was perplexed, toffled here and there with diversitie of resolutions. The bloodie counfell of St. Andrewes and Roffe, upon allurance of one sufficient party in the countrey, was paft from, not only by our Noblemen's contrare allurance of the vanity of that expectation, evidenced by the catalogue of the subferyvers, epecially of the Northland men, of whom the chief hopes were made; but thefe bloody conclusions were left also, by the advyfe of the English counfellers, who freely are faid to have fpoken of the injustice of such a courfe, and the danger which it was like to bring to the flate of England, as things went, their deep malcontentments lying for many years, but overplastered, without any folide cure. The plainneffe of Lorne is much talked of; nothing he is faid to have diſsembled of all he knew of our countrie's greevances, of his own full miflyke of the Books, of the Articles of Perth, of the Bifhops' milgovernment, of his reſolution to leave the kingdom rather then to confent to the preſling of any other, let be of himſelf or his fervants, with theſe burdens, which were againſt confidence. He put in the Mar-
ques' hands a double of the late English proclamation, decyding the famous controverfie of the Episcopal jurisdiction in their own names alone, and not in the King's. When this came to the King, it is thought he was moved with it, as not having marked before its incroaching upon his prerogative, and did chyde with Canterbury for it before the Marques; a quarrell which evidently made the Archbifhop look down on Lorne, who did publickly avow, in the write, contempt of his malice.

These counfells of force being laid by for the tyme, with the increafe of deteft of the authors, our Bifhops, little left in England then at home; a conclusion paffes of ane amicable treatie for the countrey's contentment. Long it was ere a perfon could be found of parts requisite for such a service. Morton, Roxburgh, let be Haddington or Stirling, were not of sufficient shoulders. The Thesfaurer was once lyke to have been employed; bot the Bifhops, to prevene the employment of their mortal enemie, did of freih, when no such matter was expected, give in some sheets of vehement accusations against him, of all things they could corrafe,(2) penned by Brechin,(3) bot fubferyved by St. Andrewes and Roffe also: they did not requyre Galloway's hand to this challenge, knowing his interef in the accused. The poyns were thought for the moft part bot light: the King would nottake tyme to difcuffe them; fo they were caft by as contemned, or laid up as ane band above the accused's head, to be applied in tyme to his fydes. However, the Bifhops' poyn was won: the Thesfaurer misfled the commifion. He made no formall recrimination to his partie; albeit, it is faid, he spake either to the King or prime courteours, of horrible crymes, which he could make good, efpecially of St. Andrewes; and indeed their carriage, at this fame tyme, even in England, hes not been ecclefaftick. Much is spoken of their wyne and feaiting, of their abfence from all divine service on the Sunday. When the Thesfaurer was decourted, the eyes of all was on the Marquesis (4) for the commifion. The sharpnes of the man; his late obligation to the King for his very being, by the gift of our taxation; his Father's throughing of Perth Articles, which now was become a maine part of our questions; the want of any other made him the only man; for the Duke [of Lennox] is thought to have no such stature as a Commissioner for such buifiefs required; befyde that diverse does now speak of his

infolation to poperie. The Marqueffle, to the uttermofl of his
power, declyned this charge, as a service wherein his feare was
greater to loffe allurely at leaff implacably to offend thefe whom
leaff he would; either his bountifull and gracious master, or his
mother-countrie, wherein, after the King, his hopes was juftly
greateft, then any expectation to bring this intricat bufines to
the wilfed end. Yet there was no remeif; yield he muft to
his Master’s peremptor command, who laid upon his back the
commiffion, with a Strange Memento, that he was informed, (as
indeed our Clergy, Prefident, and Register lets him be ignorant
of no whisper which they know among us,) of his countreymen’s
purpofe to fett the Crowne of Scotland upon his head; yet fuch
was his truft in his loyaltie, that he would implo no other to
reprefent his perfone, at this fo dangerous a tyme, wherein, If I
be the foole, you must be the knave.

My Lord Commiffioner his Grace, would not flirr from the
King, till he faw all our countreymen, which the Court any way
might fpare, fent home before him, to doe for the King’s fervice
all the good offices they were able, at leaff to doe him no evill
offices with his prince, by their miifinformations in his abfence.
The Thesaurer, Lorne, and Galloway, were the first who came
home together in coacht as good friends. This made the people
to begin to fpeake better of Galloway: but it feemes his fear of
the people’s furie does still remaine; for he comes not in
publifh, fave in the Thesaurer’s company: in his family does he
live, and that privately enough; he keeps his old wife plain-
neffe, for he rownes not that he avowed to the King his neceffity
to leave Scotland for feare of his life, for the want of the word,
which he could not hear delivered anywhere without fentences
of rebellion, and facraments which he could not participate there
without profanation. So foon as thir came doune, a Counfell
was called at Dalkeith, a commiffion was formed for the Marques
by the Advocate, the double ye have at (A.), letters were
directed throughout all the kingdome to all the counfellors, none
of the Bifhops excepted, ftraitly chargeing all to be prefent at
the next Counfell-day in Dalkeith the fixth of June.

Register and the Prefident followed the Thesaurer. We hear
nought of their dinne at this tyme about Court: it feems both
their credit is much impaired there. The Prefident (1) brought
with him a protection of a new ftraie, to hinder any execution
of law againft himfelf or his cautioners, their perfons, lands,

(1) Sir Robert Spottiswood, President of the Court of Session.
goods; his debts are found farre above his goods. It is thought
his father the Chancellor (2) hes brought with him the like targe.
It is saide, that himself and his children will be in sixteen or
feventeen score of thousands merks in burden: the world won-
ders by what means. His estate of Bithoprick, Priorie, Chan-
cerie, will be better than fourty thousand pound a-year. His
traine and house has been ever naughtie exceedinglie. It is saide
the Deane (3) has the like shield. The parfon of Leith has one,
I know, and the parfon of Liberton another, for diverse thousand
pounds of more debt then they have ever appearance to defray,
if they finde not a purse; for now bithopricks and abbacies are
defperat. It is very scandalous that clergymen should be avow-
ed dyvors, and troublers of the countrey beside. He of Leith (4)
is a malicious railer against the Covenanters, in pulpit and every
where. He of Liberton (5) does us a very threue turne; posted
lately to Court, informed the King, after he had closed our buffi-
nets and dismiss’d our Statefmen, of continuall outrages of our
people against minifters, for their love to his service; amongst
the rest, the towne of Edinburgh’s onfett on D. Ogfton for his
life in the church; the people of Torphichen upon Mr. G. Hanna:
this did adde oyl to the King’s flame. The truth is, that Ogfton,
minifter at Collingtone, made his people, who would obey him,
anfwer his examination before the communion on their knees, as
the priefts doe in their fluryving; this, and other things, (for he
was brought from the North (6) to that place by Bifthop Forbes,) made him infamous; fo, in his addition to the exercife in Edin-
burgh, speaking somewhat, I suppose, of the Virgin Mary, he
was conceaved of the people, but wrongously, to fpake error;
whereupon, after fermon, at the out-coming of the church, a
number of women waits on, and did fhoare him with f troakes;
but Mr. A. Ramfay, and Mr. H. Rollocke, did get him fafe to
the fession house, and thereafter convoyed him to his horfe. Mr.
Hanna has ever been in hott watter with his people fince his
entrie; fo the Sonday after his people had fubfterved againft
his command, they fett on him in the church, ryves his gowne,
gives him dry cuffes, and fo without farther harme dismisses him.

(2) The Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Lord High Chancellor.
(3) Dr. James Hanna, Dean of St. Giles, and one of the Ministers of
Edinburgh.
(4) Dr. William Wishart, Minister of Leith.
(5) Mr. Andrew Learmonth, Minister of Liberton.
(6) Mr. William Ogfton was Professor of Moral Philosophy in Marischal
College, Aberdeen.
This is much regrated by us all, and the minifters in Edinburgh inveighs much againft thir finfull uproares; and since there has been no more of them.

With the President come word of my L. Alexander's (?) death. I have into it a lottë of a near coofin and familiar friend: The King did profefle his lottë of a fervant of great hopes. Ye know, beſide the gallantnes of his perſone, he was both wife, learned, and verie well fpoken; the Countrie makes not much doole for him, for they took him for ane advancement of the epifco- pall caufes to his power. It feares me his death will undo that ryfeing Houfe: their debts are great; his Father is old, and ex- tremamly hated of all the countrie for his alledged briberie, urger- ing of the Pfalmes, and the Books for them, overwhelming us with his Black money. His Sonne is bot ane infant (3); his brother Sir Anthonie, and Robert alfo are dead; Henrie will not be able yet for his place; and if he should, what he can gaine muſt be for himſelf, and not the Houfe. Many who inten- ded his Father's overthrow, were withholding for reſpect to him. In a three or four days feaver, beſide all mens expectation, he expired. I think, indeed, that God is juft: among a number of his excellent parts, I knew him to have been very licentious in his pleaſures before his marriage.

There waited on our Bis hops at Court, one D. Carlſe, (9) whom I know not, and Mr. Leviton, who both are bitter againſt us; alfo Mr. Laudian, the Marqueis' chaplaine, who hes written somewhat againſt our courfes, at leaſt, for kneeling, againſt Rutherſord. They say he is dead alfo; I much regrate it: he was an excellent philofophie, found and orthodoxe, oppofite to Canterbury's way, albeit too conforme: I counfelled oft Glaf- gow to have him for their Divinitie Lecturer.

(?) William Lord Alexander, Vifcount of Canada, was the eldest son of Sir William Alexander, first Earl of Stirling. He died at London in March 1638.

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

(3) In a letter, in the Editor's possession, written by this Dr. Care, to Max- well, Bis hop of Ross, dated London, Jan. 10th [1636], he signs himself "your Lordship's most faithfull servant and cosen, John Care." He speaks of his "Curate at Brixton;" and in reference to some expected preferment, through Maxwell's influence, he professes his willingness to lay himself "in all duty and service at the feet of our Holy Mother, the Church of Scotland, to be disposed by her as she schall think fitt."
The multitude of our Scottish Lords, which were sent down, Morton, Lithgow, Kellie, Marr, Kinnoull, Haddington, Belhaven, Amont, and many more, made us think, that the King minded to call shortlie a Parliament, wherein he might make use of their voices; for else we saw not to what purpose their presence here could serve. It was given out, that our Bishops were very loath to come from Court, but they were forced to goe; that after their dismission, they sought leave to goe to the Bath, to passe tyme so till they saw the Commissioner's successse: yet it was not so; for at once St. Andrewes came. Rossie also and Brechin came to Berwick; but to come any farther, for all their boldnes, they durft not yet venture. It is said they are there very merry, as our people also. St. Andrewes, Edinburgh, Dumblane, makes countenance oft to be in the Dean's house.

On Sunday, the third of June, his Grace was in Berwick: that day was a solemn Fast over all our Kingdom, where tymous advertisement could be given. Some of our non-subferyvers refused to joyne. In Edinburgh,(1) Mr. Alexander, D. Elliot, Mr. Mitchell, etc. being required to joyne, took them to be advysed with their Bishop. At the first he was content; but, thereafter, having written over to Dalkeith to Galloway, who newly was come home, repented, and on the Sunday morning sent a discharge to the ministers to intimate; which they obeyed: but Mr. H. and Mr. A. (2) did intimate it in their churches, and I also in the Colledge-hall, where that day I did preach. For this long while bygone, some of the Nobilitie, Shyres, and Borrows, waits on in Edinburgh, every man his fourteen dayes. Some of the Ministers also keeps their turne, and preaches to their Commissioners in the Colledge-hall. On Mononday, the Ministers of Edinburgh would have been at the intimating of the Fast in their week sermons, notwithstanding of the Bishops discharge; but the Commissioners, mainly on Mr. Andrew's motion, (for I was witnes to it, and did much reason against it,) did send some of the Town Counfell to Mr. Alexander, to discharge him, and the rest to joyne in the Fast, except they would joyne in the maine caues, to pray for a bleffing to

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

(2) Mr. H. stands here for Mr. Henry Rollock, and Mr. A. for Mr. Andrew Ramsay, two of the ministers of Edinburgh, whose names are of frequent occurrence in this work.
the Covenant. So, on the Wednesday, Mr. Alexander, with many tears, in the midst of his sermon, shew his willingnes to joyne in the Faste, if he had not been discharged: his tears purcha-ched him little pittie. It is marvellous how much more that our good friend is hated of his people then Mitchell himself; or any other there. I was forry for D. Eliot's grief. I had yield-ed to Mr. Henrie to preach in his church on the fastning Son-day, with the Doctor's good lykeing; they had agreed to put me in the forenoon, Mr. Henrie in the morning, the Doctor afternoon; for in the fastning churches they had three sermons. Yet before Sunday the Doctor is discharged to preach in that church at all, unlefs he would subferyve, left he shoulde marr the devotion of his hearers by his evil example: there was no re-meid; Mr. Samuel Rutherfoord was put in his place; the con-gregation was great exceedingly; many of our Nobles were there; and indeed that peoples humiliation was greater then I hoped for, God be thanked! Mr. Henrie is a man much more mortifid than I thought ever to have seen him, and preaches very patheticklie. Mr. Rutherfoord hes an excellent gift both of preaching and prayer, and, which helps all to the peoples minde, felles all the fourteen Bishops and hoghes the Cere-monies; yet in this he goes little beyond Mr. Henrie. As for Bishops and Ceremonies, I melled not with them; bot of the Service book, I fpak some more then my hearers had been ac-qainted with from any other: by this I did pleafe them.

On the Monday great reasoning there was for meeting of the Commissioner. His Grace had written almost to the whole nobility, and gentry of note, to meet him on the Tuesday about Haddingtoune. Many would gladly have done him that honour; bot for the Reafons that ye have at (B.), favouring much of Rothes pen, it was decreed, that none of the subferyvers, no not of his dearest friends and vaftals shoulde goe; only my Lords Loudon and Lindeffay, and some two three Barrons, shoulde go out, and carrie the excuse in name of all. With this dealing his Grace feemed nothing well pleased, and was like to have returned post to Court in malcontentment; bot Rothes, haveing communded some two three houres with him in Dalkeith, did appeafe and remove his miftakings.

Some days before, ane accident fell forth which well near had ocasioned great miftelligence among all. It had been resolved at Court, upon the Bishops complaint that the King's houfes were unfurnifhed, when the Noblemen had provided fo large
munition for all theirs, that the Thefaurer should furnish the Caflle of Edinburgh with powder and lead, and other necessaries, whereof it flood in great need. The Thefaurer gives this charge to Patrick Wood; who layes in, either out of the Tower of Lon-
don, or by his monies, privately into a ship of Leith, three score and odds great barrelis of powder, some hundreds of picks, some kifs full of mufquets and matches. When thir came to the roade, the Thefaurer being advertised, come into the towne. After supper, according to his directions, his man Daek and Patrick Wood, that night, cauSES in hafte, and all the privacy they could ufe, carry all that munition to Dalkeith. To-morrow the whole towne and countrey is full of no other discourse. Patrick Wood is much detefted by all for his readiness in fuch employment; he is called to the Commiffioners' table ofter then once, and strictly examined: his anfwers at firft were somewhat proud; but at once his courage cooled, when his bands began to be pofted to the registers, many in one day; much he did quickly pay; the Covenant without delay he did fubfcryve; many good friends did for him what they could; yet all had enough adoe to keep him from the hands of the people, and hold off, for a tyume, his numerous creditors. On the Thefaurer lighted more indignation, that he should have fecretly caufed convoy, in the night, to the place of meeting, fuch provifion, for what end elfe bot to blow us all up? He came in, and to Rothes, Lorne, and Loudon, purged himfelf of fuch wickednefs; confessed the necefsity laid upon him to provide for the Caflle of Edinburgh, but being forewarned by fome noblemen and gentlemen, subfcryvers, of their resolution to feafe on that provifion if it were caried towards the Caflle, he thought it meeter quietly to carry it to Dalkeith, the neareft of the King's houfes, then to tempt them to fall in a ryt, which might make matters deparate of reconciliation. However, it was thought the Marques took not this service well of the Thefaurer; for albeit to Lindeflay, who was fent to Berwick, to try, among other things, what was his part in this munition, he confessed he knew of the ladening of it; and oft fince in his discourse he hes driv'en to facilitat his treatie, by threatening us with the readiness of the King's navie to fett upon us, with ten thoufand land fouldiers well trained. Three dayes after, we forced him to give over comuning; and it is known, that in his way through Northumberland, he gave direction to the Sheriffs to have their trained bands in readiness, which, for that end, twyce a week fince have been mustered:
Also he spake of the readiness of a Spanish armie in West-Flanders to be employed where the King would direct. For all this, the conveying of that munition privately to the place appointed for his amicable treaty, it is said, he took it from the Thefaurer for a diffavour, as done of purpose to hinder the success of his Commission in his hands. Many thinks, that the Thefaurer and Roxburgh both are not contented, that in this employment themselves were neglected; and therefore are not very careful to further this service. Yet for all that is said in this, I believe the Thefaurer is honest; and whatever he might be moved to doe for the King's pleasure against us, yet will I not thinke, that he would be so mad as in any thing to disoblige the Marqueis, to whom this twelve moneth he has stuck so clofe, and whom, if he should irritate at this tyme, when fo many are in his topps, his ruine seemed to be inevitable. Always this action of the Thefaurer, as many other since the beginning of this weightie affair, done by him, whether of purpose for that end or not, hes much furthered our caufe, hes made all the countrie flock in a trace to the towne, putt all in a greater cagernefs then ever. The inequity to meet with the Marqueis at Dalkeith &c provided, laid a necessity on the Marqueis to come and treat in the towne, or else in the fields; for this provision was ane juft reason of our disruft; and which was most, not only a watch of some hundreth armed citizens was put nightly in the towne, for it was expected, that Huntley, Harries, Abercorne, and Winton, were to be in with all the power they could make; but also the gentry began, in armes both night and day, avowedly to watch the Castle, that none of that provision might be carryed from Dalkeith thereto, as the Thefaurer said it would, and much more, which was coming in mow ships.

This Castle-watch was much spoken of, as the first of our illegal actions. But it was replied, That since are innocent defence by armes to the body of a State, in the evident danger of their Religion, Liberties, and Lawes, was granted to be lawfull by the law of God, nature, nations, and chiefly by the laws and frequent practises of our nation, approved by diverse flanding Acts of Parliaments; this being granted, as few among us now makes question, (some indeed does, whereof I am as yet one,) it cannot be denied but all things simple necessary for that innocent defence are alike legall; of the whilk, the keeping of that Castle in the present case, and preparing the putting of it in such a state, wherein it may easilie, in twelve hours, destroy that good
towne, the head of our nation, the only convenient place of
our meeting, the maine finew of our union and defence; our
providence about this place, upon this ground, is thought justi-
ducible to all equitable men. If our defigne had been to have
made any invasion, nothing more easie, than by three dayes
hunger, or fix houres aiffault, to have taken that Caftle and all
the others also the King has among us; but our folks are far
from fuch acts of hostilitie, if they be not forced to them. The
Commissioner would not grant to come to the Abbey, unlefs he
were feomenuy met, and that watch were removed. Of the firft
we made no queftion; to the other, after much debate, we
agreed, on condition, that Haddington, Southeik, Lorne, the in-
tercomuners, shou'd ingadge their honour, fo far as was possiblible,
that in the mean tyme there shou'd no munition at all, neither
any victuales more than for daily ufe, be put in that house.
This was yielded to by them: fo the watch was difcharged. Bot
the Commissioner would not fland to that communing, and took
it for a diftrust of his honeftie, when any more was craved than
his bare word: fo the fame night the watch was fett to againe,
and that in a double number. Yet when, at the town of Edin-
burgh's renewed fuit, the Commissioner was contented to come
in, notwithstanding of that watch, Lorne took it upon him to
difcharge it feimply without any condition, and in this was
obeyed, for the Commissioners' contentment: only a privie
watch was ordained, and yet is kept; yea, all wishes there had
been no other from the beginning, for it is thought sufficient
for their end.

The Counfell at Dalkeith mett frequently. Huntley was
there, bot with a small traine; he fpake nought as we hear
against our caufe; he carried himself like a Proteftant. We
fent Mr. Andrew Ramsay, Mr. James Boner, Mr. Thomas Aber-
nethie, and a fourth, athrift the Counfellors, to pollift them for
their favour, in thefe words ye have at (C.), penned by Mr.
David Dick. All gave good anfwers, and Huntley fhow, that he
had found our caufe fince he come South, more equitable then in
the North he was informed of it: for the Books, he shou'd be
glad to be inftucted by any they would fend to him, what evil
could be found in them. The man is of a good difcourfe, bot
neither trufted by king nor country; his power also is con-
temptible in this caufe: many of his name hes subferved; him-
selv and fundry of them are over burdened with debt. Forbeffes,
Fafers, Grants, M'Kenzies, M'Cayes, Macintoshes, M'Laines,
McDonalds, Irwines, Innices, let be all the Campbells to a man, are zealous subfcrivers; and a fifth part of them were able to make a difjune of all the Gordouns when at their beft; albeit now the moft of the Gordouns depends on Sutherland, as all in the South on Kenmure.

That day in counfell St. Andrewes fat with the scales, as some faid, with the Marques commiffion, as others, hung about his neck in a pooke, as the fashion is for the keeper of England in the King's prefence. Our noblemen subfcrivers will not fo much as fpeak to him, and fcarce look on him; and that according to a conclusion past at their Table, that in the dependance of this caufe againft the Bifhaps our only partie, no subfcriver fhou'd any wayes countenance any of them. This, I fear, be bot a preface to their proceffe of excommunication, or inditement upon their head of high treafon: diverfe thinks the King will not be much againft this, if fo that in the ruine of thir mens per- fons, he could find a meane to preferve his own honour, and their Epifcopall eftate. Nothing at all was done in the Coun- fell: the Commiffioner was not pleafed to this day to acquaint any there with his Majefties minde; only his folks lets out, that he was confident to leave the countrey in peace, and give them, ere he went, full fatiffa&ion; bot it feems, that the manie midfives posted daily to him from Court fince that tyme, hes refringing his liberty to doe what then he intended.

In his entrie at Leith, I think as much honour was done to him as ever to a King in our countrey. Huge multitudes as ever was gathered on that field, fett themfelves in his way. Nobles, gentry of all fhyres, women a world, the town of Edinburgh, all at the Water-gate; bot we were moft confpicious in our black cloakes, above fyve hundred on a bray-fide in the links, our alone for his fight. We had appointed Mr. William Livingftone, the strongeft in voyce and auftereft in countenance of us all, to make him a short welcome; bot a good friend of yours and myne was rafhly officious to informe D. Balquanquall, (3) (who is come down to wait on his Grace as almoft a chaplaine, upon hopes, if all goe well, quickly to obtaine ane Archbifhopriece, he is for nocht laighter,) that in the harangue were invectives againft the Bifhaps; which was nothing fo, for ye may read the speech at (D.) : Upon this information, the Commiffioner excufed himfelf to our Nobles, and, in passing, to Mr. William himfelf, faid that

(3) Dr. Walter Balquanquhal, Dean of Durham. For the ' good friend' his informer, Vide supra, note page 1.
harangues in field were for princes, and above his place; yet what he had to say he should hear it gladly in private. So our spokesmen, with other two or three of our number, went and delivered to the Commissioner in his chamber what here ye read without any farther; for we discharged him to enter in any other purpofe, all being resolute to give an<answer>ers to what should be pro-
poned in a public way, after advyfement with all the brethren. Our friend, for his rashneff to informe, I did much chyde. The Marques, in the way, was much moved with pitie, even to tears; he profefled thereafter his defyres to have King Charles prefent at that fight of the whole country, fo earnestly and humbly cry-
ing for the safety of their liberties and religion. His Grace’s countenance and carriage was fo courteous, and his private fpeeches fo faire, that we were in good hopes for fome days to obtaine all our defyres; yet at laft, when we heard, that all the power he had was to caufe read at the Croffe a proclamation of the King’s pleafure, without any farther commiffion, our hopes became well near defperate. What was in the proclamation we could not learn; only there was much speaking of a command to furrender, and give in our fubscryved Covenants, upon promife to ratifie by Parliament, all or the moft part of the matters con-
tained therein. This was a motion infinitely difpleasing to all; and to put the Commissioner from all hope of obtaining any fuch proposition, Reafons were given out, I think, by Mr. Alexander Henderfone, which ye have here in print, why upon no termes, it was poifible for us to paifie from any poynt, lefle or more, which we had sworne and fubscribed. This refolution was firmy kept by all. Mr. W. Cochran,\(^1\) a sharpe and bufie man, was like to have incurred great difgrace, and public cenfure, at the gentries table, for holding privie conferrence with the The-
faurer, and letting fome overtures fall that favoured of altering, upon good conditions, fome claufes of the Covenant. This our strickefs ftopped the proponing of a furrender, or altering of any thing in the write; only the Commissioner fhow, that he was minded to proclame the King’s pleafure. Our commiffioners, fome two three of the Nobles, Barrons, Burrows, and Minifters, fhow their refolution to proteft if it were not fatisfactory. This the Commissioner, and all he could make, laboured to difiwade with might and maine, with many promifes, with great threats;

\(^1\) Probably Mr. William Cochran of Cowdon, who was afterwards knighted, and raised to the Peerage, first as Lord Cochran, and then as Earl of Dun-
donald.
bot in vaine, for we were peremptor; being informed, without a protestation, and that presently upon the back of the proclamation, our posterior meetings would be illegal and subject to cen- sure: the Reafons that were given out for the necessity of protest- ing, ye have here at (F.) All these would not put the Commis- sioner from it; he shew in this he would fee the King obeyed; he would come up to the Crofs, and back the lion-herauld; if they would protest, he would denounce them all rebels. The Thesaurer comes up the way on the Thur'day before noon, calls for the lion-heraulds, makes foupe the Crofs for the hang- ings. All our people converge, some thousand gentlemen with their swords loofe in their armes, about the Crofs; a scaffold is made for Caffills, Durie younger, Mr. William Livingftone, and John Smith, to protest for the Four Estates. When this danger- ous resolution was perceaved, the lion-heraulds were advertised to provide horfe, which made us conceive they intended to read the proclamation in other burghs. This made many make their horfes ready to have convoyed the Heralds where ever they went, and course was taken for to have protefters provided in every burgh where the proclamation was like to be felt.

This our firme confancy made the Commissioner passe from motioning any more his proclamation. It feem'd to many, that his instructions were of fo many parts, that he had warrand to preffe every piece to the outmoff, and then to paffe from it, if no better might be, to the nixt. This feem'd to some of us the beholders, bot little policie; we thought it had been more expedient for our division, their maine end as was thought by fome, to have at the verie firft granted frankly all they could be brought to, than to offer fome few things, whilk could content none, and to enter upon fecound offers after the refolute rejection of the firft. This did bind us all the fatter, made us the more bold in preffing our full defyres, upon hopes, that an ambulatorie and paffing communion was not yet paffed on the halfe of its way, let be to be near the laft end.

On Fryday we did prefent to his Grace a common Supplication, which ye have at (G.) To make way for a ready anfwer thereto, there was fome nine Propositiones fpread abrood of purpoʃe, that they might come to the courteous hands, containing articles to be advyfed, upon fuppofition that delays, crafts or force, shoule be ufed againft us; ye may read them at (H.) This half boafit did make the Commissioner receave our supplication in the better part. On the Saturnday he pro-
mised, after his returne from Kincil on the Tuesday, ane anfwer to it. On that Sunday he heard Mr. Alexander Henderfon preach, and thereafter conferred with him at length in private. Of this we all do much marvell, and cannot fee a reafon why he fhould have given fuch ane occafion to the Bifhops cenfure, whom he knew to be ready enough, upon every shadow, to calumniate him to the King as ane inclyner to the puritane fide. He was indeed offended with fome of our preachers: Mr. Andrew Cant, ane superexcellent preacher, as all report, Mr. Rutherford, Mr. William Livingftone, Mr. Robert Douglaifs, Mr. A. Blackhall, and diverfe other, had preffed the extirpation of Epifcopacie. Every day in that week there was a preaching in four or five diverfe roomes, except the Saturnday: what was faid by any, all incontinent was delate to his Grace in no better termes, be afurred, then was delivered. Mr. Alexander Henderfon had been fparing, and Mr. David Dick much more; fo that he was cenfur'd of too much prudence, and beloved to help it by his fcourging of the Bifhops in posterier fermons. Upon requelt of fome counfellers who loved our caufe, the Bifhops, by fome, in fermons, were dealt with more foberly then before; bot nothing at all was remitted by others.

On Tuesday our Commissiioners went to his Grace for ane anfwer to their Supplication according to promife. The anfwer was, That their demands of ane Asfembly and Parliament fhould be granted; bot first fome fcruples anent the write behooved to be fatified. Thir were to be propofed by the three former intercomuners; with these were appointed to treat for us other three, Rothes, Montrofe, Loudon: they agreed their conference fhould be by write. The fcruple propofed was this; His Majettie may conceive, that the Confeflion is fo generall in the claufe of mutual defence, that it may not only containe a defence for religion and his Majetties perfon and authority, liberties and lawes of this kingdome, bot also a combination for defending of delinquent against authority and law, even in other claufes than thefe forfald. Our communers took it to their advyfement with their companie, if therefore it were neceffarie to draw up a humble remonftrance, to explaine our dutifull intension concerning the claufe above written. The Tables both of nobles and gentry fand, after long diifput, that fuch remonftrances were dangerous; likely nought bot delayes and fnares were fought for. Yet it was granted, that in a re-newed fupplication, that claufe fhould be sufficiently cleared, if
fo that they were not needlessly incombered with more interrogatories. The supplication is drawn up by the Nobles, but millyked by the Gentry and Miniftrrie; for what caufe I know not, for yet I have not seen that peece. The Commissioner alfo would have them agree to a declaration of this claufe of his forming; bot this all did refuse: yet at laft all did agree upon a Supplication, in thir terms, which ye have at (J.) Againft this the Commissioner did not fay much; only fthew, that what he had in his Instructions concerning ane Asfembly and Parliament would not content them; neither would all yet they had faid content the King: for all that, he would not leave the matter deliberate; he would poft to his matter, and fee if by himself he might give better informations than he could by his milfve letters; he trufted shortly to returne with fatisfactory instructions. This necelfare ouverture we could not refuse; bot we intreated his Grace for the eareft agenting with the King, thir Six articles which ye have here at (K.) The day of his returne he hes named for the longeft the fifth of Auguft.

What we fpeake of the Service-book was occafliped by the Bifhops continued madnefs. However, all does think that the King’s proclamation fhall free us for ever of that unhappy book altogether: yet they are fo neglectful of their gracious matter’s honour, that by their words and deeds they make the world fufpect that the King hes no intention to keep his word: Unhappie fervants to fo good a matter! Galloway’s man affured Mr. James Blair, that the book might well be corrected in our asfembly, bot it behooved to goe through. The Bifhop of Edin-burgh avowed to Mr. James Lang, that in the book there was no evill; that it was much better then that of England; that for all our present uproares, that book would goe through, who- ever would fay the contrare. The Bifhop of Dumblane came to the Commissioner, showing that he was to read service in the chappell, and required his Grace’s countenance to it. The Commissioner bade him “Doe fo," bot to be præent at it, it was no part of his commiffion. Thereafter, when Dumblane was affured of the evident danger he might incurre by fuch ane attempt, he returned and fthew the Commissioner, he behooved, for fear of his life, to let alone his reading. His Grace’s anfwer was nocht bot as before, "Doe fo.” For all this, they go out, St. Andrewes to Roselien, and in that chappell read the service: this conftant report is now questioned. In this I marvell much of their wisdom. St. Andrewes flill grows in his rage; he is
going back in haste to Court to worke us what woe he can: it is like he shall never returne. Our people thinks, by clear law, if they get any reafon, to have [him] excommunicat, and readily thereafter execut. It seemes he is so desperat, that he would be content to fall in the peoples hands, for the defyre of martyrdom: Would to God he and his brethren could preferre the safety of the King and kingdom to their own honour, and satisfacttion of their wicked passions.

What we speake of the interruption of our trade, is occasioned by that arreifment of the States of our merchand armes, at the instance of the King’s Agent, and your Conservator also, as we hear, upon a most falsfale narrative, that the King has declared us all traitors, and we are in the acts of open rebellion. However we were most unable to revenge such injuries, many whereof it is thought we have gotten of late of your good Conservator; yet he should fear, if not God, the avenger of liars and hurters of their countrey, yet the King, to whom he does dangerous wrong through our sides. Who ever steires the flame betwixt the King and his subiects, at this time, seemes to be most mortall enemies that the King ever had, either to his person, or crowne, or posteritie; and that arreifment will not be a small coal to that fire. Ye have oft shewed to me of that man’s facultie of lying and wicked humors many wayes; if ye, after the knowledge of it, take yow to his side, your miserie, when he procures it, will not be so much regreted.

Befyde other things I wrote to yow before, whereof I have receaved no answer, I heard of your letters, I think within this twelve moneth, to St. Andrewes, concerning the speeches and prayers of your churches there for us, as their persecute brethren. What are ye doing? Your letters were sent to the King by the hand of the President. Though I heard this obiter, yet few, I think, among us doe know it, and God forbid they should. I pray yow come over, if ye defyre to keep your old estimation; but come over resolute to subferyve, as now all among us inclynes to doe. At our townsman’s defyre, Mr. Andrew Cant, and Mr. Samuel Rutherford, were sent by the nobles to preach in the High Kirk, and receave the oaths of that people to the Covenant; my Lord Eglintone was appointed to be a witnes.

(*) Sir William Boswell, King’s Resident at the States in Holland.
(©) Patrick Drummond, Conservator of the Scots Privileges, at Campvere. He was knighted previous to October 1640, at which time he was suspended or deposed from his office by the Committee of the Estates of Parliament.
There, with many a sigh and teare by all that people, the oath was made; Proved, Baillies, Counfell, and all except three men, Patrick, James, and Mr. Archibald, held up their hands; Mr. Zacharie [Boyd], and Mr. John Bell younger, hes put to their hands; the Colledge is thought will subfcriye; Mr. William Wilkie I know will; the Forfuithes [Foryth] hes subfcriyed, and almost all who refused before; some they will not have their hands, but mindes to procedfe them. Mr. Crichton, (?), my cousin, is ordained to be summoned for his corrupt doctrine and praefifes, before their prefbytrie; and two associates out of the foure next adjacent prefbytries. I think I could move [him] to make a publick recantation by bygones, and give all possible affurences for tyme to come; but it fears me all this keep him not in his place. Mr. James Forfuith has been fo idle in his written proteftations read out of his pulpit against our Covenant, the antichriftianifme, jefuitifme of it, and what not; also in some paffages against our Noblemen in his sermons, and some other miscarriages, that it feares me his cenfure shall be deep; so much the more as he is not liklie to carry himself with any cannyness in tyme coming. Mr. William Anan, (?) pre-fently after his subfcription, went to Edinburgh, where he hes remained since above a quarter of a year: he is in great confufion and perplexity. With his own content, Mr. Robert Blair was admitted his second: all his company is with the Deane and Bishops. The brethren sent out to him commiffioners oft to join with them in their meeting, but till he would not: the towne of Aire dealt much with him; but in vaine: so they at laft gave in a complaint of his miscarriages, with a resolution never more to receave him within their pulpit. I think there is no ten Ministers in the kingdome so much oblieged to their people’s gratuitie, as he alone was, and till would have been, if he might have been pleased to have done any tolerable duty. The prefbytrie is ordained, with the affeflion of some neighbours, to cite him, and to goe on with him in procelfe for faults to be lybelled: it is lyke he hes no minde to retorne. The Bishop of Dune (9) hes written over to him, and Mr. David

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


(9) Dr. Henry Lesley, Bishop of Down and Connor, in Ireland. He was a native of Scotland.
Mitchell, that they would come and live with him: likely Mr. David Mitchell will shortly be proceeded for his doctrine.

There is a great work of reformation intended among us, and evidently begun; there is much amendment of common faults; we hope it will spread to our neighbours of England and Ireland: the oppression there of the Bishops on men's souls, bodies, and goods, is so pitiful, that it is marvellous if God come not down to plead the cause of the poor innocents. The late uproars of the Innes of Court, we hear, shall be bot the proem to the inefquent tragedie, if Canterbury will be pleased to remitt nocht of his accustomed stiffness. It is like, that our victualling of Dunkirk draw France and Holland on our Prince, and the Spaniard on us; all this, it fears me, marre still the Palatine's designs. Alace! for the pitiful slaughter of our countrymen at Antwerpe: this must be your Prince great want of providence, who advanced such a handfull so full in the enemies bounds, without either spies before them, or a back armie or fort for retreat: a unhappines in a Generall is to be pitied; but such a negligence of conduct is intolerable, and cursed. Always unhappe we, who in such interprises are commonly sure of the strokes.

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

While we are expecting the Marqueis way-going, behold new stories, whereof we did not dreame. His Grace, on Saturday, comes up to the Crofie, makes for a proclamation. Diverse of

(1) This anonymous work, by George Gillespie, afterwards one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, is entitled "A Dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies obtruded upon the Church of Scotland," &c. 1637, 4to. This edition appears to have been printed in Holland.
the nobles, many of the gentry were away home, being secure of all till the Commissioner's returne from Court; yet numbers flocked to the Croffe put themselfes in readines to protest; but they superceded, finding the Proclamation, byfde the expectation of all men, to be nocht bot a restitution of the Counfell and Session to Edinburgh dureing the King's pleasure. This great benefite not being looked for, not being fought nor thought upon by any at that tyme, was receaved bot with smal acknowledgement; so much the more as the maine narrative ranne upon the incommodities which the Lords did suffer by their sitting in all other places, as if this favor had been intended only for their accommodating.

Tomorrow, on Sunday, his Grace went to Seaton; where, in Tranent, he heard Mr. Robert Balcanquall; with whom we were nocht pleased; for however he has subscriv'd, yet in that sermon, as in all the rest of his carriage thir divers years, he was more cold and wise, than zealous and stout to speake one word for the good caufe. We thought that the Commissioner had been thus far on his way; yet to-morrow, as if he had receaved new Instructions from the poet, he returnes; and on Wednefday, betwixt twelve and one, caufes proclaime, as ye have it at (L.) This proclamation was heard by a world of people, with great indignation: we all doe marvell that ever the Commissioner could think to give satisfaction to any living foul by such a declaration; which yet oft he professed with confidence of that piece before it was heard: there must be here some milterie which yet is not open. This declaration cannot be that which his Grace brought with him, that was thought certainly to contain a command of surrendering our Confession: bot of our Confession is no syllable; yea this hes been by appearance drawn up here very lately by the Bifhops and Statefmen who are trusted, with the consent, as it seems, of the Commissioner; for the date of it is bot fix or seven dayes, at Greenwich, before it was proclaimed in Edinburgh. There was on a scaffold anent the Croffe, simul et semel, read by Mr. Archibald Johnftone, a protestation, which ye have at (M.), avowed by Caffils, young Durie, Provoft of Dundie, and Mr. John Kerr of Pannes, in name of the nobles, barrons, burgellies, and minifters. Some out of shotts cryed rebels on the readers; the people in a fury would have been up to search: it was feared Mr. Robert Rankine, or Mr. John Browne, or the Deane, might have been rent in pieces; for they were thereabout in the Dean's chamber;
bot the diligence of the Noblemen hindred the search, so there was no hurt done to any. The Nobles, at dinner, are informed, that the Commissioner was about to gett the Counsell to approve the declaration as satifactory; whereupon they presently fell a writing thefè Reafons which ye have at (N.); and after dinner went to his Grace, Rothes, Montrofe, Loudon, with doubles of these Reafons for flaying the Counsellors from making any approbatorie act. There paft between them fome high words: Loudon told his Grace roundlie, they knew no other bands between a king and his fubjects, bot of religion and lawes; if these were broken, men's lives were not dear to them; boasted they would not be, fuch feasres were paft with them. Notwithstanding, the Commissioner prevailed fo farr with the Counfellors, that they all, except Lorne and Southeik, did, in their chamber, not publickly at their Counfell table, fett their hand to this act, which ye may read with admiration at (O.) When it was heard, there was conceaved fo high offence by us all, at thefe men, whom we were affurred were ready to fubf cryve with us the Covenant, that our grief was unutterable: Yett all came about for the good of our caufe; the unreasonableblenes of their grievous injurie being remonstrate to them, they fell prefently to repent; and for our fatisfaction, did not reft till they had gotten back that fubf cryved act, and rent it in small pieces. We hope that our sweet Prince, and all neighbour nations, will judge the declaration, not fo much approven by our Counfell, in their privat, and too much haftened fubfcriptiones, if not stolen from them by vehement folifation, as difavowed, yea detefted as unreasonable by their open, avowed, and deliberate renting in pieces of their approbation thereto. For mitigating a little of our minds, there was offered to us a more favourable proclamation; as ye have the act of it at (P.); bot it was holden in, because we were ready to proteft againft it as not satifactory.

This manner of dealing hes made us fpeak out that which was before bot in the minds of fome very few, our right from God, which the Prince may not in law or reafoon take from us, to keep a Generall Asfemblie. The Reafons of this conclusion ye have at (Q.), in print, done by the advyfe of three or foure of the beft witts. This is the highest firing yet our necelities hes drawn us to ftrike on. At my first hearing of it, I was much amazed: I was allutterly averse from thinking of any fuch proposition; bot after fome study, I find my mood allayed. I
intreat you try the minde of Rivett and Voetius, if when the Prince or State are unwilling, the Kirk may keep a Generall Assembly in times of necessity, though authority should discharge; alfo direct me to all the wyrtyes ye are able for my help of information. I am feared that this boast of our right, only in policie, as yet they fay, be indeed put in practife: the events I groan to imagine.

Lorne fhew the Commiffioner, he was informed from Court, of Antrum’s undertaking to come over upon his lands. He knew not any of his own merits to procure fuch acts of holfitie, but if fuch oppreffion were offered, he would fee to his defences. We hear of fome fix or nine of the King’s ships coming to our North seas: fome fays they are going only for the protection of your Bulfes, for the tenth barrell of their fihing, lately granted by your States to the King. They fpeak alfo of Arundell’s coming down to Berwick. All thir things putts us in flocht. The Commiffioner went away on the Mun-day early, after he had given fome good words to our Nobles. He intended to dyne with the King on Fryday. He took the 12th of Auguft for his return. In the meantyme we have, on the 22d and 29th of July, a univerfal falt. It is lyke, at the Counfell-table in England, our affair may gett fome fatall froke one of thefe dayes. Mr. David Dick and Mr. Alexander Henderfone are convoyed by my Lord Montrofe, and others, north, to draw in, if they can, thefe who yet lyes out in the fheriffdome and towne of Aberdeen. If God blefs that labour, all our countrey, now to count of, is as one man in this bufinesfs, which goes on like Elias’ cloud, from a hand-breadth to fill the whole skyes. When we look to our defervings, and the dealing of God round about, and the pregnant appearances in human affaires, we are afraid our whole Ifle be terrifyed shaken, if not made defolate, before this florme calm: Our truft is in God. There appears not yet from men any likelyhood of peace, or any poofibility of it, as matters goes on both fides. The Bifhops may be at once excommunicat, and all their wilfull followers: if for them our nobles blood be fhed, the Ifle will hardly keep any of them.

Dumblane is to Court. Brechin and Roffe, if they be yet in Berwick, we know not. St. Andrewes is yet among us. The Nobles gave in to the Commiffioner, ere he departed, ane accufation of brybery and other crymes againft the Prefident and Register. He defyred them fupereeid their perfuit till his re-
turne: so these two sitts yet still in the Session. If they get reason, it is thought they are both undone; and none among us will pitie their ruine. My Lord Commissioner hes so caried himself from his coming to his going, that he hes made us all suspend our judgment of his inclination, whether it be towards us or our opposits: yet the warriest and most obscure breasts will be opened by tyme. We have had all this year hitherto most seafonable weather, great appearance of increase on the ground, for the relief of our heavily distrested land by the by-gons scarcity. We are not yet troubled, whereof we marvell, with any of our adverfaries writtings, either from England or at home; readily we will be overwhelmed with a spiet of them at once. Some little things of D. Barron, Forbes, and Panter, are stark nought, and very unworthy the authors. What ye wrote ye saw of mine, it is apparently a sheet which off hand was given to the extemporarie objections made at the beginning against the Covenant; if it be poore, no marvell. But I have written two larger pieces, apologizing for our proceedings, which I have offered to the tryell of our opposits; yet without a reply: thir, when I can get doubled, ye shall have, such as they are. We are grieved for the ftoning of D. Monroe, when he came from Edinburgh, where he had much company with the Bishops, and was thought to be a spye to them of the actions and proceedings of the Noblemen. The women at Kinghorne, at diverse parts of the town, in great multitudes, were set for him. Some gentlemen in company defended to their power, and gott him on a great horse, whereby he escaped death, but not wounds and blood. Thir unhappie and ungodly violences hurts our good caufe: they are lamented by us; but there will be no remed for them, except the law be patent for our grievances. Just and very heavy grievances must either vent the way which God, law, and reafon hes appointed for their eafe; or by violence they will make a way for themselves, which nature, reafon, law, let be God, does not approve.

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

Your Coofin.

July 22.

Receave at (R.) the last Supplication given to the Marques;
ye fie it is pickeand; it obtained the poynct of refcinding of that Act of Counfell: and ane Information from England, which hes put us all newly agaft if it be true. Strange! that Canterburie shoule be fo furiofifie unjut. I hope God hes raifed him to mak our Ifle once quyf of Bifhops, for all. St. Andrewes is to Court. Mr. Chrichton's eflate fee at (T). This day twelve moneth, the serving-maids in Edinburgh began to draw down the Bifhops pride, when it was at the higheft.

[. . . . . . (2).]

Reverend and well-beloved Brother,

The papers ye wrote for, my Queries and Paralell, I had neither my self; but I fent to Mr. John Bell of Stevenfton for a loan of that double himself made: he hes fent yow both. Ye must not fail to fend them back to him. I was fully purpofed to have been with yow to-morrow, and to have taken yow with me to Lowdon; but I was advertifed yefternight from my brother of his wife Christían's ficknefs, and of her defyre to fee me; fo of necelHity I muft to Glafgow to-morrow; the week following I muft preach on Wednesday, and celebrate the Communion on Monday, God willing, fo that I will not-get yow then seen; and thereafter is the meeting of Edinburgh. It is fore against my heart, that I winn not both to conferre with my Lord Lowdon and yow, but fince fo necelHare occafions diverts me, I muft take the hinderance from God's providence. I am fo full of doubts about our Generall Assemblie, if the King di-charge it, or which is equivalent, yield not to it, when it is fo earneftly fought, that my heart hinders me to be a Member of it. This I am sorry for, for many reaftones; and withes that I might be refolved cheerfulfy to goe on in this with my brethren, as I have done in all other things; but the more I allay, my minde is the more averse. My Lord Lowdon is the man from whom I expected fatisfacHion; and for this end had fundry purposes to goe to his Lordship, both in Edinburgh and here.

My maine doubts are, 1st, That I finde no example of a Nationall Assemblie meeting againft the will of the Supreme ma-

(2) There is no name affixed to this letter; but it was probably addressed either to Mr. W. Castellaw, Minister of Stewarton, or Mr. Michael Wallace of Kilmarnock.
gistrate rightly professing, neither in antiquity, nor in any of the Reformed churches to this day. 2dly, By all appearance, our meeting in a Generall Assembly of our owne will, will make our hopes of peace desperate for ever, whill that Assembly be annulled. 3dly, The causes alledged for the necellity of it, confidering our late Covenant fo mighty a barre against error, and the discipline of Presbytries doing with evill minifter s or profeffors what we will, are not fo pregnant, but they may admitt of a delay. 4thly, The reafon from the law, or nature, from scripture, or antiquitie, infers bot a permillion, but not a command, under the pain of fin to meet.

Some other doubts I have; bot my chief is, my heart fails me to think on it. In our first printed Reafon, a Parliament feems to be avowed no lefs necellare; which, to think upon without a King, feems to me a horrible fountain of all mischiefs. I truft thir my thoughts ye will keep them very close: I communicat them to yow, that ye, as if they were your own, may get fatisfaction about them. I pray yow, fre I cannot come to yow, doe me the good (I speake not now of compliments) pleafure or favour to come to me, and it were bot for an hour or two, if ye may not stay ane night, before Tuesday the 25th of this moneth, the day appointed for choofeing our commiffioners; for I will then be in a strait. I know I will be chosen for one, and, as I am now fett, of necellity I muft refufe, which will be exceedingly evill taken; however, I pray yow, after your conference with Loudon, let me fee yow this Thursday or Fryday, or the nixt week. The Lord help us.

[For Mr. W. Spang.]

Coosin,

By your laft, the 7th of July, I was made glad that all my former, without intercepting, had come to your hand. Your largenes also in answers gave me full fatisfaction. Ye hall not need hereafter to write any word of apologie to me. I did never believe any of these calumnies; yet I thought good ye should be acquant what some malicious or mittaken people did report. I hear that ye and the Confervator both, in the late Convention of Burrowes, by your letters, gave good contentment. Mr. William Struthers wife, and we all, thanks yow for your kinde offer to print that paper I lent yow; bot the is not fo defyrous to have it to the prefl as before; so ye shall super-
feid till advertisement. As for our great affair, have here all what I know into it since my laft.

Our Brethren who went to Aberdeen wes bot coldly wel-
comed in that town. Fryday, the firft night they came, their Doctors fent to them a number of enfracing Demands, hoping by diputts and janglings to make their journey fruitlefs. Thir Demands much studied, yea, put in print, and fcattered athrift as farr as the Court of England, were anfuered by our brethren against to-morrow, and at night given to the Doctors. For all this, the Doctors refufed to lend us any of their pulpits; yea, the voyd church was made faft, and the keys kept by the Magiftrate. Howfoever, in my Lord Marshell's clofe, there were three fermons heard by a hudge confluence of people. Mr. David Dickfon in the morning at eight hours began; and after fermon anfuered shortly, and popularly, to all the Doctors demands. At twelve hours Mr. Alexander Henderfome did preach, and Mr. Cant at four, to no leffe a multitude then at the firft dyet: they wyfely did choyfe the tymes when there was no publick fervices in the churches. After all, at a table in the clofe, fome four or fyve hundred, at leaft a good number, whereof fundry were of the beft qualitie, did fubfferye. On Mononday, they went out to the Sheriffdome, where, with much labour, they perfuaded many. My Lord Marqueis of Huntley, and the Clergy of the toune, had preoccupyed the hearts of all that people with great prejudices againft our caufe; yet, by God's help, of the large half of the diocefe was obtained to the number of fourty-four Minifters.

On the Saturday, at their returne to Aberdeen, the Doctors had ready in print Replyes to our brother's Anfwers. To thir our brother gave an Anwer at once, and fo returned home. Since, the Doctors hes been on a Triply, which yet is not come out. Howfoever our brethren had great difavantage in tyme, and place, and laike of books, yet God and the caufe hes made, in my judgement, no pregnant infirmitie kyth in their anfwers. We are well content that these men, who are the learnedft, without queftion, of our opponites, hes gotten the occasion to print and reprint what their beft engynes is able to lay againft our proceedings, with anfwers, which we trufl fhall in the end prove fatisfactory to all, as already they have done to D. Guild and Mr. David Lindfay, moderator of Aberdeen prebytrie, and diverfe others, who at the firft were much witholden from coming to us by thefe Demands. Our Bifhops were not permitted to come to

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Court: St. Andrewes, it is faid, was countermanded in his way; so he lay in Morp ett a number of dayes in the common postmater's; yet at laft all three, Brechin, Roffe, and he, went to Newcastle, and there lives as they may in ane common Innes. The Thesaurer sent them some hundreth dollors, and the Com missioner, in his way, some more money, for their entertainment. Roffe pofted to Court, gott some two houres of the King, and without seeing of Canterburie, in haffe was fent back. Diverse of our clergy hes visited them. D. Panter hes returned from them; and since lurks: D. Wifhart, and Mr. L ermont of Lib berton, flayed behind him. The ref of St. Andrewes Doctors, Howie, Bruce, Martine, Baron, hes all subfervved: D. Monroe, since his strokes, is among the foremoft in our meetings: the Arch-deane, after reading of the Covenant in his church, by Mr. Gabriell Maxwell, hes not preached: that day Mr. Armor wes well pyked; so that towne hes now no ordinare minifters, bot are supplied by the prebysterie. I thinke D. Panter for doctrine, and Arch-deane [Gladflanes] for drunkennefle, are under proceed. Mr. Creichton did appeal from the Prefbyterie; fo did Mr. James Forfyth: to the one they lay a number of errors, proven by many witnifees; to the other they lay preching the con veniency of bowing at the name of Jesus, simonie, and a number of leffer matters: The one offers in di fcreet termes all contentment for bygon es and tyme to come; bot is not truf ted: The other is full of will and paffion, and, which I much marvell, is inclined to Canterburie in omnibus, as it feems, which in him is a late and great change. Both are fufpended, and went to the Bifhops: Mr. Creichton is forward to Court, hoping to be preferred in England or Ireland; I think, however matters goe, there shall be no more place for him in Scotland. Mr. James was filled with great words by the Com missioner, whom he mett; and the Bifhops put him in hope that the King shortly would be upon us with an army.

The Com missioner came back before his day, D. Bakanquall with him: He keepe himself more referved than before; his Mother(3) he would not fee; Crowner Alexander he did dif countenance; Mr. Eleazer Borthwick he met not with; after four or fve dayes parleying, no man could gett his minde. The reafon of this carriage, they fay, was his defyre to remove all

(3) The Mother of James Marquis of Hamilton was Lady Anne Cunningham, daughter of James Seventh Earl of Glencarn. She was a most decided and zealous friend of the Covenanters at this time.
jealousies, which his enemies, from some passages of his carriages
the last voyage, had laboured to put in the King's mind: The
King was indeed displeased with his Mother; and when his bro-
ther, Lord William's patent for the Earldom of Dumbar(1) came
in his hand, he take it, for despite, as he professed, of her.
Crowner Alexander openly did give countenance and allow-
ance to our Nobles meetings; Mr. Eleazer was the man by
whom his Grace, before his commission, did encourage us to
proceed with our supplications: from all thir now his Grace's
countenance was somewhat withdrawn. While we began to fear
delays, behold a Eleven demands are required of us, to be per-
formed before our Assembly could be indicted: they were very
evill taken of us all, as meer shiftings, and propositions invented
by our Bishops for the frustrating of all our designes; thir were
twice read at all our Tables, and a common Answer framed to
them, which here ye have at (A.) We expected ane reply to
our answer; which, if it had been given, we might have yielded
to fundry of these things: but his Grace said, he was at a non-
plus, and behooved to be again at the King before he could
proceed.

In our answer to one of the articles, we were near to a discor-
among ourselves; The Committee appointed for the first blocking
of all our wrytes, had said, none should meddle with the election
of commissioners from Presbyteries to the General Assembly, but
Ministers and Elders. At the reading of this our brethren stop-
ped; alleading, that this answer did import the ordinari fitting
of laick Elders, not only in Session, but also in Presbyteries, their
voting there in the election of Ministers to bear commission: this
they took to be a novation, and of great and dangerous con-
sequences. For myself, it was my good luck to have studied
somewhat in that question; I was satisfied in my minde, of the
lawfulness and expediency of our old practice and standing law,
for Elders fitting and voting in presbyterial matters, especially
in election of commissioners to Assemblies: so I was silent; but
many made dinn; and all required the changeing of the answer
to more general words, which might give the power of that
election to these who had the custom or law in tyme bygone for
choosing; this did not hinder Elders to obtain all their right
or defyre, only it held off the present determination of a question

(1) Lord William Hamilton seems never to have obtained this title, which
was then in abeyance; but he afterwards regained the King's favour (vide
infra, p. 116,) and was created Earl of Lanark, 31st of March 1639.
very important. This our correction of that clause made such a
flurr at all the Tables, both of nobles, barrons, burgesse's, that they
all resolued to quitt us in the caufe, if presently they obtained
not that poynt. Some from them all comes to us: After a little
reasoning, there was no remead; we all yielded, though some fore
against their stomack: bot of all evills, division to us now is in-
comparable the worft. The clause of our Elders therefore be-
hooved to stand as ye see it: yet that question is like to make us
trouble; for sundry of the brether are very jealous of the gen-
trie's ufurpation over them.

This forme being paft, we finding that all or the moft of the
Marqueis demands tended to the prelimitation of our Assemblie,
and fo did incroach on the freedome thereof, there were Reasons
drawn up for to fore-arme us againft the proposition of any fuch
prelimiting; which, if I can gett, ye shal fee at (B.)

For two or three dayes we were in great perplexitie, none
knowing what well to doe: the Commiffioner had no more to
fay; we were inclined some to wait on, mowe without farther
patience presently to give order for our Assemblie by ourfelves:
a Committee is chozen, of all our Tables, to confult privatelie
on this matter. This was the only question wherewith, from the
beginning of this matter, my minde was tormentted; and if I were
through it, I doe not foresee any other whereupon I would fo
much ftick: my minde was fo full of doubts at that tyme, that if
I had been posed, I would have difented from meeting in an
Assemblie without the King's permifion. Alwayes the matter,
for fear of oppofition and division, was never mentioned in pub-
lick, and fo I faid noctht; for I had resolved before, in my field-
coming, to be filent through all this dyett, fo far as I was able;
to figh, and pray, and take heed, bot no further.

After the Commiffioner fand us on thir confultations, he fent
to entreat for a delay of conclufions before yet once he might
pofl to Court, to reprefent, bot not to deale for the King's ac-
ceptation of our Anfwers to his late demands: for to promife to
move the King to be content with them, he would not, himfelf
efteeming our anfwers unreafonable. This his proposition was
rejected of all, and all delay refufed upon fo naked a narrative.
Thereafter his Grace came near us, fhewing by Lorne and South-
eif, that he found out, upon farther information, that our anfwers
was according to our lawes, which before he knew not; bot now
having found it, he was hopefull fo to repreffent it to the King,
that he might obtain, by ane other voyage, the indiction of ane
Assembly as free as we could with. This new motion was so well proposed to us all in a common meeting by Lorne, an excellent spokesman, and so well seconded by Rothes, that many inclined to grant to the Commissioner the delay he craved; yet the body of the Gentrie, of the Burrowes, and the chief of the Ministers was flat against it; who, by discourse, found worlds of dangers, if this meeting should dissolve without taking of present order for the Assembly, and many more things. My heart was fore griev'd to see the unreasonable stitiness of many, which, for fear of mistake, I durst not mint to reason against in publick: yet at last God made reason and equitie carry it against the hearts of sundry of the chief ministers, albeit we had all resolved, for fear of division, to have yielded to these of our brother who were most wilfull, if no better might have been; but the authority of Lorne and Rothes, who were here earnest agents, did carry the matter. When I saw the unexpected conclusion, I rejoiced in God, and, by this experience of his watchfull Providence over this great cause, made hopeful he would not suffer it be spoild by the imprudencie of mony uncannie hands which are about it.

So soon as the Marques had gotten our promise, of leaveing all things as they were till the 20th of September, and taken in hand to agent to his power the obtaining of our Four Articles, 1st, The full freedome of our Assembly in the members and matters, 2dly, The hastening of the tyme, 3dly, The commoditie of the place, 4thly, The discharge of intercepting of our letters in England; that same Saturday afternoon he went away towards Court, hoping on Thursday to see the King. One of the causes that made some of our number to deale the more peremptorlie with the Commissioner at this tyme, was his injurious letters to Aberdeen: for, in his way from Court, he wrote not only to them great thanks, and moved the King to doe the fame, for their carriage towards our brethren; bot spoke of us contumeliously, as ye may see in the double of these letters at (C.); yea, not fo only, bot for no words would he be put from printing of a Declaration of the truth in these calunnies, as he said, which we in our Anfwers did put on him. For myfelfe, I marveilled in the tyme, that the Commissioner should have made that demand about our mutual band in tearmes so advantagious for us, and should have proffesed his satisfaction in our anfwers to that maine impediment of our Assembly: bot having done fo, I thought he would never have recalled it, or put it more in question; yet it seems his unfriends hes made such informations of that his un-
advyfednefs, that in all hazards he must retreat it: he was made aſſured, that the whole Tables would teſtitie the contrarie of his Declaration, and caufe print their contradiction, that he thought it meeter to undergo all hazards, then to suffer that (whether true or falfe) aledgeance to lye upon him, without his publike declaring of it. I hope to fend yow with the demands, anſwers, replyes, duplyes, and triplyes of Aberdeen, the Marqueis declaration, and the Minifters anſwers to it, all printed; with our Nobles letters to Aberdeen, in wryte.

In the heat of all thir actions, God did much encourage us with Father Abernethie the Jefuite the converſion. On the Thursday there after Mr. Andrew Ramfay’s fermon made for the purpoſe, in a large half houres space, he made a very sweet difcourfe(3) of his errors, and reclaiming by the grace of God, with many teares of his own and the moſt of his hearers; thereafter, with great defyre, he ſubſcryved our Covenant, and ſpake much to the commendation of it. After all our diligence to try, we can finde no apeirance of hypocriſe in the man. He ſhowes us many things, which I hope to ſend yow with Mr. Andrew’s fermon in print: among the reſt he told, that there is eighteen prieſts at leaſt ever in Scotland; he gave their names and abode: he tells, that in England there will be above ſix thouſand: that at London there will be above three hundred maſſes ſung every Sabbath; that he knew, on a ſix years ſince, when he was laſt at Rome, a conclusion paſt in the congregatıon De Propaganda Fide, for to uſe meaneſses to draw the Church of England to that of Rome, but to ſeal no farther with our Scotiſh Church than ane afſociation with England, upon hopes, by this conformitie alone, to gaine us fullie by tyme. There went out in his name reports of Canterburies intercourfe of letters with the Pope, of the contryving of our Scotiſh Liturgie at Rome; but when I poſed him on theſe, he denied his knowledge of any ſuch matters, albeit he confeffed to me ſome ſlate-paſſages, which might have been prejudicıall enough to him if they had gone abroad.

So soon as the Marqueis went away, the Tables advyfed on instrucTIons for the Generall Asſembie to be execute preſently after the 20th of September, the longest terme which the Com-

(3) This discourse was printed at the same time as Ramsay’s Sermon, “at the receiving of Mr. Thomas Abernethie, sometime Jefuite, into the societie of the truely reformed Church of Scotland.”—Edinburgh, 1638, 4to. It is entitled “Abjuration of Poperie, by Thomas Abernethie, sometime Jesuite, but now peniten Sinner, &c. in the Gray-frier Church, the 24. of August 638.” 4to.
miffioner had crave for his return. The common letter sent to the Prebytries ye have at (D.); the instructions at (E.); some notes sent with them, drawn out of the Book of Discipline and Generall Assemblies, for the contentment of those who had scruples acent the voyces of Elders in choyfing of commi{ioners for the Assembly, at (F.); also some private articles sent to thefe mifi{ioners whom moift they trusted, at (G.) According to thir, a very solemn and generall fast was keepe every where the 16th of September; and thereafter all fe{ions did choose their elders to goe to the Prebytries after the 20th day, there to vote for the choyfe of three mifi{ioners and one elder to take commi{ion for the expected Generall Assembly. Among us in the West there was a commi{ion drawn up, by Mr. David [Dickfon,] to be the common forme of all fe{ions, at (H.) this much diflyked, as containing the feid of new, idle, and dangerou{ que{tions; this, when I saw, I caufed alter into the forme ye fee at (I.), at lead for my owne fefion and some others.

All this tyme my minde was afflicted with doubts: I thought the King would never indict {uch ane Assembly as we could accept; I saw all was resolved to have one according to their minde, though the King should discharge us: If I went not to it, being required, I forefaw much hurt would befall me; and to it I could not goe as I was. In this strait, I fought much my God; and he now hee delivered me out of thir thornes. I rea{oned with the best of thofe that was againft ane Assembly without the King: their rea{ons I thought not pr{efing; my rea{ons I withheld from them; bot to thofe who were layd down for it, I communicat my minde. None of my brethren did give me tollerable fatisfacci{on; at laft I went to my Lord Lowdon's house, and conferred two nights with him: I returned rea{onable well satified, and well near resolved to countenance the Assembly, forbid it who would. While I am in thir thoughts, behold a proclamation indici{ing the Assembly at Glasgow the 21st of November; this put me out of all que{tion.

At this tyme also the Commissioner prevented his day: he came to Dalkeith the 15th of September. We could not for a while learn any of his news: the word went he was to intimat an Assembly in the Spring at Aberdeen; this displeased all: our affairs could not admitt fo long a delay; we would have taken it worse then a flatt refucall; that place was extremely incommodious for old grave men to travel to in {uch a tyme of the year: yea, it was unsafe; for in and about that towne there
would be above ten thousand fighting men, who might have
killed, or done injurie to us all: but we fand it far otherways.
The King's will at (K.) was exceedingly gracious in the motl of
our defyres; the unhappie Books, the Commision also simply
discharged; Perth articles made free; Minifters entry as we
could with; Bifhops subjecket to the Afiembie; the Afiembie
and Parliament indicted at the tymes and places wee could
have defyred: only one thing frayes us, the subscription of ane
other Covenant. This, and the convoy of it, makes us tremble
for fear of divifion; alfo the continual rumors of the King's
preparation for warre; two hundred thoufand pound fterling
taken up of the cuftoms; one hundred andifty offered by the
clergy for that end; twenty-five thoufand pound fent over to
Holland for arms; appoynting of the North to be ready for
marching: thir things makes us fray. At some prior meetings,
to fundry I did regrant, who might, as I think, fhou it to the
Commifioner, for they had his care, that they gave us our
defyres by bitts, and with boafts; that in likelihood the beft
means for calming of our mindes were to grant us all at once,
what by tyme they would fuffer themselves to be driven to by
any violence. This courfe at laft is taken: if it had been a little
before used, or yet if we could be perfuaded of the fincerity of
it, matters might go well; but the reafon why we are malecon-
tent yet flill, fie in our proteftation, at (L.), as also in the
common letter which was fent about the country with the pro-
tefation, at (M.): tyme will decypher much.

Our Prefbyterie, with one content, on the 25th day, choofe
my Lord Lowdon for our elder of the fiyre, Mr. Robert Barclay
for the towne of Irvine, Mr. David Dickfone and me: betwix
Mr. John Bell, Mr. H. M'Kell, and Mr. William Ruffell, many
votes was divided; but pluralitie fell upon Mr. William Ruffell.
Mr. Michael [Wallace] was cleane misregarded; whereof I am
forrie for many reafons; but his wilfull oppofition of the laick
Elders procured him that affront, and will get him more, if,
againft all reafon, he continue wilfull, as he is like to doe. Paftly
did choofe Mr. William Brifbane, his fon Mr. Matthew, and
Mr. John Hamilton, and [John Brifbane of] Bifhopftoun; Mr.
John Hay, abler much then any of them, was past by for his too
much countenancing of Mr. John Creichton, and other reafons
not inconfiderable. Glafgow had appointed Tuesfday for their
election: we all thought it expedient they should choo fmy Lord
of Eglinton for their elder: This I fhou by write to fome of
the presbytrie; whereupon they sent James Stewart of Chryft-wall with a letter subtberyved by Mr. John Bell elder and younger, Mr. Robert Wilkie, Mr. Zacharie [Boyd,] Mr. James Sharpe, and others, entreating the nobleman to be present with them at their election, with many kinde, courteous, and prefling words. Upon this he goes, very evill in health, for we all did preflie him. Yefternight he wrytes, that his coming there was in vaine; the Presbytrie would choose none that day, had delayed the election till the 10th of October; had written a complementing letter to the Commissioner for the benefite and honour of the Assemblic in their town. For this I am exceeding forrie: How the matter went, I know not yet; but I am afrayed that this action prove unhappie. This is the third tyme, when their mifcarriage will grieve the whole countrey: the example by taking a coure by themselves is now most pernicious to us all; it will be the first open doore to division: their last divifive motion had well near raifed a mutiny amongst them, and a bloodie trouble. I pray God this bring no hurt to us all, and them firft of all: bot of this more hereafter. We are all going to Edinburgh to our laft consultations before the Assemblic. There goes afoth a Speech, in the name of the Duke of Lennox, difwading the King from warre with us: ye have it at (O.) The speech at firft was thought to be truely spoken at the Counfell-table by the alleadged author; but now we hear it is bot supperitious. However, they faie Canterburie is become our great friend, and by all means a perfluer of the King to peace, though with the ruine of all the perfons of our Bifhops. Their proceffes are fall forming: Brechin, they faie, is undone; adultery is like to be proven; the whore, and the child goes up and down the streets proclaiming it; bot beyside, other probations are clear to make it unqueftionable: St. Andrewes, I fear, be made infamous: No kinde of cryme which can be gotten proven of a Bifhop will now be concealed.

When I was on the poynt of going to Edinburgh, I receaved advertisement of a countermand from the meeting there, which had thought meet, for the Marquesis contentment, to hinder the convention of Commissioners, once appointed; for his Grace was offended, that before the Assemblic such a great convocation of the members of the Assemblic should meet: alfe the meeting scailled, to the end that all gentlemen might be at home at the Michaelmafs courts; where, by the acts of Parliament, the Shyres are ordained yearly to choose commissioners for the Parliament,
whether indicted or not; so, left his Grace should get nominat such men as he pleased, the gentry were required to be all in these courts, and attend that election. Frae my voyage to Edinburgh was hindered, I went to Glasgow to see how all went: I fand that the danger was greater then I feared. The proclamation was posted from Edinburgh lither by Orbiton, who rode with it on the Sunday for halfe; yet the Toun Commisitioner had preveened him; for on Sunday advertisement came by him, that a protestation was used against it: for all that, it was applauded to by the town, by too many with too much joy, without any number of protestling; the miniftry standing in the Croffe, with a number of notcovenanters, joyning in all the tokens of their joy, and concurring all in wryting of the letter of thanks to the Marqueis. Thereafter the Principall, Mr. Robert Wilkie, Patrick Bell, and others, went to the Marqueis, in Hamilton: It was feared that they had promis'd over much to him: I fand them peremptor for the equity of subferyving the King's Covenant, and iniquity of our counter-protestation; also very averse from choying commisioners according to our minde. I could doe no more bot sorrow, and be afraid with the Principall, Mr. Robert Wilkie, Mr. Archibald Fleiming, Mr. William Wilkie, and mainely with Patrick [Bell], whom the Marqueis had cauf'd the Bifhop name Proveft, I think, by Mr. William Wilkie's information to Doctor Bakanquall; and Patrick cauf'd my brother, Matthew Hamilton, William Neillson, be made bailies, Walter Sirling deane of gild, men all simple, and at his own disposition. I fhou'd, fra all our brethren in the Covenant had protested, that this new subscription would be one of the most dangerous divitive motions that yet was ufed; if they would begin, at the Commissoner's defyre, to subferyve, that the whole countrcy could not bot take them for traitors, and thefe men-fworne, the authors of all their ruine. However, they were resolved of the expediencie to subferyve; yet I knew that their wil dome could not permit them to practife their resolution, as indeed lithereto they have abfleened. As for the choy of their commissoners, I likewise shew them all my minde. I was grieved to fee their minde fo farr from our courfe; yet God guides good men even in their byways. The Tables in Edin-

(6) The Magistrates of Glasgow, elected at this time, October 2d, 1638, were, Patrick Bell, Provost; Henry Glen, Matthew Hamilton, and William Neilson, bailies. &c. If Glen was the person whom Baillie here mentions, he must have been his half-brother or brother-in-law.
burgh wrote to them, that thirty-nine prebytries already had chosen their commisioners, as they were desired; that the rest were in doing; that they heard of none who were unwilling; that they would be entreated, not to be first who should begin a dangerous preparative. Withall my Lord Lowdon, Mr. David Dick, Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. James Boner, come, with instructions to clear their scruples, that they pretended against the choying of Elders for commisioners. It was so carryed, that election was made of old Mr. John Bell, Mr. Zacharie [Boyd], and Mr. James Sharpe, and my Lord Eglington, or, in his absence, my Lord Fleeming. Mr. John Maxwell gave in a protestation, which no other would subferyve. The Marqueis came in himself to receive their subcription, and laboured with them what he could till night, after Doctor Bakanquall's sermon in the High church; but was forced to leave them to ten dayes adyfement. So he went away with small contentment, and to my heart was brought great joy for the constancy of that Town which we have reafon to love beft.

We thought this subcription a very deep and dangerous plott, and so oppoefed it every where what we could. The Marqueis and Counfellors as yet has come no speed in obtaining hands to it. After ten dayes, Mr. [Sir William] Elphinfone, Justice-Generall, and Belhaven who now hes Sir George's (7) estate and house, buffie agents for his Grace, required the Counfell to subferyve. George Porterfield, incontinent, at the table, ufed a protestation; but the Profeft required a delay yet of eight dayes: we hope this delay shall draw on to the Assemblie, which is all we crave. Recieve here the proclamations and counfell acts in print; never fo many acts in one day, and of matters of so great moment: Had that one claufe of subferyving ane other Covenant been away, we had bleffed the Marqueis for his notable service at this tyme. At the table arose a great queftion about a claufe of the Proclamation; the Register had penned, "The subcription of the King's Covenant, according to the tenor of it," Lorne, Advocat, [and] Wigton, defyed it might be put in "According to the date of the [15]81 yeare, and as then the religion was professed;" mynding by this claufe the exclusion of Bifhops, and all other novelties since brought in our Church. The in-

(7) Sir Robert Douglas of Spott, was created Viscount of Belhaven in 1633, about which time he purchased from the heirs of Sir George Elphinstone, Lord Justice-Clerk, the Barony of Gorbals and Blytheswood, in the neighbourhood of Glasgow.
ferting of this clause at last was obtained of his Grace; and in this clause diverse does triumph. Receave also the protestation in print; there is inclosed in it both the reasons of protesting, I spake of at (L.), and against all prelimitation of the Assembly, I spake of at (B.); so ye laik nothing when ye have print for wryte; also the demands of Aberdeen, with the Marquess's declaration going before, and our answers, with the Tables reply to the Marquess's demands, spoke of at (A.) Aberdeen's triply is come to the Marquess in print: he does suppress it, as he gives out, left more matter of strife be ministered to the country; whatever be the cause, it is sent to Court to be revised: if it come to my hands ye shall have it. I hope that town of Aberdeen is now lykewayes gained;(*) for the Crafts obtained by threats, that all their magistrates and counsell, according to the act of Burrowes, should be chosen of covenanters alone; and when the proclamation was made into it by the Marquess of Huntley, to his face the protestation was read, Forbes, Frazer, and others, encouraging the citizens.

It was required once and often by the Noblemen, that his Grace would give a warrant for to summon the Bishops; but after this demand was shifted, another course was taken, which I shall send you. My Lords Lowdon, Boyd, [and] Mr. David Dick, according to the direction of the Tables from Edinburgh, went in this last week to the Presbytrie of Glasgow, gave in a supplication in name, as ye may see at (K.), of Covenanters who were not members of the Generall Assembly against Mr. Patrick Lindsay, minister at such a kirk, pretended Archbishop of Glasgow, and his Colleagues, for crimes enough; and required justice, or ane answer. The Presbytrie, after deliberation, resolved, and wrote it as an act, that such a complaint was made to them; which, for the weight of it, they did remitt to the Generall Assembly. The extract of this act, with the libell, was sent to the Bishop, and put in his hand by the church-beddall, before two witnesses: this, being indorsed, is thought a sufficient summons. On the morn, old Mr. John Bell preaching in the High Church, the Thursday before the Communion, made intimation to the people, that such a complaint was given in to their Presbytrie, which they did think meet not to conceal from them; so, by John Anderfone, the clerk's servant, the whole lybell is read in audience of the people. [In the] afternoon, the Noble-

(*) Baillie, in the margin of the Original MS. has subsequently added the words, "This is not so."
men and others goes to the Seffion, and entreats, that the town would by no means subfcrythe any other Covenant before the Assemblie: the Proveyl would make no promife; which his an-
swer, by Mr. David Dick’s benign interpretation, was taken in
good part. On that fame laft Wedensday, the Prefbytrie of Edin-
burgh did pronounce the fentence of fufpension againft Mr. 
David Mitchell, notwithstanding of the Marqueis not only re-
queft, but at laft charge by a meffler, to the contrare. This 
mifregard did highly commove his Grace; bot his wrath to-
morrow was increafed by the women’s great infolency; who, 
finding that D. Eliot went to pulpit, when they expected Mr. 
Henrie [Rollock,] after fermon fell upon him and Mr. Fletcher 
with many fad ftrrokes: the caufe and manner we know not yet 
clearly, bot are all grievous at the heart for it, and withes that 
the actors were exemplarelie punished. The Marqueis hes called 
anne frequent Counfell againft the 28th of this month. It is much 
fearfed, that he go to Court, and leave us the ruleing of the 
Assemblie as we pleafe; bot if he shoulde doe fo, we are resolved 
to keep the dyett, and expects God to be with us, when we ufe 
our right in fo needfull a tyme. Great rumors of hudge pre-
paration for horfe and foot in England, of hudge munition from 
Holland to them; yet our people is no whitt afraid: we lie what 
we doe be just and needful; as for the hazards, we leave them 
to the provision of God, who is our only patron. 

I receevd, yeaterday, your letters, of the date of September 
17th. I am forrie ye take these foolish calumnies fo deeply; 
ye have spent three large letters, for the moft part in their re-
futation. What I heare was not much, and from hands little 
considerable; never trouble yourfelf any more with fuch fooleries. 
I hope ere now long all be evanished: a little tyme, with eafe, 
does ever clear honeft men. For your subferyng of the Cove-
nant, I think it not needfull, and them not wife that requires it 
of yow; none of our Officers of State in Counfell or Seffion was 
defryed: fundrie of the Advocats was fpared. If the Burghs, 
by any considerable commiffioner, doe require it of yow, ye may 
than advyfe. Your preaching at Zuill, I think, ye would omit; 
for fo we minde in all our land, to whom ye ought to conforme. 
The laft tyme I was in Glagow, as my cuftome always is, 
I went and faw your Mother, where I fand that your Father was 
flitted; and not only by hir, but fundrie of my freinds, I was 
asflured of his moft chriftiane and comfortable carriage and dif-
courfe to his very laft, to the great contentment and joy of all:
ye and I could not wish to die with more faith. Your Mother also had good courage and health. I am sorry that things goes so crose this year with our friends; that Force and Chaffilion should bene so shamefullie raffed from St. Omer, and your Prince from Gelder, and Grave Morice from Los Santos; that Conde should have been so stated at Fontarabie; Vercelli also taken by the Spanish; and D. Bernard should have been looking this half-year on the walls of Briffak; and the Palantine triffling tyme about Meppen: for the Swedds, I see not what their eirand is now in Germany, bot to shed protestant blood. It is like they may come over to Britaine, if Assemblies end not our quarrells. I marvell ye try no more your divines' judgements of our matters; Voetius, and Rivett, Wakeus, and others of note: we would be refreshed by their encouragement. I put no question but they are informed from many hands how matters goes. If, against the Synods, ye can furnish me with any farther helps about Bishops, then are in Gerfon, Bucerus, it is well. We had much need of all your prayers the next Sabbath, and some following. The fourth of November is a solemn fast for a blessing to the Assembly. It is like to be the most frequent and considerable one that ever was in this land: ye would doe well to be at it ere it rye.

This last week, on Fryday the 26th of October, it pleased God to show me ane evident token of his mercifull providence. My second boy, Hary, a most prettie child, of two year old, about eleven hours, following his mother to the brewhoufe, is unattentively near the caldron full of seething wort; at taking of it by, it falls on the ground; had it tumbled to the one fyde, as we all marvelled it did not, the babe behooved to have been burnt to death; bot God's hand fett it on the bottom that it gyed not, when it fell out of the crooke, to neither fyde; only, with the fall, some of the scalding wort guished out upon the babe, and yet, so that his whole face is safe; only on his hindhead, neck, craig, and one hippe he is scalded. My heart had been overmattered with grief, if fo unworthilie my prettie child had either been deformed or killed; bot now I, and all that loves me, are oblihled to rejoynce in God's gracious providence, who can present a most fearfull danger, and make it go over with a little trich: there is grief in the want of children, and as much in having of them; bot in none of these things is our miserie or happiness.

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

There was an accident that shortly would have begun our calamity, if it had not been in tyme seen to: The horse which our cowpers had bought at Maton fair, were arreirted, many of them by the Mayor of Newcastle; Johnstone, and others, for that hindered all the dryvers of neat and sheep to goe through to England. Our noblemen dealt with the Marqueis, that the Mayor's injurious arreirtment might be loosed; when he made some delay, they told him, thai they quickly would goe and fetch them, or twyfe as many in their roome; whereupon the Marqueis presently wrote to Newcastle; who dismissed our horse; and since, our borderers has suffered the dryvers to goe through. The King's ships also on our coast a while troubled us; but after they had entered sundry of our shippes, without any harm, and shew that their commiision was no farther than to search what they carried, that fear past. It is thought their maine design was to have caught Generall Leflie by the way, bot he, for fear of them, come over in a small bark. He hes caufed a great number of our commanders in Germany subseryve our Covenant, and provided much good munition. It is thought many in England hes intelligence with us; that the armes in England are mainly to suppreffe the Lower House men, of whom Canterburie stands in great doubt.

The last meeting in Edinburgh concluded the articles ye have at (S.) The Sabbath following is the first falling day for the Assemblie. If God be with us, we hope to have our Church and State put in a better case then it hes been thee threttie years bygone; but if he defect us, we cannot avoid prefently to fall into great danger to be a field of blood, and, thereafter a poor flawed province, at the devotion, both in religion and lawses, of a faction which to us is extreamly suspeet of wicked designs: betwixt this great hope and great fear now we hing. The Lord be carefull of us: Ye there are not feeling members, nor thankfull for our oft compaisionating your evills and dan-
Laiking ane carrier for some days, I broke up my letters to shaw yow farther, that the second of November the Commissioner went to the Tolbooth, and moved the Lords of Seflion, who wer present, to subferyve the King’s Covenant: yet Durie, Craighall, Scotifarbett, and Ennmerteill did peremptoric refufe. Thereafter, in the Counfell, he was very prefling to have a declaration paff their hands of a refolution, or command, or approbation of the King’s will to have Epifcopacie flanding with fome caveats, and this not to be queftionable in the enfueing Aſſemblie. To this fundrie of the Counfell was inclining; but after the Advocat’s (?) Stout oppofition, it was gotten crofled for that tyme: for this contradición the Advocat was perfumed, by the Commissioner, with many unkind words. The noblemen gave in to the Counfellers, by way of fupplication, fome reafons to hinder their afhenting to any fuch declarations. We are glad of the motion; for the crofling of it in Counfell will be a great encouragement for us in the Synod, to determine in that matter what we find expedient. How all will go He knows to whom we are in all our land now aff praying. We are refolved to keep the twentie-one [day of November] in Glaffow, and to goe on by God’s grace, as we fhall be anfwerable to God, oppofe who will. It is like there fall be oppofition: Roffe is at Court, and expected daylie by the Commissioner, with the King’s laft commandments: We expeft no grace from his hands; for it was his holie fingers who carryed us down the firft the book of Canons, and thereafter our book of Service; if now he bring the difcharge of the Aſſemblie, he bot continues to be lyke himfelf, ane meek, and calme, happie instrument (?) for the peace

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

(?) These words, here used ironically, in the printed edition are altered to “an unmeek, unealm, and unhappy instrument for, &c.”
of this poore Church. The reft of his brethren, the Bifhops, are come to Edinburgh. Preparations in England for warre goes on; magazines of viétuall, mustering of great horfes, on our borders, are talked off.

To Mr. WM. SPANG, February 12, [1639.]

DEAR COOSING,

I have receaved all your former, with the currents, to the 8th of Januar; the laft was broken up, and Mr. Robertfon’s alfo, wherein myne was inclofed, bot it was fo written, that, apparently of purpofe, ye have putt it in thefe hands which ye did fucceft of violent curiofitie. I marvell ye have not yet receaved my laft, written in the beginning of November, wherein I give yow a full information, whence I left, to the beginning of our Synod. What ye write in your laft fyve large apologeticks, I told yow before to have been almost needlef paines; a word was enough to have wyped away fuch foolifh calumnies: had my letter in tyme come to your hand, it would have made yow more ftout againft your imperious feffion. I hope hereafter ye will be refolute, and they alfo, to let Zuill preachings alone, according to the Act of our Assembleie. I am very well pleafed with your thoughts of the Service-book; they are judicious and learned, and, which is much more, I think them true: ye fhall doe very well to proceed in that ftudie. For your furtherance, I have fent yow my Meditations of that fame kinde, drawn up long agee, and fent abroad; I could now make them much larger, for fundry moe Canterburian wryts hes fince fallen in my hand, whereby that faction may be easily convinced of foul Poperie. My Queries were out more nor a year fince; my Parallell shortly thereafter, for the juftification of our complaint and declinator, before there was any word of our Covenant. If your divines there were informed, from fuch collections, of the flate of our controversies, they would undoubtedly pitie our caufe the more. The way of our partie is avowedly to full Arminianifme, and really to fo much Poperie as the Pope requires at their hands for the prefent, yea, much more; it hes been proven at our Synod that numbers of our brethren hes preached the moft of the Canterburian tenets. It is marvellous that we can hear of none either in Scotland, Ingland, or Ireland, after all this dinn, who hes given the laeft signe of repentance,
or of revocation, of any their errors. They have called back
our wicked Books, bot will condemne no letter of them; so far
as we know, or can know by any thing they have faid or written,
they are bot waiting when the fword of our fweit Prince shall
make them way to force us receive all their most extravagant
dictats, or elfe fuffer. I should be glad to fee what ye have
written De Jure Patronatus. Our old discipline is for yow:
To move this question yet, is not feanonal: our greateft diffi-
cultie will be with the King; for the moft of all our patronages
are in his hand. That Wounded Beast, (2) is a beaflie peice;
we all miflyke it. We doe not know the author of it; I wish
it were Mr. Can (3) of Amfterdame; he fhould then be bot a
poore, rafhe, and foolifhe fpirit, whereof I would be glad; for I
am affrayed for that man and his complices. They fend over,
a little before our Asfemblie, a pamphlet, " The Guyde to Sion,"
not yet much eyed, yea, diffavowed by all; bot, if God give
our Church peace, I am affrayed for the grounds of that feet:
When we have battered down Rome, and Ley, (4) the walls of
Amfterdam I with might hold in their fnell brafen shott from
thefc places of our towres that are moft weake. I pray yow
help me with fome peices of Brounifme; we will have neid of
fuch weapons prefently, both offensive and defensive. We are
put in hopes to gaine thefe men, if we be dexterous; bot I am
more feared they gaine fome of us; for, fo farr as yet I fee,
according to the grounds of too many among us, the Brouniff's
arguments are unanswerable: it is in vain to abhorre the con-
clusion, where the antecedent is loved; fuch hatred is either
not ficere, or cannot be constant.

Long ere now I had given to yow ane large account of our
Asfemblie's proceedings, had I not this fixe wekees been daylie

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

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

(4) Ley probably for Leyden, as the supposed stronghold of the Arminians,
so named after Dr. James Arminius, who was Professor of Divinity in that
University. In like manner, Amsterdam is here mentioned as the chief seat
of the Brownists.
expecting the extract of the Acts to have been sent from the Clerk to our Presbytrie; but yet are they not come. We hear they are to be printed; yet we are not content of the delay. The reason of their inholding, I cannot suspect: the preface has been occupied with our long-looked for protestation; yet it seems there must be more in it, which yet I know not. When they come out, either in write or print, ye shall have them with my commentary. In the mean [tyme,] receive some of my Assembly labours, my speech of Arminianism, and of the Books, which I was forced to make in a very short time; also my discourse of Episcopacie, together with two old Meditations. Receive also the protestation; consider it well: it meets with that bitter proclamation, which hes put in print, and long agoe dispersed athat all England, if not farther, all that could be invented to make us and our Assembly detestable.

My Lord Commissioner his Grace seemed to us one of the ablest and best-spoken statefmen the King hes; a great lover both of the King and his countrey: as he left nothing unalayed among us to gett the King his will, so we hope he has done his endeavour, and will continue, to obtaine the countrey justice at the King's hand. Though he hes done all against our proceedings what the heart of the Bishops, in any wildime, could have commanded him, yet we take all in good part, remembering the place that was putt on him: so much the more asfo, that the Supplication of the Assembly, sent up with Mr. George Winrham, was presented by him to his Majestie, in all humility and earnestness. It was heard with attention, and referred to the consideration of the Scottifhe Counfell at London. The King wrote thereafter to our Counfell, that for to be nearer information of our affaires, he was minded shortly to come down to York; in the mean tyme, that they would be thinking of overtures. We are informed, that the Counsell of Warre fitts daily; that against Pasche or before, his Majestie, at York, is to viſite his army of 6000 horfe, and 30,000 foot. The Marqueis was at his upgoing, in great perplexity and doubts; however, he did all that could be done, and more than any other could have effectuat; yet the matter itself was of such nature, that it could not be wrought to the King's purpose: yea, some passages did miscarry beyde the doer's intention, to the hinderance somewhat of the King's desigines. The subfcryving of the King's Covenant by the Counfell was so cunningly turned, by flight of hand, that it became the soveraigne ingyne to overturne Epif-
copacie, for whose establishtment it was onlie requiryed by the King. The turning of this canon on the King, lay heavilie upon the back of the Marqueis wildome: to be unfortunate is a crime great enough in a monarch's court; bot sick was either the strength of the Marqueis declaration, (which with the next ye shall have in print, and the answer of it, also), or rather the benignity of our juft Prince, that for all his fear, yet he was most graciously receaved; and for a token of favour, hes gotten to his brother(2) already the Privie Purfe, and a place of the Bed-chamber; whence the Earle of Ancrum is removed; whether for the zeale of the Earle of Lothian, his fon, in the countrie's caufe, or for his long and evident infirmity, which made him very unmeet to ly in a prince's chamber, we doe not yet know.

We look for no other bot in the Spring the King to come in person, upon Louthian and Edinburgh, with a great land army; that one part of his navie shall go to Aberdeen to joyn with Huntley, another to the coast of Fyfe and Louthian, a third to land from Ireland on us in the Weft some little armie. We are conscious to ourselfe of no cryme against the lawes of our Church or State. We hope God shall look on the equitie of our caufe; the little opposition we dow make is making readie. I was latele in the minde, that, in no imaginarie cafe, any prince might have beene oppofed; I inclyne now to think otherways. In all our queffions I confefs no change but this only; whereto I was brought, not by Paræus, or Buchanan, or Junius Brutus, for their reasons and conclusions I yet fcsner at; bot mainly by Bilfone de Subjeclione, where he defends the practife of all Europe, Spaine, France, Germany, England, Flanders, Scotland, Denmark, Swan [Sweden,] who at diverfe tymes, for sundry caufes, hes oppofed their princes. I am somewhat confirmed by the latf duplie of Aberdeen, which, though wyfely for a tyme was suppressed by our Commiffioner, yet, being sighted and approved by my Lord of Canterburie, is now come abroad among us: They will have us to believe, that our whole estate, were they to be all killed in a day, or to be led to Turcifme, to be spoiled of all liberty, goods, life, religion, all, yet the ymay make no kind of refieltance; the conclusion is so horrible, and their proofs so weak, for all their diligence and learning, that I lyke it much worfe then I did. I fee the reformers of our Scottish Church all to the contrare; Luther, Melanchton, Bucer, Martyr, Beza, Abbotts, Whittakers, alo gives leave to subjects, in

(2) Lord William Hamilton, vide supra, p. 98.
fome cafes, to defend themselves, where the Prince is abolut
from subjection to any man, bot not abolute from tye to the
lawes of Church and State, wereto he is sworn, which is the
cafe of all Chriftian Kings now, and ever also since the fall of
the Roman Empire: A pittie that in thir moft dangerous times
Canterburie should caufe print among us such conclusions, which,
if they came from the Prince, would put all our people in abso-
lute desperation: bot God be thanked, none of our Princes did
ever crave what they afcreve to them, let be to be absolved from
the tye of lawes, that nomothetick power, yea no that power to
impofe taxationes, fo farre as yet we have heard, was never afsumed
by any of our Princes to this houre; bot all our civill lawes hes
ever been made, and the leifi taxation ever impofed by the King
and his States in parliament or convention. This new faction,
as it would destroy our religion, fo it layes down grounds for
the overthrow of the kingdome, and that under the fair pretext
of advancing both. I am yet in study of this quefion; I pray
you help me what ye can upon it in your next letter. Rivett
is much caft up againft us; bot so far as I find in his "Jefuitsa
Vapulans," or in that pfalme, I think without reafon: It is
marvellous if he condemn what his mother-church of France
did approve, and that church of Holland, wherein he now lives,
does this day praefife. I wish ye writ to him, and others
there, concerning this matter, bot so that ye be not found. I
doe truely think that the only way to fave the King's authority
among us, yea, to keep this poor kingdome whole and intire to
his service, and of his posterity for ever, is our prefent uniforme
conjunction to hold off his armies by fupplications, as hitherto
we have done, or otherways also, in cafe of neceffitie extreame
and unavoidable: for if we should divide, and one part yeild,
or joyne with the King's army, beyde the killing, of neceffitie,
of numbers of the beft of his Majeftie's good and moft loving
subjects, which would be ready to goe and die at the walls of
Constantinople, let be of Rome, Vien, or Madrid, in his service,
the reft would be so weakened and discouraged, that no help for
many yeares could be expected from us againft any of the King's
enemies; which at thir tymes were to the King, not only an irre-
parable losse, bot also a fearfull danger, when England is fo full
of malecontents, to whom there appears no possibility of giving
fatisfacon, fo long as the Canterburian party does keep their
feet. The fear of our nation hes keepe our neighbours in order
to this day: if we be fo broken either in heart or firength, that
we cannot be in readines, in a short warning, to flee to our sweet Prince's back, flormes is likely to arife, in that flatt ayre of England, which long hes been glooming, that all the skill of the Archbishop's braine will have adoe to calme, before a thunderbolt break out on his own pate. Bot for flate-matters, we will meddle no further, then to pray for our dear father King Charles, and our poor mother the Church and Kingdome of Scotland: If they discord, it will cost us their children many teares and much blood: God, who is a father to both, fend them good greance, and confound thse who is the true caufe of their variance, that shame being poured upon them, they may repent, and convert their witt for conjoyning what they have been putting long afunder.

That piece of Aberdeen to Mr. Durie, I pray you purchase a double of it, for I long to fee it. Ye promised me some of the Mercuries Francoes, and Gallo-Belgicus; let me have them. All that paffes here ye shall have from me foone, or fyne: let me know what I am in your debt, for now I am in wealth, bot at once I may be fpoyled of all, and I shall be loath needlefsie to be in any man's debt before the tyme. Remembering my heartie service to yourself and your wife, I ref. Your old freind,

Feb. 12, 1639. [Robert Baillie.]

To Mr. William Spang.

History of the General Assembly at Glasgow in 1638.(6)

Coosin,

As ye earnestlie defyred, and I did also promife, receive now the proceedings of our Assemblie, as my memorie, necefarlie now shorft, after ane half year's tyme, with the help of some little notes, can furni.fh. I will poynat at the things which I conceave to be most materiall, paffing fundrie matters which the Diaries gathered in the tyme, by the hands of many wrytters, does infift upon.

Notwithstanding of the indiction, our hopes were bot flender ever to fee the downfitting of our passionateli defyred Assemblie with the Commissioner's confent; for daily he fand himfelf more and more disappointed in his expectation to obtain thefe things

(6) In the Original MS. Baillie entitles the following communication, "Story of the Assemblie of Glasgow, to Spange."
which, it seems, he put the King in hope might be gotten. Episco-
pacie to be put in place of safety, above the reach of the Assenblie's hand, was now seen to be impossible; his engynes for this purpose, by the skill of his party, was turned back upon him; the Counfell had subscryved the King's Covenant, as it was expounded at the first in the 1581 year: his declaration, that Episcopacie was then in our Church, and will, that the Assenblie should be discharged to medle in the tryall of this matter, could not be gotten concluded in ane Counfell act: fundrie Lords of Seffion being required to subscryve the Covenant in that his senfe, refused; with a protestation, that the exposition of thefe parts, which might make for or againft Episcopacie, should be referred to the determination of the ensuing Assenblie. Noblemen and Minifters choyn commissioners, did not diſſemble their minds in their diſcourfe of the unlawfullnes, at leaſt the inexpedience, of this office in our Church, and fo their deſigne by any meanes to have it prefently put down. This put his Grace in great perplexitie; for he did conceive, as fome faid, by the words and wrytes of fundrie of our nobles of chief refpeckt, that the Assenblie might have been gotten perfwaded to eftabliffh, at leaſt to permitt, or paſſe by untouchted, that office: when the contrare appeared, he was at a nonpluſ; for his instructions had made the place of Bifhops a Noli me tangere; but their perfones was permitt to the doome of the feverel mouth among us, where their mifcarrying had required cenſure. His next diſappointment was in the matter of the Covenant: he hoped to have gotten the King's Covenant univerſally subſcryved, and ratified hereafter in the Assenblie; fo that the other, which had been subſcryved be us before, might be quietly, without any infamous condenning of it, fupprefted and buried; but far above and againſt all his thoughts, that Covenant univerſally was refuſed; and, among thefe few who put their hands to it, diverſe avowed their minde to be in all things the fame with thefe who had fwear the firſt. The miffing of this intention increafed alfo much his Grace's malecontentment. In two other deſignes alfo, he fand himſelf clofe deceaved: he thought, an act for the freedome of the practife of Perth articles, might have contented us; and without condenning the matters themſelves, before the Parliament by fupplication had been brought to the caſſing of the flanding law: but alſo univerſall inclination appeared in all to have the things themſelves tried without delay, and acts prefently formed anſet them, as their naſure was found to require. Siclyke his in-
structions carried him to the removall of the High Commission, books of Canons, Ordination, [and] Service, but no to reason or condemn any thing contained in any of them, which might reflect against any public order, or any thing practised or allowed by my Lord of Canterburie, and his followers, in England or elsewhere: We in no cafe could be content, except we were permitted to examine all that was in these Books; their matter now being the avowed doctrine of many in our Church; and since we did finde the articles of Arminius, with many points of the groffest poperie, in the books, in the preachings, and in the discourses of our bishops and minifters, we were resoluted to have thefe doctrines cenfured as they did deferve, without any sparing for respect to any person who did maintain them.

The Commissioner, finding himfelf mistaken in all thir, and many moe of his defignes, was feared to labour the discharging of the Assemblie before it began, or at leaft to marr it fo, if it fatt down, that it fhould doe no good. We referred to this intention his diligence to obtain fubfcrivers to protestations againft the Assemblie; we heard by our opposits, of hudge numbers of thir, yet when it came to the proof, there was but few who could be moved to put their hand to fuch an act, yea, not one, who durft avow it, and reafon the lawfullnef of their deed: fome twenty hands at moft were at the Bifhops declinator, all opposit to our Covenant; fome few others, fpecially eight of the Prefbytrie of Glafgow, (who, to the Commissioner's great discontent, refufed to adhere,) made forms of protestations by themfelves; bot to no purpofe. From this fame intention, we alleadged, did flow the putting to the horne, fome days before our fitting, all thefe Commissioners of the nobles, gentry, minifters, who, for any civil caufe or pretence could be gotten denounced, that fo the Synod fhould be deprived of many members: This praftife was fo new, and fo strong reafons given in, why this kinde of horning fhould hinder none from voyeving in a synod, as ye may fie at (A.), that no ufe was made or durft be made of any fuch exception; only the Thofauuer his good will, by the invention, was collected to be bot small towards our caufe. A proclamation alfo was made, that none fhould come to the place of the Assemblie but fuch as were members, and that in a peaceable manner: We protested all might come who had entres of partie, witnes, voters, affellors, complayners, or what ever way; and that every man might come with fuch a retinue and equipage as the Lords of Counfell fhould give example.
Thir, and many moe occurrences, put us in a continuall fear of the Assemblie's discharget: Yet the King's word was ingaged fo deeply; proclamations, publice faftings, at the King's command, had already paft; and mainly the King's thought, that the infrerit of what he had granted, anent the Service-book, Canons, and Perth articles, into the Assemblie books, would give some contentment to the people, and difingadge his promife of ane Assemblie, though nothing more should be acted: thir and fuch confiderations made the Assemblie fitt down, contrare to all our feares, and a fair face to be made for a while by the Commiffioner, as if he intended nothing elfe, and did confidently expect his fitting ftil, till all questions should be peaceably decyded for the content of all.

On Fryday, the 16th of November, we in the Weft, as we were defyred, came to Glafgow; our noblemen, specially Eglin-ton, backed with great numbers of friends and vaffals. We were informed, that the Commiffioner and Counfellors were to take up the Toun with great numbers of their followers; fo the neareft noblemen and gentlemen were defyred to come in that night well attended. The Toun did expect and provide for huge multitudes of people, and putt on their houfes and beds exceflive pryces; but the diligence of the Magiftrates, and the vacancie of manie roome, did quicklie moderate that exceflie. We were glad to fee fuch order and large provifion above all men's expectation; for this that Toun gott much both thanks and credit: it can lodge eafily at once, both Counfell, Seffion, Parliament, and Generall Assemblie, when ever it shall be required.

On Saturday the moft of our Eastland noblemen, barones, and minifters, came in. In the afternoon my Lord Commiffion-er's Grace, with the moft of the Counfell, came in. My Lord Rothes, Montrofe, and manie of our folks, went out to meet his Grace: much good speech was among them; we protetting that we would crave nothing but what clear scripture, reafon, and law would evince: his Grace affuring, nothing reafonable should be denied. On Sunday afternoon, some of the wyfeft of the minis-trie confulted upon the ordering of affairs. For my felf, I re-folved no to be a medler in any thing: I was well lodged: I had brought in a trunk full of my beft books and papers: I re-found to read and write, and studie fo hardlie as I could all incident quefions.

On Monday the Miniftrie mett in three diverse places; for no
one private place could contain us. Out of every meeting three
was chosen, nyne in all, to be privie to hear references from the
nobilitie, barrons, burrowes, to rypen and prepare what was to be
proponed in publick. We laid it on Mr. Alexander Summe-
vaill, ane old half blind man, fore against his heart, to preach on
Tuesday, to-morrow: he did prettie well; at length he insifted on
the extirpation of all Bishops, little to the contentment of some,
but greatlie to the minde of the moft. Our privie consultation
was about the Clerk and the Moderator. We were somewhat in
fulpenfe about Mr. A. Henderfon; he was incomparable the
ableft man of us all, for all things: we doubted if the Moderator
might be a disputoer; we expected then much dispute with the
Bishops and Aberdeen's Doctors: we thought our loffe great, and
hazardous to tyne our chief champion, by making him a judge of
the partie; yet at laft, finding no other man who had parts re-
quifite to the preuent Moderation. (for in Messrs. Ramfay, Dick,
Adamfon, Rollock, Cant, Livingftoun, Boner, Cunninghame,
there was some things evidentlie wanting,) we resolved, Mr.
Henderfon of necelfitie behooved to be taken. Mr. Johnefloun
to us all, was a nonfuch for a Clerk.
In the afternoon, Rothes, with some commiffioners, went to
the Commissioneer's Grace, shoewing the custome of our Church
was to begin her Affemblies with solemn fafting; alfo that in
the absence of the former moderator, the eldest minifter of
the bounds, or moderator of the place, used to preach, and
moderate the action till another be chosen; that old Mr. John
Bell, for the reverence of his perfon, let be other considerations,
were meet to begin fo great an affair. To the faft his Grace did
presentsly agree: to the other motion he shewed, that it was his
place to nominat the preacher to begin the action: that he knew
none worthier that honour then the man they named; that he
should think upon it: So after an hour he fent D. Balquanquhall to
Mr. John, defyreen him to preach on the Wednesay, and mo-
derat till another were chosen.
On Tuesday, after fermon, the faft was intimat, and preach-
ing in all churches to-morrow. Afternoon, we, in our meeting,
appointed preachers for all the churches, as we did fo long as
we remained in town; for we took it to be our place: howev-
ever, Mr. John Maxwell refused to lend his pulpitt to any fo
long as the Commissioneer stayed; and craved of his Grace, that
none might come there bot himself. So for the firft two Sun-
dayes, before and after noon, Mr. John took the High Church,
and preached after his fashion, nothing to the matter in hand, fo ambiguous, that himself knew best to what fynge he inclined. I moved in our meeting, that in our advysements at leift, we might follow the course of Dort, the commissiuners from one prebytric should have their ordinary meetings to advyfe together of every matter of importance; for we were from every prebytric fyve, three minifteres, one from the thyrce, one from the burgh, which might help one another in consideration. This was applauded to; but when we came to the action, this and fundrie other good overtures could not be gotten followed: every man behooved to doe for himself; private affocation could not be gotten keepe. We intended to have had femon in the afternoon, where we were, in the Great Church, and fo to have delayed the opening of the Synod to the morrow; but danger being found in law to delay the Synod to another day than the King had appointed, we resolved to let the people continue in their humiliation in the other churches, but prentlie after femon in the morning, we, the members of the Synod, thought meet to begin our busines.

1. On Wedensday, the 21ft of November, with much adoe could we thorng into our places, one evil which troubled us much the firft fourteine dayes of our fittin. The Magiftrates, with their town guard, the noblemen, with the affillance of the gentrie, whyles the Commiffioner in perfon, could not gett us entrie to our roomes, ufe what force, what policie they could, without fuch delay of tyme and thrumbling through, as did grieve and offend us. Whether this evil will be common to all nations, at all publick confluences, or it be proper to the rudenes of our nation alone, or whether in their late tyme, the love and admiration of this new reformation, have at all publick meetings stirred up a greater then ordinarie zeal in the multitude to be prefent for hearing and feeing, or what is the fpeciall cause of this irremediable evil, I doe not know; only I know my fpeciall offence for it, and wishes it remedied above any evil that ever I knew in the service of God among us. As yet, no appearance of redrefs. It is here alone, where, I think, we might learne from Canterbury, yea, from the Pope, from the Turks, or Pagans, modestie and manners; at leaft their deep reverence in the houfe they call God's ceafes not till it have led them to the adoration of the timber and stones of the place. We are here fo far the other way, that our raefals, without shame, in great numbers, maks fuch dinn and clamour in the houfe of the
true God, that if they minted to use the like behaviour in my chamber, I could not be content till they were down the stairs.

When with great difficulty we were set down; the Commissioner's Grace in his chair of state; at his feet, before and on both fydes, the chief of the Counfell, the Thefaurer, Privy-Scall, Argyle, Marre, Morray, Angus, Lauderdale, Wigton, Glencairne, Perth, Tillibardine, Galloway, Haddingtoune, King-horne, Register, Thefaurer-Deput, Justice-Generall, Amont, Justice-Clerk, Southesk, Linlithgow, Dalzell, Drumfries, Queenfberrie, Belheaven, and moe; at a long table in the floor, our noblemen and barons, elders of parishes, commissioners from prefbytries, Rothes, Montrofe, Eglintoun, Caffills, Lothian, Weemes, Lowdon, Sinclare, Balmerinoch, Burghley, Lindefay, Zefter, Hume, Johnfton, Keir, Audlibar, Sir William Douglas of Cavers, Durie younger, Lamington, Sir John M'Kenzie, George Gordon, Philorth, Towie, Newtown. Few barons in Scotland of note, but were either voters or allegators; from every burgh, the chief burges; from Edinburgh, James Cochrane and Thomas Paterfon; from all the fixty-three prefbytries three commissioners, except a verie few; from all the four Universities also; fitting on good commodious rooms, ryfing up frye or fix degrees, going round about the low long table. A little table was set in the midf, fore anent the Commissioner, for the Moderator and Clerk. At the end a high roome prepared chieflie for young noblemen, Montgomerie, Fleeming, Boyd, Erkine, Linton, Crichton, Livingstone, Roife, Maitland, Drumlanerik, Drummond, Keir, Elcho, and fundrie moe, with hudge numbers of people, ladies, and some gentle women, in the vaults above. Mr. John Bell had a very good and pertinent fermon, sharp enough against our late novations and Epifcopacie: the pitie was, the good old man was not heard by a fixt part of the beholders. That service ended, Mr. John came down to the little table, began the Synod with heartie prayer; which I did fecond with affectionate tears, and manie moe, I truelt, with me. My Lord did give in his commiffion to Mr. Thomas Sandilands, as deput by his father Mr. J. Sandilands, commiflar of Aber-deen, clerk to the laft Generall Asfemblie: his Grace did harrang none at all; as we did expeé t he shoulde: we found him oft thereafter as able to have spoken well what he pleased as any in the house. I take the man to be of a sharpe, ready, solid, clear witt, of a brave and matterlyke expression; loud, distinct, flow, full, yet concife, modeft, courtlie, yet simple and natural
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language: if the King have manie such men, he is a well ferved Prince. My thoughts of the man, before that tyme, were hard and bafe; but a day or two's audience did worke my minde to a great change towards him, which yet remains, and ever will, till his deeds be notoriouslie evill. His commiſſion was in Latine, after a common, legale, and demibarbarous style; ample enough for settling all our miforders, had not a clause concerning In-

structions made it too restrict and servill. [B.] The copy I have not yet gotten. After this, our commiſſions was given in to the Moderator and Clerk for the tyme, almost every one in the fame tenor and words, containing a power from the Prefbytrie to the three Ministers, and one Elder, to reaſon, vote, and conclude, in their name, in all things to be proponed, according to the word of God and the Confession of Faith of the Church of Scotland, as we shall be anſwerable to God and the Church. A double of my commiſſion, fee at (C). The Prefbytries, Burghs, and Univerſities, were called after the order of fome roll of the old Aſſemblies, not of the later. This was the labor of the first day.

2. On Thurſday, the next dyett, we had no feaunt of profefsta-
tions; more than a round dozen were inacted. After long delay, and much thronging, being fett in our places, the Moderator for the time offered to my Lord Commiſſioner a lite, wherupon voices might paffe for the election of a new Moderator. Here did arife the teacheft difputt we had in all the Aſſemblie. His Grace, the Thefaurer, Sir Lewis Stewart, (for after the rancounter I wrote off, at the Counfell-table, the Advocat's service was no more required, but Sir Lewis ufed in his roome,) reaſoning and preffing with great eagerneſs, that in the firſt place, before any Synodical action, the Commiſſions might be difcufſed, left any fhould voice as commiſſioners, whose commiſſion was null, at leaft not tryed to be valid; this was a ready way to turne the Aſſemblie upside down, to put us in a labyrinth inextricable; for, before the conſtitution of the Synod, the Commiſſioner should have fo drawn in the deepſt queſtions, fuch as the power of Elders, the state of Ministers cenſured by Bishops, and many moe, which himself alone behooved to determine, no Aſſemblie being conſtitute for the difcufſion of any queſtion. Against this motion therefore, as rooting up all poſſibilitie ever to fettle any Aſſemblie, bot at the Commiſſioner's fimples difcretion, Rother, Lowdon, (Balmerinoch through all the Aſſemblie reſolved to be weell near mute,) Dickfon, Livingſtone, Henderſtone, reaſoned,
that cuftome, equitie, necellitie did enforce the choyfing of a
Moderator and Clerk before the commiffions be diſcufied, or any
thing elfe done. After much subtile, accurat, and paffionat pleading,
for both fydes had prepared themſelves, it feems, for this plea, the Commiffioner craved leave to retire with the Counfell
for adfyfement: after a long flay in the chapter-house, returning,
he was content to permitt voyceing for the Moderator; with
proteftation, That this voyceing should not import his approba-
tion of the commiffions of any voyce againſt whom he was to
propone any juft exception in due tyme, or his acknowledgement
of any voyce for a lawfull member of this Aſſemblike: His Grace
required inſtruments, also, of ane other proteftation, That the
nomination of a Moderator should no wayes be prejudicall to
the Lords of the Clergie, their office, dignitie, or any priviledge,
which law or cuſtom had given to them. Against both thir,
Rothes took inſtruments, in name of the Commiffioners from
preſbyteries and burghs, proteſting, That his Grace’s protefta-
tions ſhould in nothing prejudice the lawfullnes of any commi-
fion againſt which no juft and true nullitie ſhould be objected in
the tyme of tryall of the commiffions: also, that his Grace’s
ſecond proteftation ſhould not hinder the diſcufing the nature of
the office, and the alledged priviledges of the pretended Bifhops
in this preſent Aſſemblike. My Lord Montgomerie, in name of
the perfeuers of the complaint againſt the Bifhops, did proteft,
That his Grace’s proteftations ſhould not be prejudicial to the
diſcufing, in this preſent Aſſemblike, of their complaints againſt
the perſons, titles, dignities, and priviledges of the pretended
Bifhops. Mr. John Bell urged the voyceing for the Moderator;
but his Grace fhew, that there was preſented to him a paper,
in name of the Bifhops, which he required then to be read. Here
also was ſome ſharpe reaſoning; diuerſe alledged, that no bill,
supplication, proteftation, or whatever, could be read to the
Aſſemblike, before it were an Aſſemblike; but immediately after
the Aſſemblike’s conſtitution, it ſhould be in his Grace’s option
to cauſe read that paper of the Bifhops, or any other, to which
the Aſſemblike’s anſwer ſhould be returned. After reaſoning, and
requefting, his Grace did uſe his authoritie to require the rea-
ding of the paper: At once there arose a tumultuous clamor of a
multitude crying, No reading! No reading! This barbarous cry-
ing did offend the Commiffioner, and the moft of us all. Silence
being gotten, his Grace did proteft, That the refuſal of hearing
that paper was uſuſt. Rothes also required acts of his pro-
teftation, in name of the commissioners, That the refufall was just and neceffar. All being weariad with the multiplication of pro-
teflations, bot the clerk, who with every one receaved a piece
of gold, his Grace, whether in earnest or scorn, did yet protef
of our injurie in calling the Lord Bihops pretended, whom yet
the Acts of Parliament did authorize. Rothes, in our name; did
protefl, That they behooved to be taken for pretended, till this
Assemblie had tryed the challenges which was given in against
all their allledged prerogatives. How needles foever mane of
his Grace’s proteftations feemed to be, yet I was glad for his way
of proceeding; it gave me fome hopes of his continuance among
us. I thought that this way of protefting had been resolved
wyfelie in Counfell, whereby the Commiilioner might fitt flill
till the end, and yet, by his presence, import no farder approba-
tion to any of our conclusions, than he fand expedient. By
appearance this courfe had been much better than that abrupt
departure, which his posterio inftuctions, to all our griefs, and
the great marring of the King’s defignes, forced him unto.
Mr. John Bell again prefented his lite for moderation. His
Grace fhew, that his Majefly had written letters to fix of the
Counfellors, Thefaurer, Privie Seall, Argyle, Lauderdale, Car-
negie, and Sir Lewis Stewart, as I think, to be his affeffors, not
only for counfell, bot voyceing in the Synod. Argyle’s letter
was publicklie read, that this his Majeftie’s defyre should be con-
defcended unto before any farder proceeding. It was replied,
with all refpect to the worthie Nobles named, that my Lord
Marqueis in the produced commiffion, was appointed fole Com-
miilioner; that affeffors were only for counfell, and not for mul-
tiplication of voyces; that the King in perfon would require bot
one voyce; that the giving of moe voyces to the affeffors might
give way, not only to very mane, as in fome unallowable alfe-
blies it had been, but to fo mane as by pluralitie might overfwaie
all. Againft this refufall, his Grace did proteft, with fome grief;
and we also, defying that our reafons might be infert with our
proteftation. At laft, we were permitted to choyce the Moder-
tor: Mr. John Kerr, Mr. John Row, Mr. J. Boner, Mr. William
Livingftone, [and] Mr. Alexander Henderfone, were put in leit
by Mr. John Bell; for the leiting of the new is in the hands of
the old. Messrs. Ramfay, Rollock, and Dickfon, for withdray-
ing of votes, were holden off. All, without exception, went upon
the laft, as in the moft of our matters there was no diverfitie at
all, or where any, it was bot of a few. I remember not how his
Grace voyced; bot it was his custome to voyce rather by way of permiffion, then to say any thing that might import his direct affent; for it seems he resolved to keep himself in all his words and deeds fo free, that he might, when he would, difavow all that was done, or to be done, in that Asfembie. Mr. Henderfone being chozen with fo full an accord, made a prettie har-rangue, whether off-hand or premeditated, I know not. There was a conclusion taken that night, after some reafoning to the contrare, to have bot one Seffion in the day, to fitt from ten or elevin to four or fuye [afternoon]: fo wee were all relieved of the expenfes of a dinner; one earlie breakfast putt us all off to fupper, for commonlie we fatt ane hour with candlelight. We ended that day with the Moderator's prayer: Among that man's other good parts, that was one, a facultie of grave, good, and zealous prayer, according to the matter in hand; which he exer-cised, without fagging, to the laft day of our meeting.

3. In our third Seffion, on Fryday November 23d, the Moderator prefented a lite to be voyced for choying of the Clerk. Here a longer difputt then needed fell in, betuixt the Commiffioner and the Moderator, whom Rothes, bot efpically Lowdon, did second. The Commiffioner, whether of true intent to have a base Clerk, of whose fubmiflions to injunctions they might be hopeful, or to fliew his pitie and equitie to fee every one keepe in their right, where he had place, though he profefled small obligation to the young man, who for no intreatie would be pleafed to shew him any blenk of the Asfembie-books; yet prefled much that this young man Mr. Thomas Sandilands might ferve here, as his father Mr. James Sandilands commiffar of Aberdeen his deput, fince his father's deceafe could not spoill him of ane advantageous office, wherefo he was provyded ad vitam. Yet it was carried, that fince his father was not provided to that office bot by Mr. Thomas Nicholfon's dimiffion, and ane corrupt Asfembie's content, without any mention of deputation; as alfo fince he was fo infirme as he was unable to attend the service, and unwilling to reside at Edinburgh, where the Regiffers of the Church behooed to lie: for thir, and many other reafons, the Clerk's place was found to vaife. Confideration was promifed to be had of Mr. Thomas Sandiland's intereffe, which he did submit to the Asfembie's discretion. In the lite, Mr. Thomas was firfl, efter Joine Nicoll, and Alexander Blair, and Mr. Archibald Johneftoun. The Commiffioner would not voyce to any of them, becaufe he faw no
no lawfull dimission of the former clerk. The Moderator took his Grace then for a non liquet. Yefternight's plea was here renewed: His Grace required that his affebrors' voyce might be craved in the Clerk's election: The Moderator thought it unfit to trouble their Lordships to voyce about a Clerk, fince they did not voyce to the choofeing of the Moderator, a superior officer. Many words here were spent, till at laft reafons in wryte were produced, why my Lord Commissiioner and his affebrors fhould have bot one voyce. I thought, in the tyme, these Reafons [D.] were of ane high straine, and fome of them did ftryke deeper on authoritie than I could have wiilhed. Tra- quair craved ane double of them, and promifed ane answer; bot the fubfequent affaires, or fomewhat elfe, hindered that answer yet to appear. This high, yea higheft quuestion, (for in all the Aflemblie we had nothing elfe that concerned authoritie,) was clofed by the renewing of yefternight's proteftations, on both fydes.

The lite put to voyceing, Mr. Archibald Johneftoun by all fave one, was elected: being deeply fwayne, he was admitted to all the rights, profits, priviledges, which any in former tyme by that place had injoyed. To him Mr. Thomas Sandilands, in face of the Aflemblie, did delyver two Regifters, which contained the Acts of the Kirk fince the year 1590, teftifying that his Father had never any more in his cuftodie. The Moderator required all earnefflie to procure the production of any the Church-Regifters could be had; for the foffe of fuch a treafure as the Church's evidents was pitifull. His Grace protefted his willingnefs to doe his endeavour for fo good a work. Rothes intreated that the Bifhops might be caufed delyver what they had; for it was known that King James had fent a warrand to Mr. Thomas Nicolfone late clerk, to deliver to the Bifhop of St. Andrewes the Regifters of the Church. After much regrating the irreparabfe losfe of thefe wrytes, the new Clerk declared, that by the good providence of God, thefe books they fpake off were come to his hands, which there he produced to all our great joy: Fyve books in folio, four written and fuftcriyved, and margined with the known hands of ane Gray and Ritchie, clerkes to the Generall Aflemblie, containing the full regifter from the Reformation in the [15]60 year, to the [year 15]90, where Mr. Thomas Sandilands's books began, except fome leaves which Bifhop Adamfone had riven out: thir one Winrham, depet to Mr. Thomas Nicolfone, had left to ane Alexander Blair,
his successor in office, of whom Mr. Archibald [Johnstone] had gotten them; the five was one extract by way of compend from the [15]60 to the [15]90, whereby in a good part Bishop Adamfite's sacrilegious rapine might be restored. These books the Moderator craved might be fought by Argyle, Lauderdale, and Southesk. But my Lord Commissioner would not permit his allies to undertake such employment, since they were refused vioce in the Assembly; but he was content that a committee of the members of the Synod should be named, for to try if these books were authentick and full registers. So Mr. A. Ramfay, Mr. John Adamstone, James Boner, John Row, William Livingstone, Robert Murray, the Clerk of Dundie, and Mr. Alexander Peirfon advocat, were appointed, to give their report and reasons so soon as they could.

The Moderator then did require, that for the Assembly's full constitution, the Commissions might be put to tryall. But the Commissioner caused Dr. Hamilton first to be called, and present his paper to be read. His Grace did urge much, that since the former objections were removed, of the want of a Moderator and a Clerk, the paper now might be read. It was replied, over and over, that it could not be, till by the discussion of the commissions the Assembly were constitute. Traquair pressed, That the paper possibly had exceptions against the lawfullness of the election of the commissioners, which were impertinent to allegiance, if once the commissions were approved. The Commissioner assured, he knew not what was within these papers; but presupposing they were formed for the opening of the eyes of those who were to vioce, anent the members of the Assembly, it was the only time to read them before the voycing. Rothes replied, That exception against particular commissioners might not be proposed until the tryall of their commissions; and exceptions against the whole Assembly could not be heard till it were an Assembly. The Moderator asked, That if in that paper there were any light to open their eyes, they should shortly profess their repentance of their error in not reading it when it was required. His Grace protested, That this no reading before the tryall of the commissions, should import no prejudice to the Lords of the clergy, and their adherents; and of this protestation, he required an act from the new clerk's hand. The Clerk said, he could write no act without the Assembly's warrand, and it could give no warrand till once it were in being. The Commissioner then required instruments in my Lord Regis-
ter's hands, of his protestation, since the clerk refused. The Clerk shew his willingnefs, at the Moderator's directions, to wryte his Grace's protestation; but might give no extracts till the Affemblie were conftitute. In the forming of this protestation, the Clerk, I thought, was to feik in that; his witt he kythed ever thereafter; the act behooved to be formed and reformed; the Commiffioner and the Clerk did shape it over and over, and over again, ere they could fall on a fashion which his Grace could lyke: This made me pitie Johnefone, and think him the better advocat then clerk; but the youth's tryed sufficiencie in both the arts proves my miftaking, or at leaft that this inlaik in the firft entrie to his office was bot occasional, and meerlie accidental. In the progreffe of this difputt his Grace shew the necelfitie that was laid on him, in this paflage, to be punctuallie circumfpeet; for howbeit he was a great Commiffioner, yet he was but a poor subjeet and fervant, lyable to account for all his service. Much reafoning was that the Bifhops exceptions againft the judges fhould be heard before they were acknowledged and conftitute for judges: when Traquair and Lowdon had harped upon this ftring a while, Argyle lends in his word, That a partie does give in their exceptions againft ane affife before it be fwnorn, fo why might not the Bifhops give in their exceptions againft the Affemblie, which now was like ane affife called and conveened, bot not yet fwnorne. The Moderator cuttitlie, (as the man naturallie hath a little choler, not yet quite extinguifhed,) anfwered, That the Commiffioner his Grace was of great sufficiencie himself; that he only fhould fpake there; that they could not anfwer to all the exceptions that a number of wittie noblemen could propone; that these who were not commiffioners would doe weell to informe his Grace of what they thought meet, in convenient tyme. This check, I believe, was intended more for others then for Argyle, who would have taken it worfe if it had fallen on their fingers; always Lowdon took it off in a quick jelt, that my Lord Argyle's inftance was good, if the Bifhops had once compeired as pannelled men before ane affife. Thisewearifome plea ended that dayes action, for his Grace acquiefced in his protestation.

4. The fourth feffion, on Saturday 24th of November, we waited long, till near twelve, for his Grace's coming in: The reafon of this delay was not fo much his breakfast, which was indeed daylie magnificck and very fumptuous, for fo did the King allow that his Commiffioner, in all his voyages, fhould have a
royall table; yet the reason of his Grace's almost daylie latenefs was his consultations with his cabin-counsell, and long wrytes to the King, which daylie were dispatched of all occurrences. In the meanwhile the Moderator named preachers for all the churches, I think, without their own advyce: well I wott I had no thought of preaching, yet being nominat as one to preach to¬morrow with Mr. James Boner in the Blackfriers, I could by no intreatie gett it declyned; so I behooved to depart, and make me readie so well as I could in so short a tyme. It is true, a moneth before I was advertised, that, among the rest who was named preachers at the aſsemblie, I was one; yet not thinking to be so soon employed, I could make no use of what I had pre¬pared for that end. When his Grace came in, the Moderator required, that for the more quick dispatch, his Grace would be pleased the Aſsemblie might go on with some affaires at the hour appointed, which should all be repeated to his Grace at his entrie. The Commissioneer replied, that he was sent there by his Majeflie to attend this buffines alone; so it behooved him to be ane eye and ear witnesses of all [that] paffed, that his account might be the more faithful. The Commissions fell next to be examined; they were given in to the number of ane hundred and twelve, from prelbytries, burghs, univerfities. The Moderator required, for expedition, that all in the order of the catalogue should be read; that the comission againſt which any except¬tion should be taken, might be laid aside for posterior traying; that thefe against which nought was by any objected, should be taken by that silence to be approven. The Commissioneer pro¬tested, That his silence should not be taken for ane approbation of any man's comission, for he had objections against many comissions which as yet he was not fullie instructed to propone, but in due tyme should doe it. Amongst all the commiſsions none was controverted but threttein. Peebles was protested against by Mr. Robert Alliot, as if it had been procured by my Lord Thefaurer his indirect dealing; Here arose a plea, which continued two or three dayes thereafter. The Thefaurer justified his proceedings in many words, inveighed harplie against the per¬son of that minifter, required that his Grace would fee justice done upon him for lyebling in such a place against a prime officer of flate. The Commissioneer promifed him reaſon. The Modera¬tor admonifhed the Thefaurer to speake of the man in no other termes then were due to a minifter of Jesu Chrift. Rothes and others took the Aſsemblie for judge of whatever wrong was done
by that protestation. So myld and humble was my Lord The-
 fuer, that he offered to submit the censure of his carriage in
that election to any one member of the Assemblie. After much
debating in publick and private before a committee appoynted for
that end, the commiffion was approve; the fault of the protec-
ting minister was thought to deserve no harsher censure then by a
few words. But the most part of that day was spent in a hotter
controversie about the commiffion of Brechin. The Prebytric
had chosen first the Laird of Dun for elder; thereafter they met
in a more full number, and the pluralitie of voyces were caried
to my Lord Carnegie: Dun his commiffion being sent to be ad-
vyfed by the Table of Edinburgh, was returned, with the reafons
of their approbation written on the back, and subferyved with
the hands of Montrofe, and diverfe others of that table. The
clerk, I think unadvyfedlie, read in publick not only the commif-
fion, but also the Table’s subferyved approbation on the back.
His Grace presentlie catched the advantage, required a double
under the clerk’s hand of that commiffion as it was read, back
and fore, that he might be thereby the better instructed for
objecting againft it and other commiffions. This, after long dif-
putt, was refused to him; because the back of the commiffion
was both written and read accidentlie, and fo extractis could not
be granted of it. When Mr. D. Dickfon spoke of this back
write, as having some negligence in it, Montrofe took him hotlie,
and profeffed their resolution to avow the leift jote that was in it.
The plea at laft ended for that day with his Grace’s protestation,
that the double of that back wryte was refused to him. The
tryall of thir two commiffions was given to a privie committee;
who, after some days debate, fand both to be rejected. Against
the commiffion of Rothfay, we of Irvine did object, That the Ifle
of Bute was a part of our prebytric. In the tryall it was found
meet to reject the commiffion; and thereafter that Rothfay, hav-
ing bot three kirkis, should be annexed to the prebytric of Dun-
oune, to be erected of new in Cowell; for in prior Assemblies the
whole diociffe of Argyle was not divided in feveral prebyteries,
nor the Iles, nor Orknay; but we took courfe in this Assem-
blic for that confusion. The commiffion both of the Prebytric
and Colledge of Glafgow were laid aside; of the Colledge, be-
cause there was putt in foure names, Mr. John Maxwell among
the reft, a non-covenanter. In this we miffed the Principall’s
wifdome, or rather fand his too great witt: no Univerfitie had
ever offered, fo far as we know, to fend moe commiffioners
nor one; they thought, that their Univerfitie might have the
privilege of ane prefbytrie, to fend four, unlefs a law could be
produced that did restrict to one. In the tralyll, many checks fell
on the Principall, efpellallie from Mr. John Adamfone, who did
somewhat petulantlie reproach him, when he touched the newltie
of the style of the Univerfitie of Edinburgh: Bot the chief reafon
why many mouths were readie to carp [at] all Dr. Strang faid,
and to dafs him at every occafion, was, befoe the many paffe-
gages of his former carriage fince the beginning of this matter, a
late very much misliked dealing: At their prefbytrie's election of
their commiffioners, he had much objected, yet Mr. John Max-
well alone had ufed a formall protestation againft the voyceing of
ruleing Elders in that election; bot fome fourtene dayes or
tuente before the Affemblie, the Principall and Mr. John Max-
well did draw up a protestation (E.), to the which they got the hands
of other fix of their prefbytrie, Mr. R. Wilkie, and Mr. John Bell
younger, Mr. John and Mr. G[avin] Forfyth, Mr. A. Forbes, and
Mr. James Hutchefon, ftryking againft the election of Elders,
and, by confequence the confitution of our Affemblie; all the
members whereof were chofen after the fame manner. This
wryte was putt in the Principall's hand for cuftodie, not to be
given in without the consent of all; yet, as it feemes, by Mr.
W. Wilkie's procurement, it was delivered without the knowledge
of the reft to the Marqueis, who made ufe of their example to
move others to doe the lyke. It was caried fo clofeliie, that we
did never fufpect any fuch thing till the Fryday, the third day
of our Affemblie: Upon the firt ayre of it we refeted not till we
found it out: we took it all for a dangerous and undermynding
plott, at leaft for a defigne, fo far as lay in them, to have over-
thrown our Affemblie and divided us all: the invention we as-
cryved to the Principall and Mr. William Wilkie. On the Mon-
day we conveened the Principall and others in my Lord Low-
don's chamber: Mr. D. Dickfon, [the] Moderator, Mr. Ruther-
furd, and I, reafoned and intreated the Principall to pafs from that
wryte; we were at laft plain with him, that if he would fland to
it, it behooed us to deall with him as ane open enemie: He was
putt to great perplexitie; the wryte was not now in his power;
the Marqueis, by his recalling, would be more difpleased then he
had been pleazed with the gift. Our reafons and boaffs had
perfuaded all the reft almoft of his partie to repent their rashnefs;
yea, the most of them under their hand to pafs from it. The
Principall at laft did the like, but out of tyme, about the end of
the Assembly; and in such a way that did not satysfe; it was
an unhappie act, and the ground of much trouble to our good
friends. Upon this the Marqueis caufed lay by my Lord of
Eglinton’s commiffion for Glafgow: yet in the tryall that com-
miſion was approven: For the protestation againft it, when the
Marqueis produced [it] to be read, the ingiver, Dr. Strang, stood
up and oppofed the reading, to his Grace’s great malecontent-
ment, neither to our great lyking, fince it was not heartlie and
fullie recalled. The Univerfitie’s commiffion was annulled; but
they were defyred to conveye and renew their commiffion to
fone one: This they did not; for fince they had fo involved
themselves that they could not, nor would not, nor durft not
fyde with either of the parties, they refolved to be abfent. This
courfe moved manie, fpecciallie of the gentrie, to call oft in pub-
lick for Dr. Strang to give account of his commiffion, intending
to have dealt with him in rigour, as a declyner of the Assembly;
but by the procurement of the Moderator, Mr. D. Dickfon, and
fone other of us, we got their indignation eluded; onlie there
was appointed a committee from the Assembly, the conveyer
whereof was my Lord Argyle, to vifit the Colledge, wherein we
intended not to have depofed any of their members, as they
feared we would, and had occafion fo to doe, bot onlie to efta-
bliff, with their own confeft, Mr. D. Dickfon, conjunct Pro-
feffor of Divinitie with the Principall, that, by his grace and di-
gence, the great backwardnes we had oft found in that Colledge
and Toun might be remedied without any man’s trouble. To
this motion the Colledge feems to applaud; bot the multitude
of great affairs has hindered the meeting of that vifitation to
this day, and now it is well near forgotten.

5. On Monday, the 26th of November, was our fift Session.
The reft of the Commiſsions were read, and these few, which had
been objected againft, were put to tryall. His Grace protefted
to have libertie to object in his own tyme. Roffes prefled the
preffent tyme to be moft fitt for obiecting; yet we gave to his
Grace his choyce of what tyme he would. There was three or
four commiſsions of the North tinklel upon. The Univerfitie
of Aberdeen fend their humanift, one Lundie, to have their
foundation rectified; this man had voyce among us, and a com-
mittee was appointed for the toun of Aberdeen to vifit their
Colledge. The Prefbytrie of Aberdeen fend two commiſsions,
one with their moderator, Mr. David Lindefay parfon of Bel-
helvie, aftirring and a pragmaticke bold man, and Dr. Guyld;
another, with one Harvie, for himself and Dr. Baron, and, as I think, Dr. Sibbald: in the tryall we found Belhelvie's commision to be approven, and the other rejected; yet heartilie did we with the coming of Dr. Baron and his colleagues. For a tyme we were put in confidence of their presence, and of some of the Bishops. Rofs, Brechin, and Galloway, were in the castle of Glasgou, as I remember, that day, and sundrie days thereafter in the palace of Hamilton: bot it hes been their resolution, taken in common with the Commissioner, not to compair, knowing the Commissioner's determination to desert and leave us, as shortlie he did. One Mr. Thomas M'Kenzie came with a commision from the Chanrie of Rosie: it was rejected, when we had considered the protestation of Sir John Mackenzie of Tarbett, Seafort's uncle, against it. Mr. Thomas being rejected. gave in a protestation against ruleing Elders, with odious accusations against the Tables of Edinburgh. Rothes and the Marqueis both craved instruments of the production of that protestation; bot the man at once went off the towne: we fand him thereafter a subferyver of the Bishops declinator, and a most vitious fellow. and fo deposed him from his ministrue. Now at laft we fand the Assembly, to our great joy, fullie constitute, and fo we went on to our busines. The firft matter was the tryall of the Church Regiters. The Committee for that end was defyred against to-morrow to give in their perfect reports. When Mr. M'Kenzie's protestation against Elders voyceing in Assemblies was read, Mr. Andrew Ramfay got up in a forme, and with great confidence undertook to prove, from Scriptures, Fathers, content of Reformed churches, our own church practice, and Assembly acts, that ruleing Elders were lawfull and necelldre members of Assemblies. The Commissioner, professing his own insufficiencie, promised to produce some who should prove the contrarie. Balquanquall gybed in privat at Mr. Andrew's brag, likening him to the English champion, who provokes all the court to fight him in the King's presence, in the quarrell of the King's crown: yet I thinke Mr. Andrew would have made his word good against any of his Grace's disputters, if they durft have come forward.

6. On Tuesday, the 27th, was our sixth Seflion. The Committee gave in their report of the fye booke of Assemblies, and their reafons why they took them for good and authentick Regiters, as ye may see them in print in our Assemblies-acts. The Commissioner being resolvd, as it seems, to be a confter to nothing, though he professed many of his scruples loofed by these
reasons, yet did not approve of these as of authentick regiflers. The Moderator, for the weight of the matter, delayed the voye-
ing till the morrow, defyreing all to be readie then to object or to approve. The Moderator then did propose the naming of affe{fers to himself, and of a privie conference. Mr. D. Doglifhe [Dalgleith] remembering the Epifcopall abuse of the privie con-
frence to enervat and subvert the A{temblie, made all unwilling

} to hear of any more privie conferences; Affe{fers by any publick act were thought neede{fs; but it was permitted to the Moderator to nominat whom he would to conven { with him in private ane hour before the publick meeting, for ordering of matters to be
treated that day. His Grace prote{ted that such nomination
should not be prejudicial to the right he heard his Matter was
in polie{fsion, of to order the matters to be proponed in the A-
{emblie as he thought meet. Rothes afirmed the proponing and ordering of things to be proponed was the Moderator's due. The Moderator thought his Grace's prote{flation neede{fs,
since all that was to be proponed should be in his Grace's audi-
ence, and with his own content. For his privie afilience he
named, of the mini{fers, Mr. Henrie Rollock, Mr. John Adam-
fone, Mr. D. Dickfon, Mr. D. Doglifhe; of the nobilitie, Ro-
thes, Montrofe, Lindefay, Lowdon, Balmerino{c; of the gentrie,
Cavers, Keir, Waughtone; of the burrowes, James Cochrane,
James Fletcher, Mr. Robert Barclay. For the bills, the Affem-
b mie nominat Mefsrs. D. Lindefay, James Boner, William Liv-
ingtone, Dr. Strang, Dr. Guild, Mefsrs. Andrew Affleck, and
Robert Dowgla{fs, William Colvin,({}) George Haliburton; of
the nobilitie, Ca{flills and Burghley; of the gentrie, Dundas and
Auld{bar of the burrowes, John Semple and Mr. Robert Cun-
inghame. At this time came in the long urged declinature and
prote{flation of the Bifhops. So soon as it was read out by the
clerk, my Lords Montgomerie, Fleming, Elcho, Boyd, [and] young
Durie, took instruments, in name of the complainers, against the
Bifhops, of their acknowledging of their citation, of their com-
pearance by their proctor, of their wilfull absence in perfon, that
sentence may be given against them as present; as ye may see
in the instrument. Against all the poyns of this prote{flation,

({}) This name in the 4to. MS. is very indistinct, and seems to be "Will. Colvin"; and in the other copies has been transcribed "null calm," which has no meaning, but is so printed "null Calm" in the edition 1775. There is little doubt that the person was Mr. William Colvin or Colville, then Minister of Cramond, and a member of the Assembly.
uttered by Durie, his Grace did protest. Thereafter his Grace produced three other papers; one subscried by the Deane of Edinburgh, Mr. David Mitchell, Mr. A. Thomfone, Mr. James Forfyth, and others, to the number of twentie hands, bearing the name of a supplication, but ending in a protestation against the Assemblie, if Elders, or commiffioners chozen by them, should have voyce; another to the like purpose, subscried by the minifters of Dundie, and some few there; a third, by the eight named of the prefbytrie of Glasgow. This was hardlie gotten suppresséd by Dr. Strang the author of it, and was caft by with the Commiffioner's open indignation. We were glad that the hudge number of protestors wherewith we were oft boasted, and which in all the kingdome carefullie were fought out, was now found to be so small, and of so little consideration; diverse publicklie at once recanting their subscripitions; the rest to this day are favourers of the books, and allowers of the course which obtruded them. Against these protestations the Moderator caufed read some papers for Elders places in synods, I think of Mr. D. Catherwod's (2) penning, who lived all the tyme of the Assemblie privilie befyde the Moderator's chamber, and furdered what he could by his studies all our proceedings.

7. On Wednesday, before we entered, we heard a secret bruit of the Commiffioner's purpose to leave the Assemblie that day, and to break it up fo far as he could; which was to all our grief, and somewhat befyde our expectation; for howsoever we had bot small hopes of the Assemblie's fittin down with the Commiffioner's content, yet since it was fett, and protestations only ufed against the things which he misliked, we thought this course of protestling might have continued, and the Assemblie not broken up, at least not fo soon; fo much the more as the Commiffioner had oft vented among us, not only his great defyre, but alsó his hopes and confidence, to fitt till matters were brought to fome tolerable conclufion: bot that it was otherways, we did impute it to fome new instructions, brought down by the Bishop of Roffe, who latelie was come from Court to the town. Yet fome fayes, the Bishop had not feen the King at this voyage; and the Commiffioner had prefled the King peremptorlie, at his departure, [not] to give audience to any of the Scotifhe clergie anent the affairs committed to him, and had gotten his promife

(2) Mr. David Calderwood, the historian. At this time he was unprovided with a parochial charge, and was not a member of the Assembly.
for it; also that the railing of the Assemblie was resolved to be commanded as it was, before it fatt down.

The bufinefs came firft to hand was the Assemblie books: the Moderator required oft, If any had reaons to propon why they should not be taken for authentick Regifters of our Church, which hereafter might make faith in judgement. The Commiſioneer, with great affection, testified his carrefl defyre of feeing the Church restored to her Regifters; yet necesfity laid upon him againft his heart, to profeß againft the acknowledging of these books to be true and fufficient Regifters; and that neither his Mafter, nor the Lords of the clergie, should fuffer prejudice, by any act in any of these books, which had not been deſtroyed by the late Clerk's fon. Notwithstanding of this profeffion, all the Assemblie, in one voyce, accepted of the books as the true and authentick Regifters of our Church. It is one of the notable paflages of God's providence towards our Church, that these books were not deſtroyed, or put in hands whence we fhould never have drawn them: this fourtie years bygone fo great a defyre being in the heart of the Prince and Prelates for covering in perpetuall darkneſs of our old Assemblies, which croffed their intentions; fo great negligence on our parts to keep these monuments, that no man among us, fo farr as I could ever hear, knew what was become of thefe books, but all took it for granted that they were in St. Andrews poffeffion, who would be loath ever to let them go, or any true double of them; yet God hes brought them out, and fett them up now at the doore of our Church, to be the rule, after scripture, of this Assemblie and all other their proceedings. In reasoning with the Marqueis about thir books, the Moderator, falling on the ancient orthodoxie and unitie of our Church, thought meet to read in Latine, and to comment in English, a fair testimonie concerning it, from the preface of the Harmonie of Confiffions. Our nift purpoſe that day was the Bifhops declinature. Two anſwers in write was framed to it, and both read by the Clerk: they were confefled to be raw and rude, but promifed to be perfefted with the firſt conveniencie; as indeed, fome dayes thereafter, I faw two papers, one of the Clerk's forming, poſsible with Mr. Catherwo'ds help, another of Mr. Andrew Ramfay's, more fhort; both which contained folid anſwers to all that was materiall in the Bifhops inveftive yet was thought meet to be caſt in another third better mould; which ye fee in print, the Anſuer to the Prelates declinature. The Moderator, finding
that many of the Bishops exceptions against our Synod were
ufed by the Remonstrants against the Synod of Dort, did read
and expone the anfuer of the Britifh divines in that Synod,
against the Remonstrants declination. Dr. Baluanquall then
craved leave to speak, but in my judgment had done better to
have been quiet: the man is quick and eloquent, but feems
not to be of any profound soliditie. He, in many words, fhew
that the cafe of that Synod, in judgeing of the Remonstrants
and their caufe, was different from the cafe of this Synod, in
judgeing of the Bishops and their caufe, in two respets:
1. The errors of the Remonstrants were in poyns fundamentall,
wherein their oppofites could not be declyned as judges; for in
fuch things there can be no neutralitie, but at the rising of fuch
errors, there muft be a prefent fyding and oppofition: bot the
errors alleaged upon the Bishops were in matters of difcipline,
which the Articles of our Church makes alterable, and fo
no necelfitie there is to be on either fide of fuch controverfies:
Again, the Church of Holland had not bound themfelfe by
oath and subfcription to the other fyde, as we have done.
This replie was vitious in many things; yea, in my judge-
ment, found or pertinent in no part of it. Much tyme was
spent by the Moderator in anfwer to the firft part, fo that the
fecond was neglected. I thought the Moderator took too much
libertie to discourse (of that he profefled had been his late itudie)
of poyns fundamentall and preter-fundamentall: as the Doctor
was raft to make all the articles of Arminius’s errors fundamen-
tall; fo I thought the Moderator als incircumfpeft to abfolve
all the Arminian errors, without a diflinction of the cryme of
herefie. Mr. D. Dogliithe, after much speech of others, in few
words replyed, pertinentlie, that the Ancient Synods, in the
queftions of Donatus and Novatus, though they had oppofed
the schiimatics in matters preter-fundamentall, yet wes no more
cafien from being judges, then thefe Synods were, which mett
for condemning of herefies and errors fundamentall: also, that
our Bishops were mainlie challenged for Arminianifme and
Poperie, which the Doctor acknowledged to be fundamentall
errors. His Grace here wifefie brought the Doctor off fable-
brofities, whence all his witts could not have delivered him with
his credit. Yet fince, I fee the Doctor hes ufed a noble trick
to clear himfelf of all; he has made the King, who wes some
hundreth myles from hearing thefe speeches, bear witnes, that
the Doctor fpake to a clean contrary purpose then fome thou-
fands of us heard him; especiallie that he never neither thought nor spake that any of the Arminians errors were fundamentall. We have been much mistaken with that man: we esteemed him ever a Dordracenift, and opposed to Canterburie in that cause; but now we fee he hes made the King in his Manifesto,(3) print as much for the Arminians as the heart of Canterburie could wish. Shall even deanries, let be bishopricks, have the facultie, in so short a tyme, to metamorphose the minds of men?

The Moderator required next the Assemblie might voyce, If they fand themselves the Bishops judges, notwithstanding of their declinature? The Commillioner, finding that the tyme to execute the King’s last commandments, shew the contrarietie of his fearing affections, joy and greiff: joy that he saw the day wherein he might make good before the world, all that his Master had promised by him; greiff, that he could not bring this toylsome businefs to fuch ane end as he heartilie wilhed. The King’s will, subfcryved and signed, he made the clerk read, and dyfreed to be refilirate in the Assemblies bookes: ye fee it in print in the Proclamation; fundrie things thereby was granted to our desire; bot yet nothing that gave us a tolerable fecuritie of any thing. We were not permitted to treat any thing, bot to take that write for our full and fatissactorie con- clusions in all things:—to handle any poynt of the doctrines that were contained in the Service-book; to examine the right or wrong of Epipcopacie, Perth Articles, or any part of discipline, how unjust or tyrannick foruer, that was in the books of our Canons and Ordination; to try if the articles of Arminius, or a number of the groeffest poynts of the Romifhe heresies and idolatries, which our Bishops from that preadomining court-faction does yet maintaine, without recalling one of them, we were not permitted: Generall Assemblies were put in the fimple arbitri- ment of the Prince, who, fo far [as] we know, was not to indict them bot at the good pleufure of our ingracious Bishops, as the custome hes been thir thirty-fix years bygone. For all this the Moderator, in a very grave, digeft, and learned speeche, gave thanks for the King’s great favors contained in that paper; shew at length how much we counted ourselves obliged in con- science to give to the King, even in Church matters, an inspec-

(3) This refers to the well-known work written by Dr. Baleanquall, (who had recently been appointed Dean of Durham,) in the King’s name, entitled “A Large Declaration concerning the late Tumults in Scotland, &c. By the King.” Lond. 1639, folio.
tion, a vindication, a fancition, by way of law, a compelling by
force churchmen to their duties, a calling of counsellors, a chief
place in them, a great respect to their voyce, and so much more,
as the Commiſſioner profefſed, he spake as it became a good
christian and dutifull subiect. Yet when the Moderator preſſed
the voyceing, If we were the Bifhops judges? there fell a fad,
grave, and fowrrowfull difcourſe: The wryters of the Diaries hes
it almoſt word be word, but as I cannot repeſt any mans'
words, so I am impatient to double formal difcourſes. This
was the Commiſſioner’s laſt paffage; he acted it with tears, and
drew, by his speech, water from many eyes, as I think; well I
wot, much from mine; for then I apprehended the certaintie
inevitable of theſe tragedies which now are in doeing. Much
was faid of his fincere endeavours to serve God, the King, and
countrey; of his grief, yet necelitie to depart: the caufe he
alleaged, was the fpoyling of the Affemble, which he had ob-
tained moſſt free, by our moſſt partial directions from our Tables
at Edinburgh, two wrytes whereof he produced and caufed read;
also the precipitat intrufion of laic Elders to have voyce in
Affembles, which they might readilie have obtained by the
King’s good lykeing in this Affemble; for he would take the
voyce of fo many noble and gentlemen conduceable for his
service, if fo they could have had patience to have the right-
of their interrupted poffefſion restored to them by order. This
at length, by Rothes, Lowdon, and others, was anſwered, That
the papers produced were fuppoſititious, and never came from
them: their true intruſions they produced, and offered to ju-
tifie; for they were only advyſes to proceed wyfelie in the elec-
tion of Commiſſioners, but in nothing againſt either law or reaſon:
for the queſtion of Elders, they were readie to dispute it; that their
place was according to God’s word, our laws and practifes; that
his Grace was acquainted fowrlie with that difficultie before the
obtaining of the Affemble: if the Bifhops, by their whisperings
ſince, hes moved the King to recall the Affemble on this pretext,
the caufe of the posterior evils muſſt lie upon them, as well as of
all the former. After many words hither and yonder, the Mar-
queis fhowing, that he had commiſſion to puniſh faulſie Bifhops,
toreſtifie all their abuse, to limitat that office, fo that it ſhoſt not be
able to wrong the Church, and to doe many moe things then he
would expresſe; but now, he behooved to renew all his protela-
tions in his Mafter’s name, and in the name of the Lords of the
clergie, That no Act there ſhould import his contenſt, and that
nought done by the voyces of the present members was lawful; alfo that he discharged them to proceed any farther. While he was going, my Lord Rothes gave to the Clerk a protestation in write, prepared for such an accident, which was read, while his Grace was in departing.

The reason of this departure, and our protestation against it, were both enlarged and polished to that forme ye see them standing in print in the King's proclamation of December, and our protestation against it. It was the opinion of some of us, who are bot short-sighted, and dyves not deep in the mysteries of state, that his Grace's stay some days longer had been in nothing prejudicial to his Master's service; yea very conducible to have kept all from these irremediable extremities all men saw by that departure to be inevitable consequent. The questions about the Judges of the Bishops, which his Grace took for the occasion of his rising, was brought on by his urgent pressing of reading their declination; alfo a little intretie, as I suppose, might have gotten that question delayed so long as his Grace had pleased; at leaft it would have given much reall satisfaction, if, with his Grace's consent, we would have gotten acts formed according to the truth, about the Books and other things wherein we did truellie agree; and in the acts about Episcopacie, if he had brought his divines to dispute, and upholden their courage by his countenance, readie the most part might have been moved to use a greater temper than ever thereafter can be hoped for; or if in this his hopes had miscaried, he might have protested, or risen, when that occasion had been offered: but from the beginning God has permitted, for his own high ends, to this day, the Bishops and their opposites so to carry the King and the Countrie, that there can no be possible agreeance, but by yielding all to the one fythe. For my own part, I thought that the standing of Episcopacie, in any the leaft degree, could not be yielded; yet the way of the removeall of it, had my advise been followed, would possiblie have been leffe irritative of the King, and no leffe sure for their everlasting exclusion out of our Church: bot it is easie for any man wantonlie to discourse on the faults of deeds past, who yet being employed, could no wayes have amended them in the passing. No one man I know was more willing: It kythed by his extraordinar grief at their miscarriage: many dayes thereafter he forgat to eat his bread, and through grief fell in sickness: My heart pitied the man: beythe other evills, the mishappines of the affair, which could not be by any hand
so compassed as to give content to all, made him fall in such danger of his Majestie's misinterpretation, that no other means was left him to purchase a good construction of his very fidiitie, bot that which many counts wicked, and all exceedinglie miserable, the offer of his service to overthrow his countrey; wherein, if he prosper, Scotland for ever will curse the day the produced so unluckie a child: If in this also he prove unfortunate with fortune, that favour of his Mafter, which to him hes been over dear, will take the wings, and leave him alone in the seas of discomfort; wherein he is like to gett small pitie from the breast of any man, except from that one of Christ, who ufed not to desert these who are deferted of all, when out of their deep afflictions he is humblie called upon for his grace.

Before his Grace's departure, Argyle craved leave to speake; and that tyme we did not well understand him; but his actions since hes made his somewhat ambiguous speeches plain: He thaw, That the King had commanded him to attend that Assemblie; that in all things his part had been fair; that he had never flattered the King for any of his own ends; that he took us for members of a lawfull Assemblie, and honest countreymen; that, at the King's command, he had subfcryved, with the rest of the Counfell, the Covenant, and in that fame fenfe as it was extant in that [15]80 year, when firft it was formed; that they would see by all means, in their consideration of that Covenant, that they did not wrong the true fenfe of it. Lowdon replyed, and Rothes, That it was moit necesseare the Assemblie shoulde pronounce of the fenfe of that Covenant, since it was subfcryved by fundrie with divers fenfes: some taking it to stand not only with Epitcopacie and Perth Articles, but with the Books, and all the posterior novations of our Church; other, that it did exclude some of these; others, that it [did] exclude all. The Commissiioner promis'd that a courfe should be taken, how the King's intention, in craving subscription to that Covenant, and the true fenfe of it, according to the standing laws of the Church and kingdom, shoulde be understood.

When the Commissiioner and Counfellers had turned their back upon us, the Moderator wyfeliie did barangue himself to our encouragement; and Mr. D. Dick, Mr. H. Rollock, Mr. A. Cant, Mr. A. Ramfay, of the clergie, Lowdon of the nobilitie, Keir of the gentrie, Mr. Robert Cuninghame of the burrowes, spake some words of encouragement; and then put it to voyceing. Whether we would adhere to the protestation against the Com-
miffioner’s departure, and remaine till to the end, till all things needfull were concluded, or not? All did heartilie promise to abide on all hazards, except fome three or four Angus men, who, with the laird of Aithie, departed, alleading their commiffion had an express claufe of the King’s countenanceing of the Assem-
blie. Dr. John Baron, commiffioner for the Univerfitie of St. Andrewes, I think, was away before, on the pretence of sick-
nefs: he had fubferyved the Covenant; bot what farder he meaneed I could not learn, neither then, nor fince. It was good we were all put to it prefentlie; for if we had been delayed till morrow, it was feared many would have flippen away. The Marqueis prefled our advyfement to-morrow, and clofing with prayer at his departure; bot in this plot, as in many other, we di(fappoited his wifdome: yea, here it was especiallie where the fruit of the wife elefion of the members of the Assemblie did kyth. Had not the moft refolute no[leimen and barrons of the kingdom been there as commiffioners, or had not the minis-
terie been verie well wailed for the purpose, very readilie, at this poyn[t of tyme, we might have played the part of the Assemblie of Aberdeen, or at leafl, fuch an fenfible divifion might have rifen among us, as had marred all the fruit of our meeting. Our la6t que[lion that day was, If we fand ourfelves judges to the Bifhaps declinature? and all did voyce affirmative. While we were in fome piece of perplexitie, we were fingularlie comforted, that in the very инfant of the Marqueis departure, a very noble youth of great expectation, my Lord Erkine, craving audience of us, did profefs, with tears, his great greiff, that againft the in-
born light of his minde, he had withholden his hand from our Covenant, and perfon from our meetings, befought to pray to Chrift for him that this sin might be forgiven him, and en-
treated humblie we would now admit him to our Covenant and focietie. We all embraced him gladlie, and admired the time-
ousnes of God’s comforts and mercies towards us. At that fame time your two preachers, Mr. Forbes and Mr. Mackell, required to be admitted to our Covenant, and were receaved.

8. Thursday, the 29th of November, we keepe[n our eighth Settion. Argyle that day came back to us. The Moderator earneftlie intreated him, that though he was no member of our Assemblie, yet, for the common entres he had in the Church, he would be pleased to countenance our meetings, and bear witnes[s of the righteou[snes of all our proceedings; this, to all our great joy, he promifed to doe, and did truelie performe his
promis. No one thing did confirm [us] so much as Argyle's presence; not only the man was the far most powerfull subject in our kingdom, but also at this tyme being in good grace with the King and the Commissioner, we could not conceive but his stay with us was with the allowance of both, permitting him to be amongst us to keep matters into some temper, and hold us from desperat extremes: as indeed he was carefull that no word did passe from any mouth prejudiciall to the person or authoritie of the King. After a sermon of Mr. Gillepie, wherein the youth very learnedlie and judiciouslie, as they say, handled the words, "The King's heart is in the hand of the Lord;" yet did incroach too much on the King's actions: He gave us a grave admonition to let authoritie alone; which the Moderator seconded, and we all religiouslie observed, so long as the Assemblie lasted; yet afterward we found, that nothing was more against the stomack both of the Commissioner and King than Argyle's stay. The letters that past betuixt Argyle and the King showes, that this stay was the greatest ground of all the wrath his Majestie since has kythed towards him, whom before he did singularlie respect: also betuixt the Commissioner and Argyle there pass'd words of high enough diplayne, little from threats and perfonal challenges. It hes been the equitie of our cause, which hes been the only motive to make that man, in that necesseare tyme, to the extreame hazard of his head, and all he posseffes, to encourage us openlie by his assistance; also it was, I think, his performance of promis to Rothes and Lowdon, who had a great guiding of him, and had gotten some assurance, as they say, of his joyning with us when it should be needfull. He produced to us a letter that day from the Earle of Wigton, and the next day from the Earles of Kirkkorne and Galloway, three counsellors, showing, that they had subferyved the Confession as it was professed in the [15]80 year, even as Argyle had subferyved. Montrose likewise declared, that he had commification to shew us as much in the name of Marre and Napier, other two counsellors; and it was declared to us, that Almond and Blackhall, two counsellors, also defyred to be underfoot by us to have subferyved in the same senfe. Thir eight counsellors refufed to subferyve the act, which, in the night before, was drawn up in the Commissioner's chamber, and proclaimed this day at the Crofie, dichargeing the Assemblie under the payne of treason. This division of the Counfell, the best part of these who were present evidently
fyding with the Assemblie, did not a little increafe his Grace’s 
greif, and our joy.

Because the Bifhops, in their declinatour, had alleaged, that 
fundric members of our Assemblie were lying under the cen-
fure of the Church of Ireland, or our own Church, the Moder-
ator defyred the parties interef in this calumnic to clear them-
selves: [viz.] Mr. Blair minifter of Ayr, Mr. Hamilton of 
Dumfreis, Mr. ‘Levingstone of Stranrawer, Mr. Maeleland of 
Kirkcudbright. Sundrie of us could have wilhed, that for the 
flloping of the mouth of our partie, thefe had not been chosen 
comminationers; yet the excellent gifts of the men would not 
permitt the electors to paffe them by. Mr. Blair, in name of 
the relt, in a brave extemporall harangue, fhou at length, that 
all the cenfures had fallen on them, were not only alone for 
their adhering to the discipline of the Church of Scotland, bot 
all moft unjustifie inflicted: he gave us all full fatification. 
These under the cenfure of our Church were, Mr. David Dick, and 
Mr. Samuell Rutherford, and the Laird of Earleftoun: thefe 
cleared, that what the High Commiffion had done to them was 
not only for righteousnes, bot that their sentences was evi-
dentlie null, according to the Bifhops unlawes.

This day were eftablished three or four Committees for pre-
paring in private the chief and moft weightie matters the Af-
semblie had to treat of. At Argyle’s motion, the firft thing 
taken to confideration was the Confefion of Faith, how farr 
it did exclude or admitt the posterior novations of our Church. 
Upon this committee were put of the miniftrie men not among 
the fittest; Mr. D. Lindfay, Mr. A. Cant, Mr. Henry Rollock, 
Mr. Thomas Mitchell, Mr. Walter Buchanan, Mr. Thomas Wil-
kie, Mr. Robert Henderfone, Mr. D. Dick, Mr. James Martine: 
I with Mr. Andrew Ramfay, Mr. John Adamfone, and myself, 
had been with them; for here it was alone where my minde was, 
and yet is, grieved. I am minded at leifure, God willing, to 
go over again that committee’s labour; and if I find it right 
to approve it, which yet I cannot fully doe; or if I find my 
doubts grounded, I minde to propone them in fuch moeft ear-
neftnes to the next Generall Assemblie, if the tyme be peace-
able, as I am able. Of elders were chofen men fitt enough, 
Rothes, Lowdon, Balmerinoch, Sheriff of Tiviotdale, Keir, 
Oldbarr, James Cochrane, Patrick Bell, James Fletcher of Dun-
die. My Lord Argyle was defyred to wait on this committee; 
which he did affiduoufie. Another committee was appointed
for consideration of the corruptions of the bookes of Service, 
Canons, Ordination, and High Commision. On this was putt 
foome of us who had written againft thefe pieces, Mr. A. Ram-
fay, Mr. J. Adamfone, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, Mr. Edward 
Wright, Mr. Alexander Peter [Petric], Mr. William Menzies, 
myfelf, and fome others. When we mett, the multitude of men 
and fpeech put us in misorder; though we divided our felfe in 
two companies, yet I thought we could doe more every man 
apart then all together: for myfelf, I could doe nothing in com-
pany; only in a night or two, out of my former wryts, I drew 
that little extraction I fent yow, which I read in the face of the 
Aflemblie, when our committee was afked of their diligence, 
with the good lyking of all. My Lord Montgomerie prefled 
that his complaint againft the Bifhops might be heard. Upon 
his motion, the Bifhop of Galloway's lybell was read: A long 
and tedious work; for it had not only all the generall lybell, 
but ditaire proper articles of his corrupt doctrme, and flippi in 
his life, foull Sabbath breaking, and other things lybelled at length. 
For the shortening and clearing of this, and all other their pro-
celfes, there was a committee appointed befides thefe of the 
bills before named; one minifter out of each diocefe; and of el-
ders, the Earles of Eglintoun and Weemes, Johnftoune, Wed-
derburne, Lawers, Tarbett, Kinbiff, Robert Baylie proffeft of 
Innernefs, James Airth clerk of Pettinweeme, Mr. George Gray 
clerk of Haddington. Our folkes had not been fo diligent as 
need had been, to have their prooffes in readinefs for the partic-
ular crymes they had lybelled againft the Bifhops lives; fo 
that committee proceeded the more flowlie.

9. Fryday, the 30th of November, was our ninth Seffion. This 
day was fpent in trying of the late corrupt Aflemblies, the in-
bringers of our novations, and caufers of our diuifion and now 
inccumbent evills. Every man fpake what he knew and pleaed 
of the Aflemblie of Perth, St. Andrewes, Glasgou, Lithgou, and 
Aberdeen; but for the putting of their Nullities in a formall act, 
a committee was ordained to revife the regiflers, whereof Mr. 
John Robertfone of St. Johnfloun was the chief. In all our 
meetings I marvell that our townfman, Mr. Jofeph Lawrie, hes 
ever appeird: he was putt out by St. Andrewes and the High 
Commiffion from Stirling: I took him long fince for an eccell-
ten preacher; he now serves at St. Johnfloun: I heard he 
preaches againft the bookes; yet did I never fee him in any of 
our conventions for thir matters. We ended the fooner that the
committees might have the more tyme for their diligence: such
small privie meetings are most neceffaire; for otherways, affaires
cannot be expeid: yet I fee not how the inconveniences for which
we abolifhed privie conferences shall not arife in thir committees;
only the name feemcs to be changed.

10. Saturday, the 1st of December, was our tenth Seffion. Mr.
D. Lindefay prefented to us (for he had the chief charge of the
bills; yea, the man’s dexterity and diligence in this kinde of
employment was fuch, that to the end of the Assemblie fuch
buifinefs lay upon him almoft alone,) three clofed procedfes before
the prefbytries. First, that of Mr. D. Mitchell, who this long
tyme had delighted to grieve the whole land with the doctrine of
the faction; Arminianifme in all the heads, and fundrie poynts
of Poperie, proved by fundrie witneffes, befyde his deelyning of
the Assemblie, which alone, according to the acts of our Church,
imports deposition. He came to Glagow, at leaft remained fome
dayes in Hamilton with the Bifhop of Rofs: no man could have
kept fuch a one in our Church without feriouf repentance
for his manifold avowed errors. The nift was Dr. Panter,
profeflor of St. Andrewes: I never faw the man; but his
Walaidos (4) makes me love him as one of the best poets I
know now living: the man hes a bonny spirit; fomethings in
all fciences; bot St. Andrewes was far in the wrong to advance
him to a divinity profeflion before he had well learned the
grounds of that fcienee. He was never diligent; but he had
not sooner fettled himfelf in his chair while he began to recomed
the Englifhe method of study to our youth, to begin with the
Pofh fchoolmen and Fathers, and to clofe with Protestant
neotericks; a moft unhappe and dangerous order. I hear, in
his publick notes, he hes deboirded to the Pofh jufification,
and, in his diffcourfes, to the groffed Peliganifme in originall
fin, let be in other points of Arminianifme. Did not the heavens
ery for a vengeance againft our Bifhops, though we had been
dumb, who did hear and fee our Church undermynded with
fuch instruments, of their own making and maintaining? The
third was Archdeane Gladftanes, a moniter of drunkennefs,
and atheiftick prophanitie: Rome Pagan could not have suffered
fuch a beaftlie man to have remained a prieft even to Bacchus.
I hear that the man once had a very great appearance of many

(4) A Latin poem in hexameter verse, dedicated to King Charles, en-
titled.—“Valliados libri tres, opus inchoatum: Auctore Patrico Pantero ad
Fanum Andrac Theologo.” Edinb. 1633, sm. 8vo.
good parts; they say he was a trim perfonage of a man, had a prettie eftate, was a scholar in all faculties; right eloquent, wyfe and dircree, and free of all scandalous vyces; in favour with the King, court, and countrey: bot long fince, having caft away the fear of God, all thofe gifts of body, eftate, minde, hes evi-
dentlie left him. Thofe proceffes were read and confidered, bot fentences delayed. Because their errors ran much on Arminia-
ifme, it was thought meet to appoynt fome to fpeak at our next meeting againft thofe errors. Mr. D. Dickfon and I were nomi-
nat: very evill will had I of that talke; my diligence upon the Books was not yet delivered off my hand: Arminianifme is a deep, and large, and intricat subjeft; oure tyme was the next meeting; whatever I doe, I would doe it in earneft; fo without tyme I can doe nothing. Alwayes there was no remead; that night and to-morrow at night I did what ye faw, and what the Affemblie was pleafeed [with] on that subjeft.

11. Monday, 3d of December, we keepe our eleventh Seffion. The firft action was the appointment of preachers for that week; for every day of the week, except Saturday, there was in the morning fermon for the people in two churches, albeit the com-
mittee for that end fell wythes upon men whose fermons were bot fearece fatiffactorie: yet by many good fermons the people was much the better; and in one thing only the worfe, that thereafter they liked the worfe of their own preachers. At the entrie Mr. D. Dick made a long harangue of Arminianifme. I admired the witt of the man, and his dextrous expreffion: he refuted all thofe errors in a new way of his own, as fome years agee he had conceaved it in a number of fermons on the new covenant. I was not called upon that day, fo I was glad that my talke was forgot; yet at night I fubfcribed the article of free will, which before I had no tyme to confider. Mr. David's difcourfe was much, as all his things, extemporal; fo he could give no double of it, and his labor went away with his fpeech. Mr. David Mitchell was depofed that day with the content of all. The Toun of Edinburgh gave in their greivances againft the rest of their minifters, the Deane and his colleagues, Mr. Alexander Thomfon, Mr. Fletcher, and Dr. Eliot; the firft three as de-
clyners of the Affemblie, and prafticers of the Service-book; the laft as obtruded on them by Sir John Hay's authoritie, and as too weak for that miniftrie; also as one who had read the Liturgie in a diocefan Affemblie. To make the Affemblie the shorter, there was the day following a committee named to fitt
in Januar at Edinburgh, with the power of the Generall Assem-
bly, to cognize on the causes of the ministrie there, and what
other cause should by the Assemblie be recommended to their
cognition. The love I had to poore Dr. Eliot, who had not
indeed declyned the Assemblie, made me both plead my self,
and stir up Mr. R. Meldrum and Mr. Eliczer Borthwick, his
friends, to deal with Rothes and others, that the committee of
Edinburgh should have power at farthest but to suspending
and transport him, without deposition. That day the Bishop of
Orknay presented a letter to us by the hand of his son, showing,
that old age, and ficknes, and length of the journey, were the
only causes of his not compearance; and withall, that he sub-
mitted himself to our censure. Some others of the Bishops did
the like; and I doe verilie think that not three of the fourteen
would have been unwilling to have laid their bishopricks at our
feet, and, after any penance we had enjoyned, returned to their
old ministrie, had not fear of the King's wrath, and hope of our
overthrow by the King's forces, holden them back.

12. Tuesday, the 4th of December, at our twelfth Session, I
was called, by my expectation, to give account of my labour: I
read to them out of my blustered papers that which I sent you
of Arminianisme. I got thanks for it, and was fashion'd many
dayes in provyding copies of it to fundrie. Complaints were
given in against Mr. William Maxwell of Dunbar, and Mr. George
Sydserfe of Cobrinpaith, for very corrupt doctrine, and tyrann-
ous behaviour to force their parishioners to conformitie. It is
marvellous, how impudent all the familiars of the Bishops of Rolle
and Galloway were grown, in avowing pertly Arminianisme, and
much Poperie. Thir two was referred to the committee of Edin-
burgh, and depofed by it: they were both declyners of the Assem-
bly, and their own prebytrie, and appellers to the King. Upon
the complaint of the provost of Dundie and gentlemen of Angus,
there was a committee nominat for the miniters of Dundie and
Angus; fundrie there had declyned the Assemblie, and were ill
minded towards all our proceedings: I knew none of the men.
The Town of St. Andrews complained, that their miniter Dr.
Wiltrart had depoited them above eight moneths: they seemed
content enough with the man's life and doctrine, if he would
returne, and acknowledge the Assemblie: howbeit malitious de-
fertions fo long a tyme be sufficient for deposition, yet we referred
the cafe to farder consideration. We depoied Dr. Gladstanes
with one mouth. Mr. John Robertfone gave a good and diligent
count of the tale committed to him; many good reasons why the Sixe last Assemblies were null from the beginning: Ye may see them printed in the acts. Upon this we voyced with one confent, the Nullitie of all these Assemblies. In the voycing it fell alwayes Mr. Alexander Carfe to be first; very oft the man delyvered his voyce in a quick merry taill, so that he became to us almoft a Pleafant. I was most glad of that day's act: I thought the nullifying of thefe Assemblies did clearlie quyte us of Bifhops and Perth Articles, without the necellity of any further scrupulous and divisive disputes: bot fome that thinks no fteill band sufficient to bind their tenets on the confences of others, refled not with this vantage, but drave their nayle to the head afterward, as ye fhall hear.

13. Wednesday, the 5th of December, the Moderator, by way of clear confent, deduced from yesterday's act of the Nullitie of the former Assemblies, the freedome of all from the othyes of conformitie taken by the Bifhops; of the restitution of prerybteries and affemblies to their rights, which never were null, but, for a tyme, suppreffed by the injustice and violence of the Bifhops; the validitie of the admiffions and depositions of minifters patl latelie by prerybtries without the confent of bishops. Thir, and other fuch confences, were not only deduced, bot fett down by way of acts, as ye fée in print. That day, Dr. Robert Hamilton of Gleffurd, procurator of the bishops, his procefs was read: befide his open affronting of the Asembgie, he was found to have been abfent at Court, and at Edinburgh oft twelve, fifteen, eighteen weeks together from his church, upon no reason bot pleas for augmentation, and futes of farder promotion. The man's gifts are every way mean: he had a good eftate, and well to the foore; bot being fmitten by the ambition of his good brother Dr. Whyteford, [did] read his steps of vain lavifhnefs and dilapidation of what he had, to feek what he did not deserve. He was found to be, according to the English fashion, a profaner of the Sabbath, provoking and countenancing his parishioners at dancing and playing at the foot-ball on that day: he was, as we call it, an ordinar fwearer; for the faction delighted, as I have heard fundrie of them, to adornne their speeches with the proverbs, Before God, I protest to God, By my confience, On my fould, and higher affeverations, by thir phrafe to clear themfelves of puritaniffe: he was a violent perfecuter, even to excommunication, and denying of marriage and baptiffe of thofe who would not communicat with him kneeling. Many fuch things were
lybelled against him. He writt a letter to the Moderator, as to Mr. Alexander Henderson minifter at Louchars, shewing, that he might not compaire before ane AsSEMBLIE disfraced by the King, but was free of these things he was challenged off; or what of his lybell was true, he was not worthie to be rebuked for it before a prebytrie, let be called before a Generall Assemble. Some dayes thereafter, when his witnesies had been sworn before all the Assemble, and their depoisions taken by the committee of the Bills, which was our constant course in all processies, he was depoited by unanimous content of us all. Yet he would remaine still, by violence, some few weeks at his church; but at laft the fear of excommunication, or rather of the country ryfeing there higher in crubing such as he was, he fled to England, with many moe; where we heard he was presented to the Bishoprick of Caithnies, to all our indignation at the perverfnes of Canterburie, who would not yet cease to provoke us, by conferring bishopricks on such infamous and unworthie men. St. Andrewes lybell was read, and some parts of it considered; yet we did nothing of moment because of Argyle's absence at my Lord Blantyre's buriall; a poor man, well away: His ladie thereafter being long bruited with a base fellow, kythed with child to him; whereof, to all our contentment, she died.

14. Thursday, the 6th of December, was our fourteenth Sessio. That day, many large and tedious treatises against the Books were read: We got all thanks for our labours. A resolution was taken to putt us all in print; but the multitude of our publike affaires that daylie since hes come thicker and thicker on our backs, hes invyed us that honour; and indeed there was many things in our pamphlets might not well have abidden the light, how well ever at the first reading they pleased men unacquaint with that kinde of studie. Always we cleared the minds of all about the nature of the Books and High Commision, and encouraged them with one mouth, to make the four sharp decrees, which ye fee in print, against the Service book, the booke of Canons and Ordination, and High Commision. These pieces are so vile, that none of our parties to this day hes ever minted to defend them, except by these parenthesies which they make the King in his Proclamations cast in for their commendation. I took it ever for one of our partie's greatest crymes, that they cast all burdens on the back of our sweet Prince yet, and themelves hes never endeavoured to
fatissifie as many of their challenges, either by maintaining them in reason, or confessing their errors by ingenuous repentance.

15. Fryday, the 7th of December, the Bifhop of Dunkeld (5) sent us in write his fimple fubmiflion. Many fpake for him, That he did not approve the late courfes of the Bifhops; that he had admitted fundrie minifters without the band of conformitie; that he did not deferve the cenfure of thefe who declyned the Affemblie. My Lord Lindefay that day urged vehementlie the deposition of Mr. G. Halyburton minister of Craill; yet when we perceaved that the maine thing alleaged againft him was bot meddling with the church-boxe, and negligence in counting for it, and that the chief quarrell was his late transportation to the great benefice of Craill, againft my Lord Lindefay’s will, the patron of it, we would not gratifie any man’s humorous fpleen, but referred the tryall of that procede to the prebytrie of St. Andrewes; showing that we thought the man’s negligence in counting, being yet helped by refounding, of some moneyes, needed not be fo odiouslie exaggerat with the name of facriledge as it was. Alfo a grievous libell of Arminianifme was given in on Mr. James Affleck, in the prebytrie of Dundee. The man cleared himfelf to us of all, bot fome quirks in the second article; the gentlemen, who underwent not well, thought every thing here capitall herefie. The man feemed caprichious; in fome things too fimple, in other too fiele: at laft, after much privie conference, and publick agitation, he gave, as I think, fatification to all.

Hereafter the Bifhops cenfures came thick upon us: we were fashed to goe through with them all, the breach of all the Caveats. Galloway (6) was the firfl: befyde common faults, he was proven to have preached Arminianifme; to have had in his chamber a crucifix, and fpoken for the comfortable ufe he found into it; to have indicted two anniverfarie fafts in his diocefe, and acted in his fynod a communion for his minifters at all his posterior fynods: he was found to have depofed minifters, fyned and confyned gentlemen, for unconformitie, embraced excommunicate papiſts, and profefed more love to them than puritans; to have condemned exercife of prayer in his familie; to have prophaned the Sabbath-day by buying horfe, doing any of his civill affairs openlie on it. Before the voyeering there was fome reafoning about the nature of fummur excommunication. The

(6) Thomas Sydeserf, Bifhop of Galloway. He was the only Bifhop who survived to see the restoration of Episcopacy under Charles the Second.
Moderator, Mr. David Dickson, Mr. David Dogliament, and Mr. Andrew Cant, were for the lawfullnes of it; Mr. Andrew Ramsay and others were against it; but the most agreed that the present excommunication of the Bishops, was not summar. Excommunication seemed to me so terrible a sentence, and that obdlinacie, the formall cause of it, required admonition, and some delay of time after the clofure of the proceed, that I voyced him to be depofed, but not prefentlie excommunicat. In this I was followed by some fyve or six, but the reft went on to prefent excommunication. St. Andrewes(7) lybell was, he was proven guilty, befyde his common faults, of ordinare profaning of the Sabbath, carding and dyceing in tyme of divine service, ryding through the countrey the whole day, tippling and drinking in taverns till midnight, falsfying with his hand the acts of Aberdeen Assemblie, lyeing and felandering our old Assemblies and Covenant in his wicked book: It was undertaken to prove, before a committee, near to the place where the witnefs hes lived, his adulterie, inceft, facriledge and frequent simonie. He was depofed, and decreed prefentlie to be excommunicat. The Bishop of Breechin(8) followed: he was proven guilty of fundrie acts of moft vile drunkennees; alfo a woman and child brought before us, that made his adulterie very probable; alfo his ufeing of maffie crucifixes in his chamber. The man was repute to be univerfallic unsaftous for many crymes; yet fuch was his impudence, that, it was faid, he was readie to have compeared before us for his justification; but was stayed by the Marqueis, left his compearrance should have been taken for an acknowledgement of the judicatorie. I remained that night in my negative voyce, that no Bifhop should be excommunicat till they had gotten more tyme to declare their contempt of publick admonition from the pulpit of Edinburgh and their Cathedrall: yet confidering better of their declinature, I fand it an obstinat avowing of extrem contempt; and fo to-morrow I professed of my recalling of my yesterdays voyce, and went with the reft in a prefent excommunicating of all the declyning Bishops.

16. Saturday, the 8th of December, our prime noblemen, Argyle, Rothes, and fome other, fand it needfull to poft in to Edinburgh; for the Commissioner, with the counfellors of his fyde, was faid to be in hatching of proclamations and declara-


(8) Dr. Walter Whyteford. He died in England in 1643.
tions against us, which behooved to be protefted against; also the Toun of Edinburgh flood in need to be supported with the presence of fome of our chief nobles, againft the continual terrors and allurements whereby their minds, yet weak, were oft affaulted by his Grace's emiflaries. Before their departure, they were defervative to fee that whereupon manie dayes they had fpent privie labours, to be ended by the Assemblie in publiff. That which was moft fpoken of, as the talk and intention of Argyle's committee before named, was the agreeing and making one of the two Covenants that was fubferyved by us, and the other by the Counfell. I had fome hopes that it had been their mynd to have found out fome expedients to have made a reconciliation somewhat agreeable to both parties: bot as the Marqueis, by the longfome labours of Balquanquall and others, rann to the one extreame of his declaration of the King's under- standing of his Covenant, fhowing that none might fubferyve, but with ane expref intention of maintaining Epifcopacie, as a part of our church policie, eftablih'd by our lawes, and warrant'd by our Covenant; fo our Committee, by the toylfome labours of the Clerk, Catherwood, and others, was induced to pronounce, that all kinde of Epifcopacie to be fo farr oppofed to that Covenant, that the fubfcription of the one wes ever the reall abjuration of the other. How farr my poore fould hes been perplexed with thefe two irreconciliable extreamey, my breast is conscious; manie a forrowfull day I have had fince, and am like to have moe. In the mean tyme, I knew little what either of the two was hatching: had I been on their secrets, I would have offered the extreame diligence of my poor indeavours, for the withdrawing of both from that rigour whence there can be no return for either without violence or difgrace: and standing to their peremptorie conclusions, all agreeance in that poynit is made desperat.

That morning, a little after eight, my Lord Rothes fent for me to his lodging. I fand there Mr. A. Ramfay fent for like- ways: From us two wes expected moft oppofition to the future conclusion. My Lord, and the Moderator with him, fhow us, that the question of Epifcopacie that day was to be handled. According to my fashion, I was plain, that I thought that office neceffarlie to be removed out of our Church for ever; for great inconvenienties it had ever brought to our Church, and ftil was moft like, limitate as men could beft: bot withall, I did heartlie wihe, that in the act of removeall of it, no claufe might be putt
which might oblige us in conscience to count that for wicked and unlawfull in itself, which the whole Reformed churches this day, and, so far as I know, all the famous and clafick divines that ever put pen to paper, either of old or late, did abide of unlawfullnes. The Moderator, in his answer, seemed not to deny what I alledged of the judgement of churches and divines, but said, that possiblie our Church had obleiged herself to reject Epifcopacie more straitlie then any other. The tyme straited us, we might not enter in reafoning: my Lord and the Moderator seemed not carefull about any thing, but the firme removall of that state from our Church; as for the fafhioning of the queftion and act, they defyled us to forme it as we thought meet. Mr. Andrew was fullie in my minde: as they directed, he fert down prefentlie into wryte his minde sharpie enough againft the office itself, as a thing which for manie caufes was necelarie to be removed, bot being to preach to-morrow, did not [that] day compear, to my grief; onlie fent his paper to the Moderator, which was publicklie read as his voyce.

So soon as we were fett in fynod, my Lord Weemes show us, that our Bifhop of Glasgow(9) had fent for him, on old acquaintance, and intreated him to deal for favour towards him; telling, that he was prefied againft his heart, by the Commiffioner and Bifhop of Roffe, to fubferyve the declinature. Upon this we fent to him fundrie to move him to paffe from the declinature by write, and submit himself simpie to the Asfemblie’s deter- mination. He seemed oft not farre from this courfe; yet as his promifed penfion of fuye thoufand pound Sterling had moved him to run fo forwardlie on any ungracious actions for keeping court-favour, fo the hope of keeping his rent dureing life, and fear of prefent povertie, made him to be obblinate in his fault and heartles refufecall to submit, and patient to undergoe that fentence of excommunication, which for fome dayes he seemed to abhorre with much feare and trembling. Since that tyme, he hes lived vereic privatlie, miktent by all, and putt well near to Adamfone’s miferie: had not peace fhortlie come, his wants had been extreme; and without pitie from manie, or great relief from any hand we know.

After Weemes’s motion, Argyle made the nift propofition, of the great expediencie to clear the doubts, which were now grown

(9) Patrick Lindsey, Archbifhop of Glasgow. He was preferred to the Episcopal See of Ross in 1613, and was translated to Glasgow in 1633. Vide infra, page 163.
frequent, about subscription of the Covenant; that he and others had subferyved, at the King's command, the covenant, for doctrine and discipline, as they were underfoold in the [15]80 year, at the covenant's firft updrawing; that some did alleage Epis
copacie was a part of our discipline then avowed, others that then it was defavowed; that the Asfemblie, the fittest judge of that controverfie, would doe well to putt away these doubts by giving out the true meaning of the Covenant in that queftioned point. This motion was thought reafonable: fo for clearing the mindes of all, the Clerk brought forth a large feroll, as the la bour of the committee for the Covenant, confifting of three parts: 1. Of reafones showing the necelfitie to clear the fense of the Covenant in the [15]80 year; Next, a number of paflages of our Generall Asfemblies from the [15]76 to the [15]96, and of our booke of Discipline condemning Epifcopacie; Thirdly, anfwer to fome objections. After the reading of all thir at leasure, the queftion was formed about the abjuration of all kind of Epifcopacie, in fuch tearnas, as I profeffe I did not well, in the tyme, underland, and thought them fo cunninglie intricat, that hardlie could I give any anfwer, either ita or non. To make any publick difputt I thought it not safe, being myfelf alone, and fearing, above all evills, to be the occafion of any division, which was our certain wrack. The fardeft I aimed at was, in voyceing, to declare Shortly my minde: fo when all men were called to propone what doubts they had, before the voyceing, I, with all the rest, was as dumb as a fihn: When it came to my name, manie eyes were fixed on me, expefting fome oppofition; but all I faid was, That according to the exprefse words of the Asfemblie 1580, 1581, Epifcopacie was to be diftinguifhed: Epis
copacie as ufed and taken in the Church of Scotland, I thought to be removed; yea, that it was a Popifh error, againft scripture and antiquitie, and fo then abjured; but Epifcopacie simpliediter, fuch as was in the ancient church, and in our church dureing Knox's dayes, in the perfon of the Superintendents, it was, for manie reafons, to be removed, but not abjured in our Confefsion of Faith. This Argyle, and Lowdon, and many, took out of my mouth, as not ill faid, and nothing againft their minde, who fpake not of Epifcopacie simpliediter, but in our own Church, whether or not it had been condemned at the tyme of the Covenant's firft subscription. I replyed no more; but if I had considered the Moderator's flating of the quef tion, as now it flands in print, I would have faid, without any
hesitation, as my voyce, that it did seeme to me to be Πολύχρωμη, conflifting at leafe of three much different questions, all which required diverse answers. Bot now I will not enter in that discourse: ye see, in my treatise, my minde anent Episcopacie to the full, whereto yet I stand. In voyceing, many to the number of fiftie and above, as fome who curioullie remarked, did avow removed Episcopacie, bot faid nought of their abjuration: yea fundrie of prime men there yet will avow that they never thought all Episcopacie abjured in our Church, notwithstanding all was taken for abjurers and removers by the Clerke; and that very juftlie, for anfwering affirmative to one part of the question, and negative to none, they ought to be taken as affirming the whole; yea not one when the question of abjuringe come over againe, as it did twyce thereafter, would be plaine; bot all was content bot poor I, to be counted abjurers. If any man, for any reſpect, did difemble his judgment, his own heart knows, I will judge no man. That day was closed with heartie thanksgiving for fo great an harmonie in a matter of high confecuence, where no small difcrepance was feared.

17. Mononday, the 10th of December, was our feventeenth Seffion. Here at once was I put in new troubles: the Articles of Perth were put on foot: a large paper read againft them all, proved them to be againſt our old Covenant, and fo abjured. The fubfance of this paper, as alfo that other of Episcopacie, ye have it in the printed act; nothing here to count of bot what Catherwood long agoe had printed, and we were willing to have anwered when ever challenged. I pitied much to fee men take advantage of the tyme to caft their own confclusions in Assembleie acts, though with the extream disgrace or danger of manie their brethren. The queſtion was flated very cunninglie, as ye may fee in the act alone about the removeall of thefe Articles out of our church; yea, the Moderator openlie profefsed, that they were to burthen no man’s confcience, to pronounce thefe things idolatrous or superflitious, as fome esteemed them, neither did he touch the praftice of any other churches, bot left them to be judged by their own matter. For all this, considering the reafons brought in the paper, alfo the words which the Mo.derator put in the queſtion “to be removed, by the Confeflion of Faith,” I prefentlie faw the fnare; and however I was reſolved to difpute none, yet before the voyceing, I did openlie complaine of the queſtion’s flateing, that to afk, If Perth Articles were to be removed according to our Confeflion, which
was conceived by way of oath and covenant with God, was all one, as if to fｐeｉr, If they were truelie abjured before, and all who had defended them fenced, were truelie perjured; which was a very hard matter for manie to grant. The Moderator, a most grave and wise man, yet naturallie somewhat terned, took me up a little accurttie, shewing I might draw the question so strait as I pleafed, yet he had not flated it fo: however give my voyce. When it came to me, I faid no more; bot at once I was found no miftaker; for Mr. Alexander Carfe, and after him almost all, anfwered the question, Abjured, and removed; and fo, fra moe was voyced than propone, the conclusion by the Moderator was juiflie made Abjured, and removed; to whom no man was noted oppofite bot myself: for here I faw no place for diftinction as before in Epifcopacie; and fo, without any hesitation, I voyced to be Removed now, bot never before abjured. I was verie loath to make any jarr in the Synod’s sweet harmonie, yet I behooke to follow the freedome of my minde; whereof I have not yet repented, and for the which I have yet been taxed of none, bot my ingenuitie by the chief oppofites more commended than the diffimulation of fome others, who by their privie diffcourfes oft fince gives occafion to think that the papers they then had read, had not drawn their mindes fo fullie from their old perfwafions, publicklie verie oft preached, as to confede their error, yea perjurie; at leift, their open and avowed, and long continued violation of the Nation’s oath and Covenant.

That day there was a worthie motion made by that learned and noble gentleman, Oldbarr,(1) That as we had removed manie abufes and corruptions, fo it were good to make positive conclusions for good order and discipline in tyme coming. Prefentlie there was a committee ordained to fitt in my Lord Balmerinoch’s chamber, for receaving overtures of all kinds from all who were pleafed to propone, and drawing them to short heads to be propone to the synod, and enacted, if they were found expedient. The overtures I gave in ye may fee at (G.) Manie gave in both by word and write; bot withall the committee took a very good courfe: they searched in our old Assemblies, if any acts had been made for these things we did now require; they fand, that for the moft part good provifions had been made; fo that it was needles to make any of new: thir old acts were, after fome daies, publicklie read, and for the moft approven to be inftert in this Assembly, as renewed to their

(1) James Lyon of Auldbar, in Forfarshire.
old lyfe and strength, whereof oblivion and defuetude had long spoiled them. Thir ye see flanding in print, for very good ufses, if well observed.

This day we put fundrie of the Bishops through our hands. Edinburgh,(2) beyde common faults of breaking the caveats, was proven to have been a prefier of all the late novations, a urger of the liturgie, a refuer to admitt any to the miniftrie who would not first take the order of a preaching deacon, a bower to the altar, a wearer of the rochet, a confecrator of churches, a domineir of prebytries, a licenfer of marriages without bands to the great hurt of fundrie, a countenancer of corrupt doctrine preached in Edinburgh, an elevater of the elements at con- fecration, a defender of ubiquitie in his book,(3) page 142. He hes there, ye may see, somewhat favouring that way; which I marvelled oft was not remarked by his oppofites; for thefe pages flood twentie years untouched by any that I heard off, till I poynted at them to our prebytrie about a year agoe. The man was conceaved to be very worldlie of late. A little before our uproaeres for the liturgie, I had occasion to fee him, and to be witnefs, to his ordination in the chappell of a prefbyter: I liked much the worfe ever thereafter both of him and that fervice: I did never fee a more graceles order, than he from his book, and thefe minifters about him, who could act thefe plays beft, did ufe. I saw the man ydlie bitter, and made no bones of swearing and curfeing; he profefled his negleét of lecture; and in that I found him above all expectaation poore: my estimation of that man before figh was great, but after, juft nought. We pronounced him to be depofed and excommunicat. It hes proven true of him, which I heard long agoe of his houfe, that it hes a fate to fpew out the owners of it; fo it did Gawrie, Lifthgow, Airth, and others before him. The next that came to be fen- tenced was Aberdeen(4). His proper faults were great felanders of frequent simonie; that though he was removed from the

(2) Dr. David Lyndesay, of the family of Edzell in Angus, was translated from the See of Brechin to Edinburgh in 1634. He died in England a few years after he was depofed and excommunicated.

(3) Bishop Lyndesay's "True Narration of all the passages of the proceed- ings in the Generall Assembly, &c. holden at Perth the 25th of August 1618." Lond. 1621, 4to.

(4) Adam Bellenden was translated from the See of Dunblane to Aberdeen in 1635. He died in England a few years after he was excommunicated by the Assembly.
Chappell-royall(4) to Aberdeen, as one who did not favour well enough Canterbury's new ways, yet he had been found [as forward] as any to preside the Canons and Liturgie; that he suspended ministers for fasting on Sundays; that he inacted in his synods, without voyceing, publick fastings to be kepted on Wednesday onlie; confecrat the chappell of ane infamous woman, the Ladie Wardhous; stayd at his pleasure proceedes against papits and incensfull persons. He had not subscrivèd the declinature, as was thought, for lacke of no good will, bot onlie through distance of place the wryte in tyme could not be conveyed to him. That defect in his proceffe was supplied by the Moderator, with a discours of his singularlie malicious apostacie; that he had been a man, by appearance, bot too zealous against bishops, and all their coursè, fo that his vehemencie, beyond the grounds of any reason, he knew did offend his wife and learned neighbor Mr. Patrick Simpfon. We decreed him to be excommunicat. My Lord of Roffie(5) did follow: his proceffe was no ways perfect; the long legend of his erroneous doctrines was cleane omitted. It was committed to Durie(6) to search for witnesse of a number of errors which all knew he gloried to preach even in Edinburgh; but Durie's information came not in tyme: however it was proven, that two yeares agoe he was a publick reader in his houfe and cathedrall of the English liturgie; that he was a bower at the altar, a weaver of the cope and rochett, a deposer of godly ministers, ane admittter of fornicators, a companier with papits, ane ufuall carder on Sonday: yea, instead of going to thanksgiving on a communion-day, that he called for cards to play at The beaft; had often given abolution, confecrat deacons, robbed his vaſsalls of above fourtie thousand merks, kepted fafts ilk Fryday, journeyed uſuallie on Sonday, had been a chief declyner of the Aſſemblie, and a prime instrument of all troubles both of Church and State. Of his excommunication no man made question.

Mr. James Forfythe boore up the Bishops traine that day:

(4) As Bishop of Dunblane, Bellenden was Dean of the Chapel-Royal when Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, was in Edinburgh with Charles the First, in 1633.

(5) Dr. John Maxwell, after his excommunication, retired to England. He afterwards obtained preferment from King Charles, first as Bishop of Killala in Ireland, and in August 1645, as Archbishop of Tuam; but he did not long survive, as he died 14th February 1646.

(6) Alexander Gibson, younger of Durie, afterwards knighted, and one of the Senators of the College of Justice.
his bill carried fundrie foule like faults, whereof they say he might have cleared himself for the most part; but it was his humor to be a declyner of the Assembly, and for no request of friends would passe therefra. He was accused of reading ane inhibition for the teynds against his people on the first communion-day, at the table end, betwixt sermon and celebration; for teaching the lawfulness of the bowing at the name of Jesus; that our Covenant was seditious, treasonable, jehuitick; that who kneeled not got no good at the communion; he gave moneyes at his entrie for his place; he strocke a beggar on the Sabbath-day: a number of such things was lybelled, and urged hotelie against him. The Moderator, and others, for his sifter's fake, had a great minde to have delayed him; but no man speaking for him, he was depofed. I repented of my silence; but the reason of it was, both my loathnes to be heard ofter in one day to contradict the whole synod, as also my feare and fulpition of farder ills in the youth than yet was spoken of: for latelie having been at his house, with other his most respectfull friends, to give him our belf advyce, not only with high diffaine did he reject all our counfellers, but fell at everie passe bitterlie to defend all that was in our books; yea, whatever we could alledge that the Canterburian faction had printed of Arminianisme and Poperie, he either defended it, or flighted as much as any I ever spake with: this sudden change in the youth, who, for all his love to the guyfes of England, yet I had known ever before to be passionatlie against all Arminianisme and doctrinall innovations, stopped my mouth, that neither then nor since durft I deall for him till I was more affur'd of his orthodoxie. I fand his great companions, Mr. John Rae and Mr. Patrick Maxwell, that fame way inclined, to my great grief; yea, the evil reward I have gotten for my diligence in obtaining favour to Mr. John Corbett, one of that fraternitie, and, as I thought, the far molt modest among them, makes me the leffe grieved for my silence; for that man, having gotten latelie to Ireland, hes print-ed a molt poor and short, but one of the molt venomous and bitter pamphlets (8) againft us all, that could come from the hand of our molt furious and enraged enemie.

18. On Tuesday, the 11th of December, was our eighteenth Session. Orkny's (?) proceed came first before us: he was a

(8) "The Ungirding of the Scottish Armour. &c." Dublin, 1639, 4to.
(?) George Graham, of Gorthie, was translated from the See of Dunblane to Orkney in 1615. Keith mentions that after Bishop Graham had sub-
curler on the ice on the Sabbath-day; a letter of tacks to his fones and goodfones, for the prejudice of the church; he over-faw adulterie, sighted charming, neglected preaching, and doing of any good there; held portions of minifters stipends for building his cathedrall: yet for his millyke of thir late novations, and letter of submiflion to the synod, he was only depofed, and ordained, under the paine of excommunication, to give tokens of repentance against fuch a day. Murray(1) had all the ordinar faults of a bishop; befyde his boldnefs to be the firft who put on his fleeves in Edinburgh, did make manie urge his excommunication; bot becaufe he was not formallie summoned, the Moderator, with some piece of violence, keepe him from that sentence; and when fome objected publicklie his partialitie, he affured he had no reafon, for of all the Bifhops he had been to him moft injurious. I allented the more willinglie to the Moderator's lenitie in this, hoping to have obtained to poor Glalgow the lyke favour; which he inchantlie craved, bot all in vaine. A fourteen dayes agoe Mr. H. Rollock did excommunicat Murray, and that, as I think, in the Great Church, to performe. as he faid, the man's own prophefie, who faid in that place, he would be yet more vile to pleafe the King. There was objected againft him, bot, as I fufpect, not fufficientlie proven, his countenancing of a vile dance of naked people in his own houffe, and of women going barefooted in pilgrimage not far from his dwelling. Glalgow's (2) dittie was, befyde common faults, inacting at his own hands, in his provincill synods, the practife of the book of Canons; the urgeing, under paine of horning, the practife of the Service-books: the exacting from all the minifterie of his diocefe twenty fhillings off the chalder of viettual for his charges at Court; the denying to the minifterie of Glalgow his own fiareas, and dwangling them in their stipends; the selling of commiufarios: that he was a grievous oppreffor of his vaullals, discharged all expectants to preach till they had subscryved idle oaths of his own invention. He was depofed, and ordained to be excommunicat, mitted to the Assembly and renounced Epifcopacy, Dr. Baron was preferred to the vacant See, but was never consecrated.

(1) John Guthrie, Bishop of Moray. After his deposition, he lived at Spynie Castle till 1640, and after its surrender, he retired to his paternal estate of Guthrie, in Angus.

(2) Patrick Lindsay, Archibishop of Glalgow, was a cadet of the family of Edzell, in Angus. He had previously been Bishop of Ross; and after his de- position he retired to England, and died at Newcastle, in 1641.
except he prevened the sentence by satisfaction. Argyle (5) came next to hand: he seemed as worthy of censure as any; in his small tyme he had shewn good will to goe the wroth wayes of the faction, far contrarie to the opinion that all men had of his orthodoxie and honestie: he was ane urger of the wicked oath on intrants, ane obtruder of the Liturgie upon them, ane oppreffer of his vaillalls, a preacher of Arminianisme, a prophaner of the Sabbath, and beginner to doe all that Canterbury could have wished. If a bishoprick be so unhappie ane inchantment, let it never more come in my good friend’s hand. Against Isles (1) nothing was lybelled but the breach of the caveats; yet both were sentenced with deposition prefent, and excommunication against such a day, without tokens of repentance.

There was joyned for convoy that day to the Bishops some miniflers: our old comrad Mr. John Makmath receaved a part of the fruit of his too great societie with Medirs. Sincerff, Maxwell, and Monteith. His processe before the prebytrie was produced; where it was proven he had taught all Arminianisme; alfo of prayer for the dead, invocation of faints, Christ’s locall decent to hell, damnation of children without baptism, regeneration ex opere operato by baptism, his obligation to fay maffe if King Charles commanded, his difdayne to come near the prebytrie. For thir and the lyke, the prebytrie’s sentence of deposition was ratified by us. Mr. Francis Hervie, for his erecting of ane altar with railes at his own hand, for his drinking and carling on the Sonday, his marrying without proclamation our Bifhop’s fon with Blantyre’s daughter, was referred to the committee of Edinburgh; who, I think, did depofe him. A processe of adultery againft Mr. Francis Knoalls (3), was referred to the prebytrie. Bot of all our monfrous fellows, Mr. Thomas Forreffer at Melros, was the first, compofed of contraries, superflition, and profanitie: he was accused of avowing, that faid fervice was better than preaching, that preaching was no part of God’s effentiall worship, that all prayers should be read off books; he made his altar and rayles himself, flood within and reached the elements to thife who kneeld without; he

(5) James Fairly, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, was consecrated Bishop of Argyle, on the 15th of July 1637. Having been deposed from his Episcopal functions, he was afterwards appointed minister of Lasswade, Mid-Lothian.

(1) Neill Campbell, Bishop of the Isles, was preferred to that See in 1634.

(3) Mr. Christopher Knowes, in the Presbytery of Chirnside. (MS. Diary.)
avowed Christ's preference there, but whether sacramentallie, or by way of consubstantiation or transubstantiation, he witt not, but thought it a curiostitie to disput it; he maintained Christ's univerfall redemption, and all that was in our Service-book was good: yet he used to fitt at preaching and prayer, baptize in his own house, make a way through the church itself for his kine and sheep, made a waggon of the old communion table to lead his peets in; that to make the Sabboth a morall precept was to Judaize; that it was lawfull to work on it; he caused lead his corns on it; that our Confession of Faith was faithles, onlie ane abjuratation of manie things better than thef we swore to; he keaped no thanksgiving after communion; affirmed our Reformed to have brought more damage to the Church in one age, than the Pope and his faction had done in a thousand years. This monifter was jufflie depofed. We were brought to this poynt, that a man might have done what he would, without possibilitie of reftraint, if he had been fullie Epifcopall: bot the Lord be bleffed, that hes looked on our oppreffion, and hes made the Bifhops wickednes a remeif for ifelf, and a potion to bring a clear purgation of our whole Church.

19. December the 12th, on Wednesday, was our nineteenth Session. Here we ended our toyfome labours of the Bifhops proceflles: the laft two were Dunkell (6) and Caithnefs. (7) Both had fimpie submitted themselves to the fynod, and requested to be continued in the office of the minifterie: this their fubmiifion did obtain them favour; otherways there was truelie allaged against them the common faults, and als foule pranks of simonie and avarice as any of the former. There fell in here long difputts and fpacularions, which I did not understand, of the neceftitie to depofe every man fimpliciter from his office of the minifterie, who had not a place, or was to be transported for his fault from a place. Alwayes Dunkell, on the performance of his promised fatisfaction, was continued in his minifterie at Semi-dores [St. Madoes]: and Caithnefs was to be re-admitted minifter to any place he could purchase on the fame condition. Mr.

(6) Alexander Lindesay of Evelick, Bishop of Dunkeld. Having abjured Episcopacy, he was depofed from his office as Bishop, but was continued as Minister of St. Madoes.

(7) John Abernethy, Minister of Jedburgh, and Bishop of Caithness. Keith seems not to have been aware, that Dr. Robert Hamilton, although never consecrated, was preferred to the See of Caithness, upon Abernethy's renunciation. Vide supra, p. 153.
James Cunninghame, wearie of his patron my Lord Drumfreife his injuries, and not able to undergoe his wonted labours in his spacious paroche, required libertie to transport where he might have the occasion: this was granted; bot to his small profit. It was thought, he was furthered to make this motion, by his hopes to obtain the more large paroche, bot more profitable, of Paflcy or Hamilton: and readilie he might have been made welcome to either; bot his too evident defyre to be at them, and from his own people, has made his own to difguft him, and thefe to have no great feaft of him. The fame was the imprudence of another right wife brother, Mr. D. Doglithe: his feeking of the Asfemblie’s libertie to transport, hes laid on him yet a neceflitie to byde still greater then he had before; for Paflcy, and other places whereat he aimed, tried in the Asfemblie fome qualities, mixt with the man’s learning, and excellent facultie both of preaching and reafoning off hand, for which they are altogether unwilling to have him their minifter; fo true it is in all fuiters, Sequentem fugimus, fugientem jequimur. This last I was like to have found, had not God given me fome good from my former bitterness. I was like, fore against my flomack, to have been drawn to Edinburgh, and my noble patron’s credit was not able to shelter me from their violence; bot behold, fo foone as my voyce about Epifcopacie and Perth Articles came to their eares, I have become a foure plumb, a hatcher of fome herefie in my breache, for which they will taste me no more: yea, if I be yet troubled to go to places for which I have no capacitie, as I am like to be, this is my targe, and mayne hope to brooke fill my prefent happinefs, that a man who cannot affent to the churches chief acts, may not be put in ane eminente place. I live now by favour and mercy in private: my toleration in a more publicke view were dangerous for the publicke safetie: ye fie, Aliquijije male fuit ujus in illo.

The fears we had of the Marqueis victualling of Edinburgh Caffe, made us defyre to fee the Asfemblie at anf short end; fo, without farder delay, we decreed to pronounce the fentence of the Bihops depofition and excommunication to-morrow after fermon by the Moderator, in the fame church. Evill will had he to undertake preaching on fo short advertifement: yet there was no remeide; all laid it upon him.

20. Thursday, the 13th of December, was our twentieth Seflion. Bot before noon, to a great multitude, the Moderator had a good and learned fermon on the 1st verfe of the 110th Pfalm,
"The Lord said to my Lord, sitt thou at my right hand till I make thine enemies thy footstool." Thereafter, in a very dreadfull and grave manner, he pronounced their sentences as ye have them in print. My heart was filled with admiration of the power and justice of God, who can bring down the highest, and pour shame on them, even in this world, fuddenlie, by a means allutterlie unexpected, who will fin against him proudlie with a uplifted hand; and withall, I heartlie pitied thefe who were excommunicat, remembering the great gifts of some, and eminent places of all; whence their ambition and avarice had pulled them down to the dunghill of contempt. We have many arguments daylie, to work out our salvation with fear and trembling, to be very lowlie, and to defire to pass over our lyffe in obfcurite, that so we may efchew many fnares of the devill, and occasiones of shamefull ruine.

I did forgett Dumblane's (*) proceffe: though he did not subfcryve the declinature, neither was personallie summoned, having fled before to England; yet was he excommunicat, as one who had been a speciall instrument of all our mifchifes, having corrupted with Arminianifme diverfe with his discourses and lectures in St. Andrewes; whole errors and perverfnes kythes this day in all the nooks of the kingdome, having been a speciall penner, præctifer, urger of our books, and all novations: a man sitt in the Chappell to be a hand to Canterburie in all his intentions. What drunkenenes, swearing, or other crymes was lybelled, I do not remember.

Mr. William Annan's proceffe came in that day: I pitied him much: the man, in my minde, had exceeding great gifts; bot prophancenes, and a resolut opposition to all things he counted puritanisme, did fpoyle all. His dittie was, That in a common head, De invocatione sanctorum, he had maintained faints daves; he had preached in a fynod a defence of our Liturgie, with many invectives against conceaved prayers; he was frequentlie drunk, and ane ordinarie swearer; that he deferted his flock above eight moneths. He was by all depofed. It is strange to fee that man's unhappines: he subfcryved our Covenant; his people, and we all, had he been contant, were ready to have done him much pleasure. After his retraeting, he befell fo benumed, that he hes ever since, fo farr as I can hear, been near to ane irrefolute fa-

(*) James Wedderburn, Professor of Divinity at St. Andrews, was preferred in 1636 to the See of Dunblane, and the Deanry of the Chapel Royal. He died in England, in 1639.
tuitie in all his actions, farr from all his old vivacitie. Mr. Thomas Mackenzie, archdean of Rolfe, was also depofed for many foull crymes. Dr. Scrymgeour, my old commerad, had been fufpended by the presbytrie for reading of service, preffing conformitie, preaching too grosficke necelftic of baptifie, fornication since his minitrie, drunkennes, playing at cards on Sunday. He gave in a humble confession and fupplication to the Asfemblie : we did all pitie him, and the Moderator, his neighbour, was his singular friend ; yet Newton,\(^2\) Rothes's uncle, was exceeding peremptory to have him depofed ; for he faw no other possibilitie to be quyte of him ; for without a prefent {termi}nas ad quem, the synod gave no actual transportiation ; and fo a man who fand not a prefent place, behooved to be depofed, for we would hear of no miniftier without a place : yet at lafte Newton was contented to referr his depo{fition to the Presbytrie. Dr. Hamilton's proceflie was clofed that day, and he depofed with one voyce.

21. Fryday, the 14th of December, was fpent on things more private. A new commiffioner from Caithnes was receeved : upon his regrate for layk of expenes in fo farre one way, ane act was made for fupplying the commiffioner's charges. Wigton, according to his promife to Montrofe, compeared, and fhew his minde in fubferying the Covenant in the Counfell, and promised contancie in the prefent doctrine and discipline. One Shepherd, a miniftier about Dundie, came in that day, as the other one Rollock minifter at Dunce, confessing their fault and ignorance in fubferyving the Asfemblie's declinature, and intreated they might gett leave to putt out their own names. It was granted them, on affurance of their publick repentance for this fault. The commiffioners of Edinburgh and Dundie protesfted, that this favour might be no preparative for their minifters. St. Andrewes complaint againft Dr. Wifhart, who had deferted them for manie moneths, was heard : their fupplication also, that they might have Mr. A. Henderfone for their miniftier. Here Edinburgh protesfted, that he was their electet miniftier. The contet betwixt Edinburgh and St. Andrewes was great for two or three dayes : the man himzelf was verie unwilling to remove anywhere, yet fra there was no possibilitie of ftaying where he was, he inclyned much rather to St. Andrewes then Edinburgh ; at laft, after much conteff, some few more voyces carried him to Edinburgh. Mr. R.

\(^2\) Hon. Sir John Lesley of Newton, a younger son of Andrew, fourth Earl of Rothes, and ancestor of the fifth and subsequent Lords Lindores.
Hamilton's processe of Lismahagoe was produced by their presbytrie, and his answeres to it, wherein he anwered satifactorilie almost to all: bot Mr. W. Livingston's spleen against him was great; and he had it not for nought. The Aisemblie defryed t fo hear him: He came within a day or two. They putting [him] t passy from the declinature, and subserying the Covenant, I was sett to confer with him: he seemed to draw near us; yet ere he would come clean over, he would see the event. He spake fo to the Aisemblie, that they gave him tyme to advye till the Committe. When that came, he did, I suspet, compair: however, they depofed him: yet fuch was his headines, that he would mifregard their sentence, as before he had the presbytrie's, and, notwithstanding, preach on still, till the fields grew a little fouler; when he fled to England, with others. His neighbour, Mr. John Lindsay of Carluke, being over ihott in debt, had long agoe fled to Ireland, and fo deferted his flock: his place was declared vacand; Mr. Nerne's alof of Carmichael, for he was overtaken with ane incurable phrensie. Mr. John Lindsay of Carstairs was depofed in our next Synodall aiemblie at Glagow: fo that faction, which had holden Lanerick presbytrie thir years bygone in continuall vexation, was clean defeat. Some part of the printed overtures this day were agreed on.

22. Saturday the 15th of December, order was taken, as ye fee in print, for Provincall synods; the perrons and tymes named for the Committees of Edinburgh. St. Andrewes, Dundie, Irvine, Jedburgh, Forres, and Kirkudbright. Dr. Panter's processe referred to the committee of St. Andrewes: the provision of his place, as of all places of the King's presentation, the Aisemblie [not] to meddle into it till afterwards. Mr. John Lundie, professor of Humanity, gave in a supplication for a visitation of the Old Colledge of Aberdeen; that while as the Parliament 1597, and Aisemblie proceeding, had granted them power to rectifie their old foundation, yet their Bishop had destroyed that new rectification, and urged on them, for consuming of their rents, chantries, prebendries, prefeions of the Canon law, according to their old Pophit foundation, by vertue of his place of Chancellour. My Lord Balmerinoch protestted, for his enteres, that Bishop Elphinston's first foundation shoul not be altered: when Lundie, the Universitie's commissioneer, replyed, That they required no other alteration than of Pophit offices opposed to the Reformed religion, which their Bishop of new had posed on them. Both Balmerinoch and all did consent to that
The petitioners there was betwixt Skelmurrie and Mr. Thomas Mure minister of Cumrey, Mr. Patrick Stewart and the Sheriff of Bute, which was referred to our committee at Irvine.

23. Monday, the 17th of December, was our twenty-third session. Many things this day went through hand, as indeed in this longsome affemblie, no day passed without dispatch of manie business. I was drawn out, at the beginning of the affemblie, by Mr. Robert Wilkie, to conferr with Lifmalagoe: this was by God's providence; for the first thing done that day was the reading of the former acts in forme, and craving of assent to them as they stood. If I had been within, I could not but have repeated my contradiction to the acts of Episcopacie and Perth articles, to no purpose, but my own trouble. Also the good old acts were read, as the committee of the [Overtures] had put them in forme, and approved; but the pitie is, that our fearers and affaires since hes been soe manie, that we have had no leasure to think of their execution. The town of Dundee gave in a supplication for the person of Belhelvie to be their minister; and Mr. John Bell elder, for the transportation of Mr. David Dickson to be his helper. The town of Edinburgh protested, That their priviledge to choose of all the ministrs whom they would, should not by such supplications be infringed. The matter of Mr. David was much toiled; we had gotten in all this affair much fatherie by the town of Glasgow's backwardnes: the main cause of this was ascriued to the disposition of their clergy; the belt, yea, the only remead we knew off, was the placing Mr. David among them: though no place did vaile, yet there was privat weell-willers who did obleidge themselves for a stipend to him till a place shoulde vaile. My Lord of Eglinton was exceeding averse from his transportation: I, for our Presbytrie, who was not acquaint with the motion, did speake against it, and prepared the Reafons ye fee at (H.) to give in to the Affemblie; but there was a committee ordained to hear the parties, Argyle, Montrose, and others, to whom, by tongue, I delivered the substance of these reasones. My Lord of Eglinton also shew, with passion, his senfe of his own damage in that man's transportation. By this means the motion was cruished: yet the great appearance that Edinburgh hes to spoyle us of him, and the great need Glasgow and that part of the countrey hes of his labour, hes made both him and us somewhat more inclynable to his transportation to Glasgow, than we were at that tyme.
The spleen of manie against the Principal in the Assembly was great: for manie passages of his carrying in this affair, especiallie the last two; his stubberyving that which we affirmed, and he denied, to be a protestation against elders, and fo our Assembly, consisting of them, and ministers elected by their voyces; also his deferting of the Assembly ever since the Commissioner's departure, upon the pretence that his commissiion being once caft, because it was foure, the electors would not meet againe to give him or any other a new commission: everie other day some one or other, nobleman, or gentleman, or minister, was calling that Doctor Strang (should be summoned; but by the diligence of his good freinds it was still shifted, and at last by this means close put by. We decreed ane viifation of the Collidge, by Argyle, Eglintoun, Montrose, Lowdon, Blair, Keir, Provost of Glasgow, Stirling, Irvine, Mr. Ja. Boner, Mr. R. Blair, Mr. David Dick, Mr. James Sharp, Mr. George Young, myself, and some others, to the which we would have all matters concerning that Universitie referred: this viifation to be kepted at my Lord Argyle's advertisement. This long was a terrible wand above their head, divers of them feared deposition; but the most of us who were on it were their good freinds and had power with the rest: We had no other intention but to admonish and requiteit them to doe dutie; albeit we had power to goe far farder; and withall, by their own content, to have established a Professour of Divinitie among them, for now they had meanes enough for one; Rutherford was named; but they and we both intended Mr. D. Dickson: yet other great affairs hes taken all their tymne, and thir thoughts are caft by till our eflate be settled. There was a lift taken up of ministers deposed for conformitie, and expectants holden out for that caute, that of those regard might be had in the first place; also a roll was made of all able expectants, that we might know who were to be had for the multitude of places that shortlie were like to vaike.

Tuesday the 18th of December, the places was appointed for receiving Bishops who should be penitent. There was much advyfement about order taking with Papists excommunicat; yet apprehension of them for prifon, as law provided, was at this tymne not thought expedient, lest it should give occasion to their desperat banding. Other printed overtures were agreed on. That frequent grievance of Edinburgh and Glasgow’s mercatt on Monday, to the unavoydable profanation of the Sabboth, was drawne near a good poyn: for, as I thought, Edinburgh com-
missioner said, that they obtained the King's leave to change that mercat-day, which shortlie they were minded to doe: yet it is not done. Doctor Guild was commended for his paynes in helping much to put down the Sondayes fishling in the north; yet the Moderator was scrupulous to make a new act for the simple discharge of it: but when Mr. John Robertson, who among us all was more skilled in our Affembrie acts, had found out ane old act of the Affembrie at Halyrudhoufe, 1602, for abolishing simplicie of all fishling and milling on the Sunday, he applauded gladlie to the renewing of it. Mr. James Affleck, after all the dealing of Rutherford and others with him, for his full purgation of Arminianifie, gave us in his minde in written Thefes, which made him more fuspicious then ever: When we posed him, if he would subferyve the acts of the Synod of Dort, he faid he had never feen them: We referred him to the committee of Dundee, ordaining him to subferyve the Synod of Dort's acts in thefe questions, or to be depofed; yet he offered willinglie to subferyve our Covenant, with the Affembrie's declaration. The Marqueis declaration having come some dayes before to the Affembrie's hand, there was a committee appointed for consideration of it, which presented this day their labours to us, shewing the impossibilitie to agree the Affembrie's declaration with the Commissioner's; for indeed they flood in terms extreamelie opposite; the one declaring, that by the Covenant Epifcopacie and Perth articles were sworn to be defended, the other, that by that Covenant both were abjured: the paper ye have at (I).

25. Wednesday, the 19th of December, was our penult feffion. In it a number of supplications for minifters to transport, and of people to have minifters transported to them; bot not one of thefe who required transportation. Mr. Andrew Cant was too eafilie (we thought) induced to be transported from Pitfliigo to Newbottle, as also Mr. James Sharpe and Mr. John Hamilton to fhow their obedience, at the parochiners defyre to the Affembrie, to be fett in Paftley, after Mr. Robert Dowglafs, Mr. James Hamilton, and I, peremptorilie had refused. I forgat my counf, the minifter of Paftley's preceede; he was the firft minifter we depofed: a number of uglie doctrines laid to his charge. I held of his sentence for some dayes; for I fand him, after his return from the Court of England, a much dejected man, and willing to clear himfelf of manie things laid to his charge; to confesse his errors, and be directed by the Affembrie for all tyme to come, on condition he might brook his place; bot when no aflurance could
be made of his continuance in Pafley, in regard of the parochi-
ners great, and univerfall, and moft juft diflyke, he did not com-
peir at all: fo sentence went againft him in all was alleadged. 
Since, he hes lurked, and carried himself farr more cannilie then 
any of that fyde; yet without any remorfe for any error, as if in 
any doctrine he had truelie finned. There fell, in this day, a 
moft pitifull conteft: the toun of St. Andrewes supplicat for Mr. 
Robert Blair to be their minifter; the toun of Aire, with tears, 
deprecaet that oppreflion: Mr. Robert himfelf moft earneftlie 
opposed it; for befile the great burden would fall on him in 
that toun, and the fatall unhappines of that miniftrie, he was as 
farr engaged in affection with Aire, by the fuccefs of his miniftrie, 
and the largenes of their charities, as any minifter could be: 
yet St. Andrewes earneftnes, and the noblemen of Fyfe their 
importunitie, the publick good in provyding that seminarie toun 
with a good man, militated much againft the proveft John 
Stewart's teares, and Mr. Robert's prayers: It was referred to 
a committee that night in my chamber, Caffils, Lindefay, the 
Moderator, and a number of other noblemen and minifters. 
However, my heart pitied much the cafe, (and if it went through, 
it was a moft dangerous preparative to rent any man from the 
flock his foul was bound to, and others to him, to be fastened to 
the unhappie people of our great tounes,) yet I could not bot 
teftifie my old experience of Mr. Blair's great dexteritie; yea 
greater than any man I know living, to infinuate the fear of God 
in the hearts of young schollars. This my testimonie, out of 
experience, furthered much, both that night in the committee, 
and the morne in the Affemblie, the man's tranfortation. It 
went hardlie; for the pitifull complaints of John Stewart, crave-
ing at leift a delay till Aire might be acquainted with this motion, 
and prepared to give in their reaons against it, did move manie, 
yet not the half; fo the fame Affemblie pleafed and greived ex-
ceedinglie that toun by taking from them at once two minifters: 
yet they have kepted till Mr. Blair, almoft by force; elfe, how 
unwilling forever, he had gone away, for he makes conscience to 
obey the Affemblie in all their commandements. 
That day, after some reafoning, ane act was made, which ye 
fee in print, against the civil power of churchmen, and of their 
inacapitie of any place in Parliament; to which I heartilie, 
without any scruple, did confedect: yet we appointed a number 
of minifters and young noblemen and barrons, not commifioners 
for Parliament, to wait on the next Parliament, as the Affem-
ble's agents, to petition in the name of the Church, a number of things, wherein I with them good speed. A draught of a supplication from the Assemblie to the King, was present'd and approven, and to-morrow an act made for the perfection, and presenting of it. The thing that among others did offend the King, as was said, in that excellentie well-penned supplication, was the subferrying of it by the hand of none of our Nobles, but onlie the Moderator and the Clerk: yet this was bot like all the rest, a meer mistaking in our Prince; for our Assemblie acts are subferrved by no meie hands: and these two alone are better than a thousand others; for all others are bot for themselves, bot yond two represants all in law and reason.

26. This was our laft day, Thursday, 20th of December; a blyth day to all, onlie to me in one thing sorrowfull. Having foreseen yester-day that this day the naill would be called to the head, a ground would be laid of great dispute and needle's trouble by ane ordinance to subferrve needlelie the one part of our long disputes; to witt, that all Epifcopacie and the Articles of Perth were abjured in our Confession of Faith the [15]80 year of God, I would have gladlie, without dinn, have had thes evills preveened, which then I thought I forefaw. The night before the Committee mett in my chamber, I could that night get none study'd; to-morrow, at seven hours, I had a meeting with Argyle and Eglinton, for a busines of a dear friend; onlie after in the morning, I drew up, by way of letter to the Clerk, my mynde, to be communicat with the Moderator and my Lord Lowdon, as ye may see at (K.): This they could not have tyme to confider; onlie, I think, for my motion's caufe, my Lord Lowdon, in the act of subferrveying the Covenant with the Assemblie's declaration, caufed put in expresslie, that these onlie should be required to subferrve of new, who had not before subferrved: yet this was to me bot a cold comfort, to goe free myself, and others to be opprefled who were in my minde. In voyceing of this act, whereunto all did yeild, I was readie to have diflented; which, for my good allanerie, left I alone shou'd so oft be found contradicting the synod, my Lord Lowdon preveened, by moveing the Clerk paffe by my name in calling the catalogue. This paffage, some parts of it, came to Balquanquall's eares, by some of his buffie fleas, who were still creeping among us; which presfentlie he related to the King, difguised

(1) The letter addressed to Johnstone of Wariston, which is here referred to, is printed immediately after this, at page 177.
with a number of untruths: yea that unhappie man, to prove thankful to his late patron, my Lord of Canterburie, for his laft great benefice, hes made the King believe, upon his trust, and putt in print in his own name, in a large book in folio of 430 pages, a number of fillie fables, invented for our difgrace; which, I think, long ere now his Majeftie knows to be much otherways, and will fee to his honour, in taking order with these men's infinite and continued ingratitude, who will never ceafe to lay on the innocent back of our Prince, the burthen of all their crymes.

Diverfe other acts paffed that day; the chief whereof ye have in print. Our meaning in the act of printing is, to give to our Clerk the infpeétion alone of fuch treatifes as concerns the church refifters: howsoever, some words of the act founds farder; yet I thinke the youth understands no more; and if he did take ane univerfall superintendencie of our prefles, it would foone be remedied. We choyce our Clerk to be Advocat for the Church, and Mr. William Dogliife [Dalgleife] to be our Agent. We appointed our nixt Affemblie to be at Edinburgh. In the end, the Moderator acknowledged the great goodness of God and of the King; thanked much the town of Glasgow, and gave them a fair commendation for care and paynes to give the Affemblie all contentment; alfo my Lord of Argyle, for the comfort of his affiiftance from the beginning to the end. Mr. John Row took up the 133d Pfalme, and the blesfing being faid, we all departed with great comfort; with humble joy cafting ourfelf and our poor church in the arms of our good God.

Thir things I have drawn up for your ufe and contentment, at my leifure, coming from Dunce-hill: fo I hope I have defrayed that debt long agoe contracted by promife, if fo be thir papers come to your hands. Diſpenfe with the evill wryte; readilie ye may like better my own evill hand than the better hand of another. Thir are for yourfelf alone; for the putting of them abroad might work me prejudice; but I doubt nought of your difcretion, elfe I would be loath fo oft to truft yow with my greaftef secrets.

Yours,

[Robert Baillie.]

(?) The King's "Large Declaration," &c. Vide page 140, note 3.
(2) From this it appears that Baillie's account of the Assembly at Glasgow was written in June 1639.
For the Right Worshipfull his assured Freind, Mr. Archibald Johnston, Clerk to the Generall Assemblie. (1)

Deare and loving Brother, [December 20th, 1638].

Old acquaintance maketh me bold to impart to yow my meditation this morning. Ye, among many, have been witnes of my heartie affent to all the determinations of this synod, from the beginning to this last day, save onlie to a pairt of two, concerning Epifcopacie, and the Articles of Perth: that all thir ought to be removed out of our Church for ever, as things which, by lamentable experience, we have found so hurtfull thir years bygone, and so apparentlie dangerous for tyme to come, I did never question; onlie my fear was, that the Acts of their removeall should be conceaved in such terms, and grounded on such reafons, which could not be frugeryed by manie, who were in these things of that judgement. Ye know thir my feares, oft I did communicat to fundrie whose hand seemed to be among the chief in the synod, but I was ever by all made secure that no such thing should be, that no such thing was ever intended: yet now it is otherways fallen forth; the lawfulnefs of Epifcopacie, and of thefe unhappie Articles, were, in the voteing of these acts, exprefslie denied to be called in quefion; for all that, the voyces of thehoufe did inferre that confulion, and, as I thought, somewhat more, the Abjuration of all thefe by our Church, and that of old by the verie Confeflion of Faith. I thought enough for me, in my publick voyeeing, to declare my minde; to make any long reafoning it was not expedient: I was alone in this oppofition; my reafons were not prepared, for I did not expect the agitation of these quefions; I was put in hope, that in the framing of the Acts, ere they were booked, a temper might be used for the fatisfaftion of these scrupulous minde, as mine was; and, however, while the common enemie was greedilie gaping for all occasions of difcord among us, I resolved, for my part, to contend for nothing, but in all modestie to tell my minde where I differeed, without difputation; especiallie being put in full hope, that thir synodick confulions should never be prefled on our confidences; that our fubfcription to them, under the great pains of deposition and excommunication, should never be required. Bot now,

(1) This letter is referred to by Baillie, at page 175, in his account of the Assembly at Glasgow.
while the Confession of Faith is to be given out with an explanation, containing the Abjuration, as it is conceived in our synodick Act, what either to say or to do I cannot tell! Who ever in any tyme hereafter will refuse to subf cryve the Confession of Faith, as it is now sett down, will be lyable to the lyest pains the Church can inflict. No man can subf cryve a write simplicie without limitation, as every Confession must be subf cryved, wherein there is any the least clause which crosses his minde. While ye put in the Confession of Faith that our Church did abjure all other Episcopacie bot that of Saint Paul's, and all the five Articles of Perth, what shall become of us who are perswaded in our mindes, for all that we have yet heard, that some Episcopacie divers from that of St. Paul's, to wit, that of the confant Moderator in the Ancient, and of the Superintendents in the Reformed church, was never abjured by our Church; that, however in 1580 year Episcopacie, as it was commonly use and taken, be condemned, as having no warrand in the word of God, and Episcopacie, as this day used and taken in the Church of Scotland and England, and defended in our Prelates late declinature, yea, in the Commissioner his Grace's declaration, be to be condemned as popish, and contrare to God's word, and directlie repugnant to our Confession; yet all other Episcopacie than St. Paul's, as our Act speaks, seemes to us not onlie not unlawfull, but also never condemned by any church, albeit rejected by diverse churches, and ours among the rest, as a policie inexpedient for them. It is one thing to passe by a policie as inexpedient, and another to abjure it as contrare to some article of the Confession of Faith. This same we think of Perth Articles: the reasones of our judgement ye have no tyme to take now, nor we to give them. Onlie I humble supplicat yow, in the name of God, that ye would consider advyfedlie with the Moderator and my Lord Lowdon at leift, Whether it be expedient at this tyme to conclude a subscripition of the Confession of Faith with the abjuration of Episcopacie and Perth Articles, as is expressed in the synodick Act? If ye make such a conclusion, in my poore judgement, ye lay a ground to keep these unhappie disputations on foot in our Church for ever, which we hoped might have for ever hereafter been buried; ye lay on yourself a neceffitie of perfeecting manie a good man, whose minde will not be able to agree to that conclusion, at this time verie needleslie; ye will make a division for the strengthening of the common enemie, who is watching for all our distractions. In thir my feares, God
grant I may be found idle and foolish: however, I give you a tyrannous warning, with assurance to carry myself, doe what ye will, so quietlie as ye can withe any man in the world of my judgement. I rest your Brother.

To Mr. David Dickson.

Reverend and Beloved Brother, 21st of July, 1639.

I do not keep this dayes tryst; (2) thinking that my Lord Boyd will be east, as I see the letter to the Noblemen preffes all to be, if he be there, I wish ye confirme him in the great equitie of paying all his teynds there to the publick, without seeking any tuck: his teynds, and almost the rest, is undervalued the full half; the viccarage, which might well pay a thousand pound, is put to nothing: if he require two or three chalders in tuck, and the rest doe so proportionallie, there will be no good gotten there; if he will for God's caufe let that small commoditie fall, the rest will doe the like, all would be well. If Rowalland would take back his money, with the annualrent, we might soon perfwade Mr. Michael to give it: two year, or three years rent at moft, which are all now bygone, would pay him to the full, so all would goe well; for Kilmarnock, might be established ten chalders victual, for his helper f耶ve, for his schoolmater one, for the new kirk feven, for the schooll of it one, for the hospitall the four hundereth merks of viccarage. If ye would move young Rowalland to make his father agree to take his own, ye might make my Lord Boyd, I doubt not, doe a noble turn for that poor people, and his own honour, without great losse. My Lord Montgomerye tells me, that Glasgow was earnest with his father and him for your removeall; after I proponed to him some considerations, I made him halfe to consent off hand: I think there will be few rubbs on that hand.

I find my putting off the Commiffion (6) somewhat disgracefull in many mouths; but I hope to learn to take in good part disgraces, when I am acquainted with them. I forefaw it, and laid it out before God before the election, and resolved, that the burden of

(2) This evidently alludes to a meeting of Presbytery, or of some Committee to settle the stipend of the newly erected parish of Fenwick or New-Kilmarnock. Of the persons mentioned, 'Rowalland' means Sir William Mure of Rowallane, 'young Rowalland,' his son, Sir William Mure younger, and 'Mr. Michael,' Michael Wallace, minister of Kilmarnock. (6) As a Member of the General Assembly to be held at Edinburgh, in August 1639.
it would be leffe to my minde, than to have been on the commissioun against that privie article, which, I conceive, was framed for me alone; for no other of all the old commissiouns needed to be changed for no subfcrvying of the Assemblie’s declaration, bot I only. I know I have furthered in the last Assemblie, and evir before, since my entrie in the ministrie to this day, the good of our Church to my power: I am conscious of my constant affection to our caufe, to the loffe of my life, without any hinke: I am willing in God’s fight, with a quiet minde, to be removed at this [time] from any publick employment, since your Instructions did fo command, and ye were fo willing; and the voyces of our meeting did fo think meet: only I befeech yow be constant in your promise, which ye have repeted to me oft in the name of God, (not for reſpect to me, or any other, but for the justice ye profelie ye fand in my propofition.) the serious agenting in the next Generall Assemblie of two Acts: One of obligation of all hes paft in our controverfies of discipline to this day; fo that all honest brethren, who are moft willing in practife to live according to the present discipline, without any endeavour fo long as they live to make the leit change therein, may incur no trouble fo long as they live to make the leit change therein, may incur no trouble for their thoughts and tenets of the lawfullnes of some Epifcopacie and the Articles of Perth, which they are perfwaded not to be unlawfull, not to be againft God’s word, or abjured by our church, or any church: Nixt, an act, that intrants in their oat, or rather an advertance that in the oath of intrants, (if the Assemblie make any,) there be no clagg to trouble their conscience about their judgement in thefe controverfies of discipline. If God blefs yow in these endeavours. I will take yow for a bleffed and happie instrument to our Church. If for any new emergent, ye be diverted from this labour, or if Satan or imprudent men doe croffe your paines, when they are employed to the full, I will be a man full of forrow and discouragement; still expecting that thefe who gives now commandments to hold off the Assemblie thofe who will not subfcrive the late Assemblie’s declaration, and command to putt all to this subscription, will not fail to put me one day, and some hundreds with me, who I know are never like from their heart to subfcrive it, to fome trouble, and readilie, which is farr worfe, our Church to needleſ: difquiet; which easilie may be avoyded, if ye fett your heart quicklie, as ye promised, to obtain in your nixt Assemblie, thefe your happie Overtures. This much, by purpoſe, hes dropped from my pen, for the caufe of my somewhat perplexed minde. I am more afraid for our inward division, from the feed cast in that Declaration, than for the King’s fword, and the utter-
moft of our inragèd Prelats' malice. The Lord be with,yow. Sunday, at night, 21st July 1639.

Your Brother,

[ROBERT BAILLIE.]

It was written in answer to this Letter as followes:

As for these Overtures, whereof you and I have been speaking, it is in my heart to indeavour them to the uttermost of my power; and I hope in God to see them effectuate. This is from your loveing Brother,

[DAVID DICKSON.]

[To the Earl of Lowdoun.]

MY VERIE GOOD LORD, [July 1639.]

I would have been loath to have impeded your Lordship with any of my motions at this tyme, of strait and full of great affaires, had not your Lordship's more nor ordinart facilite in hearing me, at all tymes, invited, and the perplexitie of my burthened minde forced me, to speake out my present griefs to your Lordship; whom God must either move to help them, or else they must lie on still, for any relief I expect to them, in haste, from any other instrument. My knowledge of the deep foresight of the great equitie, and, where need is, compassionatenesfs of your Lordship's minde; also of that well deservd authoritie which your Lordship hes this day in our kirk, and singular dexterity, by wifdome and diligence, to obtaine in our Assembly all your just defyres, though never so great difficulties shoule call themselues at the beginning in the way; my full understanding of thir your Lordship's endowments, puts me in hopes to get my griefs eafed, my feares removed, my perplexitie remeeded, by your Lordship's endeavours. If herein I be disappointed, the rest of my confidence is alone in the God of truth and justice, who useth to hear the sighs of thofe who are caufeslie opprefed, that he, in due tyme, will not faill to remeid thofe evills, which, it feares me, too foone the unjust rigour of some, and careles inadvertance of manie others, will bring on our poore Church.

Your Lordship cannot forget, at the first forming of our late Covenant, your happie care at my motion to caufe help and change these clauſes in it that feemes to import the absolute condemnation of Perth Articles, and the office it fell of Bifhops. All then required was, the reference of these things to a free generall Assembly; any defigne or hope to have gotten down Bifhops altogether did appear
in no man, to my knowledge, at that tyme; these few who then harboured such intentions in their breast did dispaire, in haste, to obtain the consent of the most part to any such proposition; yea, it was thought unfeasable, to set on foot then the removeall of any thing established by law, while we did pursuе our partie, the Bishops, mainelie for their incroaching upon us against the standing lawes of the kingdome. Your Lordship was well content with my subscription of the Covenant, with my open profession of the lawfulness of Perth Articles and of some Episcopacie; yea, the meeting of the brethren did authorize me to publish, in wryte, the compatibilitie of the Covenant as then it stood, with the grounds of these who were, as they wont to speake, conforme in judgement; and this my declaration, so authorized, was not unprofitable for the gaining to our fyle manie of the brethren, who otherwise were verie like to have started farr away.

Notwithstanding, when it came to the Assemblie, it was not onlie concluded of Episcopacie as used and taken in the Kirk of Scotland, but absoluletie of all Episcopacie whatsoever, different from the paflor of one onlie congregation, and of all the fyve Articles of Perth, that all thir were not onlie to be removed out of our kirk, but had been trulie abjured by our kirk in the Confession of Faith the year [15]80 and [15]90; yea it was ordained, that all subscription to the Covenant in tyme cominge shoulde be in this fene; and that, expresslie declared in formall words. And howsoever your Lordship was so good as to cause put in a claue in that Act which did fave me from danger, and all others who before had subfertyved; nevertheless against that express exception, directions has been latelie given, and punctuallie observed in Lothian, Perth, Fyffe, Galloway, and manie other thires, for requiring a new subscription, with that full declaration; so that manie who before did subfertyve were forced to it againe, and some for the refuall of that declaration alone has been depofed from their ministrue, and yet stands so, as I am informed: So that no man now remaines secure, but that against both the words and the minde of that Assemblie act he may, when his neighbours will, be put to a new subscription, and that, as it semes with verie good and inevitable reaſon: for if that declaration be trulie such a materiall part of the Covenant that none can be admitted hereafter to subfertyve the one without the other, what can we say for our refuall of it, which, in equiſite, may not be rejected with difdaigne? how can we require of others that which our self, without trouble of minde, cannot gett performed?

Here then, it is, where we find ourselves pitifully enſnares, and
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wishes that our snare were broken by some happie hand. We will not diffutt the truth of the Assemblie's conclusion; albeit we must professe, that we have seen to this day no reaon inclining our mind to think that our Kirk in the 1580 yeir did abjure the Articles of Perth, and all kinde of Episcopacie, even that of the ancient kirk, and of our own superintendents, as contrare to any article of her Confeffion of Faith; bot this now being concluded, we defyre not againe it should be called in qefition; onlie suppone us here to err, yet it would be considered if this our error be truelie before God of such a weight, that for it alone, and for no other challenge at all, a number of pure minifters, who, to their knowledge, hies served God faithfullie in their calling, deferves to be caft out of their places; yea that fundrie, perhaps, of the nobilitie and gent-rie, let be burgefles and commons, who, without diffimulation, in the fear of God, may be forced to fpeak out their minde one day, somewhat contrare to that declaration; that even thefe, for this onlie cause, ought to be caft out of the Kirk, and excom municat as enemies, not onlie to some acts of our Assemblie, bot unto the verie Confeffion of Faith, and Covenant of our kirk with God.

This rigorous feveritie is fallen out farr by the expectation of my weak and blind minde; I did never fear, when I had concurred to the uttermoft of my power, to the down-putting of all Episcopacie in our kirk, and the utter abolition of Perth Articles, when I had ventured in this caufe my foul, my life, my meane eftate, as farr as any; yet because I did differ from my brether in one onlie argument which infers our conclufion, agreeing fullie with them in the conclufion itself; for I remove as firmalie as any, and that upon arguments anew, all thefe things out of our Church for ever, albeit I be not yet fatified of our Church's old abjuration; I did never expect, that for this fole and onlie caufe, ane Act should be sett above my head, or the head of any other, importing no lesse than the merit of deposition and excommunication. I with then it were yet thought upon, if it be juft and reasonable, that numbers of us onlie, because we cannot believe that Perth Articles, and all kinde of Episcopacie, was abjured by our kirk at the first forming of her short Confeffion of Faith, bot are moft willing to binde ourselves by any oath, or any other band that can be invented to oppofe, to our dying day, the bringing back in our kirk any of Perth Articles, or any imaginable kinde of Episcopacie; consider, I fay, if above the heads of men fo disposed, there ought to fland Acts which makes us cenfurable, when any of our evill-willers pleafes, by
all the paines whereunto anti-covenanter are now lyable, or may hereafter be made subjedt.

By what way any securitie can be made for our securitie, so long as the fore-named Act of the late Assemblie stands in force, I doe not see. Notwithstanding, the shortnes of my fight lets me not tyne hope; bot that your Lordship's piercinge eye may at once fall upon some expedient, for the invention whereof manie of us shall blefs your Lordship, as the most happie instrument of the quietnes both of our mindes and eflates: yet, if it fall out so, that no reall means can be found out to put us in safetie, we resolve to refle in the Providence of God: If hereafter, manie a faithfull minister, with his wife and children, be undone; if questions which now might well have been gotten buried for ever, shall be racked up againe out of their grave, for the renting of our kirk; let these whole unymous rigour hes at leift some part of the wyte anfwer it in the day of doome.

By this piece of paper, I have been bold to hold your Lordship in minde of my humble and verie earnest defyre, that ye would be pleazed to think on the finding out of some Overture for putting manie of our mindes to refle: readie the act I have here subjoyned, or one like it in subftance and purpofe, might help all; but this I remitt to your Lordship's wilflome, and, however it goe, finds myfelf much oblided to remaine, for manie former favours, a fupplicant to God my master for your Lordhip's wellfare.

[Robert Baillie.]

[To Mr. William Spang.]

Coosin,  

[September 28th, 1639.]  

Ye have here the ref of my papers concerning the Assemblie of Glagow: alfo ye will find about yow ane letter of mine of the 12th of Februar, giving yow ane account of our affaires till that tyme. The accidents of our land, thir feven moneths bygone, hes been verie manie, and verie strange: I doubt if the providence of God feltering a poor Church from imminent ruine, with a power, wifdome, goodnes, clearlie divine, hes ever in any land thynd fo brightlie as in ours these daves: the hand of our God hes now well near led us all down from the flage of extreme danger, that we may all go about, in our old securitie, everie one his own neglected affaires, with a mutuall amitie, and a moft univerfull joy. Our Prince is brought off fo well as may be, and much more ho-
nourablie than any could have dreamed, from the pursuine the revenge of inraged churchmen, who would neither endure to amend their crymes, nor suffer the cenflure of their obfbinacie. Our State is secured from the wrath of our mifinformed Prince, from the arms of our neighbour kingdoms, and a ftrong faction among ourfelfe. Our Church has gotten a full purgation, and hes caft forth freelie all the corruptions that did infect either doctrine or discipline. We are put in poiffion of Generall Atfembles and Parliaments according to our minde; the foveryagne medicines against the sudden return of fuch mortall diseaes amongst us. The Canterburyian faction in our land, which, with full failes, was hayling us all away to Rome for our religion, to Constantiopole for our policie; who was not carefull much to cover their intention to have our Church prefentlie populi, and our State flavilh, alone that they themfelves might have their defyred honour, wealth, pleafure, whatever difpleafure thereby could come to God, or difgrace to their prince, or ruine to their countrey; that faction is now broken, lying in the pitt of fhame and povertie in a ftrange land, pitted by none, helped by verie few, and that bot in fuch a meafure, as to their proud and prodigall flomachs, brings rather ane increafe of byting and tormenting difdaine, than any sweetnefs of a prefent relief, or ground to expect a redrefs to their miferies in any following tyme. We, by the favour of our God, and grace of our King, are put in fuch a condition, that thefe of our neighbours who in all Europe were beholding the theatre of our Ifle thir bygone years, with the eye of compaffionat pitie, and ane heart afraid, not with the farr prognoffications, bot the iminent appearances of our woefull calamities, or elfe, according to their contrare interefte, were gazing with ane eye kindled with ane overjoying hope to fee the long-envyed prosperitie of our happie Iflands change to thefe confusions that might open a fair port to carry in the chariot of their great goddeffe on earth, the Pope, and catholick King, to reign in our Church and State, and, by this new acreff of inspire, be much furthered in erecting that fifh Monarchie, which the Jefuits hes been long hatching for their darling the Spanifh King, had not the puritanick Calvinitis, especiallie in Britain, laid hitherto fome flraes in their way; thefe our neighbours, I fay, will now reap the fruit of their former affections, either, by their fweet congratulations, to partake in our prefent rejoyceing in our God, and humble thankfivings to our King, or elfe, by turning their back and hydeinge their face, being confounded at the breakneck of their expectations, bitterlie to regrate the return of our peace,
their antient eye-fore, and maine ground of desperation ever to gett
the armes of their impyre an inch enlarged; yea, to be amazed
with feares, leffe the evanishing of their belt devyfed plotts here
into wind and reik, be a divine prefage of the downfall of all their
cunning contrivements over fea, and of the redemption of the
churches abroad from that oppreッション wherewith their tyrannous
feet has long trode them down.

The several pieces of this heavenlie work, which God hes begun
and perfected by the noble spirits of manie brave men among us,
fitted excellentlie with gifts correspondent to the extraordinarie
exigents of the tymes, I wish ye had them well defceryved: they
could serve our friend for verie good purpose, to be materials for
his Latine ftorie,(?) wherein I hope he will go on; not onlie because
that Declaration will be a full apologie to flop the mouth of all his
cumminators, and a certain meane to procure to him the readie
patrocinie of the belft in this land, to anfwer ever for him, and that
hotelie, against all who would hereafter, for any bygone miftakes,
move their tongue against his fame; but especially, because the con-
tinuance of that difcourfe would be a good office towards his native
country, to which he is tyed, both because he hes begun, and is
well approven for his labour, and is tollerable well furnifhed with
all parts needfull for that taitke. I hall be glad for my part to
fend to yow, for his ufc, all the Information comes to my hands.

The secret wheels whereupon this work hes runn, are all within
the curtain where the like of me winnes not. I hear that these who
hes been prime workers hes lykewise been diligent wrytters of all
the proceedings: their Commentars, when they come to the pub-
llick view, I perfuade my self, will give great contentment to all
minds who are inclined towards a laudable curiositie to underland
and behold all the ftirings of that muntoure; that seeing the motion
go on by the counter-palling of fo manie small wheels, everie one
running on their own axe, he may be ravished with the strength
of the firt mover, and delighted with the fight of the skill of the
great engyner, whose hand hes framed the firt great wheel, and
hes fett all together with fuch a mutuall dependance, that the
whole multitude of all their counter-motions works together for no
other end than to bring the palme about to thefe precife lynes

(?) Notwithstanding the mode in which Baillie speaks of "our friend," he evi-
dently refers to Spang himself; and his "Latine Storie," might be the work en-
titled "Rerum nuper in Regno Scotiae gestarum Historia," &c. Dantisei, 1641,
12mo. This work, which is usually attributed to Spang, was founded at least
upon Baillie's communications to his Cousin.
which the artificers wills at fuch tymes to be pointed at: Bot, in the meantime, the world of common witts, who are contented to behold the outside, without deeper inquirie, caring for no more than in their way to look up to the hand upon the houre, being impatient to interrupt their private adoes by any laborious search into the caufes of the motion, and wayes how publick affaires has been carried through; the moft of the world consisting of fuch fimple and blunt fpirits, muft not be disappointed. Bot while our noble agents gett leaflure from the importunitie of their laborious actions, which yet is not ended, to give a fight of their wraytings(8), wherein to fuch noble mindes as their own, they may be pleafed to give a view of all the convoy of this great affair; I with our friend were going on in his plain, short and fimple way, to let strangers over fea, behold that face of matters, which the blindeft among us hes feen this while bygone, and much admired. For his service and better furtherance, I fhall goe on where I left with thefe paflages, which now comes to my minde. Ye fhall have them in that shape that they were prefented to the eye of us, the common people, and in that order wherein they fland in a very weak me-morie, some moneths after their paffing by.

The Supplication which we decreed in the Assemblie of Glafgow to be fent to the King, could hardly be gotten prefented. How-fover, manie would have ventured to have gone with it, though their head shoulde have gone therefore; yet, understanding the increafe of the King's wrath, and the danger there was, even in peaceable tymes, for any subject to play the ambaffador or capitulator with the Prince, when he did not call for, or his Councill did not fend up, which, by law, and his declared will, is appoynted to be his onlie informer in high poynets of flate; after hearing oft words from court of great fpyte againft the very lyves of moft of our nobles, gentrie, miniftrie, who were able to agent our bufinefs; it was resolved, that none of note or parts, fhould go up, without greater affurance for their returne, than could for that tyme be

(8) One of the "noble agents," and "prime workers," alluded to in this passage, was no doubt John Earl of Rothes, who appears to have contemplated writing a detailed narrative of public affaires at this period. We know, at least, that along with materials apparently collected for the purpose of continuing the work, his Lordship left behind him "A true Relation of Proceedings concerning the Affairs of the Kirk of Scotland," extending from August 1637 to July 1638. This Historical Relation was published for the first time, (as a contribution from James Nairne, Esq. to the Members of the Bannatyne Club,) at Edinburgh, in 1630. 4to.
expected; and withall a gentleman of the Marqueis of Hamilton's acquaintance, Mr. George Winrhole, undertook, on all hazards, to deliver to the Marqueis the supplication; and upon his refufeal, to give it to the King himself. He was no worse than his word; as, indeed, some of our fair-undertaking flatemen thereafter did prove. He went to Court, flew to the Marqueis his cirand; his Grace acquainted the King; who was pleased that the supplication should be receaved; fo his Grace took it, and on his knee did read it to his Majestie in the Council. The beft anfwer then it got was, the Scottifh proverb, "When they have broken my head, they will put on my coule." However, the gentleman flayed many weeks for an anfwer, but receaved none. He did us good offices there; though his letters, which were like to be fighted, were full of great feares and English braggs, yet diverfe of his more fecret ones flew, fo long as he remained there, the true efflate of the Court, which was not very terrible.

We in the meane tyme went on with our affaires, held the committees appointed by the Assemblie: many minifter, who remained obfinate in feandalls, were depofed at Edinburgh, St. Andrewes, Dundie, Irwine, and elsewhere; how fufficie, the reports of thefe Committees diligence to the late Generall Assemblie at Edin-burgh, did declare; where, before the King's commiſsioner, all the depofed miniſters who pleafed were heard to plead, and all of them who kythed penitent for their mifdeemour were receaved.

The Counciell of England, after long advyſement, permitted the King, I would have faid, contented to the King's defyre, to enter in a courfe of warr againft us. The firft affurance we had of this conclusion, was the oath exacted of our nation at Court, of re-numeinge the Assemblie and our band, promifing alfo the King their full affiftance, when ever he required it, against us; the next was the King's letter, published for all the flyres the 26th of Januar,(A.) commanding all the nobles and gentrie of England to attend his royall fandard at York againſt the firſt of Apryle, where he was to goe to the border to oppofe the Scotts there, who were to invade England; and the third was the commiſsion, which the Marqueis of Hamilton's man caryed to the north, for the Mar-queis of Huntley to be lieutenant to the King in thefe parts, with great authoritie.

Thir alarmes put us out of all doubt of our enemies intention quicklie to fet upon us. Our firft care, was to fend in a true In-formation to England of all our purpofes: we had fome moneths before given to that nation account in print of all our former pro-
ceedings, to their good lykeing; we then, in a printed sheet or two, laboured to clear our selves of all flanders, especiallly of that vile calumnie of our intention to invade England, or to call off our dutifull obedience to our Prince. This piece, as was thought old Durie's hand chieflie, did us good service; for it fatified fo fullie the hearts of that nation, that our adverfaries, being extreamlie galled with our fucceffe, moved the King to make that pitifull Declaration (B.) of the 27th of Februar; where we are, contrare to all reafon and law, declared, in all the churches of England, the fouleft traitors and rebells that ever breathed. Bot at once we left nought by that moft injurious dealing; for our innocencie was fo well remonfrat in print, by thefe three or four moft daintie fheets of Mr. Henderfon's, that we, over all England, began to be much more pitied then before, and our inraged partie, the bishops, to be the more detefted.

Our nift care was, to have all our mindes cleared of the lawfulness of our defence. No man doubted more of this than my self; yea, at my subferyving of the Covenant, I did not difemble my contrare resolution; for I had drunken in, without examination, from my matter Cameron, in my youth, that flavish tenet, that all reftance to the Supreame Magiftrate, in anie cafe, was simplic unlawfull: bot fetting my self to diligent reading, and prayer for light in that queffion, which the tymes required peremptorilie to be determined, without delay, I fand many doubts loofed, especiallly by Bilfon, Grotius, Rivett, and the Doctors of Aberdeen, who were alleaged to be moft oppofed to that tenet. Being fullie cleared in my own minde, as my fation is, I held not long in my reflation. At our meeting in Edinburgh, being fo defyred, I gave out that fheet or two, which I gave yow, for which I got manie thanks, of the lawfulness of our Defence by armes. My Lord of Caflilis, who had drunken of the fame fountaine with me, by his oblinat refucaall to joyyn in anie courfe tending to a forcible reftance, did give great offence to vere manie: nothing was more hinderfull to us, than that gracious man's example, withdrawing from the refte on mere confience. When he was given over of all as defperate, I took him in hand, and left him not till at laft, by God's grace, he became as franche in the defence of his countrey, as any of his neighbours. Diverfe papers went then abroad upon this queffion, fome whereof was not voyd of fcandal; especiallly one of a prettie schollar, Mr. G[illefpie], but too rafh a youth in his determinations, if I conceave him right, in manie things. To helpe this inconvenient it was laid on Mr. Henderfon,
our best penman, to draw up somewhat for the common view. He did it somewhat against the hair, and more quicklie than his custom is; so it was not so satisfaction as his other wryts: for this cause, though read out of many pulpets, yet he would not let it go to the preffe: but one of our depofed minifters would eafe him of that expence. Mr. Corbett, to whom I had obtained favour in our committee at Irwine, and had moved him, under his hand, to passe from his declinature of the Generall Assembly and joyne in our Covenant in all things so far as I went myself; yet, upon some splene, as it feemes, or rather rashnes in some of his brethren of the Presbyterie of Dumbrittane, he is put to the subservying of the Assembly’s declaration, farr beyde our minde; which not being willing to doe, he flies away to Ireland; and there, to shew his repentance of what I had moved him to wryte, he will put himself in print, in the Deputie's (2) hand, in a refutation of Mr. Henderfon his instructions, with fo little manner, and so much spytefull venome, as no man would ever have conceaved to have been lurking in his heart againſt all our proceedings. We have thought him unworthy of a replie, and are content with our advantage, that my Lord Deputie permitts to go out under his patronage that desperat doctrine of absolute submifion to princes; that notwithstanding of all our laws, yet our whole estate may no more oppofe the prince’s deed, if he should play all the pranks of Nero, than the pooreft slave at Constantinople may refift the tyrannie of the Great Turk. We are confident, that our sweet Prince will not faill to doe justice upon all who countenances fuch tenets, that ftrykes at the root of his just and lawfull soveraignitie, if the tymes were fo peaceable that Parliaments could get, in a deduced proceffe, reprefented to his eye the state-undermyning plott of that faction.

When we had done diligence to informe our neighbours of England, and make fure the courages of all our friends at home, in the third place, we took courfe for a reall oppofition to our enemies. It was debated, If any help should be fough from strang-ers? The fardeft that was resolued, was to fend over one Colvine, (1) a gentleman of Fyfe, who should go by the States and Prince of

(2) Wentworth, Earl of Strafforde, Deputy and Lord Lieutenant of the Kingdom of Ireland.

(1) William Colvire or Colville. Lord Hailes published a letter from Colvire to Lord Balmerinoch, disapproving of the draught of the letter from the Scottish nobles to the King of France, and suggesting some alteration in his Instructions for this proposed mission. It is dated from “Cromy, the 30th of April 1639.”
Orange to the Court of France, as our agent, for informing, and re-
quiring, at most, the French King and States of Holland to inter-
ceed, by way of intreaty, with our King, that he might be pleased to hear our supplications; and one other, readilie Meldrum, to the Queen of Swaine [Sweden], by the King of Denmark, for this fame end. Bot all this was neglected; not so much as a manifesto was ever divulged to strangers by us; wherein wee were great fools, for it was much to our prejudice. Our partie failed not in all languages to poynst us out as desperat rebels; and so farre, by their calamities, prepostified the minds of forraigne princees, that the King of Denmark seased on our armes, and thought meet to break off with us the lawes of nations, at leeft of friendship; whereof he much repented, when he heard the true state of our affaires by Cochrane; but avowed we had justlie provoked him by our misregard to give him information as a neighbour prince in so publick ane exigent.

We were hopefull of powerfull assistance from abroad if we should have required it. France would not have failed to have embraced our protection. Holland and we were bot one in our caufe: They had been much irritate latelie by the King's affittance of the Spanziard. Denmark was not satified with manie of our prince's proceedings, and was much behind with the Crown of Brit-
tain, since his warr with the Emperor. Swaine was fullie ours to have granted us all the help they could spare from Germanie. Bot we resolved to make no use of any friendship abroad, till our case were more desperat than yet we took it. We still hoped to bring of our Prince by fair meanes, which had not been so easie if we had brought once forraigne forces within the Isle. We were hopefull, by the affittance of God, to make our partie good by our self alone. The affittance of Lutherans, let be of Papists, at this tyme, was, to our divines, a leaning to the rotten reed of Egypt; befyde our po-
vertie to give pay to a few number of strangers, and our old doole-
full experience of their intollerable inofiences where they came on their own charges to fight. Above all, a league with forraigners had made England of necefitie our partie; the evill in the world we most deelyned, and our adverfaries did most ayme at.

The leffe our designe was for help from abroad, our diligence was the greater to make good use of our meanes at home. There was established by common consent, to refide at Edinburgh con-
stantlie, a generall Committee of some noblemen, barons, and bur-
gelies; also in everie thyre, and whyles in everie presbyteire, a partic-
ular committee for the bounds, to give order for all militarie af-
faires, the raising of men, provision of armes, getting of monie with all diligence. To shew the wisdome and dexterity of this new foot, (2) see two of their first orders, (C.) wherein they take so good course for our whole land, as then was possible. Much help we got from good Generall Leslie, who fatt daylie with our general committees; his advice in giving of orders was much followed; we intended, to give unto him, when the tyme of need came, as we did, the charge of our Generallissimo, with the style of His Excellency; but for the present he was diligent, without any charge, to call home officers of his regiments, to send for powlder, mulkett, picks, canons; wherein, from Holland, Swaine, Germanie, we were prettie well answered.

It was in that meeting of March much agitat, If it were expedient to seafe on the places and persons of our countrey, wherein the great confidence of our enemies was placed, to work by them chieflie our ruine? It was not doubted but such prevention was most expedient for our safety; but much question there was about the lawfullness of beginning the course of violence on our part. It was concluded to attempt nothing till yet our affairs were more desperate; onlie order was given to levie with diligence two thousand foot in the shires besouth Tay, under Crowner Monroe’s command, and for their pay to take up from William Dick on the noblemen’s bond two hundred thousand merks, who should be diligentlie trained, that they might be a feminarie of fojours for the traving of the countreys, whence they were lifted, and lie on the south border, to join with the countrey there, against any incursion from England: bot above all, that we might have men on foot to hinder the gathering to ane head of any partie for the King in these Southland quarters. Also, a meeting was appointed by my Lord Argyle, first in Perth, with the noblemen and gentlemen of the North, for advyfement anent the securing of all these countreys, as farr as Sutherland, from any commotion among themselves, or invasion of other; thereafter in Lorne, with the Islesmen, to securitie of their loyaltie to our countrey at thir so dangerous tymes.

That man has proven, from the beginning to this day, a notable instrument for the managing of our high and difficult affaires. What his part was in the Assembleie, I shew you in the discourse thereof; since that tyme he has labored what lay in his witt for keeping our countrey in peace, both at home and abroad, being provoked to it by that sharpe man the Deputie of Ireland. He,

(2) Foot? In one of the MSS. the word is changed to Committee.
in some two or three well penned letters, justified our cause against
that man's acute and subtle challenges: by his letters to the King
and some of the prime courtiers, he gave a bold and a true account
of our Assembly's proceedings. When he was half called up to
Court by the King's letters, he excused his voyage through the
necessity of his Father's funerals. His faithfulness for his coun-
trie, and his resolution to joyne in the maintenance of it, was such,
that at last his servant in England was searched for his letters,
and himself discharged to keep his intended meeting at Perth;
yea, commanded either to come to Court, to answer for his nill-
carriages, or to goe to ward some of his own houses in Argyle.
The extreme danger, not onlie of our country, but of the King's
affaires and person, furthered, of necessity, by his removal from
the top of busineses, forced him to excuse his disobeidence to both
thir verie unreasonable commands. To the meeting at Perth he
invited his good brother Huntley, as being mainelie intended for
securing the peace of the North, wherein he had great intereit,
from the robberies of John du Gare, and James of Grant, and
other such outlaws: but the Marquess excused his absence by manie
shifts. That man has never been to this day faft or honest in anie
purpofe, neither in France, nor England, nor Scotland. At the
beginning of our proceedings he spake us fair; but long before
that tyme the Bishops had ingaged him for their service against us.
Always such course was taken at Perth with the Northern gentrie,
that we were not meikle solicit for the Marquess's feed, and all [who]
would take his part. In Lorne, Argyle took fo good order with the
Isles-men as might be; his danger here was greatest. Sir Donald
Gorum, the Clan Ronald, and manie others, were hacheting a mil-
chief, to joyne with the Earle of Antrim, the chief of the Clanc-
donald, who was, with the King's money and authoritie, to come
with forces from Ireland to Kintyre. Diverfe of these unhappie
elanées had no good-will to the name of Campbell, but tooke
them for intruders upon their owd possessions, and was glad to fee
the day, when, with the King's good-will, they might recover their
ancestors patrimonie from them; yea, Argyle's own brother at
Court was thought to be on this counfell: but God disappointed
all their malicious designes. Matters then were growing very hot;
the clouds was thickened on all quarters; our merchands and trav-
ellers everywhere in England and Ireland were handled as re-

(5) John Dugar or Maegregor, whom Spalding emphatically calls "ane Hieland
rogue," and James Grant, uncle of John Grant of Carren. (Hist. of the Troubles,
vol. i. pp. 3, 121, 222, &c.)

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bells, their goods seazed on, themselves made sure. The English bands were gathering fast at York; hudge foumes, by way of voluntar contribution, was lifted in all the parothes of England; the subsidie of the bishops and clergie was verie great; our Scottifhmen were dismiffed from Court to come home, both to strengthen the King's partie among us, and by their removeall to hinder our intelligence, which, from some in their companie, was alaways coming to us, and to further the King's information of all we did. Huntley and Aberdeen had gotten their ship with munition from Holland; their streets were chainzied, their cannon readie; our friends in that countrey were much threatened; shippes from England, with munition, also were come; and some royall shippes, with Scottifh experienced commanders, and more munition, was dailie expected. The Papists in the south, were lifting up their head; Niddiflaill and Harris, with some English forces from Carlile, were feared to have joyned with the Marqueis of Dowglafs, who might have reached out their hand to the Marqueis of Hamilton's followers. The town of Glafsow was, through the perversenes of some few men, much doubted. Galloway, Drumfreis, and Queensberrie, the Thefaurer, and Dalzell, all which were men of fair lands, were suspected of too much willingnes to joyn. Antrim's boats were making readie on the Irish shoare; Gorrum, and others of the Clandonalds, were gotten away to Ireland. The Conftable of the Castle of Edinburgh was sworn of new to the King, and the Marqueis of Hamilton. Captaine Stewart was come from Court to receive the Castle of Dumbartane, when the King's shippes were expected, to lay up munition, and bring in a garrifon, which eafflie might have infeft all that countrey. The King and his forces were on their way to York; the Marqueis was left at London to haften the navie for the coasts of Louthiane and Fyfe. In a word, all was so prepared, on every quarter, for our overthrow, that our Bishops affured our King, and this was given out confidentlie over all England, that he should need little foraigne forces for to matter us; only let him bot fnew himself on our Borders, we shold of our own accord run to confusion, or intelligne force shoud crush his opposits with a small help, and it were bot of his royall countenance afarr off. Certainlie our dangers were greater than we might let our people conceave; but the truth is, we lived by faith in God. We knew the goodnes of our caufe; we were resolved to stand be it upon all hazards whatsoever: we knew the worst, a glorious death for the caufe of God and our dear countrey.
1639. LETTERS AND JOURNALS.

Always we resoluted no longer to be idle. In all the land we appointed noblemen and gentlemen for commanders; divided so manie as had been officers abroad among the flayres; put all our men who could bear armes to frequent drillings; had frequent, both publick and privat, humiliations before our God, in whom was our only trust; every one, man and woman, incouraged their neighbours: we took notice at Edinburgh of the names, disposition, forces, of all who joyned not with us in covenant; appointed that in one day the Castle of Edinburgh, Dumbartane, and all the cheif adverfars, should be effayed; that, with diligence, Montrose, with the forces of Fyfe, Angus, Perth, Mearmes, with the advyse of Leslie, and fundrie of his officers, shoulde go and take order with Huntley and Aberdeen; that Argyle shoulde fett strong guards on his coasts; that Leith shoulde be fortifie. It pleased God, in all this to give us extraordinarie sufcéi: Leslie, in ane afternoon, went up quietlie with the noblemen to the Castle-gate of Edinburgh, caused the town companies to follow them in armes under the walls, parlyed a little with the Conftable; who being much more unwilling to render than was expected, yea, peremptor not to render; at once, after a dry farewell and plaine upgiving, every one returning to his own companie, a pittard is fett to the outer gate, and is blown up; axes and hammers and ramming-leddirs are applyed to the inner gate; the walls are fcaled with fo much the greater courage, that amazement had fo fcaed on all the soyours within, that none of them durft so much as drawe a sword: so in halfe ane hour, that strong place is wonn without a stroke. So farre were the keepers free of all treason or collusion, that the Conftable's first retreat was to the King, where yet we have not heard of any punishment inflicted upon him. That night the noblemen flapp'd in the house. Thereafter great care was had by the Generall and Crouner Hamilton to better much the old fortifications, and putt to mane new ones, at ane hudge expence of monies. We thought it a great mercie of God, that a place of such importance was carried without any harme, either gotten or given, and took it for a happie preface of the whole affair.

Dumbartane was a strength that no force ever had winne, and what stratagem to ufe we knew not, the captaine being so vigilant a gentleman, and having provided it so well with men, munition, and viciualls: yet God put it in our hands most easlie. The captaine, and moft of his soyours, being come to the church of Dumbartane, with his wife and family, on a fasting Sunday, the proveft John Sempill, and Ardincaple, after the service, caused
lay hands on them all. The rest who were remaining in the house were bot few: who knowing of no rescue, after a night’s siege, rendered, and the house was put in Argyle’s hand; who had a present care of victualling and manning it sufficiently. Stirling was in our sure friend the Earle of Marre his hand, so we touched it not. Dalkeith, in the Thesaurer’s fight, was laddiert: the munition, that so much dinn was off, seazed on: the crowne, scepter, and sword, which (I know not how) had been tranported there, were, with all reverence, brought back by our Nobles to their proper place in the Castle of Edinburgh.

The noblemen and gentrie in the west, Montgomerie, Lowdoun, Fleming, Boyd, (Lindesay also was with them.) Cunningham, Blair, and a great number, so quietlie as they could, made to Hamilton; took in the Castle of Straven; took securite of all the gentlemen of Cliddidfaill whom they suspected; went up to the Castle of Douglas, where they expected nothing bot blowes and a flamefull retreat from a rash interprize, for the house was strong, and they had no cannon; yet the Marqueis courage failed him, and he fled: so without dinn, the house was rendered, and manned by us. Johnston, in the South, had not the like success; Carlawerock was strong and well manned, the enemie there was the greatest part: so Johnston either durst not, or had not the opportunitie of executing his promised exploits: bot leift this faill shoulde encourage our foes, our noblemen and gentlemen went avowedlie, in great numbers, to Drumfries, and seazed on all the houses of our unfriends; so that all of them either joyned with us in covenant, or fled to England. Carlawerock we did miiken: it could not be taken without cannon, which, without tyme and great charges, could not have been tranported from the Castlfe of Edinburgh: it might have been within a few houres rescued from Carlisle, and our people had no commission to enterprize any thing which might engage us with the English, or carry the hazard of any feck of blood.

Argyle sett on foot some eight or nine hundred well armed and able men: put some four or five hundred on Kyntrye shore, to watche on Antrim’s desigines; the rest on the head of Lorne, to hold the iflanders and thefe tod’s-birds of Lochaber, in some awe; went over himself to Arran with some field-pieces, and tooke in, without strokes, the Castlfe of Brodick.

So soone as Montrose did arme, sundrie of Angus and the Carle gentlemen did joynie with us, who before had been very neutral. All these countreys rofe with him: he came at once, to seven or
eight thousand men; the most were brave, resolute, and well-armed gentlemen. Aberdeen at once trembles: Huntley, in a cowardish fear, leaves them; their bidhope, doctors, and most malicious of their burgesses, shippes for England; the rest fends to parole, bot are refuted: so in great fray are forced to render without condition. The discretion of that generous and noble youth was bot too great. A great summe was named as a fynne to that unnaturall city; bot all was forgiven. Our hoff did march on towards the Marquies house: neither was his wit to flee, nor courage to fight. While we were midway, he fent to parole; but we had no leasure for speaches. He then came out himself; and did under his hand sign all we required; onlie he defyred to be supereidet the subferying of our formall Covenant; bot did the equivalent, did acknowledge the Asiemblie at Glasgowe, and all the conftitutions of it: undertook to joyne with us for defence with armes, againft all whofoever. Bot, some dayes thereafter, when his fon Boyn [Aboyne] was a-missing, and he found unwilling to give sufficient fecurity for performing his promifes, no man trufling much either his words or write, he is made to convoy Monefrofe and Leslie fouth to the Caflle of Edinburgh, where, for some moneths, he was left clofe prifoner.

Before the return of our armie, the houses of Drum and fome other of our unfriends who had fled to England, were defirnifhed of armes and victuals by fome of our captains. This was much cry'd out upon by our enemies as cruel and barbarous plunderings, but a little tyme did try that we had been too great fooles not to difarm that countrey altogether, and ufe fome fecurity for example among them. At that tyme they had no reafon of complaining, bot greatlie to commend (as they did in words) our leaders courtefie. Leith fortifications went on speedilie; above a thoufand hands daylie employed platt up towards the fca fundrie perfect and strong baflions, well garniffed with a number of double cannon, that we feared not much any landing of shippes on that quarter. The towns of Fife all along the fhore, made up fuch feonces and fuffles, and planted fuch a number of flipp-cannon upon batteries, that they were all in the cafe of a tollerable defence.

Thus, in a short tyme, by God's extraordinar help, we cutt the maine finewes of our adverfar's hopes; all the strengthes of our land came in our hands; no man among us, but thee that swore they were fquot friends; all otherways disposed, both nobles, gente, minifters, were gotten away to our profefled enemies, and the whole countrie put in fuch ane order and magnanimitie, that we
fand sensiblie the hand of God in everie thing going before us; so all feare of human force was cleane banished away, and a pregnant hope raised in the hearts of all the faithfull of a happie conclusion of this divine work. This marvellous successe detracted nothing of our great defyre to give, in all humilitie, full satisfaction to all the reaonable commandements of our gracious Prince. The counsellors that remained, offered to come up all of them to his Majeftie, for to give him much more true information of our proceedings than yet he had receaved. While that motion was bot clofelic entertainted, they laid it upon one of their number, my Lord Orbifloun,(1) to goe from them to repreffent, on all hazards, the justice and neceffitie of our actions. This man undertook much to speake verie freelic, as he had done before in the countrie's quarrell: bot when he came to Yorke, he got no hearing, fo far as we could learn. For all this, another was sent, my Lord Carnichaell; whole audience in that caufe was no greater. The King's honour was now ingadged; his rage was increafed by his difappoyntment in all his defignes among us; he was on his way; there was nothing now able to divert him from pursuance of us with fyre and sword bot the God of heaven: of this celestiall divifion, we did never defpaire, hoping still that the goodnefs of God would never permitt fo gracious a Prince to defile his hands in the blood of fo loving subjects, for no caufe at all bot their opposition to that corruption and tyrannie they were bringing, under the colour of his name, both into Church and State.

His Majeftie, finding himfelf miscounted of the hopes he was made to conceive of a strong partie among us, would not for all this give over his enterprize; bot intende, by the increafe of his forces from England and Ireland, to supplie the want of the Scotts. It was thought by manie, that these five or fix thousand Wallons and frihes, which the Admirall of Holland had beaten back to Dunkirk, were intende againft us: manie probabilities makes for this conjecture; however it be, diverfe among us did praise God for the wracking of that fleet, as of ane armie of old beaten fojours coming upon us for our ruineing. From Ireland a prettie armie was expected; bot all thefe hopes proved bot toome wind. The Deputie we knew, a man evill enough disposed towards our nation, also a zealous Canterburyian, moft willing to advance all the deignes of that faction; bot fuch was the cafe of that miserable countrie, that it might spare no number of fojours. The malecontentments there, for the ordinair oppreffions, has ever been great

(1) Sir John Hamilton of Orbiston, Lord Justice-Clerk.
and dangerous; bot this man, by his cruell exactions of the last parliament, and the ejection of numbers out of their old possessions in the King's counties, byde by the bringing the verie Spanish inquisition on our whole Scottifh nation there, had so much increased the grievances of that most miserable province, that there could be no hope of men from it; neither was the means of entertainment for them, though [had there been] they durst not have ventured their uplifting: The verie blood was drunken out of the heart-veines of that people in their late subsidies, and these foumes had alreadie, for the most been sent over to England, where long agoe they had gotten away to the ocean. So it was proven that in the King's greatest need, all that Ireland could send him, and that too late also, was bot a matter of fifteen hundred ragged Arabians.

As for the forces of England, they fayled like the summer brookes; the countrey was filled with their own grievances; a Parliament for manie years was absolutelie denied to their passionat defyres and evident necessities; they were now sufficientlie informed, that the Scotts quarrell and their own was bot one; their domineering bishop, by his emissaries, afarre beginning these pranks on us, which at once they expected he would play on their backs if the Scotts did succumbe. The hearts of all might be seen averse from this unjust warre. The very pages of Court could not be made to hold in their dailie gybings of our fugitives in their faces, as of traytors to their countrey, and the onlie causers of all this trouble whereto they and their King was put, fore against their defyre. The trained bands gave it out peremptorlie, that they were not obliged to follow the King without the countrey; and that they were resolved not to passe beyond the bounds of their obligation. His Majestie thought not meet to compell, or much to boast them, but rather shifted their employment. The papits did not much flurre; at the beginning their offers were great; bot finding that no open libertie of conscience was to be granted to them, they held in their hand, and that by the Pope's direction, as Monsignor Cone's instructions (D.) shewes. Their employment, indeed, had been verie unfeasable; it had been ane evidence of all our allegiance, that the Canterburian way was the plaine path to Rome; it had indangered the King to have been lett about with the armies of all the protestants in England, for their own face to face against the armed papits. The courtiers, indeed, did arm themselves gallantlie for the King's pleasure; but their former life in pleasure gave them little feast of this northern voyage. The
country noblemen murmured openlie at the expedition. My Lords Seyes and Brookes did speak plaine language, that they could not be answerable to the Parliament for countenancing ane expedition of forraigne warr, undertaken without the Parliament's advyfe; and therefore they were resolved not to concurr, leit they should fall under the danger of law: so at Yorke, for their noble freedome, [they were] committed. At this the people of the South began to iturre, at leit fo to grumble, that at once these two brave patriots were sett free, and sent home.

Thir were the perplexities wherewith a good prince was inthorned at Yorke, by the unhappey vollies of ane angrie bot verie imprudent clergie. We knew not then the eflate of the English affaires; there was no intercourse betuixt us; our intelligence had much failed us: We heard of nought bot of all England's arming, at least of the readynefs of fix or seven thousand great horse, and thirty thousand brave foot; however, we were nought afrayed, after our experience of God's aflistance, and full peruation of the juvstice of our caufe, though all Europe had been on our Border.

This was about the tyme appointed for our Parliament, in the midit of May: we did little expect the holding of it in fo drumblie a feason; yet leit the faill should have been on our side, our com-mlioners made themselves readie to keepe the day. There was a little before ane English preacher, Dr. Montgomey, come down in his habite publickly, as he faid out of the zeall of his own minde, to aflay, if, on the acquaintance he had with my Lord Argyle, he could move us to continue the former way of our supplications, hoping that thereby the King yet might be brought off. The man I conferred with him at length: he seemed to me good and simple: allured me of the truth of all my thoughts of Canterbury and his followers, and the great greives of the English nation, who were lovers of the Protestant Church or State of England, or the King's perfon and loufe. He had come down by the King and the Bishops knowledge and tolleration: commiition he alleadged none. He was, for all that, courteoufie receaved of us all: he profed full contentment in all our proceedings, and promised to give the King better information of us than ever yet he had gotten. Bot, behold, when we are in this parley, and some hopes of peace, the Marques appears in our Firth with a strong navie, and, as we were informed, a good armie of land fojours: This putt us all agait: from all quarters we rann in hafte: we in the Weit had firft sent out ane double companie, with their officers, under Captain Montgomerie, who, not onlie for his birth, bot service abroad, was
made to Monroe the first capitaine; yea, of all his companies, that of Montgomerie from the sherifftome of Aire was most commended, even publickly from the pulpits, for example in pious, obsequious, and stout carriage.

Thereafter, when all was ordained to send out the fourth man, we, according to the common undervaluing which was in the country, send out twelve hundred foot and horse, under my Lord Lowdoun's conduct as crouner, and Mr. David Dickfön as minister. Baranthrow [Renfrew] had chosen my Lord Montgomerie for their crouner. Cliddefdaill was somewhat suspected in their affection to the cause, especiallie the Marqueis of Hamilton and Dowglafs appearing against us, wherefore the Tables there East thought they should not conjoyne, but divided them in foure: the highest paroches about Lanrick to follow my Lord Fleming for their crouner; the next about Lismahagow and Evedaill, my Lord Lowdoun; these about Hamilton and Munkland, my Lord Boyd; the laighest with the town of Glæsfow, my Lord Montgomerie. This accrefe to Baranthrow, with diverfe lands of Cunninghame, made my Lord Montgomerie's regiment among the strongeft; bot the pietie and militar discipline of his people was commended above all the rest; yea, none did doubt bot in all our camp thefe of the West were most præife-worthic. They came out most readilie, and in the greatest numbers; they made most confidence of the cause and their behaviour; the feare of them made others stand in awe, who else were near whyles to mutinous infolencies.

At the appearing of the shippes, we receaved order to come furth almost all who had armes. At this charge, my Lord Eglington, who had been appointed with Caflıis to wait at home to attend any invasion might be from Ireland, came away with the whole countrey at his back, and I as their preacher; bot when we came to Edinburgh, finding Leith to be in no hazard, and the coasts of Louthian and Fyfe to be watched night and day, with strong guards of these countreys; also little appearance of any present invasion, for neither was the King's armie be land come to these numbers yet, or resolution as presfentlie to fight, and all the Marqueis had within the shippes were bot a five thousand landfojours, taken up in a violent preſfe; finding this, we gott order to goe back with the moft of our people, to attend to the tymes of greater neceffitie.

About this tymie Sir James Carmichaell had returned, carrying with him, in stead of ane anfwer to our supplication, a moft injuri-
ousand proclamation, (E,) printed and published over all England in Apryle, pardoning us for bygones, offering still the conditions pro-
pioned in the Assemblie of Glasgow, bot making all to be traitors
who refled not with these content; and displeased their lands and
goods to their masters or tenents. This wyfe plott proved as pe-
dantick a policie as all the former had done: not a man regarded
the favour; all were more enraged with that lawles condemned
and alienating of lands. The Marqueis, when he came, send out
to the Proveft of Edinburgh a trumpetter, requiring the Caffe of
Edinburgh and the fortifications of Leith to be put in his hand,
and the proclamation to be publishd at the Croffe; which being
done, he would come out, and as the King’s Commissioner keep
the Parliament: if they were refused, he was to execute his master’s
other commandments. The anfwer he receaved from the Toune
was a dilator, till the State, which within few dayes was to meet,
did confider of his demands. When they came, our nobles and
commissioners of Parliament wrote to him, as ye fee, (F i.) Reafons
why they could not suffer fuch ane illegall and tempting procla-
mation be read, and withall, supplicating his Grace to mediat with the
King and hearing of our Supplications. There went manie me-
fages between from tyme to tyme. The opinion that men had of
the Marqueis was diverfe: the farr moft part took him for a bitter
and malicious enemie, coming to revenge the injuries he appre-
hended he had gotten at Glasgow; others, amongst which few I
was one, thought him yet a lover of his countrey, that the employ-
ment was threfit upon him, that he had accepted it, with a refolu-
tion to manage it for our greatest advantage that loyalty to his
prince would permitt him. It was evident, he eschewed all occa-
sion of yoking or beginning the warr: he did not trouble a man
on the floare with a flott; what fihers or merchands he boarded
were courteoufie used, nothing taken from them bot for prefent
money, at a high rate. What fojours, indeed, or munition, he
could intercept, was sent over to the King’s camp: and this was our
greatest hurt; for albeit we had gotten thef two years a great store
of armes, and manie officers home, yet we were fo diplenified be-
fore, and fo farr out of ufe, that we had need of much more: and
order indeed was taken for abundance, had not the Marqueis fear
layed the trade; yet fome was still coming to us. His straits
were greater than ours, when he came, as it were, to besiege; he
was daylie at one hudge expence, as the King profefped, above
thirty thoufand pound flerling in the moneth. The English bodies
could not endure to be prifoned in fhipps; the want of aire and
freh meats gave manie the pocks; nothing so much as water could be gotten off our coasts, so strait was the watche. Had we in tyme foreseen to have fortified Inchkeith and Inchcombe, as we did thereafter Inchgarvie, they could not have lyen in our Firth for one moneth; yet, notwithstanding all the comfort the air and water of these Isles could furnish them, manie of them died; and when they went home, the most part of all who remained travailed pitifullie.

Our evil withers gave it out, that we would not fail to keep a parliament without the King, wherein we would erect a new kinde of governement; but tyme did refute that, with all the rest of our malicious partie's furmishes. I have heard some few, by way of reasoning, speak of holding parliaments, in tynes of extreme danger, without the King; but the most that ever I was acquaint with had never any ayme for such a practice, as then it well appeared; for when the King had lent in to prorogate the Parliament, after some little reasoning about the way of prorogation, all agreed, that the court being fenced at the day first appointed, it should be prorogat to any day the King did name, and that without any protestation; wherein also we made our enemies falfe prophets. Onlie, at that tyme, the members of the Parliament, in my hearing, did give order for ane verie ample commission to Generall Leslie,(5) of soveraigne commandement over all our forces by sea and land, on horse or foot, of all our strengthes, munitions, and all without any proviso bot one, that he should be subject to anfwerv to the Courts ecclesiastic and civil, according to the settled laws of the kyndome; also becaufe [Colonel Lindefay of] Belfane, who had the charge as Captaine in the Castle of Edinburgh, was complean-ed on by the Provoft of Edinburgh, as a man of no such authoritie as that place in these tymes did require, election was made of my Lord Balmerinoch for that charge, and his oath of fidelitie taken, to the King's speciall offence, who, by our bishaps insligation, had a particular spleen at the man; also thefe articles which ye fee in print out of the Swedifh Difcipline, for the most part, were then given out.

Some of Kirkaldie skippers, Crouner Hamilton also, would have been at the trying of their fyre-works on the King's shipp; bot the poore hopes yet we had of peace would not let us begin any

(5) Field-Marshall Sir Alexander Leslie of Balgony, who so distinguished himself by his military services abroad, and was promoted by Gustavus Adolphus, to be his Lieutenant-General. He returned to Scotland in 1633, and was created Earl of Leven in 1641.
act of warre; be the contrarie, in all our preparations for defence, our open supplications was still displayed in our right hand. When the Earle of Esle, a little before, had come down to Berwick, with the charge of some thousand foot, we sent to him ane earnest letter, that he would mediate with the King to hear our supplication, and be loath himself, who was so wise and religious a gentleman, to begin a warre for the unjust ambition of bishops, which, for the undoing of both the nations, might continue to flame in the days of many generations. Such is the obsequiousness and almost superflitious devotion of that nation towards their Prince, that Esle durst not so much as open that letter, but sent it closed to the King; yet assured [us] of ane short answer, if it were the King's will to fend it back to him. Always we shew him in private the copie, wherewith he was not evil pleased. The man was thought a good patriot, not much the facions way, or farre adverfe to our caufe; however, he was at once removed from our Border, readilie for fear of infection; neither did I hear since, either of the man or of our letter to him.

With Dr. Moyfley, according to his defyre, we resolved likewise to fend up a supplication. (F 2.) conceaved by Mr. Henderson, in termes fo submiff, that some were not pleased with the straine, fearing left the baseness of it shoulde be imputed to our quaking for the approaching of the King's armes; yet little in it was altered; only Argyle was defyred to wryte with him, in a flouter style, a common letter to Pembroke and Holland, (G.) and would have done the like to Arundaill and Vaine; but some excepted at giving so much honour to these who were reputed our malicious enemies. Diverfe reported better of both, yet it was carried to hold on a generall clauze, that the first two shoule communicat their letter to whom of the Councill of England they thought meet. The supplication and letter you have here doubled; of these we gott no answere; we heard the man was honest, that he reported favourable of all he had feen and heard among us; and therefore was committed, leilt his reports goinge too farre abroad, should have endeared our caufe the more to that nation.

Now it was when the North, to our great danger, began to break out. My Lord Boyne, a verie fynfe sparke, kindled by a rath and profane man, Bamfe Ogilbie, both malecontented at the beginning, for the Marques's cowardice, resolves yet to trie their ftrengteh. When they began to gather, the Master of Forbes and my Lord Fraer, with a good number of gentlemen, meets to oppofe them: bot the diligence of the enemie was fuch, that they came on our
partie, and that with field-pieces, before they were aware; this made us to flee, and them to triumph. We were much grieved for the reported captivitie of that unhapie, bot yet both good and lout youth, the Mafter of Forbes: bot though that proved fafe, and our fkaith was found to be bot little, yet we took our flight in this caufe to be prodigious; so much the more, as Bamfe did make haffe to take all advantages of his særce hoped-for victorie. He rann over the countrie, repoifedfied Aberdeen, which was not unwilling to be brought back to their old friends; advertised the King of his fuccffe, and prayed for fupplie. The matter was of confequence; Ogilbie and the Marqueis's letters were intercepted; wherein we faw the appearance of some more trouble from the North. All Huntley's friends were malecontent of their chieff's captivitie; Ogilbie and Finlature were great men; Seaforth and Raes were both fufpefed; Murray alfo was not our friend. Our friends lay either farther North than to make us any fpeditie help, or elfe were fattered and frayed by Forbes's defait; we could hardlie gather fuch ane armie as we had at firft, the King on our borders calling for all could be fpared; the Marqueis holding Louthian and Fyfe in a continuall alarme, and promifing to fend to the coast of Angus and Mearnes fome fhippes to doe fome harme. It was thought, that the mott, if not all the land-fojours which the Marqueis had, was intended at firft for Huntley's fervice; bot God diſappointed that very dangerous intention, by keeping the navie fome weeks longer on the Englifh coast than was expected, even till Huntley was in hands, and all his deſignes broken. Yet if at this fame tyme a conſiderable fupplie had been fent to Bamfe, he had wrought us much woe; bot Montrofe, at once, with Marichall, who before this were avowedlie joyned to our fycfe, as alfo Dumfermling, for our dangers joyned more to our partie, and put none away; thefe two valiant noble youthes made haffe with all the friends they could gather: the toune of Dun- die, and my Lord Kinghorne, both by his own following, and fpee- ciallie by my Lord Arroll's vaſſalls, to whom he was tutor, being his fifters ſone, thir did us much help in all our northern expedi- tions. So foon as our armie appeared, Bamfe diſolved his forces, Aberdeen randered, at once all was carried before us. Bot ere it was long, our forces lykewise diſbanded, it was thought, on fome malecontentment, either at Montrofe's too great lenitie in fpaiing the enemies houſes, or fomewhat elfe. While our noblemen are beſieging some of the enemies caſſles, they fee themselves felen- derlie backed; they hear of the King's ſhippes at Aberdeen; for
then the Marquefs had fent fome ftipples wherein the citizens, who
before had fled from Aberdeen, returned, and fome noblemen with
them, as Glencairne, (who unhappilie all this tyme, otherways
than his forbears, to the loofeing of the heart of all his friends, for
the Marquefs’s pleafure had deferted his countrie,) Tillibardine,
Lithgow, Kinnoule, and others; we confiderit how fome Banfe
might draw together his bands, and comphie us, then being fo
weake: upon the fight of thir dangers, they refolved in diligence
to retire, that they might returne with a ftronger convoy.

The wisdome of God, from the firft day of this great affaire to
this prefent houre, hes been pleafed fo to difpenfe his favors, that
with the caufes of our rejoicinge there was ever at once intermixed
fome matter of no fmall difficulty, whereby to fharpem our prayer,
and exerceive our faith to believe in the ftrong hand that before
had often drawn us over brayes, which we, by our own forces,
would never have gotten breasted. At this tyme we find our-
elves in greater danger than ever; our enemies in the North
matter of the fields, readie not only to break in like a fpaite on
the Mearnes and Angus bot to fall on our backs in Louthian and
Fyfe, while the King and the Marqueis cauls for our face; also the
Weft being in no fmall frayes for the Irifh invasion: for the eflate
of that countrie we did not then underftand; only we heard that
Crowner Bruce was fent about with fome officers to the Earle of
Antrim, who, after long disappointment, had gotten money to levie
fouyers; that he had in readines and ftronge flatt-bottomed boats;
that ftronge troupes of the trained bands were come down to the
foare; that the noblemen and gentlemen of our nation there had
drawn on thirves and poor tenants a pitifull fhare, a fcandal-
ous oath, wherein not only they fwear the renunceeding of our
Covenant, bot ftronge other things, which flands againft the tender
confequence of manie of our people: numbers of them, through this
oath, are like to be undone. One Trewman ane Engli[hman],
being fupplanted by a cunning fellow to curry favour with the Bi-
throp of Derrie, was apprehended, and confefTed, that he had heard
that knave’s motion to him, without diffenting, of joyning with the
Scots, if a partie fhould come over to Ireland; bot withall did avow,
that he had never any fuch resolution, let be plott, for accompli-
ment of any fuch motion. For this confeffion he is hanged, and
quartered half-quick, after the Engli[f fashion, as traitor. The
knowledge of thir things put all the people in the Wefl fhore in
a continuall fray, and made them have little will to let any more
men or armes be carried Eaft to the Generall’s campe. Thesef allo
in the South were put in frayes, to be invaded from Carlile. Yet neither did the King’s maine hoft flurre from about the Border, nor any from the shippes did preffe to land. This made us fee a dangerous policie, whereof we were more afraid, than of any thing else. It was our great defyre to have at once been at handie-strokes, well understanding that the ferd of our hoft spirits could not long byde in edge, alfo that our povertie could not long permitt us to keep the fields together. If the shippes should keep us befieged be fea, and hold us from all trade; if on our Border ane armie of strangers should force us to lie in campe long forcemen, till our countreymen from the North came on our backs, till the Irifh on the Wefl, and English, with ane other part of our fugitives, should come on the South, we faw at once that this would undoe us, without froke of fword; wherefore we took us again to fafting and prayer. We commended to Montrofe and Marichall the care of the North. We gave out thefe peremptor orders, which ye have here doubled, wherein all who can beare armes are commanded in haffe to come to the Generall’s camp, wherever it fhould be, with fuch armes as they had, and a month’s provision of victuall; to the end, that either we may [have] granted to us a reafonable peace, or else, before we did perifh fitting ftil, to goe feeke our enemies, the prelats and papifts of England, wherever we could find them. This we cleared to be no breach with England, nor ane inche beyond our lawfull defence; who by fea and land were hemmed in with a warr worfe than fyre and fword.

Thir peremptor instructions coming to the King’s campe, made manie a heart there, and in all that land, begin to quake: they knew that our necelities and injurious oppreffion made us flout as lions; they heard of the conduct of Leflie and his experienced officers; they underbroid their own feeblenes, paucite, unjuft caufe, and manie misorders; they heard we were intrinched, drawn towards them as near as Dunglafs. At once a proclamation (J.) comes out in farre other straine than the former, fheuing, that the King’s armes were intended merelie for peace, leaveing off the odious charge againft us of treafon and rebellion, and commanding us to hold off the King’s armie be ten miles; else, if we came nearer his leaguer, he would expone that difobedience for a declaration of our intention to invade the King’s perfon and kingdome of England; promifing withall, upon the demonftration of our civill and temporall obedience, the granting of all our juft suplications. This ftyle did pleafe us well. It was the firft blew bore
that did appear in our cloudie sky: We took it for a beginning of a reall change of the King's councells: then indeed having aflayed to the uttermost all their policies and forces, they saw we were not to be boastted; and that before we would be rofted with a lent-fyre by the hands of churchmen, who keept themselves farr aback from the flame, we were refolute to make about [a bolt] through the reck to gett a gripp of some of these who had first kindled the fyre, and fyll laid fewell to it, and try if we could caft them in the midst of it, to taste if that heat was pleafant when it came near their own fkinnes. Finding the approaching of this danger to their own heads, without possibilitie of any farther delay, they were at laft content to permitt our gracious Soveraigne to give over, for that tyme, the purfute of their quarrells; at leifi our gracious Soveraigne, feeing the vanitie of all their promifes, and finding it not poiffible for him to gett their wicked deffignesweene, without the hazarding of the blood of manie thousands his beft and greatest subiects in all his dominions, of his owne juft and meek inclination, and by the wholefome advyfe of all the nobilitie, both Scottiifh and English, that were about him, he inclined to the ways of peace; and did repent much of these refolutions, which, by the moft rath will, and disgracefull counfell, that ever in any age had been furnifhed to any prince, he had latefli declared, in his manifefto, to all Europe, but to us, whom it moft concerned. That unexampled manifefto, which, at Canterburie's direction, Balquauquall, and Ross, and St. Andrewes, had penned, was now printed in the King's name, and sent abroad, not only through all England, but over fea, as we heard, in dierfe languages, hoping up a rabble of the falfett calumnies that ever was put into any one discoure that I had read, to fhew that we were the moft desperat traitors that yet had lived, and meere hypocrites, who, in matters of religion, had never been wronged, but had onlie fough特 pretences of religion to colllour our plots for rebellion. It was good that this book was keept carefullie from our hands till the Treatie of Peace was near clofed; for, as the Bishops by it had engaged the King fo deeplie to perfue us, as there were no appearance of any regres for him, without infinit disgrace, (for how could he leave off to wracke, though he shoule die in the way, these subiects whom they had made himfelf declare in print, out of his fure

\(^{(*)}\) This work has previously been mentioned. *Vide* pages 140 and 175. There is no doubt that Dr. Balcanquhall was the author, although he may have obtained some assistance from Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, and Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews, as here intimated.
knowledge, to be most wicked enemies to God, to him, and to their neighbours, for their faithfullnes s onlie to God and himself ; ) what peace or capitulation could, with any honour, be made with such vile perfons? So lykewayes this booke put us to the extreme lyne of defperation : It shew, that with his Majestie's allowance our partie flood to the julification of the impofition of the booke of Service and Canons, both for matter and manner ; that we were condemned for cenfuring, even in a Generall Asfemblie, thefe who had preached, and stll avowed the preaching of all the articles of Arminius ; that our loud and continualie repeated challenges of the Canterburian partie among us, as of papifts, who, under the name of protestant doctrine, did preach and avow, and printed, the groffleft tenets of poperie, were clean paft by ; that they, in all their proceedings, even the moft tyrannous and unjust that could be gotten done, were defended ; and we, for the beft and most loyal of our actions, cenfured for traitors in the highest degree before all legall tryall. This putt us near to our witts end: certainlie it made us weep for the King's honour, which oft, by that ungrate generation, had been tramped in the duft, but now was so pitifullie pudled in the myre of difgrace, that all the blood of that faction would never be able to cleange it from the blott of infamie. For, if these crymes, whereof they had made the Prince pronounce us guiltie in print, in the ears of all Europe, were true, what either follicie, or injustice, or weakness, behooved it to be, to embrace us, and that without a remiffion, before that the sword of revenge had made ane example of some for disciplining the rest! And if not true, as evidentlie they are now false, what intollerable rashnes s to make a Prince put them in print under his owne name alone, and that to neighbour princes, even to the world, before once they were put fo much as to a tryall! Always the King and we both muft put [up] with these extremelie scandalous injuries of the Prelats, as we have done manie moe, till the tyme of their reckoning come, which we hope approaches, when, before the face, not of England alone, but of all the rest of Europe, where they have too long abufed princes and nations, they shall be made give account of their full administration.

However, that Proclamation was verie sweet to us, for simple necellitie and discretion alone, to get either religion or libertie brooked as law, and all reafon did require, had made us sojours : so we gladlie flood a-back at all the dilance the King commanded. This our readie obedience being perceaved, behold, our unhappie
partie makes a new offetti. They perfwade the King to proclaime in our Borders, towards the former proclamation of our treason, and the offer of pardon, and their master's lands, to those who would defert us. This was done at Dunce, with a strong convoy of English horse. The lyke was intended at Kelso; but there Monroe, Fleeming, and Arekke presenting themselues in battle-array, did make Holland, with some thousand foot and horse, with their flock alone, to retire in haste in a flamefull disorder. It is thought Holland's commiion was to cut off all he met in opposition to him; but his fojours that day was a great deall more nimble in their legs nor armes, except their cavaliers, whose right armes was no leffe wearie in whipping, than their heeles in jadding their horses. We were informed, that to repaire that difgrace, Holland was commanded to returne with farr more forces, to execute his former commiion: whereupon our Generall raifes his campe from Dunghals, advertises his troupes at Kelso to march towards him; both of them that night meets together at Dunce, and there they fett down on the head of that faire Law. We fand that advantage was made of our obedience, and a couerfe yet againe, without refpeett to promifes, to be taken for our wracke: So we returned to our former resolution of present fighting; and fend potts aforth all the countrey, to haste on our friends for that end. Some of the advertifements I have caufed double; but the laft (K) was fo peremptor, invitinge to come to the buriall of thefe who were like to be deferted, that the hyperbolies of Meldrum the secreter did offend manie. This our march did much affray the English campe; Dunce-Law was in their fight within fix or feven myles, for they lay in pavilions some two myles above Berwick, on the other fyde of Tweed, in a fair plaine along the river. The King himfelf beholding us through a profpeet, did conjecture us to be fixteen or eighteen thousand men; we were indeed above twelve thousand; but at once we were above twentie [thousand men]. We might have doubled that number, but we had none there from the one full half of Scotland; not a man beyond Tay; few from Louthian, Fyfe, Edinburghe, Mairche, for they were waiting on the shippes, or imployed in carriages; the South behooved to obferve the border about Carlifl; and the West the Irith fhooare: albeit that was needlefs, for all that were either in the shippes, or on the South border, or might be fpared from Ireland, were called quicklie to the royall fandard; and when all were together, their number was thought did not exceed in horfe and foot, English, Scotts,
Irish, sixteen thousand men, and thefe not of the floutefl; for it was conftantlie reported, that one night a faire alarum being in our camp, when our drummes began to beat, and our matches on the hill to fhyne through the darknes$, there arofe fuch a fray in the English camp, that verie manie did betake them[felves] to their heeles, excepting from us a prefent invasion; yea, had not our wyfe and valorous Prince, with his Generall Arundaill, done diligence to incourage, and to find out the groundlefs vanifie of the fray, there had been a greater flight, than with honour could have been gotten flayed.

It would have done yow good to have caffen your eyes a/thort our brave and rich Hill, as oft I did, with great contentment and joy, for I (quoth the wren) was there among the red, being cho- fen preacher by the gentlemen of our fhyre, who came late with my Lord of Eglintoun. I furnifhed to half a dozen of good fellos, musquets and picks, and to my boy a broadfword. I carried my felf, as the fashion was, a sword, and a couple of Dutch piftols at my fade; bot I promife, for the offence of no man, except a robber in the way; for it was our part alone to pray and preach for the incouragement of our countrymen, which I did to my power moft cheerfullie. Our Hill was garnifhed on the toppc, towards the fouth and eaff, with our mounted canon, well near to the number of fortie, great and small. Our regiments lay on the fydes of the Hill, almoft round about: the place was not a myle in circle, a prettie round ryfing in a declivitie, without fleepnefs, to the height of a bowshott; on the toppc fomewhat playne; about a quarter of myle in length, and as much in breadth, as I remember, capable of tents for fortie thoufand men. The crowners lay in kennous [can- vafs] lodges, high and wyde; their captaines about them in leffer ones; the fojours about all in hutts of timber, covered with divott or fraw. Our crowners for the moft part were nolfemen: Rothes, Lindefay, Sinclair, had among them two full regiments at leeff from Fyfe; Balcarras, a borfe trouph; Lowdoun, Montgomerie, Arefkine, Boyd, Fleming, Kirkeudbright, Yeffer, Dalhousie, Eglint- oun, Caffillis, and others, either with whole or half regiments. Montrofe's regiment was above fifteen hundred men in the Caftle of Edinburgh: himfelf was expected; bot what detained him ye fhall hear at once. Argylle was fent for to the terie of peace; for without him none would mint to treat: he came, and fett up his tent in the Hill; bot few of his people with him. It was thought meet that he and his fhould lie about Stirling, in the heart of the
country, to be always readie in subsidies for unexpected accidents; to be a terror to our newtralists, or bot masked friends; to make all, without dinn, march forward, left his unkannie trewemen should light on to call them up in their rear; always to have one eye what either the north, or the shippes, or the west, or our staill host should mitter of help. It was thought the country of England was more afraid for the barbarietie of his Highlanders than of any other terror: these of the English that came to visit our camp, did gaze much with admiration upon these fouple fellows, with their playlds, targes, and dorlachs. There was some companies of them under Captaine Buchanan, and others in Arekine's regiment. Our captains, for the moft part, barrons or gentlemen of good note; our lieutenants almost all sojours who had servd over fea in good charges; everie companie had, flying at the Captaine's tent-doore, a brave new colour stamped with the Scottith Armes, and this ditton, FOR CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT, in golden letters. Our Generall had a brave royall tent; bot it was not fett up; his constant guard was some hundreds of our lawyers, mufqueteers, under Durie and Hope's (7) command, all the way standing in good armes, with cocked matches, before his gate, well appareled. He lay at the foot of the hill in the Caffe, with Baylie his serjeant-major, or lieutenant-generall. That place was deffinate for Almond,(5) in whole wifdome and valour we had bot too much confidence; yet in the tyme of our moft need, the grievoufnets of his gravell, or the pretence of it, made him goe to France to be cutted: always when he came there, it was found he needed not incifion, so he paff to his charge in Holland, where to us he was as dead in all our dangers.

The councells of warre were keeped dailie in the Caffe; the eccleiaftick meetings in Rothes's large tent. The Generall, with Baylie, came nightly for the setting of the [watch] on their horses. Our sojours were all lustie and full of courage; the moft of them flout young plewmen; great cheerfullnes in the face of all: the onlie difficultie was, to get them dollors or two the man, for their voyage from home, and the tyme they entered in pay: for among our yeomen, money at any tyme, let be then, ufes to be verie scarce; bot once having entered on the common pay, their fixpence

(7) Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie, and Sir Thomas Hope, two distinguished lawyers.

(5) Sir James Livingston, second son of Alexander Earl of Linlithgow, was created Lord Livingston of Almend in 1633, and Earl of Calendar in 1641.
a-day, they were galliard. None of our gentlemen was any thing worfe of lying some weekes together in their cloake and boots on the ground, or standing all night in armes in the greatest storme. Whyles, through forme of weather, and negligence of the commif-
faries, our bread would be too long in coming, which made some of the Eastland fojours half-mutine; but at once order being taken for our victualls from Edinburgh, East-Louthian, and the coun-
trey about us, we were answered better than we could have been at home. Our meanest fojours was always served in wheat-bread, and a groat would have gotten them a lamb-legge, which was a dainties world to the most of them. There had been ane extraordinarie crope in that countrey the former year, beynd abundance which still was stollen away to the English campe for great pryces; we would have feared no inlake for little money in some moneths to come. Marche and Tevidaill are the best mixt and moft plentiful full fhyres both for grasse and corn, for fleshes and bread, in all our land. We were much obliged to the Town of Edinburgh for moneys: Harie Rollock, by his sermons, moved them to shake out their purses; the garners of non-covenanters, especiallie of James Maxwell and my Lord Wintoun, gave us plentie of wheat. One of our ordinances was to feafe on the rents of non-
covenanters; for we thought it bot reasonable, frae they fyded with thefe who put our lives and our lands for ever to feile, for the defence of our church and countrey, to employ for that caufe (wherein their entrefle was as great as ours, if they would be Scot-
tifh-men) a part of their rent for one year: bot for all that, few of them did incurr any loffe by that our decreit, for the peace pre-
vented the execution.

Our fojours grew in experience of armes, in courage, in favour dailie; everie one encouraged another; the fight of the nobles and their beloved patlors dailie raiied their hearts; the good sermons and prayers, morning and even, under the roof of heaven, to which their drumms did call them for bells; the remonftrances verie fre-
quent of the goodnefs of their caufe; of their conduct hitherto, by a hand clearlie divine; also Leflie, his skill and fortoun made them all fo refolute for battell as could be wihted. We were feared that emulation among our Nobles might have done harme, when they should be mett in the fields; bot such was the wildeome and authoritie of that old, little, crooked fouldier, that all, with ane incredible submiffion, from the beginning to the end, gave over themselves to be guided by him, as if he had been Great Soly-
man. Certainlie the obedience of our Nobles to that man's advyces was as great as their forbears wont to be to their King's commands: yet that was the man's understanding of our Scotts humours, that gave out, not onlie to the nobles, but to verie mean gentlemen, his directions in a verie homelie and simple forme, as if they had been bot the advyces of their neighbour and companion; for, as he rightlie observed, a difference would be used in commanding fojours of fortune, and of fojours voluntars, of which kinde the moft part of our camp did fland. He kepted dailie in the Caflle of Dunce ane honourable table for the nobles and strangers with himself, for gentlemen waiters thereafter, at a long fyde table. I had the honour, by accident, one day to be his chaplaine at table, on his left hand; the fare was as became a Generall in tyme of warre: not fo curious be farr as Arundaill's to our nobles; bot ye know that the English fumptuositie, both in warr and peace, is defpiied by all their neighbours. It feemes our Generall's table was on his own charge; for, fo farr as yet I know, neither he, nor any noble or gentleman of considerable rent, got anything for their charge. Well I know that Eglington, our crownier, intretained all the gentlemen of note that were with him at his own table, all the tyme of our abode; and his fonne, Montgomery, keepeped with him verie oft the chief officers of his regiments: for this was a voyage wherein we were glad to bellow our lyves let be our estates.

Had ye lent your care in the morning, or especiallie at even, and heard in the tents the sound of some singing psalms, some praying, and some reading scripture, ye would have been refrehed: true, there was fwearing, and curfeing, and brawling, in some quarters, whereat we were grieved; bot we hoped, if our camp had been a little fettled, to have gotten some way for these misorders; for all of any fashion did regraitt, and all did promise to contribute their best endeavours for helping all abuifes. For my self, I never fand my minde in better temper than it was all that tyme frae I came from home, till my head was again homeward; for I was as a man who had taken my leave from the world, and was refolved to die in that service without returne. I fand the favour of God fhyneing upon me, and a sweet, meek, humble, yet strong and vehement spirit leading me all along; bot I was no sooner in my way westward, after the conclusion of peace, than my old fecuritie returned.

It was not our Generall's intention to fitt long at Dunce; onlie till our armie had grown to a considerable number: he thought
meet to lie on that strength, which was in the midst betwixt the two ways to Edinburgh, that if the English had moved either towards Haddington or Soutray, he might have been on their backs; for we knew not then well either of the estate or desigines of the enemie: but after we were above twenty thousand men, he gave out not obfcurelic his purpose to approach the English camp. Their feare of this made them call up some trenches on our fyde of Tweed, and work at them both on Sunday and Saturday: they had no will we should have come fo near them, therefore occasion was fought with all diligence of the Treatie. The way of the procedure was this: Robin Leslie, one of the old pages, being come over to Dunce Castle, made, as it were of his own head, ane overturtle, that we would be pleas'd yet to supPLICATE, or else the English forces did fo dailie multiply, that at once we would be overflowed with them. Our feare dailie diminisht of their violence; we knew at once the great advantages we had of the King: yet such was our tenderness to his honour, that with our hearts we were ever willing to supplicate his off-coming; yea, had we been ten times victorious in fett battells, it was our conclusion to have layd down our armes at his feet, and on our knees presented nought but our first supplications. We had no other end of our warres; we fought no crownes; we aimed not at lands and honours as our partie; we defyr'd bot to keep our own in the service of our prince, as our aneefors had done; we loved no new matters. Had our throne beene voyd, and our voyces fought for the filling of Fergus's chaire, we would have died ere any other had fitten down on that fatall marble bot Charles alone. At that fo light a motion, we ventured, without any affurance bot the King's own equitie, to send over the Earle of Dumfermling, with a short Supplication (L.) to hear our just demands, with a letter of our Nobles to the Councell of England, for a verie speedie anfwer. The youth was accepted with greater favour than was expected. For anfwer, Sir Edmund Verney [Verney], marshall of the King's houfe, a gentleman who was known to be a lover of our nation, came over, requiring us to read the evill proclamation in the head of our troupes, before our demand of communing of our controverfie before fome fixe of the English could be heard. We flew him manie grave Reafons, (M.) which at his own defyre were put in write the 7th of June, I think, to be delivered to the King, why we could not read it as was requyred; but, with much reverence, we read it at the Generall's table, and flew what we miflyked therein. This reading the gentleman took,
and so reported it to the King, as a satisfaction to his demand; whereupon, to Dumfermling, who returned with him, with his former supplication, the King, on the Saturday at night, granted, that forasmuch as we had read the proclamation, he was pleased that, as we required, any fixe of our number should come to his Generall Arundaill’s tent, to conferre with fixe of the English of credit and trust. Much debate there was about a safe conduct for the return of ours: yet the floutnefs of our men, the trust we put in the King’s simple word, the hope we had by the ladds on the Hill to have fetched them in hafte, or as good for them, made us leave off that question.

On Monday, Rothes, Lowdoun, Sheriff of Tevidaill, (3) and who other I forget, went over: Henderfone and Johnstone went not till the next meeting: we had not will to hazard all at once. Our communers went over with a fair convoy, which left them at the water fyde: they went, as they were appointed, to the Generall’s tent. We had required, in our supplication, expresslie to conferre with men of reformed religion: we took Arundaill, and all the world with us, for a known papift, and the head of the Spanish and Popifh faction in England; so our letters were commonlie directed to Holland, generall of the cavallerie; and always we eschewed dealing with Arundaill: yet frae the King was pleased to employ him as Generall, frae he avowed the King’s religion, and countenanced sermons and communions with us, and, above all, seemed treulie to be as defyreous of our peace as any, we made no scruple to goe to his tent: Where they were not weill entered till the King came in; at whose unexpected presence we were somewhat moved, but yet verie glad. His Majellie said, he came there to shew his willingness to hear all they had to say, otherways than he was icandered. Many speeches past, which, I think, the communers at their return putt in write, and in due tymé shall fee the light in their own royall and noble phrafe. The King was verie bofer, meek, and patient, to hear all: our spokesmen were verie earneft to speake much, to make large and plausible narrations, as well they could, of all our proceedings from the beginning: that day there was a sweet and loving conclusion. The next meeting appointed on the Wednesday, for one day was hipped for advyfement on all hands on what was past, and what to be proposd. The King misled Henderfon and Johnstone, so at the next meet-

(3) Sir William Douglas of Cavers, was Sheriff of Teviotdale. The Communicer, whose name had escaped Baillie’s recollection, was the Earl of Dunfermline.
ing they ventured to goe. On the Wednesday or Thursday, the King was much delighted with Henderfon's discourse; but not so with Johnflone's. Much and most free communing there was of the hiefit matters of state: it is likelie his Majestie's eares had never been tickled with such discourses; yet he was most patient of all, and loving of clear reafon. I think it was that day when he gave two three lynes of a good general anfwver, (N.) That he would grant us all our defyres, if it were bot law, and the curfew of our church and kingdom we were seeking.

Saturday was the third day of meeting, where the moft free communing went on. His Majestie was ever the longer the better loved of all that heard him, as one of the moft just, reafonable, sweet perfons they ever had feen; and he likewife was the more inamoure with us, especiallie with Henderfon and Lowloun. Thir conferences purchase to us a great deale of reputation, for wifdomne, eloquence, gravitie, loyallie, and all other good parts, with the English counsellers, who all the tyme did speake little, but suffered the speech to paffe betwixt us and the King. In the closure of that day's reafoning, our folks waxing bolder, on their knee begged the abolition of Epifeopacie. His Majestie had faaree a face to deny them any thing; yet he would give them no anfwer to that demand, with an express defyre that they should not take his delay for a denyall, invitinge them to a new meeting on Mon-day: he promifie to keep dyett, and thereupon offered his hand; which all, on their knees, did humblie kysse, and so departed full of joy and hope. All thir dayes they were by Arundaill royallie and verie cheerfullie feasted, and much quick speech, especiallie from Rothes's mouth, past at the table: nothing what England, Spaine, France, Holland, could afford, was there laiking on their fields.

On Sunday, to-morrow, some of our Scottiehe Bishops, readlie Ross and Aberdeen, with their sweet and peaceable discourses, did alter somewhat the King's minde; so the nixt day's conference was somewhat more tart than any of the former, and closed with thir Demands in write, (O.) of the King's power to call and difcharge Assemblies, and voyeeing negativelie into them. Againft the next meeting, we had prepared wise and deferet anfweres to them, all in write, as we were commanded, tending to a negative, that the King had neither a power to diflolve, nor a negative voyee in Assembly, according to the word of God, or our Church constitutions, or our Acts of Assembly, or any good reafon. All our
confultations were in fò publick a way, that nothing we fpake or
did, bot at once it was at the King: our wayes were fò full of
honestie, that we did not regard [though] all our thoughts, let be
words, had been proclaimed in a theatre of the whole univerfe; yet we were nothing content of the light, if not treacherous wydnes
of mouth in some of our friends. We were nothing pleafed with
that day’s difcourfe, and leaft of all, with the Demands. They
made us fufpect, that fomething was fought of us bot to gaine tyme
for the coming in of more English and Iri(lh forces to the King’s
camp, and fpending of our moneys and victuals, that fo we might
be forced to retire: we therefore resolved to dallie no longer, bot
either that day to come nearer to reall conditions of peace, or elfe to break up our Camp and off our Treatie, and for the first
journey, to lay doun our leaguer within fhort of cannon to the
King’s trenches.

This our peremptorinefs being well known on the other fyde of
the water, made, in the nixt conference, the demands to be quitte
mifkennit, and at laft the King’s will, in write, (P.) to be given
well near to our mind. This was brought back by our commurers,
without much difputt about fundrie claufes they thought of neceffitie
behooved, for our fatisfacion, to be alterèd in the wyde; defyr-
ing that the jurye, if there was any of that change, foht not be
their’s alone, bot fhould fall on the whole bodie, to whom they
were bot ferving commiffioners. At our Tables manie things were
noted, which did much of fend. Alwayes in the next conference,
some of these claufes his Majeftie deleted: others, which for his
honour, he defyrèd might fland, were fo benignly commented, that
for all the harfines of the text, yet the King’s own expofition,
declared to us by all the commurers, and taken firt at their mouth
by many extemporary pens, and then fett down by themelves to
be communicat to all, gave tollerable fatisfacion: Thir were the
Articles of our Pacification, proclaimed the 18th of June in our
campe.

Many, whereof I was one, was glad at their heart of this divine
conclusion, and bleffed God then, and ever fince, for fo rich a
mercy to the Prince and whole Ifle. Many secret motives there
was on all hands that fpurred on to this quick peace. What to
have done when we came to Tweedfide we were very uncertaine:
the King might have beene fo wilfull, as rather to have hazarded
his perfon than to have raifed his camp. Had he incurred any
fsaih, or been disgraced with a shamefull flight, our hearts had been
broken for it; and like all England behooved to have risen in revenge. Diverse of all ranks, of the best note in our campe, were beginning to be scrupulous in conscience to goe in to England: though thir scruples had been excomm, yet no ordinar way for our safetie did appear. Had we beene bot some dayes journey in that land, the bordering thyers were so barren, and so exhaust with the King's leaguer, that few night's meat could have been gotten for us into them; from our own countrie we could neither have carriage, horfes, nor strong enough convoyes for it: The hope of England's conjunction was bot small; for all the good words we heard long agoe from our friends, yet all this tyme, when their occaion was great to have kythed their affection both to us and their own libertie, there was nought among them bot a deepe either sleepe or silence: we heard not the caife of our Northern army; our cares were beaten with daily frayes from Ireland on our Wett coaft; much grumbling among too manie, especiallie of the Merfe; Hume, and diverse of the gentrie there, were beginning to be fuspected. However, these who understood best our affairs, thought that God had sent us a tollerable peace in a very fitt tyme; yet others did grudge at the hand of it; they thought it was concluded by a few, who took too much upon them: true, all were admitted to every confultation thereanent; yet the absence from the weightieft confultations of prime noblemen and bariions, and all minifters bot two, was not much remar ked, nor their preference sought, if their negligence or adoes or miscontent did avoke them. Many thought, that two or three dayes longer delay might have purchased to us better and more cleare conditions. The randering of the Castell of Edin brough, with all the munition, and putting the fortifications of Leith into the King's hand without any condition, did much affray, especiallie when we saw the Castle delyvered to Generall Ruthven's custodie: always it was not now tyme to complaine. Our companies were disbanded, our hutts burnt: we looked not in haft to gett fuch an army on foot; and without the like, our conditions might well be worie, bettered they could not be. We expected the King in our camp before it brake up, for so he promisef; bot he was made to alter that promife, as too rahlie given out, not being his honour to countenance these armes which were lifted by his subjects against his defyre, and laid down not absolutelie at his command, bot on conditions, and these fo disadvantageous to the inten tions once he had avowed. At the declaration of the King's will, we would not protest; yet leift it should be conceaved, that in
our capitulation we had past from our Assemblie or Covenant, we thought meet to cause Caullis read ane short Information of that our mind, and take instruments thereupon, (R.) This much offended Mortoun, who came to see the King's declaration published: much bitter and evil speech he cast out on Argyle, alleging that our wryte to have been against express communing. This we denied; but in so modest words, as we had no will to provoke neither him nor the King.

Some jealousies did yet remaine, as drifling after a great shower. The King, as we expected and the English nobilitie our best friends did defyre, minted not to flurre from our borders; manie of his troupes were bot billetted in the countrie. Argyle, and some few other of our nobles, who went over to the camp to kiffe the King's hand, were bot coldlie welcomed. When we went over Lowdoun to have some of the articles cleared, and the performance of promises, the anfwers were not pleafant. The Bifhops were ordained to be proclaimed in the indiction of the Assemblie as members of the meeting. When Lowdoun shew the clear neceffitie of our protest-ting against this, the Marqueis advyfed, againft the King's minde, to let that protestation goe with the rest. The indiction also of the Assemblie by the councill was not keept at the promiffed tyme: the clergie and non-covenanting Lords had all the King's care as before. The Marqueis and Mortoun had bitter contefts with our nobles before the King: the Marqueis's wayes was yet fo ambiguous, that no man underflood him, onlie his absolute power with the King was oft there clearlie seen. The people of Edinburgh being fore griev-ed for the Calfe's fo sudden randering to the hand of their great enemie Ruthven, and provoked by the infolent and triumphing behaviour of that unhappie spark Boyne, who, yet reicking from our blood in the North, would rattle in his open coatch through their callie, made ane onfett upon him, and well near had done him violence. The Theafurer alfo got a chafe in his coatch; which in the perfute brake, and he in the outcoming receaved some knocks, as they said, with fome women's neifes: of this he was moft glad; for they indeared him to the King, at a tyme when his credit was verie near cracking. The Juftice-Generall was alfo somewhat fhoired, and the Regifter searched in his house. The King had written for fourteen of the chief of our land to come to his camp, to give him fome satisfacon in fome demands. Rothes, Lowdoun, Montrofe, Louthian, Archibald Johneftoun who had gone before, were not lyke to be difmissed. This put us all in agait more
nor ever, that we had been drawn in a hose nett; yet our noblemen were dismiffed: the fourteen were flayed from going. The courage of the anti-covenanters, who after the peace began to crowe, fell at once. Lowdoun, in writ, gave to the King reafonable satisfaction in all the questions he had to propone (S.) The Ailemblie was by the counfell indicted, albeit fome six dayes after the tyme appointed (T.); our protestation (W) was digefted; the plot of the Seffion's downfifting for the President and Regifter's refolution, and other ends, was crofled.

The King, after much tyning of tyme about Berwick for the clergie's pleafure, went his way, little to their joy: for a while, they were made all fo fure of refolution, that all places of England was exprreffly denied them; yet in the Articles nothing could be attained for them, for we would confent to no deed on our part that might incroach on the Ailemblie of Glasgow. The King was weary of them; the whole court did hate them; the pages publickly gyred at them. Judge ye if their comfort was great, when all that could be gotten to them at the King's farewell was ten pound a-piece, and fifteen for the like of Mr. William Annan. My heart was only fore for good Dr. Barron: after he had been at London printing a treatife for the King's authoritie in church affaires, I fufpeft too much to his countrey's prejudice, he returned heavilie diseafed of his gravell; he lay not long at Berwick till he died. Some convulsions he had, wherein the violent opening of his mouth with his own hand or teeth, his tongue was somewhat hurt: of this symptome, very caflable, more dinn was made by our people than I could have wilhed of fo meeke and learned a perfone. He had fallen, very unhappifie, on Dr. Forbes's company; the faction had much laboured to gaine him to their fyde, and yet never done him good. I had great hopes, if he had lived a little, he fhou'd have quitt them, and been glad to have embraced the Covenant of his mother-church, as his learned brother now hes done. Many other paflages there was about that tyme, which I have now forgott; take only one, and I clofe.

So foone as Montrofe had turned homeward to the Mernes, at once Boyne and Bamfe, with Crowner Gunn, and other officers, gathered great forces: Aberdeen joyned heartlie to the partie. They fpoyled Maritchell's land, and all our friends there. They had devoured Dundie, and all Angus in the throat of their hope: but at once Montrofe and Maritchell, moft valorous and happie gentlemen, gave them fome other matter to doe; though much inferior in
number, they came to seek them. Some great ordinance we had, which moved our partie to hold off when they were coming on, hoping to have cleane defeate us; for their Heiland men avowed they could not abyde the musquet's mother, and so fled in troupes at the first vokey. Seaforth had promifed to bring his forces for our help to the bridge of Die; but we were much behind with that, as it feemes, very false man in ane exceeding dangerous tyme. Bamf, frac he was once in armes, hindered the gathering of our friends in the large fyre of Aberdeen, and thereabout, being simplicie matter of the fields. Seaforth, and Raes, his generall, had gathered well near five thousand men, bot did not flurre out of their place. The gentlemen of Murray and Reffe did gather; bot fo long as Seaforth floud still, they durft not leave their houfes; fo not a man beyond Die did come to our camp, except Forbes, with their pages and some verie few gentlemen. Montrofe and Marischell, knowing the danger, not onlie to their countrie, bot the whole caufe, if they shoud either retire or fland, resolved to goe on and fight. The enemie had fortifie the bridge of Die, and lay on the other floare under sconfes, with their musquetes and horfemen: we resolved to have the bridge on all hazards. It was a desperate peace of service; none more flout, and full of good directions at it, than Jefuit Abernethie, by the playing of the great ordinance on the bridge; and much adoe; for the perverse citizens of Aberdeen did fight verie manfullie that day. At laft, with some slaughter on both fydes, we wann the bridge, we putt our enemie to routt, goes forward that fame night to Aberdeen, lodges without in the fields, being resolved to-morrow to have facked it orderlie, that hereafter that Town shoulde have done our nation no more cumber. Bot as it pleafed God to keep us from all marcks of the leift alleadged crueltie from the first taking up of our armes, fo there the preventing mericies of God did kyth in a speciall manner; for that fame night, by fea, the King's letters of pacification at Dunce were brought to the towne; which to-morrow earlie being presented to our Nobles, made them glad they had gotten that bleflfd coard whereby to binde up their fojours hands from doing of mischief, whereto that wicked Town's just defervings had made them verie bent. For all our flparing, yet that country's malicious disloyaltie feemes not to be remeided. In the militarie buriall of Balmayne's brother, some traitor with a musquet of moe bullets than one, did kill outright a gentleman being verie near Montrofe and Marischell; as at the first expedition, a knave was taken in that towne, who was mightillie suspeeted to have had ane designe to
have killed Leflie: yea, for all our pacification, the Marqueis's flout and honest fojours, Grant and Dugair, continued, and yet are doing still their robberies in Marischell's and all our friends lands, where-with our Parliament is much prefentlie fach'd; for it is like that much of their knavifh oppreffions shall be fatten'd on good Hunt ley's back, as the chief author. Alwayes for that tyme Montrofe and Marischell did post to Dunce to have their part of the joy, as weel they did deferue, in the common peace; where they were made moft welcome, both to their commerads and their King.

I wih this might be the comedick cataftrophe of our verie fear full-like Epifcopall tragedie. Bot yet we have not received directions to make our publick and folemn thankgivings; yea, fome clouds still flicks in our ayre; fo that we have kept with us at home, till our Parliament clofe, all our countrymen-fojours, to whose kindnes our nation is exceedinglie obliged; for, to help their boasted mother-church and countrey, they have deferted their charges abroad, to their great losse, which they knew the was never able to make up: they have here, on verie casie and small conditions, attended her service: for fear of their valour, our peace hes been both the quicker and the better; the renowne of their kind nes, and confidence of their defert at the hand of their mother, for ever will be their greatest and moft glorious recompence. Before the fitting down of our Attemblic, in the midit, and about the end, we had still new matter of fear. Athort all our Parliament fome thing of moment was ever like to goe croiflè; yet all goes well at laft: That prefent difficultie, about the articles and four teen votes to the King, whereat there is much flicking, I hope that huge armie of Spainards now landed in England, fhall make it get halfe to be swallowed down with the refl. Bot of our Attemblic and Parliament at more length with the next. For recompence of my labour fend without fail to me the Currents and to the Col ledge, because of their expences, the Mercurie, both Belgicus and Francoes: this Francoes I fhall take if they refufe. My service to your Wyffe. I refl your Coofin.

September 28th 1639.

A Postcript, October 12th 1639.

I thank yow for all your three letters I received before your [our?] departure from Edinburgh. For them, receave here inclofed three packets: in the firft, the refl of my papers anent the Attem-
ble of Glasgow; in the second, a narration, in four sheets, of our proceedings to the 12th of August, the sitting downe of our Assembly at Edinburgh; the third hes the pieces answerable to the letters of the second: I hope in the nixt to give you account of our Assembly and Parliament, which I will not promise in haste. The affaires of our Parliament goes yet but thus and sway; if we look to men, our estate is yet wavering up and down in the scales of a very dubious event: our maine acts are yet scarce past the Articles. The Commissioner threatens either to ryse, or to protest in the day of the ryding, or to make declarations equivalent to protestations, or to deny the scepter to our moft substantiall defyres. To preveene this, we have been content to fitt still, half ydle, thrice so long tyme as ever anie Parliament in anie land did continue, waiting till pofts upon pofts, runne up and down, for carrying to us the King’s pleasure. It seemes our enemies credit is not yet extinguished at Court. The Castle of Edinburgh is dailie made stronger. From London, the other week, arryved to Dumbartan a great shipp, with canon and other munition, with an English captain and diverse English fojours. Division is much laboured for in all our estate: they speak of too great prevailing with our nobles: Hoome evidentlie fallen off; Montrofe not unlyke to be enfrained with the false promises of advancement; Marischall, and Sutherland, and others somewhat doubted; Sherriff of Tevidiaill, and some of the Barrons, inclyning the Court way; divisions between the merchants and crafts of Edinburgh: and so, by consequent, of all the Burrows in Scotland, carefullie fostered by our Commissioner: our prime clerige like to fall foule upon the question of our new privat meetings. Yet when we look to God, who, in great pitie, hes ever helped us through all difficulties, we hope yet that all shall clofe well: We truft the new bone which God hes calten in our courtiers’ mouth, of the Spaniish navie, inclosed on our shore by all the sea-forces that France and Holland can make, will not give them leasure to make use of our present infirmities; so much the more as the English are in frayes, and, as they say, fundrie of their south-west shyres in armes, in a greater number than the King does require for the guard of his coafts; also that the Palatine at Court is solicitings for ayde. In so faire ane occasion, when Banier is almost triumphing in Boheme, to the terror of Vienne itselfe; when Mentz and Culen are both like to be taken by the Swedes; when Alfatia is maitered; when neither Saxe nor Westphalia are so near to accept the neutralitie; when Newburge
is fallen off the Emperor; at this tyme, if the Palatine be deferted, he and his friends will be singular in their unfortuneatnefs.

I with ye would move your Printer at Amsterdam to fett out his Current, as the French and London one is, in a sheet which may fold in two leaves, that we might get his Currents bound up in a book, which now is not possible: Alfo, ye would affay to perfwade fome there who hes good types and paper, to print, for their own great profit and schollers great use, an Hebrew Bible, and Syriack New Testament, in one volume, both with the poynets, in quantitie of our English poutch Bibles: a million of thir would fell in two years; this kind was never yet printed, and would be much loved by schollers. Alfo the Targum, and Talmud, with the poynets and Latine expofition, in small volume; likeways the Greeke Septuagent, with the Greeke New Testament, would fell well: a pitie that your Printers were not fhirred up to print thir as they have done the Poets and Repubricks. Ye forgett continually to fend to the Colledge, or [to myfelf] if they refufe, the laft two three years Mercurie Françoys. Your Browniftick’s bookes ye fhall at once receave back: I with ye fent me fome more of them. Let our friend make haffe to put out a fecond edition of his storie. Your Currantier would be admonifhed to take fome little more pains to informe us of the flate of Asia, and the Turkifh, Perſian, Indian, and African affairs; which were cafe for him to doe upon a little diligence, having your fhipps fo oft coming from all these quarters.

The matter of my transportation ye fhall hear when it is at any poynet; my mynde is afraid of all changes, fo I have yet oppofed it what I can, upon the reafons ye fhall fee.

My Instructions to Mr. Alexander Cunighame. (1)

If in your way ye have occasion to divert for three or four dayes to Cambridge, or if at your leifure ye go to it from London, fee Dr. Ward: try of him the fecret, how Arminianifme hes fpread fo much there; how Shelfurdf’s abfurdities pleafes him; how they were gott printed there, with fuch approbation of fo manie fel-

(1) In a note at page 27, it was suggested, that Alexander Cunningham might have been the same person who was afterwards Minister of Ettrick. It will be seen, however, from a subsequent letter, dated 13th of August 1644, that Baillie mentions him as then deceas’d.

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lowes, and Dr. Beell Vice-chancellor for the tyme; if the book was called in, and any cenfure inflicted on the approvers. His colleague in the profeflion, Dr. Colings, is verie courteous: fift him what he avowes of Arminianifme and Canterburyan poperie; they fay he is farr on, and oppofit to Ward. Conferre with that Dr. Beel, and try if ye find him a papift. I think Dr. Coultings be at Oxford, but if he be at Cambridge, conferre much with him; he is thought the maine penner of our Scottifh Liturgie; if he will be plaine with yow, ye will fee what that faction would be at. Be cannie in your Conferences, leiff they take yow for a fpie. Vifit their fair Bibliotecks and manuscripts. Try who are fervent and able oppofites there to Canterbury's way, and let your chief acquaintance be with them: beware of our countreymen Hay and Arefkine, for I heare they are corrupt.

At London acquaint yourfelf with Holdworth, lecftur at Graffham Inne; [and] with Dr. Featley the author of Pelagius Redivivus: try how they can be filent to fee Poperie growing. Search for the author of the Holie Table, Name and Thing. Try the prefent eftate of Burton, Batwick, and Prin [Prynne]; alfo of Lincolne, Bifhop Davenant, and Hall: if they be there, conferre much with them; fee if they be oppofit to all Arminianifme, to bowing to the altar. Try what cruflifes and new images are at Paule's and the Chappell; and if Burton's complaints be reafonable.

The Brownifs had a church there; however, there are in the citie aneugh of them: conferre with some of their preachers, or discreet people. See if they at Amfterdame, and thefe of New England, and thefe who yet are at home. be of one minde, that will not acknowledge the jurifdiction of Synods. Try if there be a coniderable partie oppofit to bishops befides thir; if there be any hope of getting the Epifcopall flaue and their ceremonies removed; at leiff, if the Arminian faction, with Canterbury's overthrow, can be gotten cruflhed. Conferre with Bifhop Montague; fee how farr he is Popilh, if he hes written any thing thir four years, or hes any thing for the preffe. If Bifhop Wren be affable, conferre with him; Dr. Potter alfo, and Helen [Heylin]; and if any more ye find of that faction learned. Wale your privat tymes that ye be not marked (e). Try of some discreet Alderman the grounds

(e) Such an admonition does not appear to have been superfluous; for many of Baillie's inquiries might easily have subjected his young friend to the imputation of being a spy.
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why London did not joyne against the Scotts; what hopes there is of a Parliament, and taking order with the Canterburians for their Arminianisme and Poperie; if there be any correspondence betwixt Con and Canterbury, betwixt him and Rome, and what evidences of it; what is the charge of Sir William Hamilton, the Queen's agent at Rome; if the Prince's letter to the Pope from Spain be disfavowed: There are ane hundred such things as thir, whereof ye will have occasion, if ye be diligent, to find the ground, and the very root. Search who is about the Prince, if they be orthodoxe, and if any of the chaplains be honest; if Dr. Lawrence's sermon be yet approved; if Stafford's Female Glory \(^3\) was never burnt; if the good ministers of London be silent at the faction's progress; if all zeale there be dead; if publick avowing of the truth, in preaching and print, be banished close out of England, with Baffwick, Burton, and Prin. Take a start to Oxford, acquaint your self throughlie with Prideaux; it is merveillous that he is silent: We thought that zealous men had not so feared prifons nor fyres. Bodleye's Librarie view it well. Try if all there be the Canterbury way; if any able opposites to it, and how they kythe their opposition. Let me hear the progress of your Deputie's affairs at Court.

My catalogue of Brownift's books search at London, where they may be found, at what pryce, and what more of that kind, that I may know what of them to send for. Try the estate of private meetings at London, how they are taken by the zealous ministers who are not Brownists; if there be any thing written for that poyn't pro or contra.

Send me a catalogue of all that is printed against our late proceedings; why so few of the English divines hes medled to write against us; how our proceedings are thought of now there. Send me the pryces, when ye have tried in two or three diverse shoppes, of Augustine, Jerome, Bernard, Ambrose, Chrysoftome, both Savill and Frontoduce\(^1\), Gregorie the Great, in the best edition; Bibliotheca Patrum in eight tomes, fix great volumes, not the last rable of fifteen tomes; Baronius, fix volumes, also the last edition ten volumes; Thuan's Storie, the last edition, four or fyve volumes: Try if any

\(^{3}\) "The Femall Glory; or the Life and Death of our Blessed Lady, the Holy Virgin Mary, &c. By Anthony Stafford." Lond. 1635, sm. 8vo. See an account of this work in Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, by Bliss, vol. iii, p. 33.

\(^{1}\) That is the two editions of Chrysostom's Works, published by Sir Henry Savile, and by Fronton le Due (in Latin Frontonus Ducaeus.)
Univerfall lyke Thuan(\(^5\)) be coming forth. Your letters to me fend, if ye cannot better, to William Cuninghame in the Custome booth at Edinburgh. Give me account of all this memorandum firft or laft.

Try the eftate of the Churches of New England. Some merchants in the Exchange can informe you trueld, if ye be curious, of the present eftate of all the Earth, for they have dailie intercouerce with their factors at Mosco, Venice, Lisbon, Constantinople, Alexandria, Aleppo, Peria, India, China, Brazilia, let be in nearer kingdomes. Try for young Dr. Burgeff; it were good his father or he did anfwer Dr. Ames's fresh fute. Conferre with Bishop Mortune, and Dr. Primerofe; try of him the flate of the French Church, and of their controverfie moved be [Amyraud?]. See at the Minifter of the Italian church, if there be any hopes of getting Italie reformed.

Ye will have occafion of letters to Edinburgh weeklie: if ye write not to me once in the three weeks, I will count yow forgetfull.

For his Brother, Henry Glen. (\(^6\))

As for my comeing to your Town, I will tell you plainelie my minde. I thinke myself truely obbliged to your people for honouring me with their nomination; but withall, ye will help me to make them take in good part the necelitie of my refuelfall. I am fettled, by God's clear calling, in a place eminent enough for any gifts I have; God hes bleffed my labours here evidentlie; I have full contentment in all things; a moft loving and obedient people, who at the motion of my removeall are much commoved; plentie of means, eight chalders of bear and meal, payed by my Lord Montgomerie onlie, a good gleib, a monie-dutie payed me for my manfe; I have all my heart could wihe, and my minde cleaves to my people, as theirs does to me: whom God hes conjoynd, why should any mint to put afunder, against both their heart; and though I were never fo willing to remove, yet how can I thinke of accept-

(\(^5\)) In some of the MSS., "Unversall like them." Baillie evidently means a Universal History like the great work of the President De Thou, (in Latin Thuanus,) entitled "Historiarum sui Temporis, libri CXXXVIII, ab anno 1543, ad annum 1607."

(\(^6\)) Henry Glen was one of the Magistrates of Glasgow, (\(J'ide supra\), p. 106.) The allusion at the end of this letter to Glen's wife and children, renders it more than probable that he was Baillie's brother-in-law.
ing that place of Mr. John Maxwell's, for other vaikand ye have none: I have no call at all from your people; to this day never man who had their warrand, hes minted to seek my consent; no man hes once motioned this matter to my flock, [or] to my Presby-
trire to deal with them for their consent: all is call over to the Af-
 femble's compulsion: men are not slaves or beafts foe to be dealt
with. Your people hes never foe much as concluded among them-
selves, in anie orderlie way, to call me: When was this matter
voyced in your Presbytrie? when in your Seffion? when in your Counfell? and albeit all this were, ye are not patrons, ye have no
right to call any man to that place without the King's prefentation.
Thir and fuch other materiall inlaicks of a calling, would fcarre any
man from embracing your violent and tumultuarie invitation, let
be me, who am resolved, by God's help, and that upon manie rea-
sions, to flicke by my flocke to my dying day. I pray God fend
yow manie good paftors, for ye had much need of them; bot as
for me, let me not be further prefied at your fynod: for the end of
fuch troubleing of me, will be but your disappointment, and keeping
of your Church vaiking longer than need were. This farr, Brother,
I thought meet to tell yow plainlie, leift the keeping up of my minde
might have hindred your folkes to fute others who will be much
more able to doe them good than I am, and more willing than I
mind to be.

Ye may communicate my mind with Mr. Harie [Gibfon], and
some few others of our friends, who may joyne with yow to help
me to shift, in the fairest way that can be, your Towne's trouble.
God knowes what good I could doe there among strangers, when
all that I am able to doe this twyfe seven years, hes not moved
yow, my onlie Brother, to amend bot one fault. The Lord be
with yow: my fervice to Chriften and the bairnes.

Your Brother,

Kilwinning this Thursday.

R. Baylie.

To thair Loving and Assured Freind Mr. Robert Baylie,
Minister at Kilwinning for the present.

Sir,

Please yow we have direct thir our two neighbours, John Barnes
and William Neifone, to yow, to defyre yow molt earnefllie to
transport yourfelfe hither conforme to the ordinance of the Affem-
We have communicate our mindes thereanent to the bearers; yet we doe hereby most instantlie intreat yow, that setting all excuses ayyde, ye would pitie our defolate estate at this tyme, who hes no minifter to dischare any kind of ministeriall dutie among us, and to transport your selfe the sooner for that caufe, as our trull is in yow: and so reffs

Your afluired and loving freinds to power,

Glasgow this 23d day of November 1639.

Coline Campbell.
Niniane Gilhagie.
Matthew Hamiltoun.
William Howie.
Peter Johnestoune.
William Cotis.
Johne Kirkwood.
Walter Douglas.
Johne Anderson.

Ga. Cunynghame.(?)
Jo. Andersoun.
Richard Allan.
Walter Stirling.
James Stewart.
Coline Campbell.
James Hamilton.
James Bell.
Thomas Glen.
Thomas Scott.
P[eter] C[ummin].

For the Right Worshipfull his much honoured Freinds, the Provost, Bayliffes, and Counsell of Glasgow.

Right Worshipfull and verie Assured Freinds,—

I doe humblie acknowledge my unworthines of all that respect ye have flowed towards me, and pains ye have put yourself, both in the Generall and Provinciall synod, to have me one of your Miniifters; as also of this last honour in fending fuch ane considerable commiffion of two, my verie worthie freinds, with your kind and respeftfull letters. I remember weell my manifold obligations to your Citie, and my bands with many of yow in particular: your prefent great need of miniifters my heart does pitie; but concerning my Tranfportation I am no wayes able to fatiffie your defyre. Confcience obliges me to flay with my flock to the uttermoft of my power: the great love and respeft which my Noble Patrons hes ever flowed me, makes me think it were unhonest ingratitude for me to mint to leave them so long as they are content of my miniftrie. In any other thing which ftrykes not on my confcience

(7) Gabriel Cunningham was Provost of Glasgow, and the other persons who sign this letter were Magistrates or Councillors at this time.
and honestie, I hope I shall be as willing to kythe myself a servant to yow all, and to every one of my friends there, as any child that ever was borne among yow, to my poor power. I could gladlie wilhe that in this particular I were not ane occasion of your hurt and displeasure. It is verie likele, if ye continue to perfew that act of the late Provinicall [synod,] that your place vaike long, and in end be altogether frustrate of me; for both my Noble Patron and my people, and myself, are confident that our protestation in Aberdeen will be discofied in our favors. My humble and earnest defyre to yow, therefore, is, that ye would be pleased to call me by. I am ashamed that so much adoe has been already made about the lykes of poor me, and shall be forrie to see myselfe the subject of your discontentment, which, I fear, in the end shall be unavoydable; for when your long and troublsome fute of me keepes your place voyd in thir tymes when it had leift need, and miscarries also in the end, ye will readilie then be displeased with me, and yet without my deferving; for I did ever plainlie show to all that ever fpake to me, my firme resolution, fo farr as lay in my power, never to tranfport from my prefent charge. Wiling therefore from my heart that your Wifdomes would, for your own good and eafe, and for my great joy, give over to put your felfe to needlefs fafferie in perpeuing any more my impoffible tranfportation; I refi, as well it becomes, to yow all and every one of yow, 

A verie loving freind and servant,

R. Baylie.

Kilwinning, November 27th, 1639.

[To Mr. Robert Baillie, Minister of Kilwinning.]  

Sir, 

My dutie in the Lord remembered. Please yow remember what I fpake to yow at our laft meeting. Ye and all men may fee the pitifull eftate of God's poore flock within this Burgh at this tyme, and how that God hes viifited our whole pastors at one tyme, whilk I pray God, may be in mercie, and not in wrath. Our eftat and condition thereintill now deferves pitie and commiferation of all who are able to help us; but especially of yow, whom God hes fo lawfullie called thereto, be lawfull patrons, voyce and ordinance of ane lawfull Provinicall affemblie, ane hungric and willing flock, to accept: If thir be not sufficient reafons for your tranfportation,
I understand none. It is true ye may pretend, and lie's left nothing unalleged ye can say, be worldlie reason in the contrary; but I hope now ye will fett all these things syde, and preferre such ane lawfull calling, and indigence of so desolate ane flock, before any worldlie respect whatsoever, and so pitie the desolate estate of this your own mother citie, who loves and favours yow so dearlie, hoping to get good of yow and your ministrie; and so transport yoursel' the sooner. I need not to tell yow the estate of the sicke within this burgh, our want of our communion therein at this tyme, and others, ye may think upon yoursel'; and so expecting ane favourable answer frae thir bearers, I reft.

Your loving Condiacle and assurted
Freind to command,

Glasgow, this 26th of November, 1639.

[To Mr. William Yair. (*)]

Verie Loving Condiacle,

Your affection towards me of old and late, be assurted, is mett with mutuall respect. I have showne my verie worthie freinds your Commisioners, as also I have written to your Towne Councell and Mr. John Bell, that which I forewarned yow at meeting, and all my freinds there, both in private and publick, that conscience and honestie would force me to fticke by my flock to the uttermost of my power; and so long as both my noble patrons and my moost loving flock joynes with me in full confidence to gett their protestation approven, a thought of transportation cannot enter in my minde: And I truft this my love, which God and reason, and manie duties, obliges me to carrie towards my espoused people, will be taken both by yow and by your Towne in good part; for I profelle, were it in any other matter, where my conscience and honestie were not touched, I could be as forward, according to my bound dutie, to serve that good Towne, as any child that ever was born into it. The Lord be with yow.

This is your loving and affectionat old Freind,

R. Baylie, Minister, I truft not onlie for the present, but all my lifetyme, at Kilwining.

(*) William Yair, in the years 1645-1650, held the office of Town-Clerk of Glasgow. He was probably at this time also connected with the Town-Council.
To the Right Reverend, and their loving Friend, Mr. Robert Baylif, Minister of God's Word.

Reverend,

Yours frae these who were directed be us to yow, to intreat yow to consider the lawfulness of your calling to the Minifterie at this place, and that ye would not delay to transport yourfelf here in refpect of our great exigence, we receaved; but finds the fame no ways answerable to your calling, or our expectation. Ye write, that conscience oblihes yow to remaine with your flock, and honestie and thankfullneff not to leave your noble patrons. We defyre yow to consider, with what confidence ye may flay, when ye have sic ane calling from God, and in not yielding yourfelf obedient to it, that ye be not found unthankfull unto him. We are perfuaded that the Generall Assemblie will never regard that protestation whilk ye confide fo much in; for howbeit the Provinziall assemblie had not the power to transport minifters frae one place to another within their own province, as none doubts bot they have, yet they exercising that power, not onlie as of themselves, bot lyke wayes having commifion for that effect from the Generall Assemblie, will be ane dangerous precedent to recall the fame. Wherefore, Sir, we againe and againe requelt yow that ye would lay the confidence of your calling here to heart, and the great necessitie this place for the present is in, and not poftpone your transportation with unneceflare delayes; for we will plainlie and truelie affure yow, that we will neglecct no good and lawfull way that may effectuate the fame, howbeit that place shoulde remaine unplanted unftill the Assemblie of Aberdeen; for what is impoffible to men, is poftible to God. So affuredlie expecting your obedience to the calling of God, and us, the representatitve part of the parochiners, inftant fuitors for the fame, wee remaine,

Your affectionat to our power,

The Provest, Baylzie, and Counsell of Glasglow.

Glasgow, this 7th day of December 1639.

James Stewart.

Gavin Neisbitt.

James Tran.


John Anderson.

G. Porterfield.

Richard Allane.
[To the Provost, Baillies, and Council of Glasgow.]

Right Worshipfull and my much Honoured Freinds,

I did hope that my answers to your letters, both by my wryte, and by word at more length to your commissioners, should have given satisfaction at least thus farre, that no more travell should be taken for me till the Generall Aisemblie; but since it hes beene your pleasure to putt yourselfe to this new trouble of wryting to me again fo preffing a letter, I can say no more than before. Your present neceffitie of minifters, all chritian hearts does pitie; your carefull diligence, in calling men whom ye elleem fitt, all will lyke-wayes praife; bot for my comeing to yow, I doe not think it warrantable. I doubt not much of the Generall Aisemblie's power of transporting any of us where they pleafe; bot where a Provinciall, or any Comittee from the Generall [Aisemblie] does proceed againft reafon, I thinke ane appeal to the nixt Generall [Aisemblie] verie reasonable, and according to the lawes and practifes of our Church. My people having used a protestation, which I in confcience think reasonable for the matter and ground, I find myself tyed before God to stay where I am, and not to count my calling to yow sufficient by that late act. If herein I finne, either againft God or yow, I pray God to pardon; bot truelie in this I am sensible of no fault: yea, if I tooke any other course, my confcience would finyte me; I could not lift up my face before my good people and noble patrons; I could have no courage to serve yow. Bot if the Generall Aisemblie ordaine me to transport from my station, as I am hopefull they shall never aflux to make fo violent a divorce, then indeed, if I did not serve the place of my birth, of my meanes, of my gifts, of my grace, more willinglie than any other elfe, I might take upon

Thomas Morson.  William Stewart.
John Anderson.  Walter Stirling.
Thomas Scott.  James Bell.
Patrick Bell.  Coline Campbell.
Coline Campbell.  John Baird.
James Hamilton.  Matthew Hamilton.
Henrie Glen.  Peter Johnestoun.
me the mark of great and unnaturall ingratitude. Always remaining yet, so far as I am still bound faith to my dear flock, and willing to abide so to my dying day, I must continue still your suppliant to give over to put both your selfe and me to trouble, by casting in that fute; which, through the present long delay, cannot but doe you harme, and, by the small miscarriage, work you more displeasure; whereof I should be forrie to be reputed the least occasion. This earnestlie defyreing ye would be pleased to grant, I do rest, as I am by manie obligations tyed,

Your verie loving freind, in any other thing to serve you all,

R. Baylie.

December 11th, 1639.

[To . . . . . (?)]

Good William,

It were good that men were free altogether of passions; but since this cannot be in this life, the nixt best is to let them vent onlie to our freinds: that which ye read in my face, behold it now in my letter. I am deeplie grieved with My Lord's unexpected unreasonableness: the lesf the matter is, it flowes the more clearlie what I have to look for at his Lordship's hands, if the matter were greater. Wherein I had to doe, to this day, I have never mellt with any thing concerning his Lordship's goods to the value of a groat. His Lordship's countenance and favour I have fought, I have gotten, more mind I never to be burdenfome. I pray God neither I nor any of mine have any need to doe it, for it is like small favour in that kinde could be expected. When this whyle bygone, I have been dealing in the fairest ways I could, by prayers and supplications, that a poor and fcurvie thing, whilk all law and conscience and reason oblishest his Lordship's lands to pay for our schooll and reader, this is peremptorlie refufed. All other men's lands must pay to the Church their perfonage, their vicarage, a duetie befyme to the schooll; but My Lord's lands most paffe free of all, albeit his Lordship's hand be at the band for the schooll: the reason, because My Lord's countenance to

(?) There is no name or date affixed to this letter. In the MS. it follows the letter to Glen, (p. 229.) The person, however, to whom it was addressed, was evidently an agent or factor to the Earl of Eglintoun.
move the rest to pay, should make his twentie pund land goe free: also because the vicarage, which hes taken three hundrith merks out of our poor's boxe, is given to my Lord Montgomerie, to whom it does belong by as good right as the perfonage. For such reaons as thir, my Lord will have our poor young man disappointed of his three score pounds for thir laft three yeares: for me to request more that my Lord would doe the poor man such reacon, as his Lord- ship confesseth all other in the parochine should doe him, I will never mint; for I fee well that all my most earneft and reaonable requests, when the matter is about the scurviefte soume of money, are misregarded; onlie I cannot hinder the young man to charge be law for that which wyte conditions to him. If my Lord will oppofe, and by fo doing hinder the keeping of a schooll at his onlie paroche church, his Lordship may doe it, and by fo doing gaine bot small honour. I have no more to fav for my part, bot that I must be greived that his Lordship, who albeit he had not in his house all the fuperplus of our church rent, and although his Lordship's place and meanes did not oblihe his Lordship in conscience, both by countenance and perfonall contribution, to further, as he did ever before my coming, that good and necessiar work of our schoolmafler; yet all thir refpects being away, I did believe that his Lordship's favour and good words to myfelf would have given me full as- furance to have obtained a more matter by my earneft request. Al- wayses I have been long in ane error, and I now at laft doe learn it: I now fee how much I may expect from My Lord's favour, when it goes to any matter beyond words: I am not minded herein againe to be deceaved.

Good William, ye will pardon the expressions of my greived minde; I have fend them to you as a token of my old and con- stant affection. God help you and all men whose livings depends on noblemen's pleasure; for myfelf, I am resolved to goe on to my death as I have done, to love, honour, ferve to my power, My Lord and all his house, get what meeting I will: to ftrangers I shall make it ever good enough; bot God forbid ere my eflate and being depended on their benevolence. This is

Your affured Freind,
R. BAYLIE.

When I have given it over, if ye can move My Lord [to] doe us reaon, and that which law and conscience binds to, albeit his
Lordship had not subferyved, I shall be obliged to yow; for my-
self I have no respect when it goes beyond words and lookes.

For the Right Worshipfull, His Assurit Freind, Mr. Arch.
Jhonstoun, Advocat for the Church.

Archibald,

The tyme was when I wont to have the contentment of your
frequent and long lettres; but sinc you ar become great, a prim
member of our Church and Stat also, I must refi satifified with
some bleisks of your ey in the ftreits one a yeir; if fome fene ftrekes
of your pen come to my landward cottage one a thre or four yeir
for rememberanc that fome tyme we wer acquaintance, it is all that my
poor meannes can expect from your niew hight of ellimation and
much plintie of imployments. I would have been loth to have
impeachit you even in this tyme of all other lawers to much lafur
and longfom vacation, had not ane onexpectit accident of a verie
deur freind forfeit me to crave of you, by the right of all my old
defervings, a resolution in a neu cais of our Church Diyiplin. I
hope you ar not ethir by privat or publict affaires put fo farr out
of rememberance ethir of me or of your chrifian deuitie to any, or
of your magnifiik office of clerkship and advocation to all minifters;
but I mey furlie expect your ryp, and advysit, and full aunfuer,
when I one at moft in the yeir propone my quaffion.

This is the matter. Effir we had depofit D. Hamilton in the
Aflemblie of Glaifgou, fome of the parifhioners of Glaffuird came
to Mr. Patrik Sherp, ther nibour, intreating him to with them to a
good miniftere. Being urgit, he recommends to them ane old
foller of myn, Mr. Jo. Bell, a fone of my neareft nibour and moft
deir freind, the minifter of Stevinftoun. Upon this recommenda-
tion, thys of the parifhioners defirs to heer the young man preach
in Mr. Patrik’s church, the Sunday folowing, promifing to be his

(1) This letter, on the subject of Patronage and Popular Election, is not con-
tained in the MS. Collection of Baille’s Letters. The original, entirely in
Baille’s own hand, is in possession of the Editor, along with Johnstone of War-
riston’s Answer; (Vide the Appendix to the present Volume.) Baille’s very
singular orthography has been retained, although the addition of a final e might
have been made with some propriety to such words as mad, sinc, on, one, violenc,
&c. intended for made, since, one, once, violence, &c.
heirers with others the most judicious of the parifhion. That Sunday the Doctor intendit by violenc, as they herd, in difpyt of our Asfemblie, to occupie his own pulpit; so they behovit to brack their tryst for to oppofe the Doctor, but withall defirs Mr. Patrik to move the yong man to deill with my Lord Semple, the laik patron and landlord of all the parifhion for a prefentation. The yong man came to me for my counfell and affifiance: knowing him to be one of the moft able youthes I kneu vakand, for lerning, wi- dom, utterance, and all minifteriall qualities, I movit my L. Argyle and my L. Egglingtonoun to wreit lettres to my L. Semple in his favours. My L. Semple promise a prefentation, having tryst from funry hands that all I had mad the noblemen wreit of the youth, and mor was treu, yet for feir of the King's offence did delay to prefent till the Asfemblie of Edinburgh. In the mean tyme, fome of the parifhioners falles in conceit firft with on and then with ane other yonge man: thir my L. Semple refufes to prefent, being ingagit to Mr. Jo. Bell, not only for the recommendation of his noble freinds, but beliving him, as the Prefbitery both then and yet does, and many mo with them, to be the meeter man for the people than any other was proponit to him. Upon this crofe thes of the parifhion who had delt for others, began to malignant Mr. Jo.; yet he being confident to give them full contentment, did go on by the advyce and incoragment of funry the cheif minifteres of the Prefbitery of Hamiltoun and many of the parifhioners to receve the prefentation. He was made weelcom in the Prefbitery, his tryells praefcrivit, both exercife, contraverfie in Latin, popular fermon: in all he gets ane fingular applaus, divers of thes who had oppofed took him by the hand, and all wer quiett. You must knou, by the way, that the Doctor's violenc in the epifcopall courfes had made manie of that people fall to the other extremitie of fome extravagant conceits, and bruniftik-lyk folies, much increafit among them by the heidines of their Reider, who for faultes in that kynd was divers tymes in the Prefbitery and Asfemblie callit to ane acount, and even yit is oder proceffe: the main thing that ever they pretendit for ther diffyk of Mr. Jo. was, that he had futit a prefentation befor he was electit by the congregation. In our late Sinodall Asfemblie in the Prefbiterie of Hamiltoun's cen- fur, that fame particular being examinit, and this relation which I have wreitten being publicfly made, the whole Asfemblie pronuncit as the act beires, that the yong man had done no fault, and
ordainit the Prefbiterie to proceed with him. All his tryells being past, the Prefbiterie with one mynd, comands his edict to be fervit, that with diligence he might be admittit to that long vacant church: the Reider, in the mean tyme, deiles with him for his favour to get his place keepit, but finding the youthe's aunfwer not fo direct and full of assurance as he wilhit, he goes præfently, fo farr as we can judge, out of meer malice, and fteires a numer of the people neer to a mutinous fedition: In the church, from his place, takes on him, as his cuftome is, to exhort all to ftand by the Covenant; from many scriptures preffes this, onder all the pains of hell; that by Covenant they ar tyed to the discipline of our church; that one part therof is the minifter's election by the people, that now they ar to receive one from the Prefbiterie and patrone which they did not elect; as the virgin foreit in the feild, if the cryd was fre of gift, by the lau of God, if silent, was punifeable for villanie; fo they, if nou they did not criie againft this violenc, wer by God to be plumber. By fuch fueite doctrin, he fo inflamit the poor people, that a numer of them came to the Prefbiterie with ther furdyes, on the day of ther edict, and he, as ther captain, with a proteftation againft the admiffion, and ane apell to the nixt Generall Afpemblie, upon no rafun at all, fo farr as I can heer, (for ther writ I have not yt seen; but if I can have a double of it in time, I shall fend it to you,) onlie I am certinly informit that ther only alegation is, they would be Covenant brekers, and perfydious, and fo lyable to all the curfes of God, if they did not oppone that man who comes to them againft the acts of the church discipline; a numer wherof they cite. The Prefbiterie trived to give them contentment in this fcruple, but in vaen; wherfo for they ordainit to go on with the admiffion on the first, I think, of the nixt moneth, finding no objeception at all movit againft the perfone ether for lyfe or doctrin, only a wilfull opposition on the pretene of a fcruple which the provincial Sinod hes pronuncit null. The people who oppofes for the moift part ar fillie cotters, being animat by ther Reider; they threatenit in the face of the prebiterie nothing bot fyr and fuord, that the pudder and leid they wer to fpend for ther Covenant at Dunce wes to the for, to be implojit at ther church whenfoever the prebiterie would come ther to oppugne that fame Covenant. We have acquaintit Mr. David Diksone with this story at lenth, who is much grivit with that people's unraffonable, onymous, and verie dangerous folyes; who hes undertaken to do what yses in him to remeed it. I fheu him I
would writ to you for your advyce, and he was weell pleafit with
the motion.

I muft therfor earnefly intreat you, that with fo grit diligenc as
you can ufe, you will have a letter reddie for this beirer to me, who
will wait on fuch tymes as you will apoint.

The knot is worthy your paines: at onc it may be a commun
and pernicious caes for yoaking of patrons, prefbiteries, and people,
all by the cares in the whole countrie, if a few preparatives paffe.
With the particular, which for your information I have written,
mell as little as you pleafe; but let your studye and write run mainly
on the generall, wither by our Covenant ar we oblihit to fland
punctually, without difpenfation, by thies paflages of our Disciplin
which really puttes down the right, or frustrats the ufe of patron-
ages; namly that paflage in the 4th heid of our Firft Book of
Disciplin "It apertaines to the people, and everie severall congre-
gation to elect their minifter." Does not that chapter at length give
the right of election to the people alone, to the patron not at all, to
church-men only in the caes of a people's negleét, and that for full
40 dayes? Alfo in our Second Book of Disciplin, cap. 3, the first
part of the calling is election, and this is "the choifing of the per-
son by the judgment of the eldership and content of the congre-
gation." Heer election is mad the proper act of the feffion, at leift
prefbitery, and of the people, to whom at leift a content is attribut,
so that ther diﬀerent, whomeoever on reaſon or without reaſon, wil caſt
and hinder the election. Thridly, a paſſage in the fam Second
book, cap. 12: Such "an election, and aſſent of the people" is re-
quirit, which does direcla dillroy all patronages, without excep-
tion of the prince's, and all beneﬁces, as popifh corruptions againſt
the word of God. This Book of Disciplin is ordainit by a numer
of our bell and moſt laſtull Assemblies to be fuorne and subfevit
at leift by all minifters. Laſtly, ar we not all fuorne to maintein
the Acts of the Asſemblie of Glafgou, and fo that twentie article
of the twentie-thrid feffion, when not only all that feek préfenta-
tiones without the advyfe of the prefbitery, ar ordainit to be re-
pellit as rei ambitus, but alfo all who direcly or ondirecly does
ufe any moſy for ane entre, ar ordainit to be rejeclit: so then is
no this the cleir method which Glafgou Asſemblie commands, that
thes who desires that worthie work of the miniftrey muſt firſt feek
the content of the congreation, and then go feek the prefbiteries
good will, whil they ar fitting in judgment, to get ther warrant
to be prefentit by patrons. All this seems directly to flou from the 4 alleaght texts of our Dicciplin. All this the people of Glass-
furt takes themself bound to stand to by ther blood; whou they
can be louifit, I pray you earnestly heu me your mind and your
clear rafuns; for thir folks cairs for no man’s opinion, without his
clear grounds. If you think them right the inconvenients will
be many. 1. By our oth and covenant everie on of the people
shall be oblihit to stand by everie Act of all our aproven Aflan-
bles. 2. We muft bring in a neu forme of entre, which to this
day might weel have been wiilhit, but was never practifit, at leff
never urgit in our Church. 3. We muft preach doun, and people
by ther fuords muft cut doun, all patronages: This, in the Aflam-
bly of Edinburgh, oft to the Commissioner you proteftit was never
your enme [aime]: for to shoot at the patronages, and calling in of
all the church rents, to mainteen therby even our elders and dea-
cons, as that fam chapter of the 2d Book of Dicciplin does import,
wer a project which everie on will not in Iaeft think them fuorne
to maintein by ther Covenant: yea, in our Parlament, the Prefbi-
teries did crave some patronages to themself as due in lau and
rafun. Lastly, ther will be grit danger in urging the people’s
election from scriptur: the men that preflis it ar too neer to the
main fundation of Bruniifue; the divin right of the Church, that
is the parith, to elect, admite, depofe, excommunicat ther minifter
and elders, of which right neer Prince nor Prefbitery nor Aflam-
bly can deprive them. The matter to me feems weightie, and of
grit confequent for the publict; you shal do weel to tak some of Mr.
Alexr's.(2) advyce. Whouere I hope I mey expect on of your old
long through letters, in a matter of such weight, and wher I have
to grit entereffe: if your diligene be aunfuerable to my defir,
expect writen thankes; if not, I shal in quiett filene regrait your
onkyndnes. The Lord be with you. My service to your kynd
Wyf.

Kilwinnin, Dec. 16, 1639.

Your old frend,
R. BAYLIE.

Use diligene, for belyve, you know, that you and I both mey
be hangit if Roffe(3) and the Divell gett ther will.

(2) Mr. Alexander Henderson. (3) Maxwell, Bishop of Ross.
My Letter to Mr. Jhonstoun anent my Book.†

Archbald,

Your frequent and very pressing letters, together with the approaching of the English Parliament, has made me use all the speed I was able, in the midst of my very frequent and necessary distractions. I have sent you all to the last chapter, which I hope shall be ready before you have perused the rest. You see my ordour is plain and simple; my text short enough; my length is only in my marginall probations, which any common or hastie reader may passe at his pleasure. The titles of my chapters, my notts on the margin, will lead, in a blank, any who desyre to their particular tenets at some figure in the text; which, at their pleasure, they may fee provin at the letter in the margin. I doe verily think that a treatise of this kinde were verie needfull at this tyme to be published, both to shew to the Churches abroad the true state of our controversie, and to waken up the spirits of our own countrymen, by demonstrating to their eye, in a short table, the incredible designes of our partie: also for the rouing up of our slippie neighbours of England, who readie, if God have not given them over for their own destruction to a spirit of popour, cannot fail at this tyme to prest more earnestlie the King than ever for justice on those our oppreffors; who, before all the world, are taken ridd-hand with the yyleft errors, which no longer can be suffered, let be to be patronied by their armes, who cannot but hate them. However, doe God with us all what he hes decreed, yet it were good to give a testimonie to the undermyndit and oppreffed trueth; that the posteritie, seeing the true ground of our sufferings, may judge the more charitablie of all our proceedings bygane and to come in this great and deep action. But although I think it most necessarie, that, without delay, a treatise of this nature should be sent abroad, yet I should be loath that my poor pamphlet should be any occasion to marr the coming out of such a piece from your hands there, whom God hes enabled in all this cause to doe great things. I think not good, that the lykes of me should proclaim our weaknesses in print: only at your defyre, have I undergone this

(†) The treatise, entitled "Ladensium Ante Posterioreen, The Canterburian's Self-Conviction, &c. Written in March, and printed in April, 1640." 4to. It was published anonymously.
labour; make what use of it ye thinke good. Mr. William Spang
hes a florie in Latine, a part whereof is in Mr. Henrie Rollock's
hand, which truelie, and for our advantage, setts down our pro-
ceedings to the pacification at Dunce. In my mind, yow would
doe weell to caufe Mr. H. Rollock, at leift thank the young man for
his paines, and encourage him to put it to the predfie; it will doe
us good over fee. All the pieces yow have fent me, I shall at once
return them most faithfullie to yow. For Liffmachus Nicanor,
good Leffy of Doun and Conner, (6) as I take it the author alfo of
Corbett's piece, the place of anfwering him would be my laft chap-
ter: bot I am not disposed to medle with him; my book is too
long alreadie; he is a madde scenick raifer: The things materiaill
to be anfuered are historick paffages of our meetings, Asfemblyes,
and Parliament, wherewith I am not fo weell acquainted as his an-
fuerer muft be; alfo, the question of the King's authoritie, which
he most mells with, I am not fo feene into it as I durft ventour to
wryte of that subject, more than I mind to fett down in my laft
chapter. Yow shall doe weell to hafte a florie of our proceedings,
which will be a reall anwer to the manifesto, and him, and others.
The Lord be with yow. 
Your Brother,
R. Baylie.

March 30th, [1640.]

For Mr. D. Dikson, Professor in Glasgow.

Reverend and Beloved Brother,

I long much to understand how all things frames with yow in
your new charge(6); there is no reafon, that at first everie thing
should be according to the mind of your friends. If that Towne
and Colledge were fo disposed alreadie, as to give the lyke of yow
fo heartie and kind welcome as they aught, what should you have
done there? Was it not your onlie erand to be God's inftument
among them, by your labours, to gett that disposition of theirs
amended, which this long whyle hes been to the land fo offensive;
to gett the grace of God, and heartie love to thofe who mindit
piete, planted in their heart? Ihall we be fo unreasonable as to look

(6) Baillie was mistaken in attributing "The Epistle of Lysimachus Nicanor,"
to Bishop Lesley. The author was John Corbet. Vide supra, p. 162.
(7) Mr. David Dickson was translated from the parish of Irvine to the Pro-
fessorship of Divinity, in the University of Glasgow, early in 1640.
for those things in them at the first moment, without any of your labour, which we with may be wrought in them, by all the paines yow can take in your whole life:

My wryte I have sent eait to Mr. Archbald [Johnstone] : yow may take a blenk of it. and of his letter here inclofed ; close it with your owne stamp. I have sent to yow the first copie, which is not weell written, but it is all I have: read it over so weell as yow may, and within eight dayes, fend your advyfe thereof, both to Mr. Archbald and to myfelfe. I have taken paines to doe what I conceaved might further the glorie of God. and good of our caufe. It were a pitie for my reward, that good and wyfe men shouledd putt me in print for my shame or hurt, or wronging either the honour of the trueth, or of our present caufe, which to me is much deirer than any thing I have. If it goe abroad, it shall lye on Mr. Archbald [Johnstone] Mr. Alexander [Henderson] and yow, to whose judgement I doe simplie submitt it to be used, as yow three shal agree.

That which ye wryte to our Presbytrie of our correspondance, though the multitude of our Presbyteryall actions that day permitted us not to an<eer. yet it was taken in verie good part: if yow pleafe to speak of it at the Synod with our brethren. yow will eafille obtain it, for both your good and ours. Yow would doe weell to prevent the evills which manie ways may inflew upon the humor of some few there to change their Crouner: Be free at leit with George Porterfield (7) ; your reservedness here may be the neglect of a good office, and furthering of much displeasure, which may befall both to him, and to the Towne, and to my Lord Mont- gomerie ; and yow are much oblithed to all those three. What yow wryte to me about Dunlop. (8) I was carefull to follow your directions: I think I would have moved Mr. Hew (9) to doe all yow required, bot the gentlemen were peremptor all of them; they would contribute nought at all : they would have allurice for Mr. Hew his part to be given not onlie to his fone, bot at his removcall to anie other : finding them thus resolvled, I gave over to medle. So I know no other bot Mr. Hew to be cenfured for his miscarriages, which, in my mind, may not be near to depolition: God forbid or ever my hand be with gentlemen for the unreasonable oppreelling of poor minifters. I am grieved with Mr.

(7) One of the Baillies of Glasgow in the year 1639. and Provost at a later period.
(8 & 9) The Parish of Dunlop, of which Mr Hugh Eglinton was Minister.
William Livingston's usage, if it be as we hear, of Lismahagoe (1) and Mr. John Lindsay: (2) such slaughter cruelty God will not approve, and men must detest: by anie means furder that poor man of Campfly (3) to his place; your depofoeing of him was much against my mind. If when the whole Prefbytric and paroche, and the world which knows him, are for his restitution, and you onlie hold him out, it will not be weell. Mr. James Fullartoun is with God. Mr. Thomas Craig is like to prove such a villaine, that he is worthie of more punishment then deposition. Likelie, Mr. Alexander Dunlop will not be gotten long keeped: we have no able expectants almoft to supplie roumes; the Lord help us. My people hes discharged me to keep the Synod, and my neceflar diligence in clofing my piece will not suffer me to come abroad; fo, when I will fee yow I know not. If your Towne folift not diligentie, they will tyme Mr. Robert Ramfay. The Commissioners of Air Prefbytric had weell near gotten a promife of our Prefbytric's concuring with theirs for keeping him; but I did publickly marr that propofition. I long to fee Margaret and the bairns; yow fee I cannot end; the Lord be with yow.

March 30th [1640].

MY LATTER WILL

WHEN I WENT TO THE ARMY, THE 4TH OF MAY 1639:

[REVISED THE 20TH OF JULY 1640.]

If it be the will of my God in this Voyage that I doe not returne, I am weell pleafed to offer up my life for the honour of my God, and the defence of my Countrie, which I apprehend to be in great hazard both of religion and liberties. I truft to die in the faith of Chrift, and heartie love of King Charles. As for my outward estate, thus I conceive it to be, and this I declare for my Latter Will.

Aughtand to me by Cunynghamhead, according to his band, two thousand five hundred merk. Item, by the brethren of Dunlop, by their band, two thousand merk. Item, ane annualreft from the lands of Golden-hoove according to my infeftments, now

(1) Robert Hamilton, Minister of Lismahago.
(2) Lindsay was Minister of Carstairs.
(3) Alexander Forbes, Minister of Campsey, who had been deposed by the Presbytery of Glasgow, 1st of May 1639.
poffeffed by James Roe merchant in Edinburgh, which I eftimate to five hundred merks if a reverfion cannot be produced, or if it can, only to three.

My Bookes hes not been coft for three thousand merk. I think if they be weell fold, by some freind, with the things up and down the houfe, which may be fpared, as my horfe, my armour, the two silver taffles, a dozen of silver spoons, the great coffer, &c. may come to two thousand merk.

Of my Stipend, the yeir 1637 receaved onlie three hundred merks, there will be remaining, I think, about twelve hundred merk: my ftipend the two next yeirs, 1638 and 1639, readilie may be near to two thousand four hundred merk.

I hope, if God blefs my Wyfe's vertuous living, that thir things may come to weell near ten thoufand merk; whereof I wifh my Wyfe to be content, notwithstanding of her contract, with annual-rent of feven, and to employ the annuelrent of the other three to the education of my three children. After her, I wifh that Robert, quyteing his heirship, might have five thoufand merk, and Henry two thoufand five hundred, and Lilias als much; and if the foumes diminish to much lefs, that whatever is be divided to them by this proportion. I make my Wyfe fole executrix. I with my Lord Montgomery, my brother Henry Glen, the Principal Dr. Strang, Mr. Hary Gibfone, Robert Livingftone, Mr. John Bell, James Mitchell, Mr. Claud Hamiltoun, to give her their beft advyces: if all be loft, God, in whose caufe I die, will be a hufband to my moft vertuous Wyfe, and father to my little Children.

The 3d of June [1639,] in my march to the Camp [at Dunfe,] I did revife this wrytt, and approve it.

The 20th July 1640, going to Aberdeen, I revifed this wrytt and approved it; only with this farther explanation. Cunyng-hamehead, at the next terme of Martinmas, will be aucftand me, befyde his father's band, four hundred merk of borrowed money, two hundred sixteen of annuellrent, of which he muft retaine, for my tenth penny of annuellrent 1639, as I count, 20 merk. Dun-lop, at Mertimes, aught fcore merk, whereoe he retains sixteen; James Roe twentie pound; Alexander Armour thirtie pound, for three termes. Of my ftipend, three full yeirs, 1638, 39, and 40; alfo large three hundred merk of 1637 yeir, according to Robert Livingftoun's fubfcryved count.
To Mr. William Spang, after Aberdeen Assemblie.

[September 1640.]

Reverend and well beloved,

I wryt not to yow since Aprile; when from Edinburgh there was sent to yow a number of my pamphlets. I inclofed in my letter a number of our parliamentarie proceedings, as I could get them. I sent you also instructions to send some of my books to Rivett, to Titius [Thyfius], to Voetius, to Paris, to Geneva, to Somer, to Tigur; for it concernes us much that in all these places the mysteries of our tyrannous faction should be manifest. Yow did well to put out the word of hangman, albeit we were truelie a while informed that the Court of Parliament of Paris had pronounced an cruell sentence against that harmles Prince. Let me know the judgement of others there about my pamphlet: by missing of the Currants betuixt the 16th and 22d of June I have miffed at lefft one of your letters.

We have been long a moving, partlie of necessitie, and more by resolution. We were, in February, declared traytors and rebells, upon no new reaons; our Assemblie’s conclusion, anent our Covenant and Episcopacie, allented to and subferyd by the King’s Commissioner and Councell, are declared to be most traitorous; a commiffion given to Northumberland to cutt us off by sea and land before the coming up of our Commissioners. When they came up, they were bot mocked, (the two Bifhaps at the table head, at the King’s two hands,) the Deputie, and Marqueis, and Windibanks oft scoffingly interrupting them. We had no will to fturr till the Parliament concludit; and gave ane commiffion to our Generall. The Castle of Edinburgh was long waited on; bot when our mindes [mines] failled, and the affault seemed dangerous, we thought meet to give over the interpriie. Our men were long a-gathering: albeit the West sea-bank was first at the randevouze, before the horfemen and baggage could be gotten put out it was the first of August. Monro fand no opposition in the North. Argyle his traverfeing the heads of Atholl, Marr, Badenoch, Lochaber, with a prettie camp and cannon, never before afiayed, held all that country in order. Montrofe became somewhat capricious for his own fancies, and made Drummond, his neighbour, somewhat linger; bot Argyle makes all men draw.
Our A[lemb]l at Aberdeen was keepit with great peace(1). We fand great averfenefs in the hearts of many from our course, albeit little in countenance. Dr. Sibbett [Sibbald,] Forbes, and Scroggie, were resolv'd to suffer martyrdom before they subservydd any thing concerning Episcopacie and Perth Articles; but we resolv'd to speak nothing to them of thefe matters, bot of farr other purpofes. We fand them irrefolut about the Canons of Dort, as things they had never fee[n, or at leaft considered. They could say nothing againft any clauſe of the book, of Canons, Liturgie, Ordination, High Commìffion; yea, Dr. Forbes's treatifes, full of a number of popish tenets, and intending directlie reconciliation with Rome, farther than either Montague, or Spalato, or any I ever faw, was among their hands, and the hands of their young students; together with a treatife of B[ihop] Wedderburn, and ane Engl[ish] prieff, Barneflius, all for reconciliation. Dr. Sibbald in manie points of doctrine was found verie corrupt; for the which we depofit him, and ordain'd him, without quick sattisfaction, to be proceed. The man was there of great fame: it was laid on poor me to be all their examiner, and moderator to their proceed. Dr. Scroggie, ane old man, not verie corrupt, yet pervers[e in the Covenant and service book; Dr. Forbes's ingenuitie pleafed us fo well, that we have given him yet tyme for advyfement; poor Baroun, otherways ane ornament of our nation, we found hes been much in multis the Canterburian way: great knaverie and direct intercourfe with his Grace we fand among them, and yet all was hid from us that they could. I got my caufe delayed till the nixt Generall A[lemb]lie; yt Mr. Robert Ramsay was ordain'd to transport to Glafgow, and Mr. Andrew Cant to Aberdeen, fore againft his heart: his patron Louthian will vehementlie oppofe it. Thir violent transportations will at once offend manie. I am lyk to be more than bofted with a divinitie profeffion in Aberdeen: the world is fo farr miftaken; better for me to be dumb or dead than fo miferable. Much of our ten dayes (2) fpending in caufes of transportations, and plantation of churches, where patrons, prebyteries, and people had their con tents. All which came before us were at laft peaceable fettled: manie good overtures were made, which you will fee at once in print.

That which troubled us moift was a paffage of Mr. Harie Gut-

(1) The General Assembly at Aberdeen met on the 23th of July 1640,— Mr. Andrew Ramsay, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, Moderator.
(2) The Assembly continued its meetings till the 5th of August.
trie's, (6) which, because it may be the occasion of farther dinne, I will relate to you particularlie, so farre as I understand. Our coun-
treymen in Ireland, being prefled there by the Bifhops to coun-
terance the Liturgie and all their ceremonies, did abffee no much
from the publick worship; and in privatt, among themselves, their
minifters being all baniished, did in that place and tyme of perfec-
tion, comfort themselves with prayer and reading, and other ex-
cerfes of religion, whiles in the night, whiles in the day, as they
had occasion. Sundrie of them intending ane voyage to New Eng-
land, inclined towards the discipline of thefe churches; yea, fome
Brunifts, infinuating themselves among them whereas their minifters
were away, did move diverffe towards their conceits. The moft of
thir good people flying over to us, were heartilie embraced of us
all; their privat meetings were overfeen; fome of their conceits,
though they were fpreading, yet for caufes we let alone till the Laird
of Leckie,(7) one who had ffuffered much by the Bifhops, was mark-
ed, ufeing his Irith forme of privie exercifes in Stirling, and in his
prayers fome expressions which were prejudiciall to Mr. Harie [Guth-
rie,] minifter of the faid toun, and uthcr minifters of the land, who
did not affect their wayes. At once Mr. Harie, with the brethren of
that prefbytric, and magiftrats of that toun, did begin with vehem-
cie and fome violence, to fupprefs thofe privie meetings, and to
paint out in verie black letters all the singularities they knew or
heard of in Leckie, or thofe who affected their wayes. They, on
the other fide, faiffed not to rander to Mr. Harie, and the brethren,
the like. The laft Affembly of Edinburgh was perplexed with this
matter. Mr. Harie made verie loud complaints of their novations,
both in word and wyrte. Sundrie being conffious what in diverffe
parts of the countrie was broaching, was in fome fear. Diverfee of
our chief minifters tendering verie much the credit of thofe verie
pious people, were loath that any thing concerning them fhould
come in publck. We had fundrie privat meetings with the chief
that was thought to incline that way. Mr. Henderfoun vented
himself, at manie occafions, passionatlie, oppofit to all thefe con-
ceits. We fand among ourfelves great harmonie of judgment; yea,

(6) Mr. Henry Guthrie, at this time Minister of Stirling, was deposed 14th of
Nov. 1648, for malignancy. After the Restoration, (about 1665,) he was con-
serated Bishop of Dunkeld.

(7) In the MS. 'Leccie.' The person mentioned appears to have been Alex-
ander Leckie of Leckie. "Iouannes Leckie de cedem," was served heir of his
Leckie, declaring his mind in a wryte, was found to differ from us in nothing considerable. Once we agreed for the framing of ane act for the preveening of such questions. Both sides laid it on me to forme it. All was pleas’d with the draught, onlie one, not lyking my conclusion of precise discharging of all novations till in a Generall Afsemmblie they were allowed, perfuaded to leave off making of ane act, leift our adverfyers shou’d triumph in our fo haffie difputations, if not divi’sions; and did affure, by quiet dealing, to sopite fomther all farder reafoning of fuch purpofes; onlie we concluded, for fatisfa&ion of all, that Mr. Harie fhould preach for advancement of religious exercifes in everie familie, and Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. John Makclellan, Mr. John Levilloune, againft night-meetings, and other abufes quhilk were complained of. Mr. Blair, in his fermon, did not fo much cry downe these meetings as was expected; wherefore Mr. Guttrie refu’d to preach at all. Some citizens of Edinburgh declared themfelves not well fatisfi’d with Mr. Henderfoun’s zeall againft their pra&ife. One Livingftone, a traffiquer with the Engli{h who wer affected to our reformation, bot withall to the discipline of New England, in his letter to his friends abroad, did wryte verie difpytfullie of Mr. Henderfoun; thir being intercepted, did greive not onlie the man himfelf, bot us all, of all ranks, who had found him the powerfull instrument of God, fitted expreflie much above all other to be a bleffing to our Church, in this moft dangerous feafone. For preveening of farder inconvenience, it was thought meet to preffe, in all the kingdome, religious exercifes in families, according to a draught which Mr. Henderfoun, with the unanimous confent of all, gave out in printh. This familie worhip was expected ane sufficiënt remedie against the feared evills of uther privie meetings; bot when it was not found fo, thefe that would have keeped on foot amongft us fome of the Iri{h novations, foreeeking their fervce condemnation by the infewing Generall Afsemmblie, thought good to eifhu [eʃchew] that difereditable froke, and drew together in Edinburgh, in tymie of the Parliament, to a privie conference; on the one fyde, Mr. Henderfoun and Mr. Eliezer Borthwick; on the other, Mr. Blair and Mr. Dickfoun: thefe four agreed on a paper of caveats, limiting thefe privie meetings; which being opened to the rest of the brethren there convened, did pleafe all. The report of this gladed all the land, hoping that thefe difputations had then been at a point.

I heard no more of them till the Synod, at the beginning whereof, as the cuftome is, a lift being given up for preaching in the towne,
Mr. Guttrie was one. He finding himself, as he avowed, indisposed in bodie, and unable without more books and leasure than there he could have, and unwilling, fra the Provost of the towne required he should be heard, having, as he heard, a mind to get him transported to that towne, refued peremptorilie to preach there at all, and that with some words of headines, more than it became to us, in the face of ane Assemblie. These who boore him at small good will, finding him in this snare, whether to punish him for bygone busines, or to dafe him for attempting in that Assemblie any farder matter about Leckie his meetings, which they suspected was his maine cirand to that place, urging straitlie the publick cenfure of his prefunption. When he was removed, all thefe who had relation to the Irifh busines, lighted fo sharplie upon him, that manie did thinke that their cenfure was not fo much for his prefent misbehaviour, as for some bygone quarrels. He took the Moderator's reproof submiffivelie enough; but whether on that irritation, or preceeding resolution, he fett himfelf with all earnestnes to have thefe matters concluded in Assemblie, which fome of us were afrayed fo much as publickly to name. Privatlie he had solicit the whole northern miniftrie and elders, putting them in a great vehemence againft all thefe things he complained of. It was one of my overtures for the ordering of the house at the beginning of the Assemblie, that no motion fould come in publick till firft it were considered in privat by the Committee appointed for things of that nature whereof it wes, unlefs the Committee did refuse to receive it. Whereby Mr. Harie his firft motion in publick, though he alleadged it had been proponed be him to the committee and not receaved, was rejected again to the Committee: by this means he was holden of fome dayes; but by no means could be gotten diverted from proponing thefe quiffions, which we were afraid fould trouble us all. Accompit was taken of all the Commissioner of the kingdome, in the face of the Assemblie, of settling of familie exercice in ilk house of their Presbytrie; it was avowed to be everie where prettie well advanced; but this was no water for the fire in hand. It was the advyce of the committee, to propon Mr. Henderfoun's paper before Mr. Harie was heard. This advyce, in my minde, was healthome; for lyklie all would have applauded to that paper, and no more needed for the fettleing of thefe quiffions; but fome, whether becaufe they were loath, though privatelie they affented to that paper, that yet it fould goe in a publick act, or being carried with a clean contrare fpaitie, were
willfull to have Mr. Harie to vent himself in publick, to the utter-
moff of his passions, would not let the committee determine any
thing in that affair. Mr. Harie being permitted at laift to speak in
the Assembly, in a long discoursë, proclaimed what he was able to
say of Leckie and these meetings: truelie he uttered manie things
vere odious, if trew. Mr. James Simpfone of Bathgate shew alfo
manie scandalous things of that fort of people. A Commissioner
from Galloway declared a number of uncouth passadges, reflecting
on Mr. Samuell Rutherfoord, Mr. John Livingstone, and Mr. Mak-
clellan. Presentlie all went to a heat and confused dinn; the
whole north, especiallie the Earle of Seaforë, a well spoken man,
but whose honestie in our caufe ever has been much suspected,
pasionateliie fyding with Mr. Harie; some others fretting to hear
pious people fo shamefullie, as they thought, cumlniat. In the
midit of the clamour, I took leave sharplie to regrate that we did
rush in a greater evil than any was complained of: the confused
miforder of a Generall Assembly was the spoyling of the onlie
remedie of that and all other diseases: Bot no possibilitie of order
and silence: the Moderator had neither weight in his discoursë,
nor dextertoie in guiding: we miffed much Mr. Henderfoun, or
some of our respeicted nobles. At laift the confusion ended in a
committee for the preparing of overtures to remedie the evil:
the committee was for the moxt part of men at Mr. Harie’s devo-
tion. After much jangleing and repetition, with manie elks of
odious (whether true or fabulous) narrations, fundrie of us inclyned
to have that fore-named paper past in ane act. Bot my Lord
Seaforë, and Mr. Harie, by no means could hear of that motion;
they told over, that caveats had brought in the bishops; that this
paper, though never fo full of limitations, would be introductive
at laift of the thing limited. Mr. Rutherfoord all the while was
dumb; onlie in the midit of the jangleing he caft in a fyllogisme,
and required them all to answere it: “What Scripture does war-
rand, ane Assembly may not discharge; bot privie meetings for
exercises of religion, Scripture warrants.” Heb. xii. [Jam. v. 16.]
“Confes your finnes one to another, pray one for another;”
Mal. [iii. 16.] “Then did the godlie oft speak together, and God
hearkened,” etc. Thir things could not be done in publick meet-
ings. A number greedilie hanlhit at the argument, Mr. A. Ram-
say, Mr. J. Adamfoun, and others; bot came not near the matter,
let be to answere formaillie. My Lord Seaforë would not have
Mr. Samuell to trouble us with his logick fyllogismes; the trueth
is, as I conceive, Mr. Harie intended to have all meetings private \textit{simpliciter} abolished; also Mr. Rutherfoord I know, had, in a
treatise, defended the lawfullnes of these meetings in greater num-
ers, and for more purposes than yet we have heard practis'd; also
Mr. Dickfoun had written, and practised, and countenanced some
things in these meetings, that now, both of them finding the incon-
venicencies, and seeing the great opposition they got by manie good
men, and especially by Mr. Henderfoun, were content to passe
from, at leaft to be silent of. We cloesed that night with this over-
ture, That fyve of our number should draw up every one of us our
conception, by way of act, to present to-morrow to the committee,
Mr. David, Mr. Harie, Mr. D. Lindfay, Mr. Alexander Petrie, and I.
In my act, I trave fo cunninglie as I could, to convase Hender-
foun's paper shortlie, with some of my own conceptions. I com-
municat it with the chief opposers of Mr. Harie, Mr. D. D., Mr.
Sa. R., Will. Rigg, and others, got them at last to acquiece.
When we came to the committee, all fyve acts was read: the
question came betuixt myne and Mr. Harie's; myne was lykit by
all, onlie Mr. Harie miflyked it, and conceived, that under everie
word a dangerous ferpent did lie; there was no remead: his con-
tentment was the contentment of the bodie of the Affemblie. Fruet
he miflyked my draught, I fet my self to perfwade that his draught
might be accepted, for truelie it had nothing that was contra-
verted: It confisted of three articles;—the Second, "That read
prayer was not unlawfull," Mr. D. Dick did illarge, That it should
be lawfull to read prayers, both in private and publick;—the
Third, "That it should not be permitted to any to expone Scrip-
ture to people, bot onlie ministers, and expectants approvin by
Presbytries," no man did contradict; the Firft, "That familie
worship should be declared to be of perfones of one familie, not of
diverfe;" here was all the question. I did declare publicklie, oft
without contradiction, that the meetings whereof he complain'd
were not familie meetings, but ane other kinde (specificallie differ-
ing from the other; so that his article of familie meetings would
never touch any abuse of these meetings, were they never fo manie
or foule. Yet because this was Mr. Harie's own draught, and he
alledged, that the people with whom he had to doe did take their
conventicles onlie for familie exercis, he required no more than
the declaration of the Affemblie, that familie meetings extended
no farther than to perfones of the same families. This, though no
man could refuse, yet there that lyked nothing that came from him,
did question much more than they needed, and verie violentlie urged to have, in that article, limitations, which, in my judgement, were verie needless, and did further Mr. Harie's designe more nor his own words. Alwayses Mr. Harie was made content to admit of ane exception, which was, the practife of people flocking to their minifter's familie exercize; bot of any moe exceptiones he would not hear; and more they pressed to have, upon ane argument that did much amaze my minde, that except they got ane other conceit, they had a written protestation ready against that act of the Synod; the thing that the devill was seeking, and would have been sweet paftyme to that town of Aberdeen, and our small favourers in the North, who was greedilie gazing on the event of that broyle. Always at laft the prayers of the land for God's blessing to that Assemblie prevailed, and in a moment God made the minds of these who differed to agree, to the great joy of all when they heard it. There was bot fyve of us then in privat, Mr. Harie and Mr. David as parties; Belhelvie for Mr. Harie, the Moderator and I betuixt them. Mr. David at laft acquiesced to my request to let Mr. Harie's article passe as it ftood, and Mr. Harie, after once and agaime I had inculcate to him, that all his act was bot a blephum if yow putt not in that clause yow fee it hes against novations, was at laft content to putt it in; so with great difficultie, the act being agreed upon in privat, and in the committee, when it came to be voted in the Assemblie, it had no con-trare voyce.

All of us did think that then the storme was close over and gone; yet behold, when leift we expectit, it does blow up againe as boyteroullie as ever: some that was grieved and freted that their oppo-site should have gotten so much way, defyreing to have some order of him, did give in a wryte, requiring, since fo manie wyle [vile] abufes were in the Assemblie alleaged to have been committed by Leckie, and others, in diverse parts of the kingdome, it were expedient that a committee were ordained for the tryall and severe punishment of all these miforders; and that this committee should fitt in Edinburgh, and confift of thefe whom the Assemblie had appointed Commissioners for the Parliament, with fo manie other as the Assemblie thought meet to joyne with them. This bill was read near the end of the Synod be Mr. James Boner, moderator of the bills, as newlie given to him, by whom he knew not. Upon the hearing of it, at once there rofe such a heat and univerfall clamour, that it was marvellous. Mr. John Makcelellan was found the in-
giver of it; while he began to be hifted at, Mr. A. Cant and Mr. D. D. did fpake for the reafonablenefs of it, and fome few other minifters and gentlemen who had been on the councef of it; bot they were fo overwhelmed with the multitude of cryers, Away with it! Away with it! that they were forced to be filent, and let it goe. I much grieved to fee the tumultuous disorder of our Afiembfie; and had I been on Mr. David's councef, I would have difufed him to my power from fuch a motion, which, if it had been affented to, was like to have fyred our Church, more than any other brand that Satan at this tyne, in all his wit, could have invented: fo, by God's goodnefs, water was call'd on that fyre for the tyne. The amirs [embers] yet feems to fmoke; bot we hope God will fee to the peace of our Church, which is bot a brand newlie taken out of the fyre, or rather yet in the midft of the flame of warr and great danger.

When I returned to Edinburgh, I faw there Rothes, Lowdoun, Mr. Archbal'd Johnfloun, fent by the armie to inreat that the Town of Edinburgh would be pleas'd, on all fecuritie they could invent, to lend what readie monie they could fpare, for the fupplie of our fouldiers, who were in ftrait for want of monie; also, becaufe it would be troublefome to thefe of Ingland, who were much delighted with their planting, if our armie fhou'd cutt down timber for bigging of our hutes, they prayed, that the honeft women might be tryed what webb's of hardin or fheets they might fpare, that everie four fouldiers might be accommodat in a tent of eight ell. H. Rollock had fo sweetlie fpoken to the people's mindes on the Sonday, that the women afternoon and to-morrow gave freelic great flore of that fluffe, almoft fufficient to cover all our armie; and, which was more, I faw on the Monday the neighbours being conveened, offer in prefeft monies, to be lent in common fecuritie, verie fair foumes of monie; fo that, farr above all expectation, to our great incourage-ment, our medlengers on Tuesday got with them a large hundred thoufand pound, and hope almoft of as much shortlie to follow. Oft tymes hes that worthie Towne been a good inleument in our caufe, but never more feaonal than at this dangerous exigent. The maintenance of our armie was founded on the tenth pennie of our eftates, and hopes from England: the firft came bot flowlie in; the valuation of men's eftates drew to great length, let be the payment: from England there was no expectation of monies till we went to fetch them: we called in the plait, and put it to the queinze-houfe; we craved voluntarie offerings; whereby some
prettie foumes alfo wes gotten. Bot what was all this to twenty thousand merks a-day, which our armie required, being then about twenty-two thousand foot and three thousand horfe, belydes two or three thousand carriidge horfes with swords and hagbutts. We lay at the Border a large ten or twelve dayes after our appoint-
ment to march. Durie, the Generall Commissier, for all his extraor-
dinarie diligence, could not gett a fourteen dayes provision to the fore, and horfes to carrie it, which we refolved to have with us. Alwayses at laift at Caldstream we palled Tweed the 2oth August, with great courage, our horfe troupes fanding in the water, our foot all wading in order about their middle. The lott gave the van that day to Montrofe; to whom I thinke it was very well-
come. He went on foot himfelf firft through, and returned to encourage his men; yet one of his fojours, and he onlie of all the armie, did drowne. All our foot crowners went through on foot, except one or two, being employed to brek the watter on horfe.
We marched at leaufer through Northumberland; the fcarcitie of that countrey and feare of the people made us divide our com-
panies in three; Lieutenant-Generall Almond led one part, Gene-
 rall-Major Baylie, ane other, the Generall the reft. The regiments kepted their order of van and rear dailie by lott; all was within eight or twelve myles call. The troupers of the garifoun of Ber-
wick made their incursions on our scattered fingle men, bot to little purpofe.

On the 28th we mett all, according to appointment, in New-
cafle Moore a little before night. We lay near the river, fome fbye miles above the town, at Newburne; the paflage was well fortified; ten thousand foot lying, with their cannon, under the trenfhes; twenty-fbye hundred horfemen, well mounted, with head-peace, corflet, carabins, piftoles. To-morrow their canon and mufket plaid among us; bot it pleafed God wonderfullie to affift us. Our cannon, at the fecond volee, played fo well upon their trenches, that their foot, in great numbers, fled from their co-
lours. About four afternoon, Coronall Blair, with a thousand mufketeers, and fome two troupes of horfe, Coronall Lefly, and Sir Thomas Hope, were commanded to goe through the water. Twelve of the Englifh troupes came to meet them, whereupon they began to retire. The van of the foot that day did fall to Loudoun, who, with Lindefay and Queenberrie, had a brigad of eighteen hundred men; Montgomerie had a brigad as strong: thefe two being directed to fecond the horfe, came running to the
river with great courage, and all the armie began to march; which the English perceiving, did soon retire, the foot to a wood, the horse to a hill. Here two of our horse-troupes were commanded to charge them; which they did so ventouriously, that they were like to be beaten, had not our Generall come up with six troupes for their secourfe: At once the English fled. We left within a dozen; the most regraited was a brave gentleman, Sir Patrick Magie of Large his onlie fone; who having gotten the English generall's colours, and flourishing with them, by miftake was slaine (*) by some of our owne. There was killed to the English, as some fay, fixtie, some a hundred, some fyve hundred. The Generall-Major, my Lord Wilmot's fone, and Generall-Commilliar Digbie, and Coronell O'Neell, and manie more gentlemen, were taken. The night and the near wood, and most of all, our good-will to the English nation, hindered our pursuit of the victorie: that night we stood in our armes. To-morrow Newcastle was rendered to us: the fouldiers and chief citizens had fled out of it in great hatre. In the King's magazine were found good store of biskett and cheefe, and five thoufand armes, mufkets, and pikes, and other provifion. Mefs. Hendersfoun and Cant preached to a great confluence of people on the Sunday. My Lord Louthian with his regiment was placed to govern the towne; our campe lay without. The report of this in all our pulpits did make our people fould humble and heartie thanks to the name of our God, in the confidence of whose help this work was begun, and on whose ftreight it does yet rely: Not weell knowing what to doe nixt: yet this is no new thing to us; for manie a tyme from the beginning we have been at a non-plus; bot God helped us ever. Our armie is alreadie diminished; the traits of victualls, and dicipline, hes made manie to runn away, on whom the troupers of Berwick hes lighted fikerlie. Money of our owne we cannot have; of our English friends, either their money or men, as was long agoe expected, we cannot hear. If we trouble in the lealt fort the country of England, we are feared for their ryfing againft us. Where the King is, and what forces he can make, we cannot certainlie know: There was ten thoufand Irishe thir two moneth Irifhes thir on the coaft of Ireland fore-anence our country, keeping thefe in the West, under Argyle and Eglintoun, in sulphence. Thir are thought now to be tranported to England; so it is expected we shall yet have a battell. Our armie minds

(*) On the Margin of the MS Baillie has added, "This holds not."
to refresh themselves at Newcastle. They have written to the Committee of Estates for a recrew: of brave men anew in armes, there is no doubt, if our harvest were ended, and monies were had. If the English will now be beasts, and daftardlie cowards, they must lie without any man's pitie under their flavish servitude for ever: We put little doubt but we shall get for our selves fair enough conditions; bot it will be to our great regrate, if we gett not all the King's dominions to our happineffe.

The 28th of August, the day of our solemn humiliation in burgh and land through all the kingdome, according to the Generall Assemblie's appointment, was a happie day to us, not onlie for our glorious victorie in England, but also two other of God's benefits. The Castle of Dumbartan, questionles the strongest place in Brittain, did capitulat to render to-morrow, and did so: meall, flesh, filh, fresh water, money, amunition of all kind, they had in flore; bot God had sent the feurvieu among them, whereof manie was dead, and moe verie sick, and few men for service left. We gave them baggage and armes, and courteous convoy to Borrowtounnes, where they shipped for Berwick. Alfo, as I think, that fame day the garrifon of Berwick thought to have surprisfed our garrifon and cannon at Dunfe; bot being discovered they were bravelie repulfed; and in the cairts that they brought for our cannon, they returned nought bot their own dead bodies. It is the good pleuure of God to mix the wyne of his owne with some water or milk, that it runn not into their weak heads. To-morrow, on Sunday the 30th, ane Inglyth villaine, having, as we are informed, been suborned by the garrifon of Berwick, put fire in the powder which lay at Dunglafs, and tumbled over the house on that brave and noble gentle-
man the Earle of Haddingtoun, whose page he was, to whom the charge of all the East countrey was committed: manie gentlemen and others were smoored with the Earle, and manie dangeroulesse hurt. God brought us some good out of that evill, that is thought was prepared for our Generall and all our nobles, who oft a little before mett for councill in that house; albeit the knave, blowing up himself with the rest, cannot be had to tell us the certaintie: I say, some good we got be it; the people about the house being amazed, put on beacons for gathering of the countrie, and by their example all Louthian and Fyfe set up their fyres; whereupon the Castle of Edinburgh, apprehending the King's navie for their reliefe, does caroufe fo joviallie that night, that they put off more provision than they had done for some weeks before. This, with
the example of Dumbartan, and report of Newcastle, is hoped will haste at once the rendering of that house. Generall Ruthven on Sunday last craved a parlie; we expect shortlie the good issue of it. The Earle of Argyll receaved a commiffion to levie ten thousand men for a voyage to Ireland; however, for the present, it may be but a boat to hold the Irish army at home; yet, as manie of our boats hes proven in the end reall stroakes, this readilie may doe so; for it is thought we have manie thousands in Ireland, not onlie Scotts, bot Irish, who are longing for our coming over.

Since, we have seen in manie letters from the best hands in our camp, sundry diverse relations, of manie circumstances of our conflict at Newburne-ford; bot the most agrees to what I have written; however, read your self (CC.) the Information sent by the Committee to our table at Edinburgh; even of it I have seen ane other copie somewhat differing. Our Generall, thinking our enemies had not been out of that field, made our armie that night stand in their armes, about the place of the faught. We gott the Royall standard, Charles Porter the carrier being killed. My Lord Conway, their generall, was near taken. They report he took ane oath of all the trouper to die in the place, neither to take nor give quarters; yet when they stood a while till their foot was out of danger, they themselves, with little ado, forgot their oath and faved their lyves for a better tyme. The King was coming on to them as farr as Allartoun; bot hearing of the defeat, returned to Yorke. For all our victorie, we were in great straits; all our victualls were spent; all the countrey had fled, with all they could carry: If Newcastle had bot clofed their ports, we had been in great hazard of present disbanding; bot all the garrifon and principall citizens flying away that same night in a panicke-terour, made them to-morrow offer us all they had. Their facilitie made us at once to try Durham, who willinglie receaved Dumfermling to lie there, with a brigade of foot, and some horfe. Tynemouth, Shields under Newcastle, rendered thereafter; which putt in our hand the harberie and shipping there: we welcomed among others two of the King's [ships] who brought to us out of the King's garrifon in the toun good store of victualls. Finding plentie about Newcastle, we sent back some of our greatest ordnance, moft cumberfome to carry.

When we had drawn a little our breath, I think on Friday the 4th of September, we sent Mr. Hew Cathcart with a humble supplication to his Majestie, he would be pleased to hear our grievan-
ces, and provide for them; yow may read the tennor of it (D.). At the same tyme some forty nobles conveened at London, did send my Lord Mandaweell and Hawart to petition for a Parliament, to settle this warre without farder blood, and to take order with manifold grievances, as yow may see them exprefed in the wryte itfelf (E.) The King’s anfwer to both was mild and short, as yow may read (F.). Ours indeed held on generalls, being moft part excufatorie for what was paft, and preparation for a parifie about particulars; fo the King, by his secrefarie my Lord Lanerick, defyred us to propon our fpeciall defyres; which at once we did, in eight articles, with Will. Fleeming, as here yow may read (G.): what the event will be, God knows. Proclamations (H.) are over all England, to call all to the Royall fandard at Yorke, againft the 24th of this instant. It were eafe for us to hinder that meeting, and furprife that randevouze; yet we refolve to goe no farder in till we fee what our friends intends. We are fortifying our winter quarters at Newcastle: the Generall does call to the Committee for a recrew of five or fix thoufand men with diligence; alfo hes wryten to Argyle and Eglington to be in readiness, with all that countrey, when he calls for them. We will goe with the better will fince that moft troublesome thorne of the Caflle of Edinburgh is now out of our foot. On Tuesday, the 15th of this instant, for all their late thundering, they clofed their capitulation with my Lord Argyle; and on Fryday, with displayed colours, armes, baggage, and two peice of cannon, were conveyed to Leith for Berwick. The committee at Newcastle was much difpleafed with this capitulation: in their letter to the Committee of Edinburgh, they complained of it as difgracefull and difadvantageous that traitors to their countrey, when, after all the worft they could doe, were brought to extremities, even then with fuch honour to be difmiffed. Bot the truth is, the good Toune of Edinburgh diduffer daylie fo much at these knaves hands, as by any means they were moft glad to be rid of them; alfo our Regiffers, and Jewels of the Croun, with much munition, was in their hands; which, [had they] been put to desperation, they might, and were like to have been willing to defroy it all. A litle after, Nifdaill rendered his houfes of Carlawerock, and Threiff, which had kept all year Cochran’s regiment at the fide. So now, by God’s mercie, there is not a place nor perfon in Scotland who makes them to oppofe us; alfo thefe men which the North, Edinburgh, and Nifdaill, had hitherto withdrawn, were now readie, with their crowners, Munro, Lindefay, Hume,
to convoy Marishall to Newcastle; who, in halil about three or four thousand foot, were welcome to supprie the absence of our fugitives; who weel neer in alfe great, or a greater number, was returned home without a paffe; for as yet our people not seeing any numbers of runn-aways hanged, according as oft they had heard it threatened, was not verie conformable to the strickeynes of military discipline.

Long before this, after our first going over Tweed, about the 20th of August, we were of new proclaimed rebells at London (I.); bot the prentilles, or some others of our good friends, in papers publickly aliexed, with the proclamations, declared us honeft men (K.). We went on notwithstanding, as we might, with our affaires in England. The toune of Newcastle was putt to the contribution of two hundred pound Sterling a day, the countie of Northumberland to three, the Bifhoprick to three hundred and fifty. Commiiffions were given to lift the rents of Prelats and Papifts, who had fled, and avowed themselves our enemies. Thus for some dayes we lived at cæse and peace, waiting, with some fear, what the 24th day might bring forth. At that tyme the moft of the land did keep the King’s appointment, and mane of our friends, the Noblemen suppliantes, were there, contrare to our expectation. The King’s fpach yow may read (L.). Traquair thereafter was brought in to repeat that leffon he had faid before the Privie Counciell, whereupon in February they had decreed warr againf us; yet the supplicationes receaved from all the nuiks of the countrey, subferyved with mane thounsands the moft confiderable hands in England, did not only force the prefent indiclion of the Parliament to the 3d of November, bot also that fame night drew out my Lord of Lanerick’s letter (M.) to our Com- mittee for a parlie, the Thursday after following, the 1ft of Octo- ber. For their fafe conduct, there paffed some letters betuixt us and the Secretarie (N.) ; it was fent us in fo ample a forme as we could have wished. (O.) The Peers excused their not subferyving together with their Prince, bot wittmefl his subfription in a letter of their owne apart, with many hands; to which we acquiefced. We thought it strange to fee the King, by his Secretar, petition us in fo equall termes for our paffe for thefe he sent to Berwick, and for dimiiffing the officers we had taken at Newburne. We yielded to the releifing of all prisoneres, fo much with the better will, that Sir Archibald Dowglafs, going out of Durham with a troup of horfe to view the fields, had, contrare to his commiffion, foolihlie
passed the Tyfe, and swaggering in the night in a villadge without a centinell, was surprized by the King's horse, with all his troupers. For all this, we get but little encouragement from our friends in the South: they sent us indeed this paper of intelligence (P.), but no money. We could get bot little benefit of Newcastle coal; the King's ships hindered the traffick; the owners and workmen were verie thrawart to doe any service either for themselves or us; yea, we found much cooining and knaverie among that people. Some of the gentlemen who undertook to contribute, did faill of their affuareances: we were forced to send out for their cattle to cause them be true: these who had the collection of the money did exact double to that they gave to us; the heaviest burden was laid by them, (abusing our ignorance,) on the back of Protestants our friends.

Some of the English, under our blew capes, became robbres every where: The moft of the churchmen having removed all that they had considerable, left their houses, with some trath open, which their fervants and neighbours spoild; at once libells full of outrages, done or feigned by the English themselves, are prefented to the King against us. The Mayor and aldermen of Newcastle pretends unabilitie to pay their two hundred pound a day: we were forced to put a guard about their town-houfe, till we gott new affuareances from them. According to our declarations, we took nothing for nought, only we borrowed, on good securitie, so much monie a day as was necellare for our being, to be repayed truelie before our departure. Other inconvenients befell us than thefe: our sowldiers began to take fluxes through cold and watching: some of our officers became malecontents: we remeied both so weell as might be. At the Generall's defyre, out of the voluntare contribution of parishes, there was with diligence sent to our fojours, shoes, coats, hose, farks; all was lodged in houses, the moft in the suburbes of Newcastle; the fortifications on the south fyde being perfyted against a royall seidge. What aillit our officers is not yet weell known; only Montrofe, whose pryde was long agoe intollerable, and meaning verie doubtsome, was found to have in tercoure of letters with the King, for which he was accused publickly by the Generall, in the face of the committee. His bedfellow Drummond, his cofine Fleiming, his allye Boyd, and too manie other, were thought too much to be of his humour. The cold[nels] of the good old Generall, and diligence of the preach ers, did shortlie caft water on this fpunk, beginning moft untym ouslie to reek.
On Thursday the 1st of October, our eight communers did come to Rippon, some fourteen myles from York. The English Lords were there a little before them; to-morrow they began their conference. My Lord Brifull, their speaker, did give us at the table their commission (Q.). They receaved likewayes ours, according to the instructions from our committee. After our demands were given in, as the English required, in wryte, some questions were moved about the ground of the Treatie: they would have builded upon the Pacification of Dunce; we, on our petitions and answers from the King: Since they required a cedliation from armes during the treatie, we demanded the payments promised to our armie, for the tyme bygone, where they had been withheld, and forty thousand pound Sterling a moneth till we in their Parliament had gotten securitie of our peace. The King fent down to afflitt his communers, by way of adyyce, Traquair, Mortoun, Lanerik, Sir Lues Stewart, Sir Harie Vane. The Thefaurer we allutterlie declyned, as one of whom we were chiefflie to complaine; Sir Lues we thought for his vocation unmeet for a treatie; the rest we except against as not being expressfied in the commission. They gave us, inorrit by Sir John Bonar, clerk to the Councell, some complaints of the Bifhop of Durham, Toun of Newcastle, and some moe, of our injuries done to them. They retired from the table to a private room for advyfement, and we had also another room prepared for our consultations. That night we clofed, they craving leave to expect the King’s anfwer to our propofitions against the morning, and we fending the libells of complaint to our committee for their anfwer, which quicklie returned. We are somewhat jelous of the English policie in this treatie. If it take not speedlie fucciffe, our Generall mynds to lift speedilie from Newcastle, and draw nearer to Yorke. Argyle, with a brave band of gentlemen volunteers on horfe, are making in: The rest of the countrey are commanded to be readie on a call: We hope that God will make the fear of our armes to furder the Treatie.

[TO LORD MONTGOMERY. (9)]

My VERIE GOOD LORD,

Scarce had I clofed my lefte to your Lordship, on the 24th of

(9) This Letter, addressed to Lord Montgomery when at Newcaftle with the army, (vide p. 260.) occurs in the MS., after various others dated in May and
this instant, till I did receive your Lordship's kinde rememberance, written the 16th. Your prosperitie there is our greatest joy here, and among our first wishes under the heaven. Your Lordship does exceeding weell to wryte to us at all occasions of leasure: we doe pant greedilie for your letters till they come; and when we get them, we are much refreshed thereby. We pray for you all dailie, not only as our moft dear and worthie friends, bot as for our verie selves; for we acknowledge you are there in our place; that you watch, endure paine, undergo dangers, that we may sleep, and be at cafe, in all fafetie; we take you for that bulwark, which God on earth hes oppofed to a fpait of mischiefs, which at once are readie, upon your breach, to overflow not onlie our bodies and eftates, but our verie foules, and of all our potteritie. If, in your defending of your self and dear country, God may be pleafed to honour you with a farder succeffe, in helping the multitude of opprefled faints in England and Ireland; in dividing betwixt our gracious Soveraigne and a handfull of wicked counfellors, that hes divided this sixteen yeir and more that good Prince from all his bell minding subjects, from all his friends, and allyes abroad; and yet are fo mad, that before they shouold come to any legall tryall of their deeds, they are refolute, after they have beheld the church of France undone through their default; the churches of Germanie fuchlyke; the house of Palatine in banishment thefe twentie yeares, and that of Denmark latelie, for all the help we minted to give them, bot one inch from utter ruine: after the miferies abroad, they bot jet and fport to fee all the King's dominions flame in warre, flow in blood, and, which should be moft to them, their gracious benefactor King Charles, the creator of their fortune, the onlie advancer of them from that bafe naughtines wherein they all were borne, to that too greatnes wherewith long they have [domineered,] even they are content to behold King Charles's ruine, [to the losf even] of his life, of his eftate, before they will humble themselves to the tryall of the Supreme Judicators of their country: If it may be our happines to be the honourable instrumets of God to force that handfull of miferants to receave from the ordinarie judges a part of their deservings, to the end that with them may be banithed out of this land all jealousies and feares, all publick idolatrie, error,

June 1642. It has been transposed, as the notice it gives of the contributions raised for the soldiers from the parish of Kilwinning, shews that it must have been written in (September) 1640; and it may be added that Robert Livingsten, who is mentioned at the close of the letter, died before March 1642.
superflition, tyranny; that the King and all his subjects, when these wicked humors are pewed out, may harmoniouallie hereafter goe on together in one heart, to beautifie the house, both of our church and estate at home, and recover abroad, speciallie in poor Germanie, not these seas of blood which cannot againe be taken up, but some part of that honour and reputation, which in hudge quantity that evill faction hes made us to lose, onlie that their wicked hands may keep our sweet Soveraigne in the prison of melancholie and malecontentment, wherein they have inclosed him up since the first day that they ravished him away from the hearts of his subjects at home, and all his blood and allyes abroad; if this be the tyme, and yow the men, who may deliever our Prince from that most pitifull prison, and retore him againe to the hearts, hands, and meanes of all Britaine, thyve happie shall we be in this your most gracious employment: Bot if, for the great finnes of these dominions, yow be hindered in this magnificke interpryfe; if these in England, whom it concerns, will make yow no afliftance; if papilts and epichures be permitted of God to keep these wicked men to be still cruell jaylors, holding the King in his most fearfull miscontentments; whatever become of yow, yet after ages shall not faill to kifle and adore your magnanamous aflay to deliver our Kirk and Countrie from pestilenties humours, which threatened both with a haftie de
truetion; bot damned in all after tymes shall the sottifh cowardije of these men be, who being so near to ane great good, durft doe no more for the apprehending of it, than with fillie women breath out their sighs for it, and send out their prayers: certainlie the will
dull miseries of that people, which by ane little standing on their feet might be eschewed, when it falls on heavie and fore, shall never be pitied by any.

Bot of this more than I purposed. I have seen more affection in my people to yow there than I could have expected: having intime a voluntarie contribution for the supply of the fouldiers, with ane incredible cheerfulnes, all, laffle and lad, most affectionatlie with their teares and bleslings, came and offered verie liberallie. In the first two dyetts I have gotten, which is much in our so deep poverty, above nyne hundreth merks; in the dyetts following, I expect much more. Of the first we intend to send shoes, cloath for coats, hofe, and shirts, to sfftie fojours of our paroche. We expect that Argyle shall be followed with a brave companie, even the most part of the considerable gentlemen in our land. If yow had adoe with foot, now after the harvest, and could find a meanes
to get food for them, I persuade my self, as manie thousands would runne as you could require.

My verie good Lord, caufe R. Livingstone to wryte ofter, and at more length. The Lord preserue you all, and your Lordship among the rest. At last I kiffe your Lordship’s hands.

Your Servant,

R. Baillie.

Killwinning, September 30th [1640.]

[To Mr. Robert Baillie, Minister of Kilwinning.]

Reverend Friend,

We must intreat you to come hither with alsie great expedition as you can conveniently, and to bring with you a number of your Canterburian’s Self-Convictions, together with the warrands thereof, and all such papers and proofes which may serve for that purpose. Your being here within a few dayes, is defiryed and wilhed be all your friends here, and may prove usefull for the publick. Hoping ye will fettle all excuses aside, and prefer this great busines to all others, we red,

Your affectionat Friends,

W. Hamilton. Rutherford. (1)

Newcastle, 15th of October, 1640.

[To the same.]

Most Affectionate Friend,

I wish I had insisted in my deifyre to urge your outcoming, when I spoke it to you at Glasgow; but my respect, as ye know, to my Lord Eglintoun, made me forbear at that tyme. Always now that

(1) Some of the signatures to this letter are not very distinct in the MS. Along with the Earls of Rothes, Cassilis, and Montrose, Lord Napier and Lord Rutherford, the other persons were probably Sir George Stirling of Keir, William Drummond of Riccarton, and William Hamilton, bailie of Linlithgow.
yow are called by this inclosed from our Committee at the camp, I hope neither will yow make difficultie to come, nor will my Lord Eglington hinder yow: for truelie, as I hear, our Minifters works more upon the fiours nor all other discipline could, and your gift at this tyme, (I will say no more of it left ye think I flatter yow,) may conduce much to the great work in hand. Therefore, I intreat yow, be not difficile; and if yow be here any tyme before Saturday at night, I hope to enjoy your companie, which is the earnest defyre of

Your loving Friend to my power,

Argyll.

Edinburgh, 17th of October 1640.

[The Latter Will of Mr. Robert Baillie, Minister of Kilwinning, 22d of October 1640. (2)]

Being on my way for Ingland, the 22d of October 1640, upon the verie preffing letters of the Committee, this I doe conceave to be my worldlie estatte, and herenant I declare my Latter Will:—

Aughtand to me by Cunninghamehead, according to his father and his own band, three thousand merk; at Martimes following, a hundred merk of annuell rent.

By the Breither of Dunlop, two thousand merk; at Martimes of annuell rent, feven fcore of merks.

By James Roe, merchand of Edinburgh, at Martimes, twenty pound, and one yearly annuell rent out of his lands of Goldinhoof, according to my infeftment, of twenty pound; which, if he cannot produce ane reversion, I esteem worth four or five hundred merk, if he can, it will be redeemed for three [hundred merks] when he pleafe.

Aughtand to me be Alexander Armour, two years maill, fourtytwo pound.

My Stipends the years [16]38, 39, 40, and fo much of the 41 as may fall to me, all aughtand; also of the 37 when I compted laft with Robert Livingftone, as his papers subferryved with my hand the 27th of May will teflifie, about a 191 pound, 10 fh. 6d. that is three hundreth merk, laking about fouteen. In this soume, let it be compted what I have receaved this day of the teind, as follows,

(2) Vide supra p. 245, for a previous Testament written in May 1639, and revised in July 1640, which is expressed in nearly the same terms.
according to my tickett given to the persons following. So I think there will be aught in me of my stipend, large four thousand merk which my Lord Montgomerie is obliged to pay, according to my decreet of augmentation, registret either in the Commission or Sef- tion bookes, as Robert Livingstone can tell.

My Bookes and Moveables, which may be spared, may come near two thousand merks.

It will be my earneft defyre to my Wife to be content with the annuell rent of seven thousand merk of the first and readieft of all, and to quatt judiciallie, fo soon as may be, what farther she can crave by her verie subdolus contract; for if she would stand to that contract, my children might goe a-begging: were her minde never fo good, the keeping of that in her own hand, will draw her to tentationes which I with in tyme were avoided. What is more, let it be employed for her children’s education and profit. I would give to Robert five thousand merk, if he quatt his heirship; the rest to be equallie divided betwixt Harrie and Lillie. Three hundred merks to be disburse presentlie among the poor of the paroche of Killwining, at the fight of the Session.

If thir founes be diminifhed, I would have my children’s portions diminifhed proportionallie. I leave my Wife sole executrix, tutrix and all. I will hope that my Lord Montgomerie, my Brother, the Principall, Mr. Harie Gibfone, Mr. John Bell, James Mitchell, Robert Livingstone, Mr. Claud [Hamilton,] will be faithfull friends and overseers.

Wryten and subscryvit by my hand, October 22d 1640,

R. Baylie.

[To Mrs. Baillie at Kilwinning.]

My Heart,

I wrote to thee from Edinburgh, alfo from Kelfo to Mr. Claud [Hamilton,] suspecting thy abfence: I wrote to thee likewise from Newcastle on Saturday laft. Since, I thank God, I have been verie weell, as thy heart could with, and all my companie: Yefter-night the Committee fent for me, and told me of their defyre I should goe to London with the Commiffioners. I made fundrie difficulties, which partlie they anſwered, and partlie took to their consideration till this day. At our Prefbytrie, after fermon, both
our noblemen and ministers in one voyce thought meet, that not onlie Mr. A. Henderfoun, bot also Mr. R. Blair, Mr. George Gil- lefpie, and I, should all three, for diverfe ends, goe to London: Mr. Robert Blair, to fatifie the mynds of manie in England, who loves the way of New England better than that of Presbytries used in our Church; I, for the convinceing of that prevalent faction, against which I have wryten; Mr. Gillefpie, for the crying doune of the English Ceremonies, for which he hes wryten; and all foure to preach by turns to our Commiffioners in their houfes, which is the custome of diverfe noblemen at Court, and wes our praftife all the tyme of the conference at Rippon. We mynd to Durham, God willing, to-morrow, and other twelve myles on Saturday to Darntoun, there to flay all Sunday, where we hope to hear, before we croffe the Tyfe on Mononday, how things are like to frame in the English Parliament. We have the King's hand for our safe conduct; we have fent for the Great Scale of England thereto also, which we expect ere we leave Darntoun. Six of us, Mefs. Johnftoun, Henderfoun, Smith, Wedderburn, Blair, and I, goe journie everie one of us with ane attender on borfe. I think the Sheriff of Teviotdale fhall goe with us: Rothes and Dumfermling, Riccartoun and Hugh Kennedy of Aire, takes post on Saturday. This day Waughton is away post before us, to advertife us in our journey how all goes. Lowdoun is fathed with a defluxion; he will flay till Mononday, and come on as health serves, journie or post. Our fojours here are weell: they gett bot ill fare; yet God helps them stranglie; none in fo good cafe as our brigade: my Lord Montgomerie hes won to himself more honour than any one man here. They speake here of the prentifes pulling down of the High-Commiffion houfe at London; of Generall King's landing with fix or feven thoufand Danes in the mouth of Taimes, near London: we wish it were fo; bot we take it, and many things moe yow will hear, for clatters.

My Heart, draw near to God, neglect not thy prayers, morning and evening with thy fervants, as God will help thee: read and pray bfyde that in privat. Put Rob to the fchool; teach him and Harie both some little beginnings of God's feare; have a care of my little Lillie. I pray thee wryte to me how thou and they are. My Ladie [Montgomery] to whom I present my heartie affections, will inclofe thy letters with her owne to My Lord, who will daylie [have] occasion with the post of the Committee at Newcastle, to fend them to me. Remember what I defyred thee to doe at part-
ing before Munkirdin [Monkridding]. Send me word in thy first letter that it is done; it will somewhat ease my mind.

Thy awne, R. Baylie.

Newcastle, November 5th, 1640.

[To the Same.]

My Heart,

Thow sees I slip no occasion. I wrote to thee yefternight from Newcastle; this night I am in Durham, verie weell, rejoycing in God's good providence. After I closed my letters, my boy Jamie was earnest to goe with me; so, notwithstanding of my former resolution to fend him home, I was content to take him with me; I fpake the Generall, and put in his name, as my man, in the safe conduct: bot when I was to loup on he failed me, and would goe no farter; I could not there ftryve; I gave him his leave, and a dollor to carry him home: his follie did me a great wrong; for if I should have gone back to fpeak ane other, I would have lofted my companie; so, without troubling my self, I went forward with my companie manles. Bot behold the gracious providence of my God, as I enter in Durham, one of my old fchollars, a preacher to Colonell Ramfay's regiment of horfe, meets with me before I light, will have me to his chamber, gives me his chamber, flable fervant, a cup of fack, and all courtefie, gets me a religious youth, a trouper, readie with a good horfe to goe with me to-morrow to London. Generall-Major Baylie makes me, and all the Com-missioners that were there, fup with him, and gives the youth his passe to goe with me. Mr. Archbald Johnftoun affures me for his charges as weel as my owne; so my man James's foolish unthank-fullnes is turned about for my ten tymes better provifion; I take this for a prefage and ane erles of God's goodnes towards me all this voyage.

I wrote in one of my letters, of my Lord Saye's death, for fo Durie affured the committee of Edinburgh; bot thanks to God, he is recovering weell, and now in reasonable health. Northumberland is not dead bot ficklie. The Archbishop of York, Dr. Neill, a great enemie to us, was buried, as they fay, the laft week. Some thinks all was faid of the Danith armies landing was bot miiftakes.
We hope that Lowdoun's defluxion shall not hinder him to take journey on Tuesday. The morrow we minde bot one other poft to Darntoun, and there stay till the Great Seall come to us. The Lord be with thee, and my babies, and all my flock and friends. Thy awne,

Durham, 6th November [1640.] Fryday.

R. Baylie.

My Heart,

I know thow does now long to hear from me. I wrote to thee on Saturday was eight days from Durham. That day we went to Darntoun, where Mr. Alexander Henderson and Mr. Robert Blair did preach to us on Sunday. At supper, on Sunday, the poft with the Great Seall of England for our safe conduct, came to us, with the Earle Brigol's letter to Lowdoun, intreating us to make haste. On Monday we came, before we lighted, to Boroubrig, twenty-five miles. On Tuesday we rode three short pofts, Ferribrig, Toxford, and Duncafler. There I was content to buy a bobin (3) waistcoat. On Wednesday we came ane other good journey to Newwark on Trent, where we caused Dr. Moyfie sup with us. On Thursday we came to Stamfoord; on Fryday to Huntingtown; on Saturday to Ware, where we refled the Sabbath, and heard the minister, after we were warned of the ending of the service, preach two good sermons. On Monday morning we came that twentie myle to London before fun-rysteing; all weel, horfe and men, as we could wish; diverse merchants and their servants with us, on little naigs; the way extrimlie foule and deep, the journies long and continued, fundrie of us unaccustomed with travell, we took it for God's singular goodnes that all of us were so preserued; none in the companie held better out than I and my man, and our little noble naigs. From Killwinning to London I did not so much as stumble: this is the fruit of your prayers. I was also all the way full of courage, and comforted with the senfe of God's presence with my spirit. We were by the way great expences; their inns are all like palaces; no marvell they extors their guestes: for three

(3) In the transcript woven: It was probably a waistcoat ornamented with lace.
mealls, courfe enough, we would pay, together with our horfes, sixteen or seventeen pound Sterling. Some three dill of creevifhes, like little partans, two and forty thillings Sterling. Our lodgeings here were taken in the common garden: Rothes, Mr. Archbald Johnftoun in one; Dumfermling, Mr. Alexander Henderfoun in one; the three Barrouns in one; the three Burgeffies in one; Lowdoun, whom we expect this night, in a fifth, where Mr. Blair hes a chamber, I another, our men a third: our houfe maills everie week above eleven pound Sterling. The Citie is defyrous we shoulde lodge with them; fo, to-morrow I think we muft flitt.

All things here goes as our heart could wish. The Lieutenant of Ireland came bot on Monday to town late; on Tuesday reflted; on Wednesday came to Parliament; bot ere night, he was caged. Intollerable fryde and oppreffion cryes to Heaven for a vengeance. The Lower Houfe clofed their doores; the Speaker keeped the keyes till his accusation was concluded. Thereafter, Mr. Pym went up, with a number at his back, to the Higher Houfe, and, in a prettie short fpeech, did, in name of the Lower Houfe, and in name of the Commons of all England, accuse Thomas Earle of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, of high treafone, and re- quired his perfon to be arrefited till probation might be heard. So Pym and his back were removed; the Lords began to confult on that frange and unexpecred motion. The word goes in halfe to the Lord Lieutenant, where he was with the King: with fpread he comes to the Houfe; he calls rudelie at the doore, James Maxwell keeper of the Black-Rod, opens; his Lordfhip, with a proud glooming countenance, makes towards his place at the board-head: bot at once manie bids him void the Houfe; so he is forced in confultation to goe to doore till he was called. After confultation, being called in, he ftands, bot is commanded to kneell, and, on his knees, to hear the fentence. Being on his knees, he is delyvered to the keeper of the Black-Rod, to be prifoner till he was cleared of thefe crymes the Houfe of Commons did charge him with. He offered to fpeak, bot was commanded to be gone without a word. In the outer roome James Maxwell required him, as prifoner, to deliver his fword; when he had gotten it, he cryes, with a loud voyee, for his man to carry my Lord Lieutenant’s fword. This done, he makes through a number of people towards his coatch, all gazeing, no man capping to him, before whom that morning the greatefl of England would have flood difcovered: all crying, What is the matter? He faid, A small matter I warrand yow!
They replyed, Yes indeed, high treafon is a small matter! Coming

to the place where he expected his coat, it was not there; fo he

behooed to returne that fame way through a world of gazeing

people. When at laft he had found his coat, and was entering,

James Maxwell told him, Your Lordship is my prisoner, and must

goe in my coat; fo he behooed to doe. For fome dayes too

manie went to visit him, bot fince, the Parliament hes commanded

his keeping to be ftraiter. Purfeyvants were difpatched to Ireland,

to open all the ports, and to proclaim that all who had grievances

might come over; also to fetch over Sir George Ratcliffe, who will

be caufed to depone manie things. The chief is, his intention with

the Irish armie, and fo manie as the King could make, to fall on the

Englih lords, who are the countrie way; his cruell monopolies,

whereby he fucked up, for his own ufe, the whole fubftance of Ire-

land. My Lord Montnoris, Sir John Clatwouldie, the Chancellor,

hes been chief informers. The King was much commoved; the Marqueis,

by the deliverie of Pym his fpeech, did somewhat calm

him. The Parliament of Ireland is fittting: a remonftrance from

them, without anie knowledge of things done here, came this day
to the King, which, they fay, hes calmed him much, and turned his

mnde somewhat from the Deputie.

We were extremelie welcome here. The Parliament hes granted

ane hundred thousand pound Sterling, whereof we fhall have near

fourtie in prefent money, to pay our armie fix weekes, without pre-

judice to exact what, according to our bargain, is more due to us

from the four flyres. Burton, I hear, is come to toun; Baftwick

and Prin are coming, as they were fent for; Lightoun hes been

twyce heard, and on Fryday, is hoped, fall be abfolved. Lincolne,
on Saturday, did fitt in Parliament; and his petition, to have his

caufe difcuffed in Parliament, receaved. The King, in his firft

fpeech, did call us rebels; bot much murmuring being at that ftyle,

he thought good, two dayes thereafter, to make a fpeech to excufe

that phrafe, and to acknowledge us his fubjects, to whom he had

fent his Great Seall, and with whom he was in treatie, to fettle a

perfect agreement, with their conflent and approbation.

On Tuyfday laft was here a fall: Mr. Blair and I preached to our

commifioners at home; for we had no cloathes for outgoing. Manie

minifters ufed greater freedome than ever here was heard of. Epif-
copacie it felf beginning to be cryed down, and a Covenant cried

up, and the Liturgie to be scorned. The Toun of London, and a

world of men, minds to prefent a petition, which I have feen, for

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the abolition of Bishops, Deanes, and all their aperteanances. It is thought good to delay it till the Parliament have pulled down Canterburie and some prime Bishops, which they minde to doe so soon as the King hes a little digested the bitternes of his Lieutenants ceniture. Hudge things are here in working: The mighty hand of God be about this great work! We hope this shall be the joyful full harvest of the teares that thir manie yeares hes been fawin in thir kingdomes. All here are wearie of Bishops. This day a committee of ten noblemen, and three of the most innocent Bishops, Carlile, Saliburie, Winchefter, are appointed to cognosce by what means our pacification was broken, and who aduyfed the King, when he had no money, to enter in warre without consent of his State. We hope all shall goe weell above our hopes. I hope they will not neglect me; prayer is our best help: for albeit all things goes on here above our expectation; yet how foone, if God would but wink, might the devill, and his manifold instrumens here watching, turn our hopes in fear! When we are most humble, and dependant on God, whose hand alone hes brought this great work to the preffent paffe, we are then most safe. This day I have heard that Canterburie hes ane Apologie at the presfie; if it be fo, at once I will have more to doe.

R. BAYLIE.

London, November 18th [1649.]

[To the Presbyterie of Irvine.]

REVEREND AND DEAR BRITHERIN,

The last post went from us the 23d of November. I wryt to you at length of all our bygone proceedings; since that time, till now, none hes gone from us. The first night we came, Warwick and other Lords came and told us, that money for our armie was agreed upon by Parliament, and with all diligence would be sent. Our Commisioners knowing the ftrait of our armie, used their best means to have it hasted; yet it is not gone, and before it were in the way, we had no will to wryte anie thing. One Lower Houfe man, of mean qualitie, Harifoun, a farmer of cuftomes, and not esteemed wealthie, one day the last week, seeing the payment of the promifed fowmes draw long, offered publiehlie in the Houfe to provyde for his part fifty thousand pound, which is the one-half of the fowme; and so we hear he hes done. They say at laft twentie-
five thousand pound is put in coffers, to goe away to-morrow for our
armie; that the other twentie-five thousand shal, within two or	hree dayes, follow. All things here goes weell, bleffed be God.
The petition against Epifcopacie, subferyved with some thousands
of hands, as manie fayes, had been given in, and profled hard before
now, had not friends in both the Houfes, as more than the two
part are, advyfed to spare the preffling of that conclusion till first
they had put the whole Bifhops and their Convocation in a præmo-
nire, for their laft illegall Canons, which now they are about; also
till they had brought down some of the prime Bifhops for private
faults, which they had not will to aflay till they had closed the pro-
ceffe of the Lieutenant, about which they have been thir manie
dayes. They have paft an Act of great conquence in him, to
be a leading cafe to Canterburie and others, but with great dis-
pute, that all the Peers and everie Privie Counfeller fhall be obli-
fed to witnefs, on their oath, of all the evill counfells they have
heard given to the King, even in Counfell. It is expected daylie
when Canterburie fhall be brought in. Thir two dayes they have
been preparing matter for Windibanks proceffe; yet he is not
accufed. The courage of this people grows daylie, and the num-
er, not onlie of people, but preachers, who are rooting out of
Epifcopacie: all are for bringing them verie low; bot who will
not root them clean away, are not reprefted. Not one I hear
of, either in the Univerfities or in dignities, does fpeak as yet. Holf-
worth, Ward, Feitly, Brommerik, Prideaux, or any famous for
learning, nothing is expected from them; bot there is great appear-
ance that God will doe his own work, without thefe Rabbies help.
That which is much feared, is like to doe no fkaith. Sey and
Brook in the Higher Houfe, and thefe alone, and fome leading
men in the Lower, were fufpected, by their inclination to the
Separatifts, would divide from the Presbyterian, and fo weaken the
partie oppofed to bifhops; bot fo farr as yet can be perceaved, that
partie inclinable to feparation will not be conferable; and what-
ever it be, thefe and the reft who are for the Scotts Discipline, do
amicable confpyre in one, to overthrow the Bifhops and Ceremo-
nies, hoping when thefe rudera are put away, that they fhall weell
agree to build a new houfe, when the ground is weell fweeped.
Nothing frayes all here fo much as our quick agreeing with the
King, and the diwhanding of our armie thereupon. Under God, they
all every where profefle that they are aughtin to that armie their
religion, liberties, parliaments, and all they have; that if we take
conditions for our selves, they say they are undone. Much fair speech they give us, but for their deeds we yet see nought: yet there is good hope of moneys for our armie, so long as the treatie may continue, and with the better will the longer it continue; good hopes also of repairing our losses with a large foume. In our treatie, we prefaced with a declaration in wryte, that our tryfting there was no submission to the English Parliament, nor any farther acknowledgement of any priviledge they could have above us, than we could claime over them, if so be the commissioners of their Parliament would come to Edinburgh, the King being resident there, to treat with our commissioners in tyme of our Parliament: this was accepted. Against our First demand, the publishing of our Acts of Parliament, some objections were made against two or three acts; which we anwered to the King's contentment: but thereafter, as we were informed, Regifter, President, Secretar, Galloway, Airly, etc. put the King, with their defpyetfulfull words, in ane evill mood: so on the laft Thursday, a paper is given, of these incendiaries dyting, by the King to the English Lords, and by them to us, for this [is] the fashion, continowing objections against a number of the Acts of Parliament. The way of proceeding was fashious both to ours and the English Commissioners; so the next day, Friday, ours gave in a large and fharp anfwer to everie objection. This fatisfied the Englishfo fullie, that they went to the King, told him the fene of difgrace if fo frivolous objections were dyted by fuch men to be propounded by them to the Scots; they made the King fhortlie content to promife, that to-morrow, at nyne of [the] clock, he would call for us, and grant us our whole First demand simplie, and would crave back the paper of his objections, and delyver our anwers, that both might be destroyed. This was done on Saturday accordingly, to our great joy; for the First demand is of farr greatest difficulty, the refte are bot corolaries and appendices to it. The word went through the City that our treatie was near ended, and we making home. On Mononday our Commissioners did kiffe the Queen's hand, bot without any word of discourfe. There was there who could have fpoken; bot they were informed, it was not the fashion to fpeak at thefe occasions; yet all repented they did not use some complement, in the afternoone. We thought good to gett wryte of the King's agreement to our First demand; fo we receaved it, subscryved with the clerk's hand. When the King grant ed the matter of our demands, he referred the manner of publishing thefe Acts to us, to be done fo much for his honour, and fav-
ing of his prerogative, as might be. We gave in our draught for this end, which did please all the English verie weell; bot when it was brought to the King, and our good patriots, (we hear not bot the Marqueis and Traquair both doe us all the good they can, and would amend bygones by fair play now, to efcchew the fforme of incendiaries, if it were poiffible,) it mightilie displeased them; fo on Tuesday the King gives in a wryte, wherein he would have, under the manner of publifhing our Acts in ane honourable way, understood the real defroying of the first, second, third, and some more of the most materiall of our Acts. [By] this he displeased both ours and the English Commifioners; fo this day we have given a quick anfwer to that paper, fhewing, that we have neither power nor commiffion to paffe from any Act of Parliament, especiallie hav- ing the King’s grant of them all, both by word and wryte. So all things here are changeable: our tratie which all did believe, was farr advanced fome dayes ago, is now, by a contrare tyde of evill information, juft where it was at fift; bot we doubt not bot at once we shall have all our demands; for the God of Heaven is clearlie with us, incourages daylie our friends, amazes our enemies, and confounds them. I have fent yow fome few parliament fpéeches, and two Gazets for fowreign news.

Dear Britherin, have a care of my flock; be afliured, albeit I live here, and all our company every way as we could wifh, yet my heart is there among yow; and fo foon as I can purchase leave, I will halfe home: bot for the prefent I have both my armes full of my old friend, his little Grace (5) as they fyle him: if his proceede were once clofed, which yet is not begun, the moft of my erand here were at a poynnt. Yow fee I ware not to wryte, though it be near twelve at night, and this be the fift of all my letters. The Lord be with yow, blefs yow all, and God’s work in your hands. Stirr up your felves and your flocks now to pray for this mighty work in hand. On Saturday Burton and Prin came through the moft of the citie triumphantlie: never here fuch a like fhow; about a thoufand horfe, and as fome of good note fayes, above four thoufand; above a hundred coatches, and, as manie fayes, above two hundred; with a world of foott, every one with their rofenmary branch. Baftwick is not yet come from Sillie [Scilly.] This galled the Bifhops exceedinglie.


[To Mrs. Baillie at Kilwinning.]

My Heart,

All of us are very weell. Our treatie goes weell on; we hope to bring with us a happie and solide peace. The Parliament of England goes on very gracioufie; none fad here bot the faction that long made manie grieved: truelie it is now verie buffie. It is laid upon me to give his little Grace the lafl troak, to make, as we hope, his funerall, our remonftrance againft him as the pyme incendiarie: Windiebanks is fled. Our treatie is prolonged to the 16th of January; our firt three demands are fatiffied: to-morrow we craved the play, for we are not ready for the firt article of the Incendiaries till Mononday. I muft break off.

R. Baillie.

London, December 4th [1640.]

[To the Same.]

My Heart,

I am, praifed be God, in the old fashion, as weell in health as any in the company; afifted by God in all that I have to doe; everie way weell as thy heart could with. I pray daylie to God it may fo be with thee and my little ones. Hudge manie, and great things here in hand; we truf this is the acceptable tyme when we fhall reap the labours of manie Saints, who before us of old here, and latelie alfo, hes been fowen in manie teares; good hopes to get Bishaps, Ceremonies, and all away, and that conformitie which the King hes ever been vexing himfelf and us to obtain betuixt his dominions, to obtain it now, and by it a moft heartie nation of the Kingdomes. Neglece not reading and prayer in the house, and to be teaching, as thow can inftucl and they can learne, both Robert and Harie and Lillie, in fome beginning of reverence and love to God. If God be pleafed to beftow his grace on thee and thyne, it is the higheft with I have for you.

Robert Baillie.

London, December 12th [1640.]
Reverend and Dear Brotherin,

On Fryday was eight dayes I wryt to yow fullie all that I rememered had past: since, all hes gone on, praifed be God, weell. Our Firft demand of publishing in the King's name all our Acts of Parliament, without exception or limitation, together with thefe which in the nixt Seflion of this current Parliament shall be concluded, we receaved with thanks. Our Second demand, about the Caftells, was declared to be granted in the firft. Our Third also was given us on Mononday in wryte. The oathes whereby our countri- men in England and Ireland hes been prefled againft our Covenant, are declared illegall, and perfons imprifoned therefor to be releaefed; aflurance made, that no illegall oath hereafter fhalbe urged, and oathes approvin by Parliament to be urged only on thefe our countriemen who shall be ordinar reifidenters in England or Ire- land. About the Fourth, of the Incendiaries, the lat four dayes hes been fpent; our method in it was fyllogiftick: We proponed firft a major, "Whoever shall be found incendiaries, that they may be proceeded against by the two Parliaments refepective:" When this was made fail we were readie to aflume, "But fo it is, we inftuct, by fuch and fuch reafons, that the Archibifhop of Canterbury and the Lieutenant, that the Thefaurer, Register, Prefident, Balcanquall, are fuch." The conclusion of fentence we were to leave to the two Parliaments: As yet we have not gone beyond the major. Befyde all privie dealing, the King one day fent for our Noblemen, another, for all our Commissioners together, the third, for Rothes alone, wherein he dealt fo effecluallie as mighte be, to paff over this article, or to referr it to himfelfe; but when their inftuctions, and a thoufand reafones, did permitt them here to graunt nothing, the King in his paper gave anfwer to the demand, that he would not hinder his Parliaments to doe justice againft any subject who should be found guiltie; but withall gave in a paper, wherein he required, that Tra- quair, being his Commißioner, might have his caufe difcufled before himfelfe. We gave in our reafons in wryte, why with this we could not be fatified. The King's reply will be given this afternoon. We doubt not, whatever fatheries Traquair putts us to, bot to ob- tain all at once. If the major were made onc fure, then our Scotti- th incendiaries would quicklie be fent home to our Parliament.
Balcanquall gave in a supplication to the King and the Lords, requesting he might be heard before them to produce his commands from the King and Counsell for the writing of that book, and the particular warrants he had for the passages questioned therein: but our Commissioners would look neither on the paper nor man. Our pieces against Canterbury and the Lieutenant are now ready. The first moulding of both was laid on me; when all had perused my two draughts, and our friends in the Lower House considered them, the one was given to Mr. Alexander [Henderson,] the other to Lowdoun and Mr. Archbald [Johnstone,] to abridge and polish. Both we and the English are panting for these two proceedes. The Parliament held off to meddle with these two men till we be ready till joyful. It was resolved, that the petition against Episcopacy, root and branches, should be delayed till first we had gotten Canterbury downe, and the Parliament had removed all the rest out of the House by a premonire for their Canons; yet we are so long dwanged, by Traquair's fencing for his own head, ere we can come to the minor, where Canterbury stands to be concluded, as we hope in a deep bocardo, that the people's patience could no longer [keep] in; so yesterdays a world of honest citizens, in their best apparell, in a very modest way, went to the House of Commons, sent in two aldermen with their petition, subferyed as we hear, by 15,000 hands, for removing Episcopacy, the Service-Book, and other such scandalls, out of their Church. It was well received: they were defryed to goe in peace, and to send some three or four of their number on Thursday next, to attend some answer. Against that tyme, we, God willing, will be in hands with his little Grace; and sundrie petitions of severall flytres, to everie one whereof some thousands of hands are put, will be given in against Episcopacy: God speed all well. Never such a Parliament in England: all is to be rectified; for all is much out of right. The affaires of Scotland, these of Ireland, all their Courts at home, the Convocation, the High Commission, the Starr Chamber, the King's Bench, the Universities, bemyde a hudge number of particular affaires, it is no marvell they proceed slowly. For our affaires they have granted two subsidies, about 200,000 pound Sterling for the present, mainelie for the maintaine of our army. We are offended, that the monie decreed, and daylie pressid by us, and as oft promised by them, is yet gone away bot in so small a proportion. They confesse that army is their own, and a most happie meanne for all their defyres; that the dissolving of it were their ruine; that for the keeping of it on foot
and all our bygone losses, what would they not doe! Yet we, tell them all is but fair words: they, by their ways, hes oft put us near extreme necelitie, either to disband or plunder: yet, if it may please God to give our poor sojours a little patience, we hope all shall goe well.

For the Irish affaires, ten of their Commissioners are come. Sir James Montgomerye and the other two of the thirteen, are left a little behind for the gleaning of grievances. In June, the second sessioun of their Parliament, ane petition was granted, that the collecting of the six subsidies, which the first sessioun had granted for the Scottishe warre, should be gathered after the old fetchion; not that a certaine rate should be put on every committee, as the Lieutenant had done in the former Parliament, and, at the Counsell-table, after the ryfeing of the first sessioun, had decreed should now be: The cancelling of that Counsell act did passe, and was registrate in the Parliament-books of that second sessioun. The Lieutenant, 9th of November, two dayes before his deliverie to the Black-Rod, moved the King to wryte over to the Parliament of Ireland, then in their third sessioun, that their scale to his service, which they kythed in the beginning, was now decreasing; that he ordered (1) the Deputie Wentford (advanced from a mean man by the Lieutenant to that degree,) to teare out of the Parliament-book that act for gathering of the subsidies made in their second sessioun, and to revive that cancelled act of Counsell, and prorogate their farther sitting till Easfter, when the Lieutenant should come over for righting all was wrong. Before the coming of this letter, Deputie Wentford had adjoyned the Parliament. Yet the Houfe of Commons held faft their doores, and would hear of no advertisement of prorogation, till their remonstrance was drawn up, and eight Commissioners appointed for prententing of it: thereafter they were contentit to dissole. The Deputie, before some of both Houeses, as the King commanded, tare out the act before named; discharged upon their allcadgeance any commisioners to goe to England: Bot, behold, so soon as he heard of the Lieutenant's committment to the Black-Rod, he fell feck; and when Mr. Scinder came to bring over Ratcliffe and King; for

(1) Baillie's amanuensis has written *lieit*, evidently mistaking this for some word signifying ordered or authorised; and Lord-Deputy Wandesforde he calls Wentford. When Wentworth Earl of Strafforde was advanced to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, his successor, as Lord-Deputy, was Christopher Wandesforde, Master of the Rolls, who died 3d of December 1640.
King is the reporter that Ratcliffe vented the Lieutenant’s intention, by his Irish and English armie, to reforme the government of England, and put all simple under the King’s free will; so fone as the Deputie faw the articles of the Lower Houfe, and heard of the Lieutenant’s taking to the barre, he founded, and tommorrow died. The Lieutenant had obtained from the King his houfes and royall fluffe in the Tower; all came to him who pleased, but after Windibanks escape, our good kinde countrieman, the Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir William Balfour, was fent for by the Lower Houfe, and enjonyed to keep his prifoner straiter: so he hes now bot the libertie of three rooms, in the outmoff whereof there is a guard: no man at all comes to him bot by the Lieutenant’s fpecciall permiffion. Since he heard of Ratcliffe prifoned, and Wentford’s death, his two froups, his heart is a little fallen: The nixo week he may be proceeded. The Convocation meets twyce a-week, bot doe nothing at all; for as yet they have gotten no commiffion from the King to doe any buineses. We hear there is fome thirtie of them, weell minded for removing of Epifcopacie, and monie moe for pairing of Bifliops nailles, and armes too. Montague and Mannering does not compere; bot will be fent for: Never a word of corrupted doctrine in the Convocation; the leff good they intend the better; the more eafie they will be gotten overthrown; for both the Convocation, and High Commissiion, and Starre Chamber, and officiall courts, are hoped to be gotten abolifhed. Sundrie countrie minifters, who meets with us, are on a remonfrance, to the which the Self-Conviction, as they confefse, gives them much help, which, in name of the Church, fhall shortlie be prefented againft the Bifliops.

The Separatifts are like to be fome help to hold up the Bifliops through their impertinencie; but we truft, by God’s bleffing on our labour, to preveene that evil. This week they have been moft in hand with the Judges and Lord Keeper: they have found their fentence for fhip-money to the King illegall; they have paft ane act of the propertie of goods, fo that no impofition fhall be laid on them bot by Act of Parliament; a favour that, as I heard [from] a nobleman who underftood weell, they fhould have coft with ane hundred thoufand pound Sterling a-year, for tentie year to come; yea, the King, to paflle them the fhip-money alone, required in the late Parliament, as the leaff he could moderate, twelve hundred thoufand pound Sterling. This much they are in our debt in this one particular: in their printed ballads they con-
fes no leffe; for their binding word is ever, "Gramercies, good Scott." There is a Committee for proceeding the Judges and my Lord Keeper Finch for their unjust decreet. That night, when the Keeper was most prefixed, he came to the King, and on his knees requested, as the greatest favour, that his Majestie would never take notice of his trouble, but permitt him and the Parliament to call it betuixt them, that he might stand and fall as his innocencie should be. This noble courage was thought a better policie to ingadge the King, and obtain favour from the Parliament, than all the prayers which Canterburie, Traquair, and the rest, makes night and day to the King for their protection. The Committee for the Universities has sent some with a warrant, both to Cambridge and Oxford, to receive most particular informations of all their new doctrines and superstitions there: the charge is given to men who will not slight it. Baftwick came into the City this day eight days; twentie-seven coatches, a thousand horse for his convoy, trumpets sounding from divers windows, numbers of torches about him, and a world of people on all the way. Canterburie will stand his alone in the Privie Chamber; and, when no man will draw near him, goe his way alone. The bishops will goe through Westminster Hall, as they say, and no man cape to them. God is making here a new world; no fear yet of raising the Parliament, so long as the lads about Newcastle fits still. God is wonderfullie gracious; he would be earnestlie fought to; all this happiness may soone evanish; a gloom of the King's brow would dissipate this feeble people for any thing yet we fee, if the terror of God and us afayed not their enemies, if help from God and us did not continue their courage.

I trust, Dear Britherin, ye will pray for me, and for the cause, and our poor armie, and this Parliament; and will not be negligent to provide for my sweet people. The Lord be with them and yow,

Your Brother,


[To the Same.]

Reverend and Dear Britherin,

I am loath to let any occasion slip of wryting to yow, whatever else I may have to doe. I long much to hear from some of yow,
both of your owne and the countrie's estates, and especiallie of the
provision of my church; my ignorance hereof, for from none of
you have I heard since my departure, made me plead to be dis-
misself here, that I might wait on my flock, which I knew not how
it was provyded. Mr. Blair did plead for the fame to himself, but
neither of us for some tyme can obtaine our desyres; but be assured,
of foone as, with the Commissioner's good leave, I can obtaine a
dimisssion, ye shall not be burdened, by God's grace, with my charge.
In the meane tyme, I humblie intreat your diligent care for that
congregation for which now I can doe nothing but praise to God,
and supplicat yow for supplie. My book here is weell lyked, and
much searched for; all our copies are spent; ane new edition from
Amfterdam by my knowledge is come over: I am on a Supple-
ment. I hear no appearance of any reply.

For our publack affaires I can wryte little more than in my laft
the 19th of December. We flick yet on the Fourth demand, of
Incendiaries: all the papers that paft on that article I have fent to
my Lady Montgomerie. Yow will see in the generall anfuer, our
replies, and their duplies, that faine they would shift and elude us
with generalities. We did much fufpect Traquair as the author
of thefe editions; bot on Wednesday, before the English Lords,
on his knees, he craved of the King to be fent doun to Scotland,
and permitted to abide the fentence of the Parliament, whatfoever
it might be, and with it rather to fall into any inconvenient, than
to be reputed ane author of division betuxt his Majelfie and his
people. It feems, that the Lieutenant's letters from the Tower
procures the length of this article; for his head, and the ref of the
English incendiaries, depends upon it. If the King declare to us
what we urge, that thefe whom our Parliament fhall fentence, he
fhall not proteft, maintaine, nor countenance, a clear preparative
palfes for their undoeing; albeit it is faid the English refolves, and
hes told the King as much, as, upon the neck of their Parliament's
fentence, they mind not to delay execution. On Thurftay the
24th, the King fent, for ane finall anfuer, a paper fhewing that he
was confident the Parliament fhould not proceed with thefe who
were called Incendiaries; that he and they fhould fullie agree; and
that before it were no reaon to preffe him to any prelimitation of
his justice and mercie. This did not pleafe us; fo in word we
(that is, our Commissioners; ye know I am none, but it is my
ordinar still [style] for shortnes, fo to wryte) did fhew the English,
that their commiffion was from the King and the Parliament, and
we did treat with them in that qualitie; therefore we required them to communicat with the Parliament that long debaited difference, being hopefull, that that wyfe counsell would aduyse his Majestie to grant us our demand, as carrying evident reason. This was our laft and sure refuge.

On Fryday, Saturday, Sunday, being the great joy-dayes, was a vacation both to Parliament and treatie. Monday at two hours was appoynted for our treaters to meet, and to-morrow the Parliament to fit down againe. For all that, this day we had no meeting. The reason, I hear, was, that the King, seeing the difference would goe to the Parliament of England, was drawn a step farther, and had prepared for anfuer a promife in this article to follow the Parliament of Scotland’s advyce; but the Engilh Lords, being wearie with this longfome debate, told his Majestie, that we would not be content with that fair generall; and if the quefion went to the Houfes of Parliament, doubtles all there would be for the Scotts demand. The King therefore took it to his advyfement till to-morrow what to lay farther. If this were clofed, the Fifth demand, upon the restitution of the fhips and goods, it is hoped there will not be any flay; bot on the Sixth, for our charges, much debate is feared before the Parliament be brought to the generall grant; then the particular foume, then the perfons payable, then the fecuritie. The reafons of the demand, drawn firft be Mr. Archibald [Johnstone,] then by Rothes, and laftlie perfyted by Mr. A.(5), in a verie prettie paper I hope to fend with the next. They are now in the hands of the Engilh, our friends, to be helped, as they fhall think fitt. The Seventh demand, about the difmantilling of Berwick and Carlile, diffurnifhing them of fojours, will not be long (as it is hoped) fluck upon. Bot the laft, about a folid peace and union of the nations, fo farr as can be, will not faill to draw long; for here will fall in a number of articles of moft weightie considera- tion. The Engilh, of purpofe, would be glad to draw all out to the full; for they have much to doe: the difplanting the Court, the overthrow of Epifcopacie, the planting of the Court, the fet- tling of a new government in the Church, the putting downe a world of grievances publick, the fatifying of infinite private complaints; for the doing of these things, and manie moe, long tyme is requirit. So long as our armie flayes, it feems they will fitt full on all hazards; yet their great charges, fittie thoufand pound

(5) "Mr. A."—Mr. Alexander Henderson.
in the moneth for the armies, will force them to clofe one Session, and end the moft of their greatest affaires, that both armies may be difmiffed: bot this cannot be in haft. The Lieutenant is not yet heard; his witneses manie are examined; his proceffe is daylie going on. Matter is making readie for Canterburie's challenge, that one of thir dayes he may be delveryed by James Maxwell to Sir William Balfour. What we have labelled against both, my Lady Montgomrie will shew it. We are not yet called to give in our proofs; bot are readie. Cottington is expected will be challenged next; if he follow not the Keeper and Secretar to France, he may bear the Lieutenant company on the Tower Hill: So there will few of that faction remaine. Vaine is bot new come on, and not much complained of; Wren, Coufins, and Helen [Heylin], are under baile; Pierce Bifhop of Bath is fled; B[ihop] Montague and B[ihop] Manering are fent for; as also Potter, and moe of their Doctours. The City's petition for the rooting out of Epifcopacie, at which are above fifteen thoufand hands, my Lady Montgomerie will shew it yow, it will be anfuered in tyne. Dr. Douning, my familiar freind's verie quick difcourfe, my Lord Eglintoun will communicat. Yow fee what libertie is here, when fuch bookes dare bear the names of the author, printer, and feller. The Convocation houfe of bishops and clerks meets once a-week, bot never fayes or does any thing: they have not yet any commiffion, either from God or the King, to doe any good, and Satan his hands are bound in this feafon of the Lord's favour from doing any evil. The Lower Houfe has condemned all their canons, both old and new, and fo hes cutt the cords of their Egyptian yoke. The Epifcopall Clergie are made vile in the eyes of all: manifold moft flamefull practifes of harlotrie, drunkennefs, and all prophanenefs, is found in their hand; they are like to contribute as much to their own ruine as the abbots and friers did of old to theirs. Balcanquall is thought a vile man. A short petition is formed by all the weel affected clergie for the overthrow of Epifcopacie; readilie with the next yow fhall have it: it is in my Lady Montgomerie's papers. It is now potting through the land for hands to make it stark; againft it can come back it will be a fournight, at which tyne a large remonfrance, by some dozen of hands chofen out of the whole number, will be readie, againft the Bishops corruptions in doctrine, discipline, life, and all: to these they confefle the Self-Conviction gives them good help. At that tyne the root of Epifcopacie will be
assaulted with the strangest blast it ever felt in England. Let your heartie prayers be joyned with mine, and of manie millions, that the breath of the Lord's noffrills may joynge with the endeavours of weak men to blow up that old gourd wicked oak. The Primate of Ireland, and a great faction with him, will be for a limited good and James Mitchell's called Epifcopacie; but since, to this day, not one of these men hes had so much grace as to open their mouth against any of the Canterburian abominations, which all the world here cries out upon, I trust they cannot thrive in any of their deignies. There was some fear for these of the new way, who are for the Independent congregations; but after much conference, thanks be to God, we hope they will joyn to overthrow Epifcopacie, erect Presbyterian government and Assemblies, and, in any difference they have, to be silent, upon hope either of satisfaction when we get more leasure, or of toleration, on their good and peaceable behaviour. The farr greatest part are for our discipline; for all the confiderable parts of it, they will draw up a modell of their own, with our advyce, to be confidered upon by Commissioners of the Church, and others appoynted by Parliament, and, if God shall bles this land, by these Commissioners to be settled in everie congregation at this extraordinarie tyme, till afterward, the Church being confitute, a Generall Assemblie may be called to perfyte it. At this tyme a Generall Assemblie would fpoyle all, the farr moft of their clergie being verie corrupt. If all this were done, we might be gone; for the ref, the Parliament might be doing in other Sessions as their latters: If the Court and Church were reformed, they are not much feared for breaking up of the Parliament: The King's necessities are verie great; all the monopolies and shipmoneys are evanished, or going faft in fmoak; befyle his Court, and that of his Queen and her mother, and the Prince, and the ref of his children and fitter, his debts are hudge, they speake of thirtie or fortie hunder-thousand pound Sterling: all this must be defrayed; and the Parliament gives fair words to finde wayes for all. Like-like the bishoppricks must make some help; for here the moft of the wonted money is away; little had this three year; the fear of the warres made all the bankers transport to Holland what they were able. The four subsidies alreadie granted will be little enough for the armies ere they difsolve. I hope gratitude will fee them make for other fix for our charges. I know not if any Parliament before hes gone beyond ten subsidies; whence then shall
the other thirtie come for the King's debt?—It is two a'clock; my candle is also failling.

For forraigne news, no Gazets are printed this week. The Earle of Brederod, and other two amballadours, are come over from the States, to fute the King's third daughter for the young Prince of Oriznes. The fecond was buried since we came. The rebellion of Catalonia goes on. John of Braganza is crowned King of Portugal. Banier and the moft of the Sueddifh armie is making faft to their winter quarters in Bohem. France is taking hudge foumes from all his subjeets, for the warrs in the spring. The Lord be with yow all, Dear Britherin: much need had yow to stirr up your selves and your congregations both to praife and pray.

This day Alderman Penningtoun, with a number of his brother came, with some alfo of the toun-captains, and some from the Inns of Court, to our lodging for complementing our Commissoners: He told them roundlie, that they were aughten us the redemption of their liberties, eftates, religion and lyves. One Ward, in a Latine lecture in Sion Colledge, at our firft comeing, had railed at us as rebells; upon our complaint he was fufpended, and yester-day made his publick recantation in the Church. The Bifhops of Glafgow, Brechin, and Aberdeen, are here in great povertie and miserie, with their families. Our fugitive Clergie are in verie evill cafe; these few who hes gotten places hes bot poor things; and these with hatred of all: the moft can get nought. Mr. Patrick Maxwell, for all the mountaines of gold he hoped for, is yet waiting on for a fellowship in Cambridge, which when gotten, is no great matter. The great Lord, in his own tyme, clofe this his own work of hudge mercie, according to the fair appearances and great hopes of all his faints here. The Lord be with yow.

Your Brother,
R. Baillie.

London, December 28th [1640.]

[To the Same.]

REVEREND AND DEAR BRITHERIN,

The reaſon why this three weeks I have wryten none to you, was my expecaction partlie of some matter of weight to wryte, and partlie of letters from some [of] yow, bearing your receipt and ac-
ceptance of these I had formerly written. And now, by my Lord Eglintoun's and Mr. John Bell's, the hinder-end of December, understanding your care for my flock, I will delay no longer, but in testimony of my thankful[nes], which is all now I can render for your loving respect and care of my charge, you shall have ane accoamt of our affairs since my last with my Lord Mont-
gomerie, so far as my knowledge and memorie will furnish.

Our first Fyve Demands being obtained, our great fear, and our enemies equall hope, was upon the Sixth, of our charges since the late Pacionation. Great care was ulit to set it down in so smooth, and yet so effective terms as was possible. Johnstone, Rothes, Henderfone, our chief friends of the English of both Houfes in Parliament, did rypelial advisory on all the words and yyllabs, till at laft Mr. Alexander put it in that forme I have sent yow: it was so compoed of reason, that the King, when he saw it, had no farther hopes that the English and we should discord upon that demand. The particular compt was given with the demand: a fcore of two hundred and fitty thousand pound Sterling, which we put out of compt five hundred and fourteen thousand pound [Scots,] whereof we offered to bear ourself such a proportion as the Parliament should find reaonable, or ns able. The particular compt was delivered by us to none, for caufes, bot thefe whom it concerned. The reafons of the demand were put in fo manie hands as we were able to provide with copies. When it was given to the Peers, Briftoll, their speaker, gave in a verie cap-
tious quetion in wyryte, Whether our demand was positive; or we intended, by our compt, to obtain some kinde supply from the Parliament? Our Commisioners, after a little advyfement in their retireing chamber, gave fo wife ane anfuer in wyryte, that Briftoll gladlie would have taken back his proposition; bot this we refus-
ed: fo both the quetion and anfuer was subferyvyed by the clerks. Sundrie dayes thereafter were fpent, Briftoll preffing oft with more vehemence than we thought was needfull, the cafting of the Sixth demand to the laft place; bot this in difcreet yet peremptor ex-
pressions, we refuited it at laft. Briftoll fett down his proposition in wyryte, backed with the subfcriptions of the English peers, of their defyre to us, to go on in the mean tyme to the article of the peace, while the Parliament might have time to consult how to fatifie our Sixth demand. With great care ane anfuer was penned by Mr. A. [Henderfon] to that verie dangerous proposition: yow have it in the inclofed paper: All was delveryed to the Parliament. Both
the Houfes being called together, Briftol made a verie pertinent and favourable report of all had past, and by this good office did put away that fufpicion which we began to conceave of his too hot reaoning againft us in the treatie. Mandavleele read, with the beft toone he could, the reafons of our demand: Paget and Wharton, our good friends, read our two anfuers to Briftol's two propofitiones: All was receaved in silence, with fome favour by the farre moft part. The greatness of the matter itsel, and manie other weightie affaires, hindered the Parliament to make any concolution therein; fo our treaters had a vacation; yet were they not idle, but verie diligent in folifting and informing the members of the Houfes. Our enemies were not idle here; diverfe in both Houfes were not a little averfe from this demand, and bruit out into words, in feverall places, of dislyke; yet God kept us in this difficultie. The matter coming to the Lower Houfe on Thursday the 21ft [of January.] it was much debated pro and contra, and referred to the next day. At which tym, after fome hot reaoning by our fure friends, it was voyced firft, that our demand fhould be voyced; then that it fhould be voyced inftantly; and, thirdly, by the moft part it was carried, that ane supply, and fuffenance for our loifes and charges, fhould be granted to us, referving the meafeure to their farder conideration. Of this we are verie glad, and bleffes God for his favour; for this all men took for the greaeteft difficultie we had: fo our treatie will goe on. Our Commissioners and the Peers muft conferre on the quantitie, and way of payment, and fecurity of what cannot prefentlie be given, which the Parliament thereafter will cognofee upon. Ane unhappie ouverture of Traquair, our conftant good friend, that in Scotland, from the King and the Bishops rents, he could fhortlie make up ane hundred thousand pound Sterling, will doe us no good. We fear three hundred thoufand fhall be the moft we will obtain. We hope, that in this moneth of the treatie we might have clofet; but now it feemes not poiffible. Both the English and we had a great minde to have done fo, we being wearied with flay, they with the charges of the armie; but fuch a world of great affaires being yet in their hands, and the fpecciall articles of our treatie falling in the laft head, it feemes impoffible, before the 15th of February, to get the half diuffed, yea the third.

The Parliament being fensible of their fpending of tym, without great difpatch, made ane ordinance, that no private affair fhould be taken in till the more publick were brought to a con-
clusion. These publick they express'd in some twelve or fifteen heads: The Lieutenant and the Irish affairs, Canterbury and the Canons, the Keeper and the Judges, Windibanks and the Papists, Goring and the Monopolies, etc. When these were closed, they intended to clofe a Session, and diffuse the armies. Sundrie of the great affairs are closed, and the rest are coming on thick. For the secret reason why the caufe of the Lieutenant and Canterbury is so long delayed, some guesses one and some another; the most thinks, that more by witnes long agoe is deponed than might take manie heads; yet they defyre more, frace more daylie be coming in. Some thinks, their death would facilitate the overthrow of Episcopacie, and the thorough reformation of Church and State. Others feares, that diverfe grit men, if these two were execute, would be freed of their feare, and become hopefull of their place, and desireous more to pacifie the irritat Prince, and to comply with his defyre in keeping up Bishops and other things: so that the House, of purpose, keeps these men alive, to make their feare, so long as they live, a band to knitt all together for the common good: However, verie shortlie the Lieutenant is expected on the stage, and the Bishop at his back. The other day it past the Lower House unanimouslie, that they should have annuall Parliaments, or at leit trienniall; and if the King did not call them, the Sheriffs should give out letters for chooping Commissioners in the fryres against such a day. If the Sheriff did not fummond, if the persons choen did not compear at the tyme and place named, it should be fellonie, losse of life and lands; that for fiftie dayes, upon no discharge, they should rife: A terrible act! nothing yet done in Scotland that feemes to drive fo much at royall prerogative. It is thought it will passe the Higher House alfo, albeit with some more difficultie. A number of pamphlets comes out dailie about Episcopacie, some to hold it up, some to ding it downe: how this matter will goe, the Lord knowes; great hopes, great feares on all fydes. The godlie here, in great numbers, meets oft in private houses, for in publick they dare not, faits and prayers, and hears gracious sermons, for whole dayes, sundrie tymes in the week: truelie these heartie and humble prayers are our greatest confidence; in the adverse partie we hear of little devotion in the beft of them.

Saturday the 23d [of January.] This day sundrie things considerable past. The minifters petition, which I sent yow before, subferryved with above eight hundred minifters hands, was given in
to the Lower House, by sixteen of the eldest and graver of the number, together with their remonstrance of all the corruptions of that Church, in doctrine, discipline, life, and all, in twenty sheets of paper. The petition was read, and well taken; the remonstrance is appointed to be read on Monday, a day of fasting in private, over all the City and manie moe places; for that day is appointed to consider the hard question of Episcopacie. This day the new Keeper, Littleton, raid in plate, as the fashion is of their installment, to Westminster: he was before Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. Banks, the King's Attorney, hes gotten his place; Herbert, the Queen's Solicitor, has succeeded to Banks; Gardner, the Recorder of London, to Herbert. Few are pleased with this promotions: the men are none of them beloved; the Queen is said to be the cause of their advancement. It is expected the King, by the Marqueis advyse, shall make a better choyse of his other officers; that Bedfoord shall be Thesaurer, etc. The King this day called both the Houses to the Banqueting-roome at Whythall: he had a speech, which shortlie I hope to gett, encouraging them to goe on to help the abuses that were both in Church and State; referred to their consideration the providing for of the ships, the walls of the kingdome; the hastening the close of the treatie, that armies might not lie in the boosome of the land: their bill anent Parliaments he lyked in substance, but not in some circumstances; he could not endure that his prerogative in calling of Parliaments should be put in the hand of sheriffs, constables, and he knew not whom: bot by a meflage on Monday he hoped herein to give them all contentment. Also about the motion of removing Bishops, he told them expreflile, he would never permit that State to be putt down, or removed from the Parliament; abuses, in their government, he would be content were rectified and reduced to the order in use in Queen Elizabeth's dayes; bot discharged them to make any farder motion. To this part of the speech was no hum, no applause as to the rest. This declaration will doe no evil; manie who inclyned to keep Bishops being put off plate, and brought low, while they see they must continue Lords of Parliament, will joyn themselves more heartilie to these who will allay to draw up their roots. At the defyre of the English ministers, Mr. Alexander [Henderson] hes wryten some verie good reasons for their removeall out of the Church: they are printed this day; readilie yow may get them with this post. I minde to give in my myte also, in my Supplement of the Self-Conviction, which at once yow possiblie
may fee. Ane old Jesuit,\(^1\) who was manie yeares agoe condemned for seducing of people here, was sent away, with certification, if he returned, he should be execute, was latelye taken, and for new crimes condemned. Yesterdays he should have been hanged for example; the King repried him; the Citie does grudge, that in the face of Parliament justice against Jesuites should be stopped. They had promised to give this day fixtie thousand pound for the armies provifion, bot now they refuse. The Houfes took it to their consideration, informed the King: it is hoped he will deliver the Jesuite over to justice.

In diverfe churches, the people raifed Pfalmes to sing out the service, and in some they pulled down the raiiles before the altars. Some of the Separation being found at their conventicles, did speak disgracefullie of the King, Parliament, and lawes: of these things the Bilhop of London, the laft Saturday, the 16th, did make a grievous complaint in the Higher Houfe. Bilhop Hall could not remember his shamefull putting to the barre for the loufencifie of his tongue upon my Lord Sey the laft Parliament, bot behooved againe to aflat [aliert ?]\(^2\) the refucing of his advyee the other day, by the meanes of some Lords there, was the caufe of that misforder. They prefled the Bilhop to name the man: he named Mandaveell. Prefentlie he was put to the barre; and his brother Lincolne behooved to put a jeft on him heavier than his cenure, That his acknowledgement of his fault behooved to be formed to him in wryte, left his rhetorick in his confeffion should aggravat his fault, as it had done before. All this cannot make that man quiet; this week he hes put out a remonfrance to the Parliament for keeping up of Bilhops and Liturgies, without a word of any connection. The King lykes it weele, but all elfe pities it as a moff poore piece. The Higher Houfe always made ane order, which is read in the churches, that none profume, at their own hand to alter any cuftones eftablisht by law: this procured ordinance does not difcourge any man.

Coofins, yesterdays, for all his devotions, was pronounced in-

\(^{(*)}\) John Goodman, Priest and Jesuit: see the Journals of the House of Lords, and Commons; but in the latter, he is at first erroneously called Thomas Goodman.

\(^{(\star)}\) The meaning of this passage, relating to Joseph Hall, then Bishop of Exeter, is not very intelligible, and possibly some words have been omitted. It evidently, however, refers to what occurred in the Hou-e of Lords, 16th of January 1641, when "A Bishop speaking injuriously of a Temporal Lord, confesses his fault, and is reconciled." (See Journals, vol. IV, p. 134.)
capable of any office in England, and charge appointed to be made against his life for his contumelious speeches of the King's authoritie. Twentie-four thousand pound Sterling was decerned to be payed by him and the High Commissioner of York to Smart (5) for his loffes and charges in the prifon. There is a bitter book come yesterday from Ireland to our hands against the Assembleie of Glagow; it is thought by Bishop Maxwell: it may cost him and some other dear: if we had leasure, it would quicklie be anfwered. The Ambassadors of Holland, Brederode Earl of Wian, Aerfen (7) the Secretary of the State, and Somerdyk one of the Lords, with the ordinarie Ambassador, were receaved in the Banqueting Houfe by the King, Queen, Prince, Duke of York, two daughters, and hudge number of noblemen and gentlemen. Aerfen made a long and eloquent harangue in French: though I was verie near, yet I did not hear distinctlie. They have fundrie audiences before the Counfell of England. It is the King's eldest daughter which the States suites for the young Prince of Orange: it is thought he may get her. They speak of thirtie thousand pound of joynture; whereas the Palatine gave to Princefle Elizabeth bot ten. The young Prince is expected shortlie: Durham Houfe is preparing for him.

For forraigne news, I have sent you the English Gazets for the laft seven weeks. The states of Brabant hes given in a remonstrance to the Cardinal Infant to procure a peace with France and Holland, or else they will be forced to fee to their own fatetie. The French are fore beaten in Catilognia; but the people are nothing the more discouraged. The King of Portugal increafes in strength: numbers from Caftile joynes with him. There is a revolt feared in France, fo great and exceflive are the taxes there on all the people. They speake of Banier's befudging of Amberdge, in the Upper Palatinate. Great things every where in hand. We had much need to deal with the Lord, that the end of all may be the prosperitie of the Gospell. Manie here are verie gracious people; they farr goe beyond us in private faffings. This Monday is almost a solemn day for private humiliation, over all the Citie and their land, for rooting out of Epifcopacie. We truft a gracious anfwer shall now shortlie come from heaven. It becomes all of you there, who thinks to partake of Sion's joy, to joyn

(5) Peter Smart, one of the Prebends of Durham.
(7) Van Aersten, Lord of Sommelsdyke, in Holland.
yourselfes with her mourning supplicantes; if they fall not, the moft here yet expects no good dayes to either of the nations. The people throngs to our sermon, as ever yow faw any to Irwin communion; their crowd daylie increafes. Six of us, Mr. Blair, Mr. Henderson, Mr. Borthick, Mr. Gillefpie, Mr. Smith, and I, preaches our tour about on Sunday and Thurflay. In my laft tour, on the 3d verfe of the 126th Pfalm, "The Lord hes done great things for us," I spent much of one hour in ane historik narration, the beft I could penn, of all that God had done for us, fra the maids commotion in the Cathedrall of Edinburgh to that prefent day: manie teares of compaffion and joy did fall from the eyes of the Englifh.

Our poft has flayed some dayes longer than we expected. We had no meeting in our treatie thir two or three dayes, for we prefled hard not to proceed till the quantitie was once named. This at laft, in both Houfes of Parliament, is yielded unto; we expect, within a day or two, the Houfes determination of a particular foume which may doe us all good. The matter of the Jefuite draws deeper than any man expected; the man is ane apoftate, he had been ane preacher at London; he was baniifhed before; the King's repryveing of him, being condemned in the tyme of Parliament, was taken by all to have been done of purpose, for a preparative to fave the life of the Lieutenant and Canterburie; therefore, albeit there did never anie Jefuite die before in England for religion alone, yet both the Houfes hes moft unanimoufie confented to petition the King this day, that he may be execute; alfo that fevere order may be taken with all the Papifts in the land, of whom the Parliament before did not take much notice. Yesterfday, they called before them four of the moft noted papifts here, Sir Killum [Kenelm] Digbie, Sir Thomas Winter the Queen's Secretar, the fomnes of Digbie and Winter the powder plotters, Walter Montaen Mandaveell's brother, Sir Balfill Brook. They have confessed their collecting of contribufion from the Papifts of England to the King, againft us: this day they are to appear again; it is thought it will lie heavie on them all. The Queen is ftpeaking of her going to France, to the bains of Lorrain, for her health, and for the reconcileing of her Mother with her Brother. However, the Parliament's actions puts no small difcontent and fear to her ftomach. Queen Mother hes gotten little thir three moneth: her plate and jewells are felling; no marvell she fhould wryte, as they fay, humble letters of fubmiffion to her
fon to live in France where and how he pleafes. Yeffeday Mr. Pym gave in to the Higher Houfe, in 20 fheet of paper or thereabout, the charge of the Lieutenant: a world of foule poynts are proven. Before it can be wryten over in parchment, as the fathion is, it will be Tuesday; then it is like he fhall be called, get two or three daies to anfwer, and then be execute. While his head goe, the Bishop is lyke to dwell fhall with Mr. Maxwell, under his Black-Rod, bot no longer. The King's heart is no whit changed from thefe men; but we truft tyme will let him fee the truth: we pray God, in the mean tyme, fave him from courfes that he and we all may repent. The minifters petition and remonfrance is remitted till Monoday: I think it muff be delayed longer. There was a contrare petition drawn up for Epifcopacie, which I have alfo fent yow, and the King's Speech: hands in the citie were getting to it, as they fay, chieffie by Pemfrock the Chamberlaine's meanes: but it is thought they have let it fall, in defpaire of succiffe. There is a petition to the Lower Houfe, without the knowledge, fo farr as I hear, of anie of us, albeit all of us be weell pleafed therewith, that none of our fugitives brook benefite in England till firft they have ratified our Church: this bill it is no doubt will paffe. No more for the prefent comes in my minde. The Lord be with yow all. Dear Brethren, yow will have a care of my defolate flock; and as thir tymes requyre, if ever anie, yow will be diligent to flirr up your felves and your flockes to wretching with God for a happie end of all our hopes, feares, cares, and travells.

Your Brother and Servant,


[To Mrs. Baillie at Kilwinning.]

My Heart,

The laft week I wryt to thee and all friends at length: at this tyme I write to thee alone, that thou may know I am verie weell as thou could with. I had never, (praised be God,) since I faw thee, the leiff trouble, either of bodie or minde, or in any affair concerned me, fo good hes the Lord been to me. Onlie in my long abfence from my flock,houfe, and friends there, does whyles annoy mee, bot neceflitie makes me quiet, and my confcience of doeing fome good in the public affaires, that concerns the glory of God,
and the weel of the whole Isle and pofteritie, does comfort me in that perplexitie. It is like I shall not win home till we come altogether, which will be, I hope, sometyme in March.

This day, [the 6th of February,] the treatie is prolonged another moneth from the midl of February to the midl of March. We hope ere that be ended, that all our aaires shall be clofed, and the greatestadoes of the English Parliament also, to our great joy and of the English also. The other day, our foume was determined: all that paft in that difficult demand, I fent it inclofed in my laft letters; with the nixt, I fhall fende the fame to my Lord in print; for our charge againft Canterburie and the Lieutenant, with our Sixth demand, is call in print; but this carrier is not for it. Thow hes here inclofed the happie clofure, which is not printed. Our Commissioner did stronglie solift all their friends in both Houfes: we had fundrie opposites; yet when it came to voyceing, not manie kythed. Three hundred thoudand pound Sterling, four and fifty hundred thousand merks Scotts,(9) is a prettie foume in our land, befyde the eighteen hundred thousand merks for our armie, thefe laft four months, and tuentie-fyve thousand pound Sterling for the fifth moneth coining. Yet the heartie giving of it to us, as to their brethren, did refreh us as much as the money itfelf. Thou may read the act of the Lower Houfe, and the paper of our thanksgiving. Our Seventh article, for the recalling of all the King's proclamations and declarations againft us, will be paft without difficulty in a day or two; fo we come to the laft, anent a solid peace betwixt the nations: This we will make long or fhort, according as the necelities of our good friends in England does require; for they are still in that fray, that if we and our armie were gone, they yet were undone.

The Lieutenant the laft Saturday [30th of January] was fent for; he came from the Tower by water, with a guard of mufqueteers; the world wondering, and at his going out and coming in, shouting and curfeing him to his face. Coming in to the Higher Houfe, his long charge, in manie sheets of paper, was read to him: for a while, he fatt on his knees before the barr; thereafter, they caufed him fitt down at the barr; for it was eight a'clock before all was read. He craved a moneth to anfwer; they or- dained him to return on Monday with the reafon of that his dem- and. On Monday he fent his petition in wryte, alleadging the

(9) A merk was equal to 13½d. Sterling; and thus one pound Sterling contained 18 merks Scotich money.
gutt for his absence. Wednesday came a fournight was appointed him to say, by word or wryte, for himself what he is able: what the event will be we will then know; while he be at a poynct, Canterburie will rest under the Black-Rod. On Wednesday [3d of February] both the Houses were called to receave the King's answer anent the Jefuite; the copie of the speech we have not yet gotten: it hes given verey great satisfaction to all; with much humming was it receaved. He told, that the reason of his repreving of that Jefuite was not for affronting justice, or staying the execution of any law, but becaufe in his Father's and Queen Elizabeth's reign, no person had ever been execute for their conscience alone: however, he did remitt the man simplicie to their discretion, being confident they were wife to consider what might be the consequences of his execution in forraign parts, where thefe of our religion were under the power of Popifh princes. He protestted his own sincere affection towards the true religion; promiswed by prefent proclamation to baniſh all priefts out of the land within a moneth, under the pain of death to all that shall remaine or ever returne. He gave assurance that none at all should be permitted to come to the Queens their chappells, bot alone their domeſtick fervants. The Pope's agent with his Queen, he affuere, should quicklie be difmiffed, and none again be receaved. On Thursday [the] fent a gracious meſſage to the Lower Houfe, that was alfo verey well taken, excuſing herſelf, that through ignorance of their law, he had moved thefe of her religion to contribute some moneys for the King's affaires; affurance he would doe no more; alfo that he conceaved, that the libertie of her religion contracted to her, permitted her to keep open intelligence with the Pope, and to admitt to her chappell thefe of her own profeflion: bot since he found them herewith offended, promiswed it should be no more. Her voyadge to France for ten moneth, to preveen a confumption alreadie begun, and the marriage of Lady Mary with the Prince of Orange shortlie, is more and more spoken of; and manie begins to think, that poffiblie both their intentions are reall.

All here, praiſed be God, goes according to our prayers, if we could be quyte of Bifhops; about them we are all in perplexitie: we truft God will putt them doun, but the difficultie to get all the tapouns of their roots pulled up are yet insuperable by the arme of man. The deans and prebends, and other not-preaching minifters rents, will be taken away; for otherwife the country will never
be able to supply the King's necessity, and bear their other burdens; but these superfluous rents will do all abundantly. Yester-
day an order was given out to put all churchmen out of the com-
mission to the justices of peace. The Ministers' remonstrance these
days bygone have been read in the House by parts; for it is long:
They defy not an answer in haste; for they fear their
friends in the House be not strong enough to pull up that old oak;
but manie tears here are weeklie fowne for that end; we hope a
harvest of fruits are corning. We pray, preach, and print against
them what we are able most freely: manie a fore thrift gets both
men and women thronging in to our sermons. This day Mr. Hen-
derfone had a very sweet conference with the King their alone,
for the helping of our Universities from the Bishops rents. I hope it
shall be obtained. A pitie bot that sweet Prince had good com-
pany about him. We hear no farther news than I wryt to my
Lord from abroad; onlie it is said, that Bance is besigheing the
Emperor in Ratibon, with a mightier armie than the enemy is
like in haste to oppose.

R. Baillie.

London February 6th [1641].

[To the Same.]

My Heart,

I am everie way so weel as thou could with, and none in the
companie better; yea, I know none bot hes had some faultries bot
myself. God continuws his indulgence towards me. If there be
any continuance beyond the midft of March, Mr. Blair and I re-
solves to preffe a dimifion. God's hand is clear leading on, peice
and peice, men against their purposes, towards his ends. No book
here cryed up fo much by the adverfe partie, their Bishops and
Doctors, as "The Canterburian's Self-Conviction": it is now at
the preffe againe with a large Supplement. I have fundrie other
things readie for the prefs. Have a care of thy familie exercife;
caff all thy cair on God; learne to speak to him, and to rejoyce in
his countenance. I love him, blefTed be his name better than ever,
and committs all that concernes me to his good hand. Thou and
I may daylie meet in him.

R. Baillie.

February 22d [1641.]
[To the Presbytery of Irvine.]

**Reverend and Dear Brethren,**

Though yow before this should be wearie of provyding my place, I confesse it is no marvell: yet I must intreat yow earnestlie not to give over that labour. I should long ere now have returned to that charge myself. if these here, who have power to command, would have permitted: however, I hope now a little little shall send us all home in peace and joy.

The clofure of the Sixth demand, and things that past that week, I sent home in a letter to my wife; with the which you are before this, I hope, acquaint. A stationer hes made bold, as all things now are printed, [to print] these our charges against Canterbury and the Lieutenant, with all that past on our Sixth demand, which here I send to you with two of the last Gazets for foraigne occurrences. There is a world of pamphlets here befyde, wherewith I may not burden the poft. Our Seventh demand was past shortlie without much question: we would have had prefentlie all the proclamations, declarations, and pamphlets revoked; but they would have us delay till the full clofure of the treatie; to this we acquiesced as reafon. They would have it reciprocall: this we thought dangerous; but we were content, if they would be pleased to make the Scotts Parliament judge what wrytes of ours should be revoked; for we knew of none; and our protestations being alone for our justification behooved to stand: to this they acquiesced. You may fee the demand and anfwer here inclosed.

For the Eighth grit demand some dayes were fpent in prepara- tions. The firft article of it, concerning the garifons and fortifica- tions of Carlile and Berwick, though it carried no dificultie, yet the Peers finding, that all the articles of the Eighth demand did concenter the whole nation for all tymie coming, shew they behooved, before any anfwer, to acquaint both the Houses of Parliament with all we proponed: So they intreated, that we might give in fo much as we might together, that the Parliament might not be too oft moved by too manie feverall articles, which might be conjoyned. The King and Britoll also did much preffe, that we would give in all at once we did require in our laft demand; but this being not poiffible for us, nor conducefull for the ends of the English, who required no such haftie, it was agreed we should give in so manie
of our articles on that demand at once, as might be a fitt subiect for the Parliament's confideration and anfwer: fo with the firft, we gave in the fecond. That daintie paper anent the King and Prince's refidence with us at fome tymes, yow have it here inclofed. The truth is, albeit we had no hope to obtaine much of that reaonable deffyre, yet it was thought meet to preffe it, to be a ground and means to obtain the rest we were to deffyre, as being too little a recompence for want of the King's perfon. The King was very well pleafed with the motion; bot the Parliament appeared as if they had been much difpleased: for their fatiffaion, we gave in the laft, here inclofed, as ane explanation of our intention in this article. As yet the Parliament hes had no leaffure to give us any anfwer; bot we expeèt it this day. The laft Tuesday, as I remember, the King came to the Higher Houfe in his robes: after he had remembered them of their flownefes, and how little they yet had done in any thing concerned him, he declared his willingnes to fatiffie them in their deffyre of annuall or trienniall Parliaments. So he deffyre the Lord Keeper to fignifie his pleafure anent that Act, as it was conceaved by both the Houfes. The way of conception I wryt in a former letter. The Keeper's fpeech was not long: _Il Roy le vent_, was all. This did fill the two Houfes and City with fuch joy, that they required permiffion, and obtained it, to exprefse the feme of it, by ringing of all their bells, above a thoufand, and fettinf out their bone-ffyres. Bot as no worldlie joy is unmixed, fo to-morrow there fell fome dis-contentment betuixt the two Houfes. On the Mononday, the Earle of Strafford had fent his petition to the Higher Houfe for fome longer tyme. My Lord Sey fpake somewhat for the petition; bot Effex againft it. On Tuesday, the Lower Houfe fent up a mef- fage by Mr. Pym, requiring, that no more tyme might be granted. Notwithstanding, on Wedneday, when Strafford appeared, his gutt and gravell, and pertinent fpeech, bot moft of all his lawyers oath, that they had done all diligence to have their anfwers perfyte, and that yet it lay not in their power, for fome days to come, to have them in any readinefs; all this obtained him eighyt dayes more tyme. This granted did fo extreamlie grieve the Lower Houfe, that they were near to have broken up, and give over all fittting, at laft till Strafford were at ane end. When that motion was laid by, they were near to a proteffation againft the Higher Houfe, as hurting the priviledges of their Houfe, by granting to any they had charged with high treafon any delay of proceede, any benefite of councell,
or ufe of lawyers advice, any permiffion to anfwer by wryte: yet
they did not proteft; onlie did notify their grievances with great
paffion.

The Londoners, who had promifed long agoe fixtie thonfand
pound Sterling, and had it [in] readiness, keeps it still in hand. The
Jefuite’s reprying was the firft occafion; and yet when the King
hes given him over to their will, there is no more word of him, and
I think they fhall difmis him; and now while they have reafon of
Strafford, they will give no money: this is their great weapon; fo
both the armies are in their third moneth. The English fojours, we
hear, plunders the countrie without refproo. The favour granted to
Strafford is laid moft on the back of the good Lord Sey: he did
indeed moft fpeak for it; but no doubt thefe who were moft for
granting him bygone courtefies, will be his fimallest friends when he
comes to judgement. The Higher Houfe, for fatisfa€tion of the
Lower, fent to the Tower to advertife Strafford, that he come on
Wedneflday fumifie intrufled, for no longer delay will be granted
upon any alleadgence.

The week before there was a great commotion in the Lower
Houfe, when the petiffion of London came to be confidered. My
Lord Digbie and Vifcount Falkland, with a prepared companie
about them, laboured, by premeditat speeches, and hott difputts,
to have that petiffion call out of the Houfe without a hearing, as
craving the rootinf out of Epifcopacie againffe fo manie eflab-
lished lawes. The other partie was not prepared; yet they con-
tefted on together, from eight a’cloack till fix at night. All
that night our partie folifled as hard as they could. To-morrow,
some thonfands of the citizens, bot in a verie peaceable way, went
down to Weftminfter Houfe to countenance their petiffion. It
was voyced, Whether the petiffion fhould be committed, or Not?
by thirty-fix or feven voyces, our partie carried it, that it fhould be
referred to the Committee of Religion; to which were fome four
or fix more added, young Sir Harrie Vaine, Mr. Fynes, and fome
more, our firm friends. This Committee was appointed to confider
all the remonfrance, all that was in the London petiffion, or in any
other petiffion from the countrie, and of all to make their report, with-
out determining of any thing; alfo they were discharged to meddle
as yet with the queftion of removeing the office. Before this Com-
mittee, everie other day, fome eight or ten of the Remonfrants ap-
ppears. Doctor Burgeffe commonlie is their mouth; we did fufpe€t
him as too much Epifcopall, and withed he had not been of the
number; but he has such a hand among the miniftrie, and others, that it was not thought meet to decairt him; yea, he has caryed himself to bravelie, that we doe repent of our fupicious. The paffages of the remonfrance that yet has been called for, he has cleared to the full contentment of all the Committee, except Mr. Selden, the avowed proctor for the Bifhops. How this matter will goe, the Lord knowes: all [are] for the ereting of a kind of Prefbytries, and for bringing down the Bifhops in all things, fpirituall and temporall, fo low as can be with any fubsitance; but their utter abolition, which is the onlie aime of the moft godlie, is the knott of the quefion; wee muft have it cutted by the axe of prayer: God, we truft, will doe it. The treatife I fent yow, of the Unlawfullnefs of Limited Epifcopacie, is anfwered. They have fett me on a reply, which I have now ended: readilie yow may fee it in print at once with a new edition of the Canterburians, much augmented. Think not we live any of us here to be idle; Mr. Henderfone has readie now a short treatife, much called for, of our Church diſcipline; Mr. Gillepie has the grounds of Prefbyteriall government well afferted; Mr. Blair, a pertinent anfwer to Hall’s remonfrance: all these are readie for the preffe. Dr. Twife, to our great comfort, is here turned a Remonfrant. The convocation-men meet everie Wednesday, and reads their Latine Lettanie, and fo departs till the next week; they have yet gotten no commiffion from the King to medle with any thing. Their motion to petition the Parliament, that fifteen of them might be heard to debate matters with fifteen of the Remonfrant minifters is evanifiſed; as also the petition for upholding of the Bifhops is strucken in the lift; albeit one solid and pertinent anfwer to it be Mr. Barroues [Burroughghs] and his colleagues, with Mr. Henderfone’s preface, is walking up and doun the earth, which here I fend to yow. Dr. Twise, if there be any difputt, offers to be one; he is doubtles the moft able difputer in England. We are, in this point, betwixt great hope and great fear; bot faith helps the one, and diminifhes the other. Yow had need there to affift us much by your earnest prayers, and the prayers of all the godlie in your flock. The matter will fhortlie come to fome conclusion: all parties longs to be at ane end. If Strafford were once away, Canterburie will make no fay. Then things will runn; bot if all can be done before the fiftteenth of March, it is hard to Fay.

The King hes fpoken at length with all our Commiffioners apart, verie sweetlie and pleafantlie. Johnftoun and Loudoun ufed great
freedome, and was weel underbrought. Rothes, and Loudoun, and Henderfone, seems to have great favour: the Marquefs rules all the roft, and is much commended be all. The laft day, seven of the Englifh Lords, all Commonwealth's men, were fware Privie Counfellors; Efleex, Hertfoord, Bedfoord, Briftoll, Sey, Mandaveell, Savill. The Peers required we might fend for any of our nation we thought meet to be at the conclusion of the treatie, but efpecial- lie Argyle: In this, I think, we fhall doe their defyre. Some of the Lower Houfe hes been infiant with our Commissioners to signifie the truth concerning our fugitive minifters and regents, a roll of whom they fent to us; to whom they prefixed us to add fo manie more as we knew in the kingdome. Our advyce was, that none should be troubled who would, under their hand, give some tollerable fatisfaccion to the next Generall Assemblies. It is like there fhall be no more reft for thefe men in England and Ireland than in Scotland. Ane ordinance the other day paft both the Houfes, for diflolving prefentlie the Irifh armie; for two more fubfidiies, befyde the former four for difarming the Papifts. The Queen's voyadge to France, and the marriage with Holland, yet holds. The combination of the Papifts with Strafford's Irifh armie, to have landed, not in Scotland, but Wales, where the Earle Worcester, a prime head of the Popiff faction, had commiffion to receive them: thefe things are more and more fpoken of. Duke de Vanden [Vendofme], the Queen's bafe brother, for fear of the Cardinall, is here at Court.

London, February 28th [1641.]

[To the Same.]

Reverend and Dear Brethren,

These twentie dayes and above my minde did not ferve me to write any thing to yow, not fo much for the multitude of affaires, whereof, believe me, I have had no feant ever since I came here, as that I expected everie other week to fee our maine bufinefs come to fome clofe, that fo a man might have pronounced what was likele to have been the end of all thefe commotions; but becaufe that week does not yet appear, left you be too long wait- ing for my letters, I doe now force myfelf to wryte how things
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goes for the present. The Marqueis [of Hamilton] being through-
lie reconciled to the English, who not long agoe were little better
affected towards him than to the Lieutenant and Canterburie,
found it meet to bring some of the chief of them upon the Counfell.
The first motion of it was bitterlie rejected by the King; yet the
Marqueis, by his wisdome, brought him unto it: so, as I wryt be-
fore, seven of the most leading of the Lords, who were malcon-
tent for the misgovernment of the Bishops, were sworne Counfel-
lers: Britoll, Effex, Bedfoord, Hertfoord, Mandavcele, Savill, and
Sey. This, for two or three dayes, did please all the world; and
to whom was England so much obliged as to the Marqueis, who
had brought these men so near the King whom the countrey did
most affect? but incontinent fra some of these new Counfellors
were found to plead publicklie for some delay to Strafford's pro-
ce, and to look upon the Scottishe affairs not altogether so plea-
fantlie as they wont, all began to turn their note, that it was rath
imprudence so soon to put these men in posッション of the honours
which some of them wer thought alone to seek. Our Commis-
ioners were deeplie cenfured for advyseing the Marqueis to pro-
mote these men untymouslie, (albeit I heard Lowdoun deeplie
swear he never knew of any such motion till it was ended :) They
were felandered as if they also had been to be admitted Coun-
fellors of England and bedchamber-men, I mean Rothes and Low-
doun: a foolishe planifie which was never thought of, let be spoken.
The Scotts were everie where said, for all their former zeal, to be
so farr broken by the King, that they were willing to passe from
the perfuit of Canterburie, and the Lieutenant, and Epifcopacie in
England. Some of our countrie, according to their naturall facul-
tie, were thought to be the inventors and chief spreaders of these
dangerous lies. The matter went on so farre, that the Londoners,
after the money was collectet, refufed to give one pennie of it for
our armie. Affairs thus standing, our Commissioners prefentlie,
with some piece of passion, caufed Mr. Alexander penn that little
quick paper, proclaiming, against malice, the constancie of our zeall
against Epifcopacie, and the two Incendiaries. This we gave in
to the Peers, requiring them with diligence to communicat it to the
Parliament. A copie of it fell in the stationer Mr. Butter's hand,
who put it to the press, and so through the city. The

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England, and preffed us much to paffe from this motion. When we perfifled, he gavu our paper to the King. To-morrow the King was enraged at it: bot after, by reafon, he was a little calmed; the paper in print being put in hand, not by Britfoll, as the word went, bot by Holland, our good friend, mynding, as we know all, no evill to us. The King was so inflamed as he was never before in his tyme for any other busineses; for the keeping up of Epifcopacie in England, which we frowe to have down, is the verie apple of his eye. This furie for fome dayes did in nothing relent; the printer was committed; the paper was called ane hundred tymes feditious. The King told us we had in juftice forfaulted our privileges; our old friends, the new counfellers, fpake nothing for us; our old enemies of the Popifh and Epifcopall faction ftett out their faces; manie of whom, we never doubted, did joyne with them to maligne us: diverfe of our true friends did think us too rath, and though they loved not the Bifhops, yet, for the honor of their nation, they would keep them up rather than that we frangers should pull them down. That faction grew in a moment fo ftrong, that in the verie Lower Houfe we were made affured by the moft intelligent of our faftest friends, they would be the greater partie. This put us all in fome peice of perplexitie: our armie could not fubfit without moneys; such a light accident had put all our enemies on their tiptoes, made fundrie of our feeming friends turn their countenance, and too manie of our true friends faint for fear.

All this came juftlie upon us. What yow dow there, I know not; bot we here were fallen half afleep in a deep fecuritie, dreaming of nothing bot a prefent obtaining of all our defyres without difficultie. The Commiffioners had fent for Argyle to be at the end of the tractie. The Marqueis had written for Lindefay. Amont had gotten a warand to come up; bot at once, by poft upon poft, we defyred all to flay till a new advertifement. By this blast God wakened us; we fled to our wonted refuge, to draw near to God; the godlie in the city, in diverfe private societies, ran to faling and praying: by thefe our old and beef weapons, we are beginning to prevail, praife be to his holie name! By earneft entreatie, the King was moved to hold in his proclamation, wherein he faid, he would call in our printed paper as feditious. We gave in a mollifieing explanation of our meaning; which with the printed paper, I fent home in my laft letter to my Ladie Montgomerie. Here we were put in a new pickle: the English Peers were minded to have caufe printed our explanation; this doubtles this rath and
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ignorant people would have taken for a recantation of what we had printed before; so the last evills had been worse than the first. Bot in the end of that explanation, we had professed, that we had yet more to say to the Parliament, according to our instructions, against Epifcopacie; so before we had said all out, the King thought meet neither to publish his proclamation nor our explanation. Evill will had we to say out all our minde about Epifcopacie, till the English were readie to joyn with us in that greatest of questions; but there was no remead; the King urged that paper. Good Mr. Alexander being somewhat grieved with the event of the former wryte, seth himself with the more diligence to the accurat framing of the nixt; and, after some dayes delay, gave out that most dilligat expression of our defyres of unitie in the ecclesiasfick government in all the King's dominions, which here I send yow. Britoll was not weell pleased with it, and the King worfe: yet the former furie was past; neither was there here any provocation; for our defyre is proposed in great modestie of speech, albeit with a mightie strength of unanswerable reaftones. All that they replied, after some nights advyfement, yow may read in their short paper, desiringe us to defift, and not to move the Parliament in that matter. The reaftons why we cannot acquiefce to their defire bot moft have the Parliament's anfwere, are to be presented in the Treatie to-morrow; so our paper, we hope, shall goe to the Houfe one of thir dayes, who then will be in a prettie readinefs for it.

As for the English affaires, thus they stand. Yow heard [in] my former the great debate in the Lower Houfe about the Minifters remonfrance, and Cities petition. My Lord Digbie, the Vifcount of Falkland, Sir Benjamin Ridiers [Rudyerd], as yow may read in their speeches here inclofed, one in print two in wryte, did declare most acutelie, as we could have wished, againft the corruptions of Bifhops; bot their conclusion was, the keeping in of a limited Epifcopacie. Learned Selden, and a great faction in the Houfe, ran all their way; yet God carried it against them, that not onlie the Remonfrance, bot also the Cities petition, which required the rooting out of all Epifcopacie, should be committed. The Committee mett thryfe a-week in the afternoon; some sixteen of the Remonfrant minifters attended them. They required satisfactioun punctuallie in that head which concerned the government: it feems the complaints againft the doctrine, the worfhip, and other things, were so clear, that they needed no farder probation. The
Ministers, by their Speaker, Dr. Burgesse, gave to the Committee full contentment, and so much the greater by my Lord Digbie and Mr. Selden’s frequent opposition; the citizens also made good all the parts of their Petition, which the Committee required to be proven. All this, after long tyme, being done, Mr. Crew, who was in the chair of that Committee, made a favourable report to the Houfe, That they had found the Bifhops fole ordination and jurifdiction, their intermedling with fecular affairs, their too great rents, and manie other things concerning them, to be true grievances. Here it was where the better fyde befirr’d themselves, and God ftrang’d did aflift them: to propone the rooting out of the Bifhops had been by pluralitie of voyces to have eftablifh’d them: they therefore resolved to proceed ordine resolutivo, to take down the roof firft to come to the walls, and, if God would help, not to flay till they raif’d the foundation: However to goe on fo farr as was poiffible; leaving, without any legall confirmation, what now they cannot winne to till a better tyme. On Tuesday the 9th, as I remember, they gave them their firft wound: after a long debaite, at laft unanimouslie, not ten contradicting, the Lower Houfe decreed to move the Higher Houfe, by bill to take from them voyce in parliament. The nixt day they did the fame for the Starr-Chamber, High Commiffion, Counfell, and all other fecular courts. One of thefè days they are to caft down their cathedrall-deanries, and prebendries; alfo to fpoyll them of their ufurped ordination and jurifdiction, to ered prebiftries in all the land, and distribute, in ane equall proportion, the rents among all the paroches for preaching minifters. These things being conclud’d below, as it is expected they fhall be unanimouslie, let Selden and fome few others gnaff their teeth as they will, all will be caft in one bill, and be given in to the Higher Houfe, where it is hoped it will gett a good hearing. When Epifcopacie is made a poor plucked craw, whether our paper, and the Citie’s, and many other, will at this tyme gett the neck of it clean thrown off, only God does know. We are somewhat hopefull, and would be more, if more earnest prayers were made to God for that effect. The Bifhops, to fave the life of their office, hes invented a trick which we truft fhall irritat the Lower Houfe the more againft them: they have moved the Higher Houfe to appoint a committee for religion, to consider both of innovations, and what of the old is meet to be reformed, confifting of eight or ten Earles, as many Lords, and as many Bifhops, with power to the Bifhop of Lincolne, who fhall fitt.
in the chyre of that committee, to summond, against Friday, some of these who are reputed the most able and orthodox divines of the land, to wit, The Primate of Armagh, Prideaux, Ward, Brommerik [Brownrigg?] Hollwoorth, Fealty, Haket, and Wellfield; and of the Remonstrants, Twife, Burges, Young our learned countreyman, Whyte, Marshall, [and] Hill, to be present and give their advice. It is expected that this will be a spurr to the Commons, not by their accustomed slowness to suffer their committees to be prevented, and so frustrate, by this new devized one.

Bot that which is the great remora to all matters is the head of Strafford: as for poor Canterbury he is so contemptible that all calls him by out of their thoughts, as a pendicle at the Lieutenant's eare. The charge which the Houfe of Commons gave in to the Houfe of Peers against both, yow have here in print. So great dealing in this long delay of tyme hies been ufed for Strafford, that himself and his friends became insolentlie confident of his escapeing at laeft with life: yet their courage is somewhat cooled, beholding, on Saturday laft, after long, sharp, and dangerous debates, the Houfes weell near fullie agreed, that on his tryall, both the Houfes shall fit together in the large outer-hall of Weftminster: that the Lower Houfe shall fit there, not as a Houfe, with their Speaker, bot as a Committee, without their Speaker, to remove when they will to their own Houfe; that they shall manage the processe and witneses as they find meet; that for matter of fact there shall be no counfell; that in matter of right, when his counfell shall interpret a law against their minde, that in that case they will retire to their Houfe; and being undoubtedly conjunct makers of lawes with the Peers, they will be also conjunct interpreters of everie contraverted law. Mr. Stroud, the other day, fell on a notion, to which the most did greedilie gryp, that is like to end the longfome debates about Strafford's counfell or pleaders. He told the Houfe, that they had charged Strafford of High Treafon; that they had found the articles of the charge treasonable; that they had voyced their witneses depoitions to be satiffactorie: fo it concerned them to charge as conspirators in the fame treafon, all who had before, or should thereafter, plead in that caufe. If this hold, Strafford's counfell will be rare. This day the carpenters are busifie to fett up the feats for both the Houfes; when that is done, the Lieutenant must come to his sentence, and then all affaires will runn. When at once the head of Strafford and the root of Epifcopacie are strokin
at, there is some blind fears that the King, not being yet able to abide it, may yet hazard the breaking up of the Parliament. The Irish armie is not like to dissolve. Worcefter will not come to the Parliament, pretending sicknes. Herbert, his fone, is much at Court; the papiſts in Wales follows him much. The proclamation against papiſts, as you may read it in print, is sharp enough, yet it is feared they are bot too strong, and too well armed. The King's armie in Yorke is thought to be in some better posture than before. Some furmifes diviſions in Scotland. The noife of the Queen's voyadge to France is dilled downe; no moneys for her furniture will be gottin in hath; and the Cardinal hes no will of her Mother. All these things, if we be not mad, will set us on our watch. God, in his meer mercie, muſt end what he hes begun, or yet all may goe verie quicklie to a horrible confuſion: never was tears and prayers more feaſonable and more neceſſar. We were not weell pleafed with the manner, albeit exceeding weell with the matter, that the Lower Houſe ſhould have joyned with the King and the Higher Houſe, to have required us to give in all the articles of our laſt demand together. We would be moſt gladlie at an end; yet, if we were readie to goe, as we cannot be in hath, they know and proclame that they were undone; yet the unſtabillitie and fearſullneſs, and cleaving to their moneys of too many of them, will make us truſt them leſſe, and fee the more to our own affaires. The index of our laſt demand, and all that yet is paft upon it, you have here. When my Lord Eglintoun hes perufed them, I know his Lordſhip will communicat all, both wryte and print, to you.

The Marqueis, whatever he hes been, yet now is the beſt instrument we have to keep the King's minde in some tollerable temper; bot malice and envy will not let him goe on to do in both nations all good service in quiet. The Lieutenant's friends finding it his apparent good to have the Marqueis joyned with him in danger, laboured to have him accufed of treafon also. The Popil-EPiſcopal faction feeing him evidentlie unite with the countrey to draw the King from them, did co-operate with all their power; bot the articles were fo frivolous which they could invent againſt him, and his favourers in both Houſes fo many and mightie, that he was glad and defyrous to have that accufation difcufſed; bot the in‐tenders of it grew fo faint, that their purpoſe seems now to be evanifhed. Yet behold he fell in a greater danger: by his friends in the Houſes he had obtained, for the King's pleaufure, fome delay
of tyme for Strafford's answere; by this they made the King believe that his power in both the Houfe was fo great, as it was eafe for him, if he would endeavour it, to get Strafford's life faved. They wrought it fo, that if he denied to deall for Strafford he fhould offend the King; if he affayed to deall farder for him, he fhould lose the Parliament and us all. Yet it is lyke the man, in his great wifdome, will gett both the King and the Parliament kepted, and let Strafford goe where he deferves.

All the Englifh minifters of Holland, who are for New-England way, are now here: how strong their party will be here, it is diversely reported; they are all in good terms with us: Our only confiderable difference will be about the jurisdiction of Synods and Prefbyteries. As for Brownfells, and Separatifts of many kynds, here they mihlyke them weell near as much as we: of thefe there is no confiderable partie. Anent private meetings, we know here no difference we have with anie: Our quefions with them of the new way, we hope to get determined to our mutuall fatification, if we were ridd of Bifhops; and till then, we have agreed to speake nothing of any thing wherein we differ. Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Baroues [Burroughs], Mr. Simonds, have all written verie gracious treatifes of faneftication, which I minde to bring with me; all of them are learned, difcreet, and zealous men, weell feen in cafes of confience. It were all the pities in the world that wee and they should differ in anie thing, efpeciallie in that one, which albeit verie small in fpeculation, yet in prafice of verie hudge confquence: for, make me verie congregation ane abfolute and independent Church, over which Prefbyteries and Generall Assemblies have no power of cenfure, bot onlie of charitable admonition, my witt fees not how incontinent a Nationall Church should not fall into unfeakeable confusions, as I am confident the goodnes of God will never permit fo gracious men to be the occasions of, let be the authors.

How matters goe abroad, you may fee in the printed Gazets I fend. The Portugall Ambaffador here getts no audience; he is labouring privilie for it: if he cannot obtain it, he goes for Holland, whither onlie he gives out he is directed, and comes into England alone by wind and weather. The Hollanders lyes a prettie navie, with men and munition, ready for Lifbon. The Duke of Lorrain has been now fome weeks in Paris, fullie reconciled with the French King; for Lorrain, they fay, he muft be content with Auverne, and fome other lands in the heart of France, where he fhall not
be able to flurre: but to make all sure, the King keeps his first wife from him, the heretrix of Lorrain, to whom he mindes to be heir, letting the Duke enjoy his second wife, which he did marrie in the Emperour's service, when the other did fly behind him in France. The King of France, as yow may see in the Gazet, hes gotten a Frenchman governor of Britack; by this meane all Bernard of Weymar's conquestes in Alfatia, are joyned with Lorrain to his crown. The fair Spanish province of Catalonia has taken him not only for their protector, but for their true King. He is like, by his too great growth, to draw on himself the fear and invy which before was peculiar to Spaine. This is the reason why Holland, jealous of the French greatnes, are so earnest for allyance with England. Every other week the young Prince of Orange is here expected with his royall and very pompous traine. The Palatine was bot very drylie welcomed at his first coming: the King had written to him not to come so soon, but the letters misfled him; yet, now the King begins to speake of his help.

This is all comes in my minde for the present. The Treatie is continued to the midft of Aprill: it seemes ere then all will be clofed that concerns us: I will aflay to be dismiffed before. I trust yow will not faill to continue your care for my flock; I thank yow all, Dear Brethren, for your bygone aflistance. I promisse, by God's grace, if I were at home to give to every one of yow the lyke aflistance on occasion. The Lord be with yow all. Yow must not faill, as ye love the glory of God, and the weelfare of the Church and State in all the King's dominions, both in your own dayes and for after generations, to stirr up your own foules, and thefe of your flocks, to earneft supplications; for all now is in ane apparent way of prospering as we could with; and yet there are secret ways in hand, more than we know, and will speake of, to undoe all. Bot there is a God who hes done great things for us, and will triumph over the devill, and all the wickednes of men be who they will: Let us only have a conscience that, come what will, may comfort with the sweet remembrance of our endeavours to doe our duty, and to call upon his name for the weelfare of Sion.

Your Brother and servant,

R. Baillie.

London, Mononday March 15th [1641.]
Our post has stayed beyond our expectation. After long delay, all the anfwer the Peers gave to our long paper of Epifcopacie, was a defyre not to give it in to the Parliament: to this their paper you fee our replie. At laft, after manie passionat words from Britoll, we were advyfed it was our good to lay by our paper of Epifcopacie till Strafford’s bufinefs was ended; and fo we have done. The feats and loftes, or, as they call them, the scaffoldes of Weftminster-hall, are now readie. Mononday is the firt day of Strafford’s caufe; fome thinks his proceffe will be short: you fhall know with the nixt. To mollifie the King, they have given him, the other day, the tunnage and poundage for the nixt three yeares, and fome three fubfidiies, which, with the former, makes nyne. The flop of trade here, through men’s unwillingnes to venture thefe three or four yeares bygone, hes made this people much poorer than ordinare: they will no wayes be able to beare their burden if the Cathedrals fall not. On the Committee for religion in the Higher Houfe, are all the beft Lords: we are made to hope, that againft the intention of the inventors of it, it may prove a good meane of undoing the Bifhopes. The Portugall Ambaffador is over to Holland; one exprefflie for England is landed: after long debate at the Councill-table, it is resolvd he fhall have audience, especiallie fince the King of Spaine did receave the Bavarian Ambaffadors, as of the Prince Elektor Palatine, for all that Britoll, then in Spaine, could fay to the contraire, bot moft of all becaufe the Portugall offers libertie of religion, and other fair conditions, to the English merchants. They are speaking of Sir Thomas Roe going to Ratibone yet once from the King. They wryte that Burgundie hes fent to Parife, to treat for their subjection to the Crowne of France.

Fryday, 19th [of March, 1641.]

[Letter to the Presbytery of Irvine, containing a Journal of the Earl of Strafford’s Trial.

Reverend and Dears Brethren,

Since, much befide my expecfation, my flay here is continued, my letters to yow would have been more frequent, except I had been waiting to have feen bufinefs come at laft towards fome finall
conclusion, or at least to such a poyn that a man might have made some certain conjecture when and in what fashion the end was likele to be; bot this, after so long expectation, not yet being possible, I must leave it to farder tyme, and give yow some accompt of what is past since my laft, about the 18th of March.

Yow heard of our ingying the Index of all the articles of our laft demand, and of our earnest defyre to have the Treatie concluded fo soon as they could with. For some dayes there was hot content betwixt our Commisioners and my Lord of Britfol for our paper of Episcope; he requireing we would paifie it by, or else draw it short to a simple proposition without reason, fo that it behooved us to have in that paper to the Houfes of Parliament, as it flood for our exoneration before God and man, and that we would acquiefe to the Parliament's anfuer therein, whatever it might be. At laft, being advertied that the preffent giving in of that paper, might move division in both Houfes, betuixt thefe who were diverflie affected towards Episcope, and that any division among them, till Strafford's proceffe were clofed, might prove unhappie; we were contented to lay by for a time that article till Strafford's affair were over, and go on in the reft of our articles concerning our laft demand: and, to the end we might make good our word of our defire to be at ane end, the Commisioners divided the articles among them, and before the end of March had all reddie. We gave all in before any anfuer could be gotten to any one of them. I have fent all to yow here in fome four or five sheets of paper. Since, we have been preffing them from tyme to tyme to give us anfuers, who before urged us to give in our pro- positions; bot to this day no anfuer satisfactorie to one poyn can be obtained. The world now feeth that the delay is alone upon their fide. Their conftant attendance on Strafford is pretended to be the caufe; and truelie it is a great part of the reafon why our bufineffe, and all other elfe, have been fo long suspended. Among manie moe, I have been ane affiduous aflilant of that nation, and therefore I will offer to give you some accompt of a part I have heard and feen in that moft notable proceffe.

Weftminifter Hall is a roome as long as broad if not more than the outer house of the High Church of Glafgow, fuppofing the pillars wer removed. In the midft of it was erected a flage like to that prepared for the Affemblie of Glafgow, but much more large, taking up the breadth of the whole Houfe from wall to wall, and of the length more than a thrid part. At the north end was set a
thone for the King, and a chayre for the Prince; before it lay a large wooll-feck, covered with green, for my Lord Steward, the Earle of Arundaill; beneath it lay two other fecks for my Lord Keeper and the Judges, with the reit of the Chancerie, all in their red robes. Beneath this a little table for four or fve Clerks of the Parliament in their black gouns; round about these some furnes covered with green freefe, whereupon the Earles and Lords did fitt in their red robes, of that fame fashion, lyned with the fame whyte ermin sknnes, as yow fee the robes of our Lords when they ryde in Parliament; the Lords on their right sleeve having two barses of whyte sknnes, the Vifcounts two and ane half, the Earles three, the Marquefs of Wincefter three and ane half. England hath no more Marquefles: and he bot one late upfArt of creature of Queen Elizabeth's. Hamilton goes here bot among the Earles, and that a late one. Dukes, they have none in Parliament: York, Richmond, and Buckinghame are but boyes; Lennox goeth among the late Earles. Behinde the furnes where the Lords fitt, there is a bar covered with green: at the one end flandyth the Committee of eight or ten gentlemen, appoynted by the Houfe of Commons to purfue; at the midlt there is a little daik, where the prisoner Strafford flandyth and fitts as he pleafeth, together with his keeper, Sir William Balfour, the Lieutenant of the Tower. At the back of this is a daik, for Strafford's four fecretars, who carries his papers and affifts him in writing and reading; at their side is a vold for witnefles to flandy; and behinde them a long daik at the wall of the room for Strafford's counfell-at-law, fome five or fix fable lawers, who were [not] permitted to difputt in matter of fact, but queftions of right, if any fhould be incident. This is the order of the Houfe below on the floore; the fame that is used dailie in the Higher Houfe. Upon the two fides of the Houfe, eall and well, there arose a flage of elevin ranks of furnes, the highest touching almoft the roof; everie one of these furnes went from the one end of the roome to the other, and contained about fortie men; the two highest were divided from the reit by a rail, and a rail cutted off at everie end some featts. The gentlemen of the Lower Houfe did fitt within the raile, others without. All the doores were keeped vere ftraightlie with guards; we alwayes beenoved to be there a little after five in the morning. My Lord Willoughbie Earle of Lindefay, Lord Chamberland of England, (Pembroke is Chamberland of the Court,) ordered the Houfe, with great difficultie. James Maxwell, Black-Rod, was great ufter;
a number of other servant gentlemen and knights afflied. By favour we got place within the raile, among the Commons. The Houfe was full dailie before seven; against eight the Earl of Strafford came in his barge from the Tower, accompanied with the Lieutenant and a guard of musqueteers and halberders. The Lords, in their robes, were fett about eight; the King was usuallie halfe ane howre before them: he came not into his throne, for that would have marred the action; for it is the order of England, that when the King appears, he speakes what he will, but no other speakes in his presence. At the back of the throne, there was two rooms on the two fydes; in the one did Duke de Vanden, Duke de Vallet, and other French nobles sitt; in the other, the King, the Queen, Princesse Mary, the Prince Elector, and some Court ladies; the tirlies, that made them to be secret, the King brake doun with his own hands; so they fatt in the eye of all, but little more regarded than if they had been absent; for the Lords fett all covered; thefe of the Lower Houfe, and all other except the French noblemen, fatt discovered when the Lords came, not elfe. A number of ladies was in boxes, above the railes, for which they payed much money. It was dailie the moft glorious Assemblie the Isle could afford; yet the gravitie not such as I expected; oft great clamour without about the doores; in the intervales, while Strafford was making readie for anfwers, the Lords gott alwayes to their feet, walked and clatterd; the Lower Houfe men too loud clattering; after ten houres, much publict eating, not onlie of confections, bot of flefh and bread, bottles of beer and wine going thick from mouth to mouth without cups, and all this in the King's eye; yea, manie but turned their back, and lett water goe through the formes they fett on: there was no outgoing to returne; and oft the fitting was till two, or three, or four a'clock.

1. The firft Seffion was on Mononday the 22d of March. All being fett, as I have faid, the Prince in his robes on a little chyre at the fyde of the throne, the Chamberland and Black-Rod went and fetched in my Lord Strafford; he was alwayes in the fame fute of black, as in doole. At the entrie he gave a low courtefie, proceeding a little, he gave a fecond, when he came to his daik a third, then at the barr, the fore-face of his daik, he kneeled: ryfing quicklie, he faluted both fydes of the Houfes, and then fatt doun. Some few of the Lords lifted their hatts to him: this was his dailie carriage. My Lord Steward, in a fentence or two, shew
that the House of Commons had accused the Earle of Strafford of High Treafon, that he was there to anfwer; that they might manadge their evidence as they thought meet. They defyred one of the clerks to read their impeachment. I fent you long agoe the printed copie. The first nine articles, being bot generalitie, were past; the twentie-eight of the farder impeachment wer all read. The clerk's voyce was smal, and after the middl, being broken, was not heard by manie. My Lord of Strafford was, in his anfwer, verie large, accurat, and eloquent; confliting of a preamble, wherein he fhow, of eight or nine articles, the good service he had done to the Crowne and countrey dureing the tyme of his employment, and of particular anfuers to the twentie-eight articles of the charge. The reading of it took up large three houres. His friends was fo wary that they made three clerks read by turnes, that all might hear. I marked that he did ftryve to cast all the blame upon Sir Harie Vaine; also that the Irih armie was to land at the Troon, and to goe firft to Aire; and that they had fpyes in our armie before Newburne, who told them our great ftrait for want of victuall; also that he laboured to clear Traquair of the caufe of the laft warre, as if Traquair had onlie made a narration according to a prior difcourfe, which in the Privie Council was made by a noble and great personadge; whether the Marquis, or the Earle Holland, or who else, we know not: onlie he difsembled, that that prior difcourfe, made by whomsoever, was taken out of information from Scotland, which are to be seen in tyme and place. After all, Strafford craved leave to fpeak; bot the day being fo far fpent, to two or three a' clock, he was refufed, and the Lord Steward (6) adjourned the Houfe till the morrow at eight of cloak.

2. The second Seflion on Tuesday 23d. The King and Queen, and all, being fett as the day before, Mr. Pym had a long and eloquent oration, onlie againft the preamble of his anfwer, wherein he laboured to fhow, that all thefe meritorious acts whereof Strafford did glorie, were nothing but differvices; that no praffe of making good lawes in Ireland could be due to him, who made his own will above all law; the Parliaments he had kepted there, though they were more in number than that land had been in fittie

(6) In the following Journal of the Earl of Strafford's Trial, it has not been thought necessary to retain the peculiar orthography of Baillie's amanuensis, in regard to many of the names mentioned; such, for instance, as Lord Stewart, Glen, Queim, Lofties, Bramble, &c. for the Lord High Steward, Glyn, Gwyn, Loftus, Bramhall, &c.
years before him, yet they were no benefite, since Parliamentarie freedome was suppresed in them. This was proven by a number of witneses. Sir John Clotworthie, my Lord Ranulagh, and others, being called, came to the barr, killed the book, presented to them by one of the Clerks of the Parliament; deponed that fundrie who had voyced or reafoned against bills presented by the Deputie in Parliament, were threatened by him, or his inteer friend Sir George Ratcliff. The first witnes, Sir Pierce Crofbie, who, for voyeinge against the bill of powder, had been by Strafford cast out of the Council, was excepted against, as one who pretended to be wronged and grieved. The Lords adjoynd his deposition till the morrow; at which tyme they decreed, that although Sir Pierce had been degraded, and was prifoned by Strafford, and was lyable to anfwer for breaking of ward, and fleeing out of the land, yet treafon being the King’s caufe, and he acquireing no benefite to himfelf by his testimonie, his deposition fhould be receaved, bot with confideration. This was a precedent; fo that thereafter no exception of wrongs, either receaved or alleadged, did fett any witnes. What he bragged, of advancing the King’s rent, and making it fufficient to defray the King’s ordinar expence in Ireland, which before him was not; of his advancing the cuftomes; of benefiteing the Church; all this by witneses was proven to be naught; that, long before his coming, no monie came out of the IngliSh Trefurie for the Irish affaires after the year 1621, except feven thoufand pound a-year for maintainance of fome ftipend on the Irish coaft, which yet was defrayed by the Irish rent or contribution the year before his over-coming. No marvell he had payed ane hundred thoufand pound that the King was aughtin there, and left in the Trefurie ane other hundred thoufand pound; for he had gotten first fix fubsidies, and then four fubsidies, notwithstanding the King in Ireland was for the fenteft in great debt; that he had advanced the cuftomes from two to fifteen thoufand pound a-year, bot for more gain to himfelf than to the King; that he [had] taken out of the Trefurie fundrie great fomes of money for his own ufe; that he advanced the Church-rents indeed, bot that he did it onlie to pleafe Canterburie; that he did it against law, that rapine of men’s eftates was no facrifice pleafant to God; that his care of the Church might be feen in the perfons whom he had advanced, Bramhall, Atherton, Gwyn, my Lord Cork’s under-coatchman; that how weell law and juftice was administered by him, the Remonfhance of the Irish Parliament did declare, which they required
to be read as a testimonie of his great injustice. He excepted, that he was not charged with their remonstrance; that it was to prove a charge by a charge; that there was a correpondence and conspiracie betuixt thefe of Ireland and thefe of England against him. Maynard prefed, that the Remonstrance might be read, not as a charge, but as a publict testimonie of his injustice, to contra- dict what he faid in his preamble of his juftice in Ireland: He craved juftice in name of all the Commons of England, who were sclandred as conspirators by my Lord of Strafford. For this rath- nefs, Strafford on his knees craved pardon, and declared on his oath, though few believed him, that he understood none in the Honourable Houfe of Commons, either English or Irish, bot some of both kingdomes, not members of Parliament. The Lords fand the gentlemen of the Houfe of Commons defyre to have that Remonstrance read reaonable. So when one at the barr had killed the book, which is the order of their oath, and attedfed the prefent paper to be a true copie, which was ever done in all the papers that were read, one of the clerks did read it: by hearing of this Remonstrance, Strafford lofted much of his reputation.

When Pym had ended, the Earle required tyme, if it were bot to the morrow, to anfwer fo heevie charges, manie whereof was new. After debate pro and contra, one of the Lords fpake of the ad- journing their houfe, and prefled their priviledge, that at the mo- tion of any one Lord the Houfe behooved to be adjourned; fo the Lords did all retire to their own Houfe above, and debaited among themelves the queftioun for a large half-houre. During their abfence, though in the eye of the King, all fell in clattering, walking, eating, toying; bot Strafford, in the middl of all the noise, was ferious with his Secretars, conferring their notes and wryting. The Lords returned, the Steward pronounced their interloqutor, That the matters fpoken being all of faé, and that onlie in anfwer to his own preamble, he fhould make one anfwer without any de- lay. So, withoutigne of repining, the Earle anfwered something to all had been faid; inflanced fome of his good lawes; made fome appologie for Bramhall, Athertoun, Gwyn; read a lift of good divynes which he had fent for from England, and had pro- vyded weell; confefled he had taken out of the Treafurie fifteen thoufand pound, wherewith he had bought to the King lands of two thoufand pound rent; alfo, that he had borrowed from the Thefauuer twenty-four thoufand pound, which was now repayed: bot for that he produced a warrand under the King's hand to take
out of the Treafurie forty thousand pound for fetting up a maga-
zine of tobacco. It was thought that letter was bot latelie pur-
chafed. He shew, he had a greater heart than to make my Lord of
Canterburie's pleafure the end of his actions; that he took his
prefent afflictions from God for his other fins; that he was confi-
dent to take off the evill opinion which the Honourable Houfe of
Commons had conceaved of him. He protested, he was the fame
man [he was] before when he was one of their number, and well
repected among them. Mr. Pym replyed shortlie and weell, referring
the generalls to be proven by particulars, as they fell in the
charge to be handled.

3. Wednesday 24th. Mr. Maynard handled the firt of the
twente-eight articles. By way of preface, he refumed, to make
Strafford odious, the chief of the things fpoken the former day,
prefling the grievoufnes of his cryme, to bring in, by force of
armes, in England and Ireland, ane arbitrarie government. The
Lower Houfe had appointed fome eight of their number in a Com-
mittee to f tand at the barr and plead by turne, as they thought
meet to divide the articles. On the firt, fundrie sworn witnefles
did depone, his threatening to obtaine ane larger power to punishing
than was before; also, that in his new commiffion and instructions
were infert claufes of a power of the Chancerie and Starr Cham-
ber, whereby he and his colleagues were enabled to decyde any
kinde of caufes otherwayes than the law did provyde, which no
president of Yorke before had ever attempted. Befyde, that he had
obtained ane article in his instructions, to hinder prohibitions or
appeals from his Court to any other, and had committed fundrie
for bringing of prohibitions, even before thofe instructions were ob-
tained. In his anfwer, he required permiffion, to retire a little to ane
other roome, for collecting of himself; and better preparation to
anfwer every article: this was refufed. He proved, he was in
Ireland, or at leaft not in York, after the tyme they alleadged thofe
inSTRUCTIONS were purchafed. It was replyed, they prefled, and had
proven the matter, whatever became of the precife circumftance of
tyme: it was alyle whether he or his deputies did execute ane
illegall commiffion obtained by him. He made ane generall anfwer,
and almoft in every article repeated it; though the poyn t alleadged
were proven, yet it would be bot a mifdemeanour; that ane hun-
dred mifdemeanours would not make one fellonie, and ane hun-
dred fellonies not one treafon, being a cryme of a diverfe kinde and
nature. It was alfe often anfwered, that his treafon was the subver-
tion of all the fundamentall lawes, and introducing ane arbitrarie and tyrannick government; that everie article was bot ane evidence of his words and deeds to evince this his purpose and endeavour. He alleaged, that what was charged in the first article, was bot ane enlargement of his own jurisdiction; and this in a judge was a very chafie ambition. It were tedious to report all their quick paflages.

The third article, That he would make the King’s little finger heavier than the loynes of the law, this was proven by fundrie. Among other, Sir David Fowles, whom he had crufted, came to depone. He excepted against him as one who had a quarrell against him. Maynard produced his own decree, subferyved by his own hand, That whereas Sir David had brought before him the same exception against a witnes, he had decreed, that a witnes for the King and Commonwealth behooved to be receaved, notwithstanding any private quarrells. When he saw his own hand, he said no more, bot, in a jesting way, Yow are wyfer, my Lord, than to be ruled by any of my actions as paterns. For the matter, he protestted, he had fpoken the clean contrare: that they had found the little finger of the law heavier than the loynes of the King; speaking to thefe who, by law, and pleading against the ship-moneys, had spent much more than the King had required of them:—for this he produced Sir William Pennyman for a witnes, who both here, and manie tymes elfe, deponed poynt blank all he requyred. This knight was one of the Lower Houfe. Mr. Maynard defyred him to be pose’d, (for no man there did speake to any other, but all the speach was directed to my Lord Steward: all the queftions any requyred to be asked, were aske’d all by him onlie:) Maynard requyred Sir William to be pose’d, when, and at what tyme, he was brought to the remembrance of thefe words of my Lord Strafford’s? All of us thought it a verie needlefs motion. Sir William anfwered, Since the firft speaking of them they were in his memorie, bot he called them moft to remembrance since my Lord Strafford was charged with them. Maynard prefentlie caught him, That he behoved to be anfwerable to the Houfe for negleét of dutie, not being only silent, bot voyceing with the reft to this article, wherein Strafford was charged with words whereof he knew he was free. There arofe with the word fo great an hisling in the Houfe, that the gentleman was confounded, and fell a-weeping. Strafford protestted, he would rather committ himfelf to the mercie of God alone, giving over to use anie witnes in his
defence, before anie, for witnessing the truth in his behalf, should in-
curr anie danger or disgrace.

4. Thursday the 25th of March, the first day of the year in Eng-
land, Maynard handled the third article, shew, that Ireland by di-
verse laws had all the privileges of Magna Charta, and was go-
vern'd by the common law in England, being for the most part
Inglis blood; yet that my Lord Strafford had avowed them to be
a conquered nation, whom the King might use as he pleased,
and that the chartours of Dubline were annulled; notwithstanding
that the Irish Commissioners had obtained, in the year 1621, in-
structions from King James to Deputie Falkland, bearing the
government to be by the common law, and the Deputie or Counc-
ill shold not medle with anie actions of inheritance, except these
that concerned the Church, or the first plantation, or which were
recommended from the Councill of England. My Lord Cork was
first called to depone. Strafford excepted, and required ane infor-
mation against him to be read: bot being a councillor in Ireland,
he was receaved, and no information against him was heard. He
and other three or four deponed clearlie the words of the article;
adding, that Strafford had repeated them in the face of both Hou-
fes of Parliament; sayeing farder, that the instructions were drawn from
King James by narrow-hearted petitioners who did not understand
the rules of government.

My Lord Strafford required farder to anfwer to things objected
the former day; bot was refufed. He required permiffion to retire
and advyfe about the present objections; bot all which could be
obtained was a little tyme's advyfement in the place he was in. So
hereafter it was Strafford's conftant custome, after the end of his
adverfaries speech, to petition for tyme of recollection; and, ob-
taining it, to fitt down with his back to the Lords, and moft di-
gentlie to read his notes, and wryte anfwers, he and his secretars,
for ane halfe hour, in the middt of a great noife and confusion,
which continuowd ever till he arofe againe to fpeak. He prefed
the mifffortune of the moft of his predeceffors the Deputys of Ire-
land, who, after their belt services, have fallen into publiet chal-
lenges; also the great infirmity of his body, and greater of his
firit; that he wiffed earneftlie to fee ane end of this caufe; that
were it not for the caufe of his motherlefs children, he rather would
loffe his life, than with such a longfome and bitter toyle in his firit
to defend it; that the article, though proven, was not treafonable;
that words, according to the statute of Edward the Sixth, not
challenged in 30 days after their speaking, were no treason; that the conquest of Ireland, and power to the first conquerors to impose laws, was not doubtful; that he had spoken this of King Charles; that he had remembered, in the beginning of the Parliament, this antient condition of that kingdom, to amplify so much the more their present happines under the legall reign of King Charles that the chartours of Dublin were truelie faultie in manie things, and prejudiciall both to the Crown, to the Religion, and wealth of the land, and City itself, yet that he had never questioned them. Maynard replied to all e.tempore verie weell: I did marvell much at first of their memories, that could answer and reply to so manie large alleadgeances, without the missing of anie one poynt; but I marked, that both the Lieutenant when they spake, and they when he spake, did wryte their notes, and in their speeches did look on these papers; yea, the most of the Lords and Lower Houfe did wryte much dailye, and none more than the King. That is strange in this great judicatorie, that nothing at all is dyted, but in a continued speech all spoken, and the clerks take what they can; so that in the pronouncing of the sentences, the Judges who wants their own wryte-notes, hath much to doe in their memorie. So long as Maynard was principall speaker, Mr. Glyn lay at the wait, and uswalle observed some one thing or other, and uttered it so pertinentlie, that six or seven tymes in end he gott great applaufe by the whole House.

5. Fryday 26th. Mr. Glyn handled the fourth article, of deciding at the Councill-table causes of inheritance, as that of my Lord of Cork's, upon paper petitions, and equaling Acts of Council to Acts of Parliament. The day before, Mr. Glyn had begun to discourse on the article, and called my Lord Ranulagh, a privie councillor of Ireland, to depone. Strafford requyred he might be interrogat, Whether or not it was the custome of Deputies before him, to decide such causes at the Councill-table? and whether or not it was not his owne uswall practice, in Connaught, where he was president, on paper petitions to decide caufes? Glyn excepted, that he should not be posed with such questions, being self accusations. When this grew to ane hot contest, and the House was going to adjourn, the Lower House was content to refer all to the morrow. So at the beginning, my Lord Steward thew the Lords opinions, which was allways a decree, that my Lord Ranulagh shoule depone his knowledge of the practife of the Deputie at Councill and superiour judicatories, bot shoule not be
questioned anent the practise of inferiour judicatories and his owne. My Lord Cork, the richest by farre of the King's subjects, fatt among the Lords with his hat on dailie, bot in his black cloak: he spake softlie, bot evill: bot witnessed fullie and to a word, as Strafford told him after. All this was in the charge: other three also did fo.

Strafford, after his half houres delay, came to his answer, regretted (as oft before and after) the want of tyme to bring his papers and witnesses out of Ireland: yet, as Glyn could weell tell, there was few, either men or papers, he could have use of; bot they were always, by one good luck or other, readie at the barr. He required a certificat to be redd from the Councill-table of Ireland; bot was refused, becaufe none could attent on oath the truth of the copie: bot he obtained the reading of ane order of the Lower Houfe in Ireland, for sealing on his papers, on his tobacco, and the most of the goods he had there. as if he had been alreadie condemned traitor. Of this outrage he complained tragicallie; bot Glyn shew, that the matter belonged nothing to the purpose in hand, and that there had been no more done, bot some of his goods seazed for securitie of great soumes, whereof he and his officers was indebted to the Crowne. He triumphed, that by accident he had gotten a certificat that morning, that Gwyn, the coachman-vicar was Mr. of Arts, and required it to be read; bot was rejected as impertinent. The Councill-table's order against my Lord Cork was read: It proved no more, bot that the Council had joyned with him in that, as in manie other illegall actiones. He shew, that the Council of Ireland had much more power than the Councill of England: that it was necessarie to be so, for the governing of that barbarous and unquiet people. He fell out here in a daintie discourse of keeping the King's prerogative and priviledges of the people in ane equall ballance: shew, that however King James's instructions had restricted the power of the Council of Ireland in manie things, yet that expresslie the determination of eccelstastick possicions, such as these of my Lord of Cork was, remained in their power. For his words magnifying the Councill Acts too much. they were proven, he said, bot by one witnes: as for Sir Pierce Croibie, he valued not his testimonie; he had never regarded him so much as to speak to him at table fo familiarlie: for this he called my Lord Castlehaven, who, at the tyme alleaged, was at the table, to witnes. He deponed, that some such thing was spoken at that tyme to Croibie by Strafford.
He vilified also the testimonie of my Lord Killmallock against him; because he had sworne that Ratcliff was his echo, a thing impossible. My Lord Digbie made a grave replie to this, that the oath of a witnes is not to be applyed to every severall word of his deposition; that the words challenged might have a good and true feme. Strafford did extenuate his own words; that he might have said an Act of Council was binding, to wit, in cafes not provyded for by Parliament, and to the tyme a Parliament shold provyde. Glyn and Maynard replied sharplie, that his designe was weell manifester by thefe his words, to bring in ane arbitrarie government without law; and how much he scorned lawes, they called for another witnes to depone. This he vehementlie oppofed, that no referred witnes, after the examination was clofed, shold be heard. They alleaged the practife in all courts, to call for witnefles, ever while the probation of the charge was clofed; that all the articles were bot ane and the fame charge; befyde, that he, in his anfwer, had brought new matter, which they behoved to refute by thefe witnefles. Britoll required the adjourning the Houfe; the Lords, after half ane hour's abfence in their own Houfe, returned, and found it reafonable that their witnefes ought and shold be heard. He deponed, that when the Lower Houfe of the Irish Parliament had oppofed the Deputie's bill concerning the felling of powder, he faid, he did not regard it; for he would make ane Act of Council thereanent, which shold be as binding as ane Act of Parliament. It were tedious to fett down what paffed daylie, almoft from eight to three; I onlie poynyt at fome principall things, which I brought away on my memory, without any wryting.

6. Saturday, the 6th Session, 27th of March, the day of Coronation: We were deived all day with the ringing of bells. The Lords that day waited half ane hour, and the King a whole [hour], before Strafford came: at laft he came, and excufed his delay with the contrarietie both of wind and tyde. Glyn fell on the fifth article, his practifeing of his arbitrarie government according to his word; his fenfenceing a peer of the land, my Lord Montnorris, to death; his hanging of a fouldiour in Dubline, by martiall law, in a councill of war. My Lord Montnorris was called to depone: for all Strafford his exception, yet the caufe of treafon being the King's, and having no gaine by his testimonie, was admitted. He made a long and pitifull narration of Strafford's oppreffion: That being at table with my Lord Moore and my Lord Loftus, dicourfe falling
in concerning the Deputie's scutching of a gentleman, with a rod, of his name, and of the gentleman's treading by accident on the Deputie's guttie toes, it was alleadged he had said, that man had a brother in England who would not be content with such a revenge for such an affront; that of these words spoken in Aprile, he heard nought to September, wher one night he receaveth from a medelger a warrand to be at Counciell to-morrow in the Castle chamber: when he came there, he inquired of other Councillors the reason of the meeting, but none could tell him. When the Deputie came, he shew, he had called the Counciell of Warre to take order with my Lord Montnorris, one of the croners of the armie, for his mutinous words against him the Generall; that then he arose, and stood at the table-end: thereafter the King's letter to the Counciell, to see the Deputie repaired in the dangerous wrong he heard was done him by my Lord Montnorris, was read; at the reading whereof, he said he fell on his knees much amazed. Being called to answer, he requyred a copie of his charge, some tyme to advyse, and counfell to plead for him. All these was refused, and he infantlie requyred to confesse his words; or, if he denied them, he had my Lord Moore's and my Lord Loftus's depoſition, subſcryved, to convince him. He was readie to have sworn that he had not spoken the alleadged words; but having no tyme granted, he would neither confesse nor deny, and so he was removed. The Deputie required present sentence. Moore and Loftus deponed; he was found to have offended against two articles of discipline, the one importing banishment, the other death. Manie inclyned to make him culpable of the first; but the Deputie urged both or neither: so he is called in, the sentence of death pronounced against him, the Deputie promifering nothing shall aile his life; but in the mean tyme committeth him to clofe prifon, wherewith in a few dayes, with grief and displeasure, he fell in danger of present death. Upon the phyſitian's oath, he is permitted to goe to his owne house; but so soon as he recovers, he is committed again; he is divested of four eminent places he posſessed in the state; his wife most hardlie could ecape to England to compleane to the King: when she had gotten the King's letter for her husband's deliverie, and on her knees in the streets had supplicat the Deputie in that behalfe, nothing could be obtained till he had subſcryved the justice of the sentence against him: this for a long tyme refueting, at laſt he subſcryved the forme was sent him, without reading it, and so came out of prifon. The moft of all
this was witnessed by my Lord Ranulagh, and my Lord Dillon, privie counsellors.

The other part of the article, his executing one Tho. Denwitt, who after a long want of pay, craving it from his captain, was bidden be gone to the gallows; he went his way, but was brought back, and said to have stolen one quarter of beefe: for this he is sentenced to die; and albeit some noblemen had moved the Deputie's lady to be earnest for his life, yet, without mercie, he was execute.

In his answer, Strafford alleaged, that martill law was in use in Ireland, albeit not in England; that his commission carried him to use it; that he had put in no other article for mutineers, than my Lord Wilmott had done before him; that in my Lord Arundall's articles the last year, and in my Lord Northumberland's this year, were the same claueses; that for example it were necesseare that fugitives and thieves should die; that in that Councell his voyce was bot one. As concerning my Lord Montnorris, he alleaged the confeffion of his fault under his own hand; that his mutinious words were dangerous, the armie being on foot, and in motion: the King's letter for his punishment was read; that his censure concerned not him, he had no voyce into it; the Councill's letter to the King was read; that no evill was done to him, and nothing intended bot the amendment of his verie loose tongue: if the gentlemen of the Commons Houfe intended no more bot the correction of his foolish tongue, he would heartilie give them thanks; that his not denying a share of that sentence, was not ane confeffion of his voyceing in it, or his procuring of it, bot his honour repaired thereby; that my Lady Montnorris courtesie was to him above all meafour displeasing; that the King intended him not pardon till he should reallie acknowledge his overflight.

To all this Maynard and Glyn made a satiisfactorie reply, That martill law had no more place in Ireland nor in England; that the beneite of Magna Charta, ordaining no man to be sentenced to death bot by a juirie, was common alryke to both. They required my Lord Loftus, late Chancellor, who fourtie yeares together had been a provest-martill, in what cafes he had ufed martill-law? Strafford oppofed much the hearing of supplementall witnitnesses: his great friend, Clair, Brif toll, and Savill, did difpute fo much for that, that the Houfe was almost adjourned upon it; bot my Lord Steward prifed the other dayes decrees, that when the defendant, in his anfwer, furnifhed new matter, the accufer shoule have libertie
upon it to examine new witneses. So Loftus testified he had never used martiall law, but upon manifest rebells; and that my Lord Falkland's instructions carried expresly the caues of warre and rebellions. My Lord Ranulagh witnessed, that the armie was no more on foot or motion than it wont to be; that alone four companies of foot, and two troupes of horfes were now and then training at Dublin. They pressed that no danger should come by words six moneths after they were spoken; that the King's letter was procured by Strafford; that he was the procurer and urger of the sentence; that though he voyced not, but fatt discovered, yet he did not remove with my Lord Montnorris; that the Councill's letter to the King, makes him the chief author of that judgement; that the King required onlie reparation; that the death of a Peer was too much for the speaking of the treading upon his toes; that ane illegall commiffion shou'd not be taken from the King. Finding the unexpected length of the procefs, they flew their purpose to omit some articles for giving of tyme. Strafford refu'd to confent, unlefs they forewarned him of the article they were to fall upon two nights before. They flew it was reasonable he should be readie always to answer on all; but however not obliedged they would ever forewarn him a night before, of the articles the day following to be handled.

7. Monoday 29th. Glyn handled the fixth article, the dispofefling of my Lord Montnorris of a portion of land, upon Ralfon's paper petition. We did all think that half ane hour would easilie have discoufled that little article, but it spent all that day. Ralfon's petition was read, the decreet thereupon; witneses were heard for Montnorris poifieilion, and for his dispofeflion without farder law. They profefled they would not examine the equitie nor the inequitie of the matter, but onlie the forme of proceeding against the statute, against King James's instructions, difchargeing the Deputie or Councill to meddle with caufes of inheritance; they pressed onlie his subjecting the goods of the Peers to his will, without law.

In his answer, he cunninglie brake in upon that which they expresly declyned, the equitie of the matter. My Lord Montnorris, by clear coofenage and oppreffion, having spoifled Ralfon of these lands, he read some articles of his commiffion, which enabled him to doe juftice upon fuch petitions by himself, either in a Court of Requests or in a Court of Chancerie; he caufed read a letter of the King's, revocking these instructions, which were never keeped,
nor could never be keeped; for such was the povertie and barbarous ignorance of manie there, that to follow the ordinarie longsome course of law were their utter undoing. He produced manie judgements of Deputie Falkland, and the late Lord Justices, in the lyke cases; he would have done the lyke in the precedents and affiles, but was flopped; for the lyke practife, in former Deputies, he brought fundrie wittneses; he required the Primate of Armagh's deposition to be read: Upon this rofe ane long contile. He had moved, on Saturday, that his wittneses that through ficknesse might not come to the barr, a commiſſion might be granted to fome Lord to goe and take their oaths. This was not much oppoſed; fo in the afternoon he obtained ane order in wryte for this end. The Commons was not content with this: He prefled that the order might be obeyed. At laſt they urged his tranſgresſion of the order, and of all equitie, it not onlie being obtained without their advertifement, but also uſed without their knowledge; either the words or mind of the order behoved to be according to the practife of all Courts, that the contrare parties shoule be preſent at the examination to give in their croffe interrogatories: by this reafon Armagh's deposition was not read. He alleadged no benefite accreſsed to himſelſe by his decree to Ralfon; and falling again on Montnorris's imprifonment, brought in wittneses to prove, that the caufe of his long imprifonment, was not his contempt of the Councill of Warre, but debaits in the Starr-Chamber. The order in all the proceſſe was, for the Commons to prove their article; when they brought wittneses, he objected what he pleafeſed; when they had ended, he, after half ane hour's collection, did anſwer, without interruption, fo long as he pleafeſed: onlie when he brought his wittneses, but not on oath, they oppoſed what they thought meet: when he did cloſe his anſwer, they made ever the laſt replie, for that is their privilidge who pleads for the King, againſt which he might faie nothing, except fome matter clearlie new were brought, which they did not except he gave occaſion, as here it fell out. He had gloried much in his innocencie of that decreet of Ralfon, that no profite came to him by that judgement. Glyn fhow, that daylie there came to their hands fo much new matter of Strafford's unjustice, that if they had their articles to frame againe, they would give in as manie new as old. Strafford formed at that, and proclaimed them ane open deſſiance. Glyn took him at his word, and offered instantlie to name three and twentie places of injustice, wherein his own gaine was clear. He began quicklie his catalogue with Parker's paper peti-
tion, whereupon he dispoſed of a certain Vaſcount of a good portion of land, for his own uſe. Strafford finding himself in ane ill taking, did foone repent of his passionate defiance, and required he might anſwer to no more than he was charged with in his libell; onlie he protestted, that in that Parker's land, his name was onlie ufed; that he was onlie intrusted in that bargaine for the uſe of another. They brought diverse negative witneſſes to depone, they had never known cauſes of inheritance diſcourſed by the Deputie or the Counſill before Strafford. One of his witneſſes they proved infamous and perjured, by ane Act of the Counſill of Ireland; of this he protestted his diſremerſcence. The King's letter, revocting his father's inſtructions, they faid, was procured by his miſinformation, and that he did not keep the tenor of it. The flatute alleadged by him of the King's prerogative, Maynard ſaw was to be underſtood, not of anie new judicatorie, but of the power the King's agents had to plead anie of his cauſes before what legall Court they pleafed, without afftriction to anie one. Mr. Stroud was applauſed for his quick remark, That Strafford did opprefſe Montnorris, not onlie in his life, honoures, libertie, lands, bot in his verie foull, keeping him prifoner till he forced him to ſubſcryve, againſt his confcience, the juſtice of his own condemnation.

Mr. Glyn offered to goe on to another article. My Lord Strafford pleaded his inſirmiteit. The Steward compleaunted of the ex- pense of tyme. The Advocats prefled for the Commons expedion. Strafford, That however his bodilie inſirmiteit was great, and the charge of treafon lay heavie on his mind, yet that his accuſation came from the Honourable Houſe of Commons did moft of all pierce through his foull. Maynard told, that by the flow of his eloquence, he ſpent tyme to gaine affeſſion; as indeed, with the more ſimple fort, eſpecially the ladieſ, he gained daylie much. He replyed quicklie, that rhetorick was proper to theſe gentlemaſ, and learning alſo; that betwixt theſe two he was lyke to have a hard bargaine. Brefſoll was buffie in the mean tyme, goeing up and downe, and whispering in my Lord Steward's eare; whereupon others not content, cryed, To your places, To your places, my Lords. At laſt the Houſe was adjournd till the next morning.

8. Tuesday the 30th of March. Glyn ſaw, that however they would not deſcylene nor mince any part of any their articles, yet for faving the great expence of tyme, they would pafle the seventh article, and the firſt part of the eighth: on the latter part thereof, he inſifted, dilaiting my Lady Hibbots's caufe, the [widow] of the
late Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer. Her husband had left to her a lease of the most of his lands for 99 years; the heir, one Thomas Hibbots, a sille old fool, is glad to bargaine with her, for the hereditable right of twenty-five hundred pound a year for eighteen thousand pound Sterling. When the wrytes are making in Dub-line, one offers him fyve hundred pound more; of this he shew the Ladie; she is willing to give him that much: when the wrytes are made, she is informed, that it was necessarie for her securitie to have from him a wryte of recoverie: because the wryte required some tyme, and his defyre to be in England was great, he would not wait upon it; whereupon the Ladie refueth to pay the money. He petitions the Deputie to cause her keep condition. Sir Robert Meredith presents a petition in the simple man's name, not onlie for his money, but by his knowledge for breaking the bargaine. The Ladie is summoned before the Council; the bargaine is declared null; she is ordained to put the old man in present possession of the land, or else goe to prison; and everie moneth she delayed to fulfill the order, to have her fyne of fyve hundredth pound Sterling doubled. When the old man is put in possession, Meredith, for my Lord Strafford's own use, byues the land for three thousand pound, and from the Lady's fone receaveth seven thousand pound; so of this injustice my Lord Strafford receaveth four thousand pound of vantage. All this was clearlie proven by old Hibbots himself, Mr. Hoy, the lady's fone, who payd the moneys. My Lord Montnorris deponed, that the moft of the Council was for the Ladie. My Lord Dillon deponed, it was fo as he heard. My Lord Cork could not speake of the number, but that the Deputie spake in passion, that if he had thought they would have made a partie against him, he needed not have brought that action there.

In his anfwer he faid for faireing of tyme, he would cloffe to the poyn, and anfwer to nothing but to the charge alone: and good reafon had he fo to doe; for he had found himself oft catched in extravagancies: he would speake nothing of the justice or injustice of the fact, that being a caufe depending in another Court; that the Deputie had power to determine of petitions, as from his commiffion, and practife of former Deputies of Ireland, he proved before; that this order, as all others of Council, was according to the voyces of the moft part; that his threats to prison and fine the Lady for difobedience to the Council, was juft; that Meredith's bargaine was for his use he denied; but finallie, whatevir misdemeanour was in it, there was no treafon wherewith he was
charged. Maynard assumed all, applied it vehementlie, that he had subverted law, and brought in ane arbitrarie power on the subject's goods, for his own gaine.

He went to the next article, a commissiion to the Bishop of Doune to imprison all of the meaner fort, who refused to come to compear to his Courts; or when they compeared, to satisfie all his orders. A copie of this commissiion was defyred to be read; he opposed, that a copie of a warrant could not make faith. They told, if it were so, the principal not being recorded, bot in his power to be called in when he would, it should never be possible to prove any warrant, when the partie had suppressed the principal. Sir James Montgomerie attested the truth of the copie, and his knowledge of the great vexation that came to verie manie by it for three yeares. Mr. Glyn shew, that the Earle Strafford was now better nor his word; he had not only made Acts of State equall to Acts of Parliament, but also his own Acts above both, in giving power to Bishops against law, to vex and imprison the bodies of the King's subjects. He anwered, that his warrant was not produced; that such letters of affiitance to Bishops had been given before him: for this end my Lord Primat's deposition was read. He required, that some patiages of my Lord Falkland's book shoule be read; bot that book being bot the private record of ane secretarie, was rejected. His secretarie Little deponed, that he had drawne that order to the Bishop of Doune, according to a prior paterne he had feen. Strafford confessed, on the Bishop's defyre, he had sent him such ane order, bot had done it to no other; and hearing it was not altogether legall, he had recalled it; that the gentleman had made him better and worse than his word, as he conceived it to make for his purpose. Glyn applyed it, shew that the Primate tesitifie onlie that he heard his predecessor the Bishop of Meath fay, that at the paiîts defyre, to save the processe of excommunication, he had gotten letters of affiitance which did not square with the cafe in hand; that his Secretar's tesitimonie was not to be heeded, he being himself guiltie.

He offered to goe on to the next article; bot Strafford defyre to have that article superceded till my Lord Cottingtoun (who was sick) his deposition might be had. After some debate, the Houfe was adjourned till the morrow.

9th Session, Wednesday, March 31st. This day I was absent; for being Moderator of our Session, I behoved to call a meeting to advye anent the order of the Falt, wherein we were advertised
from Newcastle, to joyn with our nation on the 4th and 6th of April: but, as I heard, the matters that pass'd that [day] were thefe. Mr. Maynard handled the tenth article, concerning his extraordinary gaine in the farming the CufIomes. It was clearlie proven, that yearlie he would have thirty thousand pound advantage. His anfwer was, that the bargain of the CufIomes was put upon him againft his will. My Lord Cottingtoun deponed, that when my Lord Strafford moved some of the Londoners to offer fifteen thousand pound for the cufIomes of Ireland, to my Lord Portland Theafurer, that they quicklie repent'd, being much more than ever thefe cufIomes had payed before; that no man would come near that offer, yet at laft Sir Arthure Ingram had come and offered ane hundred pound more, if fo be my Lord Strafford would be a partner with him; that my Lord, with much dealing both of my Lord Portland and the King, was made to joyn. He said, that the augmenting of the book of rates was againft his advyce, and that, before he medled with thefe cufIomes, while the Lady DutcIeI's of Buckinghame's leafe did fland; that if the cufIomes were rai'd, the traffique could not be diminifhed; that the making of a good bargain was no trenfon. Maynard summ'd up all, That as he found out a strange diſcipline of the tongue in my Lord Montnorris's cafe, by a fenience of cutting off the head, fo he had made in a few years, by good compt, large three hundred thousand pound Sterling off the King; the rates was heighted before he gott the cufIomes but onlie one moneth; if he were againft it, why was [he] the firft and foIe exactor of that augmentation? and why did he thril out Sir Arthur, the firft bargainer, fo soon as the years of hudge gain did come?

The eleventh article they pass'd. The twelfth they made it very odious, That tobacco, whereof they proved was fold yearlie in Ireland five hundred tunne, which payed to King James but ten pound cufIome, and never more then twentie, was rai'd by my Lord Strafford, to pay to the King five thousand, and then ten thousand pound, bot to himfelf at leif a hundred pound a year much more than the King's rent. He faid much for his defence: that he had oft loffe of it; that the regulatting that firperfluos commoditie was by the King's letter committed to him; that it was bot a monopolie at moft; that any pillor'd or whipped was for perjurie; that there was proclamations in England for landing tobacco no where bot in London; that the orders of the Lower Houfe in Ireland were acts of tyrannick and arbitrarie power, to feaze on
his goods and magazine. In their replie they remembered his flandering of the Parliament in Ireland.

10th Sesson, Thursday, Aprill 1st. Maynard opened the thirteenth article. The proclamations were read, discharging to sell any yarne but reeled in such a fashion; the warrant of my Lord read, to scathe for use all that could be found otherwise drest less than the proclamation appointed; proven by many witneses, that the warrant in many places was executed; that public mercats were deferted; that carts full of spoyll were carried to Dublin, and delivered to my Lord Strafford's servants; that the officers brack up many houes; that they strake poor women, holding their yarne, till some died; that masters were disappointed of their rents; that thousands starved through his oppressions; that Sir John Clotworthie hardlie escaped punishment for wryting to the Deputie of thefe evils. He anwered, That his intention in this matter was certainlie good; he found in Ireland great store of sheep, which, if weell ufed, might much prejuge the chief trade of England: that to put down the wooll trade, he sett himself to countenance the trade of flax; that seeing the people, through their barbarous unskilfulness, hurt their own profit, he strove to direct them; that the proclamations were not his, but the Councill's; that warrants to second proclamations were necessarie and ordinare; that when he found the people's untowardness to learn, he gave over the device; that after his accomplis, he had no profit, but some one hundred pounds of losse by his trade; that for the misdemeanour of officers he could not anwer. Maynard concluded, that intentions cleared not illegall actions; that his giving over before ten thousand was ferved, maketh him not innocent of the killing of thousands; that the concurrence of the Counciell excuseth not him who led them.

The fourteenth article was past: the fifteenth, as most important, was accuratelicke handled. Mr. Palmer, one of the eight on the Committee for the Commons, a materiall man, bot not eloquent, nor quick, nor vehement, opened the article; shew it alone was treason, and more than the proof of the whole charge. He took onlie the mid part of it, concerning Savill's warrant to soldiiers; shew that the Statute of Edward the Third and Henry the Sixth made at Dubline, did, in expresse termes, make the levying of fouldiers, and laying of them on the King's subiects, to be treason, violating the King's protection, and fo his crown and person; that it was ordinar for my Lord to execute his unlawfull jurisdiction, his
decrees on paper petitions, by this unlawfull power; giving a warrand dormant to a serjeant at armes, to lay one officer, and three, five, or ten fouldiers of the nixt garison on any who disobey'd his orders, to eat up all they had till they had obeyed. A copy of a warrand to Savill was read. Strafford alleadged, a copy could make no faith in so high a busines; but this was rejected. Savill was required to attest the copie. He sware it was his subscrip- tion, and a true copie of his warrand for the subsstance, but that he had not conferred the wryts. Maynard pressed it was enough, if witneses did prove the warrand given by my Lord Strafford's autho- ritie, whether by a word or wryte. The Houfe adjourned upon this debate. My Lord Steward at returne pleased both parties; refus'd the reading of this copie, as not being sufficientlie attested, but permitting them to prove by witneses, the matter of any warrand. This they did abundantlie; especially in the cafe of one Berne, who, on a paper petition, was chargd to appear before my Lord Deputie to pay ane hundred pound debt, which he might have composed for faye pound, but refus'd, not thinking it due. By Strafford's warrand, ten of his troupers at Dubline came uppon the man's lands, eat to him the worth of five hundred pound, burned the most of his house, forced him to leave the countrie, and serve as a fouldier in Flanders, being unable any more to keep house.

My Lord Strafford, feeling the weight of this article, after half ane houre's advifement, and retireing for cefement, returned as a man loadened in mind. He anfuered ane hundred shifts, and faid as much as any man could; but litle, in my judgement, to the poyn. He remembered his impoffibilitie to bring his proofs from Ireland, his obligationment to be judged there, and by the Irifh law; however, he was willing to submit ane hundred lyves, if he had them, to their Lordships equitie: he produced a number of witnelfes to depone, it was ordinarie there for the Deputie to give warrand for preffing of fouldiers pay, and contribution monie: but not one of them all depone the cafe of ordinarie debts, or decreets on paper petitions. He alleadged, that the acts alleadged were old and antiquat; but I understood not his probation. He faid, that in these statutes the King was not included, because not expresslie mentioned, and fo the King's Deputie was in the fame cafe; alfo that Queen Elizabeth's statute permitted the Deputie to leave warre; that it was a poor and unheard of warre which three or five or ten fouldiers could make; that he laid on no fouldiers,
whatever others did by his pretended warrand; that no warrand could be shewn; that he was in Ireland at the tyme of the execution; and a number of moe subterfugies: after all, he referred himself to his Councill for his legall cafe. Palmer replyed to all prettie weell, that Ireland was a portion of the English Crowne; that he did answer there according to the Irish law; that his taking of regall and soveraigne power and priviledge was the charge; that the Deputie hath power to levie warre but upon rebells, not in tyme of peace on the King's peaceable subiects, answerable to legall Courts; that he deelyneth also the question of law to be agitat by ane other in due place. Strafford offered to answer the first part of the article, but was flopped: he oft triumphed, that they had all-leadged crymes against him, which they were not able to make good. He humblie did supplicat the Houfe of Commons to grant him one day of cafe: this he obtained; for all were overwearied with fo conftant and long attendance; fo the Houfe was adjourned till Saturday. On Fryday, both the Houfes mett in their own places, and advyfed about other affaires.

11th Seffion, Saturday, April 3d. Palmer opened the sixteenth article; His way to keep himself in pofticion of that arbitrarie power of his; his flopeing all to goe to England but by his licencie; his proposition for his power to the Councill-table of England was read; his proclamation also in Ireland for that end was read; witneffes brought to prove: his refuiling of licence to fundrie who were going to complaine of his injuries; and of his fyning in five hundred pound, and imprifoning of Parrie, for following his matter the Chancellour to England. He anfwered, There was manie flatutes for the reidence of the subiects in Ireland; that in England no noblemen went abroad without leave; that his proposition to the English table is grounded upon clear reafon, the flopping of needlefs clamorous complaints; that the proclamation was by the whole Councill, and procured by the King's letter; that thoufands went over without challenge; that if they were not restrained, they would goe to Jefuit's colledges, and keep correfpondence with O'Neell and Tirconell.

Palmer replyed weell to all; That the flatutes all-leadged, none of them did impoorted a perfonall refrain of complaints of the Deputie; that this keeped all the Judges in a dependence upon him; that by his proclamation his Deputie had hindered the Committee of Parliament to come over; that there is no O'Neell nor Jefuite colledge in England; that no complainers could
get over, whatever became of others; he was to be answerable, as he professed in his proposition, for the justice of Ireland; so the Council's concurrence prejudices them, but excuseth not him; the Broad Seall excused not the Marqueis, who accepted of mixtum et merum imperium from his misinformed King.

It was Mr. Whitlock's turne to speak next: He past the seventeenth and eighteenth article, and opened the nineteenth, anent the Scottish Oath; he shew he had heard how he had used the Irish subjects, and now he would declare his usage towards the Scots, who were under the same protection with the Irish and English; that ane new oath cannot be formed without ane Act of Parliament; that he framed, and put on the Scots ane new and illegall oath, which they did not desyre, as he faith in his answer. Sir James Montgomerie was called to witnesses. He made at the barre a verie long narration, That all the Scots of any note were written for by the Deputie; that he mett them in my Lord of Airds' lodging; he said, it was expected they should clear their disaffection to the wayes of their countrymen; that the bishops motioned the expediency of ane oath; that many of them thought that which he spoke, that to offer ane oath were to make themselves subject to suspicion before they committed any fault; that Strafford replied, Who would not take an oath should do worse; that Ratcliffe brought to them to-morrow two draughts, the one mere railing, the other more mild; this, he said, he might not change, for the Deputie had seen it; yet they went to the Deputie's lodging, and required a copie for advysement; this was refused; the Deputie was content to put in the clause of equalitie with the rest of the subjects, but the clause of just and reasonable commands he would not hear; that he administrat the Oath at the Councill-table himself to all the Scots who were present; that his commissiion was to take the oath of all above sixteene years; that the instructions bare women alse well as men; that the refusers were prifoned and fyned; that manie fled, and left their cornes and cattells; (this Sir John Clotworthie and others testified; one Salmon, ane schoolmaster here, and John Loftus, witnessed the sentencience of Henry Stewart, and the rest;) that the Deputie declared the oath extended to all the ecclesiastic ceremonies present and to come; that he would prosecute to the blood these that would refuse; that the Scots were traitors, rebells, and mad; that he would pull them up root and branch, if he [re]turned to that kingdome.

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He answered, That the tyme of that oath did carrie great appearance of fears from the Scotts; that there was of them in Ireland above ane hundred thousand; that one Trueman was execute for a defigne to deliver up the Castle of Knockfergus to a great Lord in Scotland; that the Councill thought it necessarie to secure the country from that fear; that they were privie to his letter and the oath; that all the Scotts took it cheerfullie, except Sir James Montgomerie; that thefe who went away for this caufe he would never stay; that he knew not ane act of parliament to be necessarie for ane oath at such ane necessarie occasion; that the fame oath was press'd in England; that he had the King's letter, under his own hand, for framing that oath, which before he never revealed: if this was a treafon, being informed as he was, it behoved him to be a traitor over againe if he had the lyke occasion; the greatnes of Henry Stewart's fyne was for the greatnes of the offence; it was not exacted, and his [fyne] was ever readie to be releaved when obedient; that the Primate will teftifie, he declared that no part of it concerned the church affaires; that he was not fo farre diversifie of reafon as to speak like a madman of his Maifter's nation, manie whereof hath done him courtesies, and none anie wrong; that the schoolmafter was not to be valued; he had sworn I spoke these words the tenth of October, whereas I was in England the twentieth of September; in a distance, he hath mistaken faction for nation: I might have spoken of my putting out of Ireland the faction of thefe who refused to swear allegiance to the King; that he spoke not of root or branch, or of the nation. He brought fundrie to depone they did not remembar of any such words.

Whitlock reposed in reply, That the witnesses depositions were contrare to his afferions; that whatever the danger was, he should not use any unlawfull mean to oppose it; that the oath of allegiance would have satisfied the King's defyre; that his oath was a pattern to England; that his ingratitude was the greater, since the Scotts never wronged him; that his negative witnesse miftaking a circumstance of tyme did not weaken the subsance of his testimonie; Loftus concurring with him in the matter of it. Sir John Clotworthie being put to it, named a number of the Scotts who had fled, and left all; also, to my great contentment, he cleared the foule flander of Trueman, shewing, that one Captain Giles, being sent to trap all he could find inclined to the Scotts, infinuate with this fillie man, and obtained from him a letter of
recommendation to some in Scotland to employ him as a soldier; this letter being produced, made Giles be believed in all he pleafed to alleage of this simple man, without farther proofs; that Strafford did conciliat the Primat and Derrie; the Primate would have the refuing of the firft part of the oath to be treafon; the Bifhop of Derrie faid, the refuing of the second part of ecclefiafтриcall in-juncfions was treafonable; the Deputie would have both treafonable; that the penaltie of ane Premunire is juft; bot his new oat of not proteffing againft any of his commands, carrying the King's name, was ftrange, and the punishment of it alfo: he ufturps a power here more than royall; for non est penes principem folem to frame ane new oath, in all acts of parliament, you, my Lords, and the Commons, have [an] intent. Mr. Stroud took notice of Strafford's fecretion to do this over againe. He faid, he weel believed him; but that they knew what the kingdom fuffered when Gavetone came to react himfelf.

My Lord Strafford regrated to the Lords the great ftraits of his eflate. If true, it was the remarkable judgment of God. He faid, he had nothing there bot as he borrowed; yet dailie he gave to the guard that convoyed him ten pound: by which he conciliat much favour, for thefe fellows were dailie changed; and where they lived, having gotten his money, they commended his liberalitie. He told, his familie were in Ireland two hundred and fixtie perffones; that the Houfe of Commons there had feafed all his goods; he fupplicat, that the Lords might take courfe to loufe that arrieff from fo much of his goods as might futfaine his wife and children in fome tolerable way. If this was not falfes, alone to conciliat confideration, behold the power of God bringing that man, the moft flatelie houfe-keeper that ever Ireland did fee, to that miferie, in a moment, whereo he brought manie.

Sunday, the 4th of Aprile, was a day of humiliation to us. Mr. Henderfone, Mr. Blair, Mr. Gillefpie did preach; and on Tuesday thereafter I, Mr. Borthwicke, and Mr. Smith, to ane fair congrega- tion; fo manie conderable people as our roomes could hold. God helped us all, that we gott ever full libertie to powre out our foule, with our nation, to God: we truft God heard yow and us; and ever fince we are getting our anfwers. The plotts of our enemies fince hath been kything, and God going on to confound them in his own way, above man's Witt and ftrenght, as it may be you shall hear shortlie.

12th Seffion. Monaday Aprile 5th. I could not be prefent;
denied he remembered such words of my Lord Strafford's. Sir for I was preparing for Tuesday's exercise; but I heard the matters handled were these. Mr. Whitlock proposed, for the conjunction of the matters, and having of tyme, to open together the twentie, twentie-first, twentie-second, twentie-third, and twentie-fourth articles. Strafford pressed long to handle them severallie one by one, as before it was practised and agreed. Glyn told him roundly, that it belonged not to a prisoner to preferyve the order of his processe; they were to manage the proofs as they thought fitt, let him anfwer in what order he pleased. This they obtained. Whitlock discoursed upon all, firft in general: That as, after the pacification of Berwick, in Stewart's sentence, he had called the Scotts traitors and rebells; fo, at his coming to England, he had incenfed the King against them; and when the Parliament of England refufed moneyes, he stirred up the King to invade with his Irish armie thefe of England, who would not be subject to his will. The firft witnefs is my Lord Traquair. Being pofed, What he heard my Lord Strafford fay concerning the Scottish warre? He faid, he could not anfwer to fo general a quetion. Being pofed anent his discours at the councill-table after his relations at Whitehall and at York, he depreied to fee his depositions, for the reftringing of his memorie: for all the witnefses had deponed before the Committee of the Lower Houfe long aoe: yea, fome of that Committee, Dibbie, as it is thought, had given particular information to Strafford of all their depositions. After all the prefaces, all that Traquair deponed was, That at York, his relation being repeated, Strafford faid, that the injufice of thefe demands is a fufficient ground why the King fhould put himfelf in posture of warre; that at the firft relation at Whitehall, he heard him fay no more, and that all the number did fullie agree with him in that conclusion; bot he knew not who fpoke firft. Finding that not fo much was deponed now by Traquair, as before by my Lord Dibbie, motioned, that they referred themselves to what was deponed in wryte. After feros recollecting, Strafford replied, That this was not the praftife of any court where the witneffe was heard vivæ voce. My Lord Mortoun was fick; bot his deposition was read. It did beare, that after my Lord Traquair's relation, once and againe, and the third tyme, Strafford avowed, that the Scotts demands were a fufficient ground for the King to make warre; although Mortoun contradicted, fhewing, that fince the King had permitted the Scotts to petition againft all their grievances, their petitioning could be no ground
of warre before the reasons of their petition were heard; and the King expresslie said, Mortown had reason. Traquair being asked, Harie Vane, Mr. Secretary, deponed, that the 5th of May, after the breaking up of the Parliament, when he proposed a defensive warre, Strafford was for one offensive. Northumberland was sick; his deposition did bear, that Strafford persuaded his Majestie to goe vigorouslie to one offensive warre. The Lord Thesaurer, Bishop of London, deponed, that Strafford’s opinion was for one offensive warre, and that the Scotts should be reduced by force, after Traquair’s narration, and that he marked no difference of judgement in any of that committee.

Concerning his designe in England, Primate Usher deponed, he heard him say, in Dubline, in case of necessitie, the King, by his prerogative, might leavie moneys as he pleased, having first tried his Parliament, if it supplied him not. My Lord Conway deponed, he said if the Parliament gave not these twelve subsidies, the King was justifiable before God and man to take some other course to supplie himself, though against their will:—Sir Harie Vane, that if the Parliament did not succeed, he would be ready to serve the King any other way:—Sir Robert King, that Sir George Ratcliffe, Strafford’s intimate friend, said, the King had thirtie thousand men, and four hundred thousand pound in his purse, and a sword at his fyde; if he should want monie, who should pitie him? that with the Scotts they might have peace when they pleased:—Sir Thomas Barrington, that he heard Sir George Wentworth, Strafford’s brother, say, he conceaved the Parliament would give no money; that the Commonwealth was sick of peace; it will never be weell till it be conquered againe. Brif toll witnessed, that Strafford said to him, after the dissolving of the Parliament, that he liked not his discourse, of calling another Parliament, the danger admitted not to flow a remedy; the Parliament had refused to supplie the King; he behoved to take another course; that the King was not to suffer himself to be mastered by the frowardnesfes and undutifullnesfes of his subjefts, or rather the disaffection of some particulars. Newburgh and Holland wit- neffed the fame words. Northumberland and Vane deponed, that in the committee of eight for the Scotts affairs, he said, that his Majestie having tryed all wayes, and being refused; in this fame of necessitie, and in defence of the kingdome, he was ab- solved before God and man, and all rules of government; he
had ane armie in Ireland, which he might imploy for reducing this kingdome. The Earle of Clare, and others, debaited with Vane sharplie, what this kingdome did meane? Maynard quicklie silenced him, Doe yow ask, my Lord, if this kingdome be this kingdome, or not?

In his anwer, he went through everie article severallie, extenuated moft of his words. What he saide of the King, he meane ever of his jufit proceeding; for it was to be prefuppofed, that he would never doe nor command in any other way; that in Councill he behoved to voyce according to his opinion; that opinions might make ane heretick, if pertinacious, bot never a traitor; that chamber and table discouerfe, for argument, flum-flams, and fanfares, could not be treafons; that words of fuch a nature in King Edward the Sixth's days, were decreed otherwyse to be punifhed. It hes been the wildome of this spirit to secure weell the subjefts from treafon. We would be loath to let loose that lyon which would devote us and our pofteritie, if treafon be made as ordinarie as trepafses. Much adoe made for the laft words witneffed by Vane. He swore he spake them not; made the Marqueis, the Thefaurer, and Lord Cottingtoun, depone they heard no fuch thing; and bore him witneffe, that he saide, the King behoved to ufe his prerogative; that he marvelled at the goodnes of Mr. Thefaurer's memorie, better than his owne, and all the companie. Whitlock marked the fhortnes of Cottingtoun's memorie, who said he heard not Strafford speake of extraordinarie wayes, which yet he confeffed. He avowed no illegall action, neither from the King nor him; and followed on his counfell, that words of his brother, or Ratcliffe, concerned not him. The designe of the Irith army was for Scotland, as the Marqueis, Northumberland, Sir Thomas Lucas, and Slingbie did depone; that he intended to fortifie Aire, and from thence to make all the countrey till Edinburgh pay contribution. Whitlock replied at length, That the words were to be taken as they were proven, and not as, by his commentaries, they were eluded.

13th Session. Tuesday, there was no sitting. On Wednesday, the 7th Aprile, Maynard did open the twenty-fifth article. The Lord Thefaurer deponed, that Strafford, after the Parliament, advyfed to goe on rigoroufie and effectuallie with the Ship-moneys. Strafford confeffed, he had not learned to be wiser nor his teachers, or to difputt what was pronounced by the Judges. Maynard re-
plied, that it was never judged, that for refuse of loan men should be prifoned, fyned, hanged. Wise man deponed, that Strafford said they would gett no good of the citizens till some of the aldermen were fyned and prifoned. He confessed, according to the Earle of Berklyre’s testimonie, that he thought the aldermen’s refuicing, in so necessarie a tyme, to give up the names of these they conceived able to lend moneys, made them lyable to fyne and ranfome. Garaway, mayor the last year, deponed, that to the best of his remembrance, he said, no good would be gotten till some of the aldermen were hanged. While Strafford took vantage at the words “the best of my remembrance,” Garaway floutlie turned to him, and told out punctuallie, “My Lord, you did say it.” He said, he should anwer with alfe great truth, albeit not with so great confidence as that gentleman, to the best of his remembrance he did not speak so; bot if he did, he trusted their goodnes would easifie pardon such a rash and foolish word. It was also bot a single testimonie; and the law provys, that on single testimonie no man shall be condemned of treafon. Glyn remembered them what sentence he had procured on Montnorris for rash words anent his toes. Maynard shew their charge was bot one, that single witnesse for severall circumfiances made manie for the whole.

In the twenty-sixth article, they had no witnesse to prove his concealing the fealing on the Mint, the imbafeing of the money; bot by diverse proved his avowing of the Citie’s unthankfullnes, and their deferving of much worfe for their greater readineffe to help rebells than the King; of his letter from Leicester, that the King of France searched merchants books, and laid horfemen upon them till they payed what portion of their eftate he pleased to demand; that if the King would doe fo, he had example of other princes; that this was a poynct worthie my Lord Cottingtoun’s consideration. He confessed, the f彭e of his Maffer’s service made him use expressions of the Citie’s unthankfullnes; that of all his charge these words of the Citie’s helping of the rebells were worft, and since the gentleman deponed them, he would take with them and crave humble pardon; that he spake not to my Lord Cottingtoun; that he said our King was more pious than to use such couries as was mentioned in that foolish letter of my Lord Leicester’s secretarie.

The twenty-seventh article, of leavying money on Yorkshire by fouldiers, was proved by fundrie. To these he anwered, it was
by consent of most of the gentlemen, who delivered to him, by my Lord Wharton, a petition to represent their grievances to the King, and crown, and parliament, that so they would contribute for the entertainment of two regiments for one month; that he made them delete that clause of a Parliament, knowing the King's resolution to call it of his own good-nature, without petition from any; that he had the King's consent and direction for levying of that pay, in presence of the peers; some consenting, none contradicting, which he took for their full consent; that his commission carried him to leave so manie of the trained bands as he thought meet; that these who would not serve in person, were bound, in all reason, to supple these who did.

Maynard and Glyn replied, that it was a levying of warre upon the subjects by force of soldiers, to exact moneys by sojourns; that it was not [with] consent of the hyre; manie were gone out of town, fundrie discontented, diverse were papists; these consented bot for one month; his commission gave him power to call persons to serve the King, bot not for service to exact monie: that the peers disclaimed all such warrand.

14th Session. Thursday 8th Aprile, the twenty-eight article they passed. All being fett, and the Deputie brought to the barr on his knees, after the accustomed manner, he was defyr'd to say for himself what he would, that so the House of Commons may sum up all before the sentence. He said, he was prepared to answer the particular articles omitted, and that they would be pleased to say farther; bot for the summing up of all his answers, he was not prepared to answer, and for that craved humblie tyme till the morrow. They opposed that, shewing he had much more tyme for his defence than ever any, and the cause did allow: yet the Lords, after some debate, did grant it. Always in the afternoons, when there remained any tyme, committees, especiallie for the enormities of churchmen, did meet and fitt some houres.

15th Session. Friday the ninth Aprile. All being mett, and waiting on, about nine Sir George Wentworth came, and declared to the Lords, that all the last night his Brother was so afflicted with the stone, that this morning albeit much better, yet he was allutterlie unable to sturr out of bed. Maynard and Glyn pressed they might goe on; that the excuse was bot fained; and however, being heard on all the articles, his presence was needfuls. The Lieutenant of the Tower being put to his oath, deponed, that
Strafford said to him, he was unable to come. This so great unwellness was so much the more doubted, as for the witneceling of it, he sent onlie the groome of his chamber, a poor footman within sixteen years; and that to-morrow he was as vigorous as any day before. However, the conclusion was, that to-morrow, whether he was absent or present, they should not fail to go on.

16th Session. Saturday, 10th April. All being fett, before the Deputie began to speak, Mr. Glyn preffed to hear some witneffes that they had reffered exprefflie on the twentie-first article. Strafford preffed for the lyke favour, that he might, on fome preceeding articles, gett leave to examine witneffes; thereupon anyfeth a long debaite. The Lords adjourneth. When they returned, their decret was, the Commons fhould call what witneffes they pleafed; and Strafford alfo. This the Commons fformeth at. After much dangleing, Glyn declared, they were content Strafford fhould in this [have] equal favour with them; that they fought no more but witneffes to be examined upon ane article, and that thofe onlie which they had exprefflie reffered in the tyme; to grant more favour to Strafford than they craved, was manifeft unjuftice.

The matter was, young Sir Harrie Vane had fallen, by accident, among his Father’s papers, on a note wrytten by him as Secretarie, the day of diffolving the laft Parliament, wherein was contained the voyces which the Lieutenant, and Canterburie, and Cottingtoun, had given at the council-board the fifth of May, the day when the Parliament was diffolved, for the Scotts warre, and for the illegall leavying of moneys. Mr. Pym had come in on Sir Harrie Vane in the tyme, and perfuaded him to take a double of that note. The principall and all other papers concerning the diffolution of the laft Parliament, at the fittin down of this, were burned. The copie by him was produced in the Houfe, and did much confirm the minde of all Strafford’s witneffes; yet for young Sir Harrie’s caufe, a very gracious youth, they resolved to make no ufe in publifh of his testimonie, except in cafe of necelftie, which then they conceaved was clear. The Lords adjourned one houre large: at their returne, their decree was againft the expec[tation of all. It kythed Strafford’s friends were strengeth in the Higher Houfe; yea, to our great admiration, we learned that not a man bot Paget voyced otherways. My Lord Steward read the first part of it, That the Lords conceaved, for gaining of tyme, that both the Commons and Strafford should ufe no farther witneffes.
The Advocats refused to give any answere, till they had the receipt of the decree; so my Lord Steward went on, and read, but if the Commons thought meet to examine further witneſſes, they might doe it in all the articles; and they, as equall judges to both, conceived that Strafford might doe the fame. And once the Commons began to grumble. Glyn posed him on what articles he would examine witneſſes, as if he had no more witneſſes. Indeed, whatever he profefſed, he told them sadlie he had, and these he conceived as advantageous to him, as any they had for them; yet if they would goe on, he would be content to quite that advantage. They did not believe him, but put him to name the articles. He named one, another, a third, a fourth, and not being lyke to make ane end, the Commons, on both the sides of the Houfe, raiſe in a furie, with a ſhoot of Withdraw! Withdraw! Withdraw! gett all to their feet, on with their hatts, cocked their beavers in the King's fight. We all did fear it ſhould go to a prefent tumult. They went all away in confufion; Strafford flipped away to his barge, and to the Tower, glad to be gone left he ſhould be torn in pieces; the King went home in ſilence; the Lords to their Houfe.

In the afternoon the Commons mett, prefentlie resolved on a Bill of Attainture; that is, to attain and condemne Strafford in their owne Houfe as judges, and thereafter require the Lords and King to confirme their ſentence; if they refuſed, to ſeal it, and declare to all their flyres, that they had deferted the Parliament for denyall of justice. While they were on this advyſement, the Lords ſent a message to them for a conference. They ſhew, they had no leaſure to conferr with them: but after their conclufion, they ſent up ſome to know the Lords minde; for the matter was nothing concerning Strafford, for the Lords thought meet yet not to touch that wound, but another matter, more pleafant to them, the entertainment of the Scotts army for another moneth. The other day, the Commons having found that the Lords, longer than ordinary, neglected to agree with the Scotts Commiſſioners for a further ceſſation, fell in fear, left the King and Lords ſhould keep the Scotts no longer, and so they were undone; therefore the Houfe, which they had never done before, decreed to move the Lords to crave a further ceſſation but only for a fortnight; which the King did much diſpleafe us, for we thought it ſhew their ſeale ſo to be quicklie rid of us: but this difference betwixt
the House made both at once faine to flatter us, and give us
many good words, albeit no silver; yet they say now that money
in flore is coming.

On Sunday the 11th following, Dr. Bray, in Weftminifter Church,
made his recantation fermon for licenfeing Pocklington’s “Altare
Christianum,” and “Sunday no Sabbath.” The Lower Houfe
ordained the Mayor to fee them both burned at Cheapfide, and
Bray the licenfer to read out of a paper, his condemnation of a
number of errors, which he had licenfed. He did fo with a great
deal of feigned repentance; for the Lower Houfe this year makes
many hypocrites.

On Monoday the 12th, with much adoe, the Houfes were
gotten to accord, that the Lower Houfe fhould come as before, by
way of Committee, to follow what remained in their proceflf,
pafling the debate of new witnefles, and keeping their bill of
attainture on foot at their pleaflure.

17. On Tuesfday the 13th, all being fett as before, Strafford made
a fpeech large two hours and ane half; went through all the arti-
cles, both thefe three which imported Statute-treafon, the fifteenth,
twenty-firft, twenty-seventh, and others which was alleadged, as he
fpake, for conftuctive and consequential treafon: Firft the arti-
cles bearing his words, then thefe which had his councells and
deeds. To all he repeated not [nought] new, but the beft of his
former anfwers; and, in the end, after fome lafhnefs and fagging,
he made fuch ane pathetick oration, for ane halfe houre, as ever
comedian did upon a ftage. The matter and expreffion was ex-
ceeding brave: doubtefs, if he had grace or civill goodnefs, he
is a moft eloquent man. The fpeech you have it here in print.
One pafladge made it moft fpoken of; his breaking off in weep-
ing and filence, when he fpoke of his firft wife. Some took it for
a true defect of his memorie; others, and the moft part, for a
notable part of his rhetorick; fome, that true grief, and remorfe
at that remembrance, had dropped his mouth; for they fay, that
his firft Lady, the Earl of Clare’s fifter, being with child, and
finding one of his whore’s letters, brought it to him, and chiding
him therefore, he fpoke her on the breaft, whereof moftlie
the died.

Mr. Glyn did follow with a fpeech three houres long; firft did keep
his method, and anfwered what he brought to all, prettie weell; then
after his own premeditate order, he went through all the twenty-
eight articles as they lay, applying them well. The great length
of the speech made him fagg in the end. He referred the odiousness of the crimine to the handling of another. This was Mr. Pym, who truely, to the confession of all, in half ane hour, made one of the most eloquent, wise, free speeches, that ever we heard, or I think shall ever hear. Some of the passages of it, and no more bot fome, and thefe defaced, I fend yow in print, as they have been taken in speaking by fome common hand. To humble the man, God let his memorie fall him a little before the end. His papers he looked on; bot they could not help him to a point or two, fo he behoved to paffe them: I believe the King never heard a lecture of fo free language againft that his idolised prerogative. Strafford, after all, craved the benefite of his counfell from the Lords; the Commons said they would advyfe.

The dayes following, there was daylie conference betwixt the Lords and the Commons to hear Strafford's counfell; at laft, on Friday, the Commons agreed to it; fo on Saturday the Houfes mett as before. Mr. Lane, the Prince's Attorney, fpake for ane half hour of the flatutes of treafon, shewing all he could, that none of Strafford's alleadged actions did come under them. After him, Mr. Gardner, Recorder of London, offered to handle any law queftion, when the Lords would propone a particular cafe; bot till then they would fay no more at random. For diverfe dayes thereafter the Houfe of Commons went on with their Bill of attainture. When it was readie and read three diverfe dayes, at laft it was voyced and carried, only fifty-eight contradicting. For this there was great joy among us all, and praise to God. These friends of Strafford's were much defcountenanced by all honeft men. Some printed their names, and fixed them on publick wayes. My Lord Digbie, their chief, was very near put in the Tower; bot with many fair words he gott himfelf off: yet his credite in the Houfe is gone; whereas we are glad, for he is a great patron of Bifhops. The Lower Houfe is more united than ever, and they fay not far from a Covenant. They went with a bill to the Higher Houfe. It was bot coldlie receaved there. My Lord Savill, one of the rouette Lords in all England for the country and our caufe at firft, bot fince we made him a councellour, clearlie the court-way for Strafford and all the court-defignes; he thought the receaving of the bill into the Houfe prejudiciall to the priviledge of the Peers. Essex took him prefentlie up, and required him to expaline himselfe: while he is doing it, Stamford admonifheth him, he did not expaline the words he fpake, bot
others. He replyed, that Stamford durft not speake fo to him in another place. He answered, if both were without the barre, he would speake fo to him in another place; and he durft not challenge it. The rest cryeth on them to withdraw. Stamford readilie removeth, Savill faft still till Eiflex cryed to him to remove. They packed it up betwixt themselves thus and fun. In the mean tyme the Commons was voyceing downe the presidencie of York, as a needless andhurstfull court. This stroke Savill to the heart; for it was his great designe to be Presidant in Strafford’s stead. When the Commons the other day voyced the Convocation-men in a fyne one hundred and sixty thousand pound sterling, Canterbury in twenty thousand, Yorke’s benefice in ten thousand, Wren in five thousand, the rest proportionable, and their benefices to be fequestred till that money be paid to the Lords of the Scotts Treatie: they excepted Savill from the faffarie of that receipt, being taken up with the affairs of State, and laid that burden on Stamford, though none of the treaters. The Commons moved the Lords to crave the King’s long delayed answer to their three propositions. Yester day they gott their answer, little to their contentment, (after we had given the Prince of Orange the complement,) we heard, in the Banquetting-houfe, where the King mett both the Houfes. To the first, of removing Papifts from Court, he faid he would doe it; but with alfe little scandall as can be. To the second, of disarming the Papifts, he was content it should be done according to law. To the third, the disbanding of the Irish army, he faid, he had been thinking oft on it, but there was difficulties in it; that it was his intention to difolve all the armies, and fettle all his dominions in that peace wherein he receaved them from his Father; but for that end two things was necessarie, the satisfacion of the Scotts grievances, and money. Of the laft they were the only matters; and the sooner they provyded for it, it was the better: In the first, though he was judge, yet with their advyce, with all diligence he would take a finall course.

This day, Mr. St. John, the King’s Solicitor, before both the Houfes, to satisfie the scruples which might marre the Lords in paffing the Commons Bill of attainture, did fhew, in a speech of three hours, how the facts proven of Strafford were high treafon, expresslie against many statutes, and answered all the lawes seeming to import the contrarie: and however no law had made them treafon, yet by a number of examples in their law, he fhou how the Parliament might very legallie condemne his singular cafe, of evert-
ing all law, of treason. Upon some fears of escape, the Lords, at the Commons diet, hath commanded Sir William Balfour to keep him close prisoner. But no more now adoe, but the Lords, one of these days, to confirm the bill; and then the King's confirmation must be had. Unhappy men puts the King daily in harder straits. Had the Commons gone on in the former way of pursuit, the King might have been a patient, and only beheld the striking off of Strafford's head; but now they have put them on a bill, which will force the King either to be our agent, and formall voycer to his death, or else doe the world knows not what.

The Prince of Orange's marriage is expected shall be solemnised on Sunday next. Whether the Prince was, of ten years old, shall be sent to Holland prefentlie, we know not.

All foreign news you have in four or five printed gazets. All the papers of our Treatie you have also. Whether our Parliament keeps the date, and our Treatie ends presentlie, I yet know not. They have now put the King on thoughts of coming to Scotland in June; Our unfriends are the authors of these counsels; but a very few days will open many secrets. Pray to God for our cause and Church: God will help us against all, men and devils: No man is to be trusted; the best is naturallie false.

Dear Brethren, neglect not my place, fain would I be at it to disburden yow of that cure; you may believe me without oath. The length of this recompenes the delay of it so much the more, as preaching and printing gives me little spare tyme. The Lord be with yow all, and send us a blyth and short meeting.

Your Brother and servant,

R. Baillie.

Our post hath stayed some days longer than we expected; so know further, that on Saturday, the 1st of May, the King came to the Higher House, called for the Lower House, declared to them, that in his conscience Strafford was free of all treason. The speech you have here, together with the City's last petition for justice. The Commons the day before had sent up to the Lords two bills; one for the Turkish pirates, which oft taketh slaves from the west part of England; another for the Romish pirates, to have the Cleargie out of all Civill power, and the Bishops out of the Higher
Houfe. The King in private declared his resolution never to yield to such a motion. All these things coming together on the Commons, put them in a high mood. They thought themselves flighted in all things; they saw, that Strafford's paper informations did yet guide all; they went down to their Houfe in great malcontentment. Mr. Pym, left they should break out in some rash distemper, advised to adjourn the house till Monaday, without speaking of any purposes. His counsel was followed.

On Sunday, in the King's chapel, both the Queens being present at service, the Prince of Wales and Duke of York led in Princess Mary to the chapel, conveyed with a number of ladies of her own age, of nine and ten years, all in cloath of silver. The Prince of Orange went in before, with the ambassadors, and his cousins of Tremuill and Naflaw: the King gave him his bryde; good Bis hop Wren made the marriage. At night, before all the Court, they went to bed in the Queen's chamber. A little after the King and Queen had bidden the bridegroom good-night, as their fone, he, as it was appointed, arose, and went to his bed in the King's chamber. The precipitation of this marriage is feared by many.

We have met at length sometimes with Dr. Rivett: he is one fullie in our minds, and against the Bishops. On Monaday, some thousands of citizens and prentiffes awaited all day at Westminster, cryed to everie Lord as they went out and in, in a loud and hideous voyce, for justice againft Strafford, and all traitors. In the afternoon, being informed, that the Lieutenant of the Tower had receaved a warrant to take in, upon his allegiance, one hundred soldiers, with a captain, who had been Strafford's page, they gave in a paper of this. The Lords was faine to mitigate them with good words; also to fend for the guard of the Tower that night, Eflex, Brooke, and Newport, with five hundred of the trained band of the Hamlets. All this tyme the Lower Houfe was inclosed from feven in the morning to eight at night. After much debate, at laft, bleffed be the name of the Lord, they all swore and subferyved the wryte which here you have, I hope in subfance our Scottifh Covenant. God maketh our enemies the instruments of all our good. We fee now, that it hath been in a happie tyme that so much tyme hath been lost about Strafford's head. Bot to-day, and hereafter, great things are expected, wherever you shall be advertised.

May 4th, Tuesday 1641.
This day was spent on the subsferyving and swearing of the protestation in the Higher House. The Bishopshes put their hand to it, and we lyke it all the worfe. We are perplexed onlie for one poynct of it, which was passed partlie through inadvertance, partlie becaufe no more could be obtained. In the doctrine of the church of England, in the articles of their conclusion, both bishopsh and ceremonies are expref; for which caufe diverse of the bett refuse to subsferyve in the Citie. Many commentars are fetcht to elude this; but the most satiffactorie is, that at swearing and subsferyving in the Lower House, it was declared expresflie, by the doctrine they meane not the government and ceremonies, and that quicklie they shall declare this, by ingiving of Bills against both. If this be, all is weell; else not. Wednesday a sudden bruite ran through the citie, that the Papifls had fett the Lower Houfe on fyre, and had beftt it with armes: in a clap all the citie is in alarum; fhopes clofed; a world of people in armes runnes down to Weftminifter. When they come, they find the report allutterlie groundles. The matter was, about ten of the clock fome coming out of the Lower Houfe, had faid there was hott work and a great fire within; which being miftaken, putt the ralf and foolifh alarum abroad. The hott work was a moft weightie matter indeed, the debateing upon a defigne, which is alleadgeed the English armie was fett on, to marche towards London for diffoolving the Parliament. If this be true, it will be the moft dangerous peice for the Court that yet hes been fpoken of. However, all the fervants of the King and Queen are commanded to attend, and no where to depart till they be tryed in this strange affair. All thir things hold out our affaires as if they were not. This is a feeding storme. At supper this night we hear that the Lower Houfe, in the afternoon, hes voyced, that it is a part of their sworne libertie, that no Parliament shall be diffoolved or adjourned without the confent of the Commons Houfe. The Higher Houfe hes, with one confent, voyced Strafford guiltie of the facts charged, especiallie in the fifteenth, twenty-first, twenty-feventh articles; onlie nineteen, who were either his allyes or witnesfes, went out before voyceing. To-morrow, it is thought, they will find thefe facts treafon, and his head to be forfault. His petition to replie to St. John was reject-ed. Pembroke, Chamberland of the King's houfe, Dorfett of the Queen's, Newcastle of the Prince's, came and arrested all the fervants of the King, Queen, and Prince, both men and wo-
men, that they flurr not without the King and Parliament's leave; the fairest way that can be to fay the voyages (which they fay, was intended prefentlie after the Prince of Orange's difmiflion,) of the King's to the armie, of the Prince's to Wales, of the Queen's to Portfmouth, whether long agoe they fay her jewels went; a place, they fay, to be fortified for receaving of the French. These things are like to draw deep. The King is now vere fad and penfive; yet no man lies the leafl intention againft him: if they had, the Scotts, for all their quarrels, would have their hearts blood: but the fartheft is the punifhing of falfe knaves, who hes too long abufed the King and us all. The Mayor is commanded to keep a strong watch upon the Tower. Bot I mufl break off, and leave someth ing till the nixt.

Dear Brethren, have a care of my flock. I hope now to wint home shortlie. My beat affections to yow all, both brethren and elders. This letter hes twenty-four pages, the other papers hes fortie-two pages. I have fent to my Lord als the feven laft Gazets for forraign newes; als Strafford's and Pym's fpeech, with the Covenant in print.

Your servant in the Lord,

May 7th [1641.]

R. BAILLIE.

[To Mrs. BAILLIE AT Kilwinning.]

My Sweit Heart,

Gravesend, twenty myles from London, is scarce of paper. I am this farr in my way homeward, without any difcontentment, by God's gracious affittance, since I left thee, bot in everie thing by all perfons mett with as my heart could with. This day, the wind and tyde are all faire, our companie and ship is good, we have with us the King's wynes and beer; we are hopefull of a quick paflage. I have been much longing to hear of thy eflate; and behold yest erday, while I am readie to depart from London, I receave my good Lady's(1) letter telling me that, on the twentieth of May, thow was, at four afternoon, delivered fafelie of a daughter; where in I much rejoysce and blefles my good God for this favour joyned to all the refl. My voyage will be much the lighter of this good

(1) Lady Mary Leslie, second daughter of John Earl of Rothes, was marred to Hugh Lord Montgomery, afterwards Earl of Eglinton.
news. For recompenfe, shew to my Lady, and to her onlie, that my Lord, her Father, is lyke to change all the Court; that the King and Queen both begin much to affect him; and if they goe on, he is lyke to be the greatest courteour either of Scots or Englishe. Lykelie he will take a place in the Bed-chamber, and be little more a Scottifh man. If he please, as it seems he inclines, he may have my Lady Devonshyre, (2) a verie wife lady with four thousand pound Sterling a-year. The wind now blows faire in his topefaile: I wish it may long continue; but all things here are verie changeable.

My Sweit Heart have a care of thy health. It will be my great joy to finde at my comeing that thow and all my foure children, (the Lord bleffe them,) have been in good cafe in my abfence. The Lord be with thee, my Sweit Heart: I hope to preveene this letter.

Thy owne,

Gravefend, JUne 2d, [1641.]
R. Baillie.

Tuesday nine a’cloak in the morning.

[To Lord Montgomery.]

My Lord,

Gravefend is feant of paper. I am now going to ship. No more news than before. For the prefent, your Good-father is a good courteour: if it hold, he is lyke to be firft both with King and Queen; but fundrie thinks it is fo sudden and fo great a change that it cannot hold. The King feems yet resolut to goe to Scotland, albeit the difficulties of the journey be great, and daylie on all hands increaseth. It is like this week two hundred thousand pound Sterling shall be delyvered for difbanding of the moft of your armie, and good securitie given for the reft. They speake of keeping still in Newcastle the halfe of yow; but I believe the Bill of abolishing bishops, to be agitat on Thursday, may work a great alteration in manie things; and to the end of this week nothing certain can be pronounced of any thing. I have taken courfe to be informed by letters how all goes. I have directed to fend all my

(2) Lord Rothes at this time was a widower, his wife, Lady Anne Erskine, daughter of John Earl of Marr, having died 2d of May 1640. But he himself died in little more than two months after the date of this letter.
letters to you. Your Lordship, for your better information in my absence, may break all up that is directed to me, and close all in a paper, to be sent to your Lady with the first occasion. It seems verie unexpedient yow should, on any occasion, leave the armie for a twentie dayes; for in that time it is lyke manie things, now uncertain, shall be determined. Your letters from the General, from Balmerinoch, from the Committee, wryting for Mr. Robert Blair and me by name, made us to goe before it was meet. When we heard that Mr. Harie Rollock, Mr. James Bonner, Mr. James Bruce, and others, were come up, all here, commissioners and others, thought our coming to Newcastle needlefs; which your Lordship will declare, if any inquyre why we came not. They would gladlie have had us flaying when we were readie to goe; but being so fairlie difmissed once, we would not ingadge againe, being so long abfent from our charges. My man, James Laurie, give my letters with him to the Generall-Major Baillie, to Meldrum and Durie; prevade not to obtaine him his pay; your Lordship must affit him with the Generall to obtaine my most reasonable defire. The matter is calling us a shipboard: I must break off. The Lord be with your Lordship.

Your Lordship's servant,

Gravefend, June the 2d, [1641.] R. Baillie.
Tuesday morning, ten a’cloak.

[To Mr. William Spang.]

Cousine,

Your letter with Robert Gray, and your book, I receaved, for which accept manie thanks. For some part of recompence, receave, herein inclosed, a compt of the moft part of my voyage, in the autographes of these my letters, which I caufed keep for this verie end, that yow might understand all that I had written, or the moft part of it. My long letter anent the Lieutenant yow receaved before; some of my letters are away, but yow have here enough. Upon the fea we were fra Wednesday morning till Monunday. God was verie gracious to us in this moft dangerous fea; we were once teddered on a sand-bed, had the wind been as it was the day before, or all the day after, our veche had been dung in shards; as it was, we spake to two catches [ketches] to ryde one on everie
fyde of us: it pleas'd God the day fell calm, and when we had been prisoners fra six hours in the morning, the evening tye lifted us up and put us to the sea. After that, we had some stormes for sixeene hours, our ship fell leek, it was verie evill ballaft, and heiled much; but our chief danger was about the Holy Island: the wind serv'd us not to go about the blind rocks, where there are frequent shipwracks, we beheld to go through them, we fell in a calme, so at verie midnight we fell among them; great was the fear of the whole companie, yet God brought us through that death, blest be his name! I resolve, if I may goe be land, never more to faile that coaft.

When we come to Edinburgh, we fand ane verie evill spirit had been stirring, and much prevailing both in Church and State, a wicked plott, desperate, devilish, and new, to have accused in the presence of the King and Parliament, Hamilton, Argyle, and Rothes, of words at leaft of higheft treason, and to have proven them by fuborned witnelfes. The ground of this is not yet found out, you shall hear more of it at once; but had it fucceeded, we had all fallen in a woefull miferie and ane bloodie butcherie; but God ftrangely difcovering it, hes made it evanifh and turned much to our good. The fame evill spirit was ftirring in our Church; great heat betuift fundrie ministers and fundrie people; great murmurs and fear as if divisions for Brownifhick queftions had been apparent. I wondered to fee fo much din on no ground to compt of; I dealt earneftlie with Argyle to draw together fome of the wyfeft humors of both, and draw them to fome agreeance before the Asfemblie. This I hope, before now, will be done, fo, in defpyte of the devill, we fhall have no trouble from thefe toyes. How all will goe expæ to hear after the Asfemblie. Argyle hes made Mr. Johnftoune to wryte to me to make lafte to come to Edinburgh for the fettling of these things: I mynd to ryde to-morrow. This day our Parlia-ment fitts down. The queftion of Epifcopacie letts not the King yet winn home; the Lower Houfe hes paffed the Bill for taking away root and branch, for which immortall glory be given to the name of the great God, who can doe all he pleafes, in his tyme, by meanes unexpected. The Higher Houfe is expected will let that fame Bill paffe; and that the King, who yet remaines moft avery from swallowing down that moft bitter pill, will be at laft brought to it. In the mean tyme, the event of that Bill and tryall of the plotts there to have violated the Parliament and City of London, holds all things fra conclufion. Traquair and Balcanquall
they say are fled. Our Parliament is defyr'd by the King to goe on, for by no means we would hear of farther procrastination, with allsuence of his coming down in the beginning of the nixt moneth. Our Assembley fits down at St. Andrewes on Tuesday nixt. Glasgow is to preffe my transportion, I and all my friends are shortlie to oppofe: the event is the Lord's.

I have read bot parcells of your book; all that I hear speaks weell of it: I wish fundrie words and phrases were examined by some there who hes skil, if they be jatis Latina: I doubt of fundrie, bot truelie my skil in that facultie now is fo small that I dare fay nothing; however, polifh you skil, fo much as you may, that you may perfyte that work, which in my judgement will both bring profite to our caufe, honour to our countrey, and deferved commendation to you for ever; you shall not want the beft information I, or any I can move, is able to furnifh. By all means preff Paget by printing his book, alfo Rivett as he promifed, and what you can with Voctius, and Cloppenburgh. If my Parallell, my Antidote, my Questione of Epiffcopacie, my Replie to the Modest Advertifer, be not yet come to your hands, you must write to London to Robert Inglifh, or some other, to call for them at the shop of Mr. Gillibrand in Paul's Churchyard, at the Braffen Serpent; they will be about ane fixpence the piece: the two laft were not printed out when I come away, but now I hope they are. Continue to write at length your forran occurrents. I was ever feared for a revolt in France, fo grevious hes that government been these manie years. If Caftilion be routed, and Lorrain played the falle pultron, it is lyke France will be forced to let Spain draw breath, which were a great pitie. No appearance for help to the poor Palatine yet here; yet at laft it is lyke, when a new heart is put in our Court, as the face of it is much changed alreadie, there will be great and powerfull affiduance given to him from this. If the Swedds and confederats can keep the fields till the nixt Spring, it is lyke the British Army may appear in Germany for some better purpofe than hitherto.

I wish how you could finde a way to get your great men fett on a profitable studie: a pitie that Salmaius, Vollius, and Heinfius should fo trifle their dayes about toyes; I think Dr. Rivett, if he laid it to heart, could move the Prince and State, or eflate the Curatores Academice, or the provinciall Synods, or all of them, to interceed, fo farr as their preffling requeft or authoritie or rewards could goe, to have these great spirits fett on work on these
things which are most profitable for the Reformed Churches, especiallie to vindicate antiquitie from the hands of Baronius and other Papifts; but not in such a longsome, fruitlefs, humanitick way as Cafabon and Montagne hes begun; for this way is infinite, and one Centurie by all three shall not be past through till they die. A pitie of pities that there should be fo little witt, zeale, or authoritie in all these lands as to gett ufe made of all these treafures God hes given them. Sett your minde to fee what ye can doe to help it. I wish Salmafius be no worfe employed than on the Pope againft Petavius: Yet it were better to contemne opposites, and sette himfelf to delvver his own minde. Yow know that by setting Stapleton, Durie, and others on Whittaker, they diverted that man from farr better work; but I must end. The Lord be with yow and your wife.

Kilwinning, 15th July [1641.]

Thurfdav.

[To Mr. William Spang.]

Cousin,

Since your laft, the firt of August, you have, I think, receaved two of mine, and this is a third (if vertue were in length) worth any fix of yours. That fellow of Ranthrow [Renfrew] yow wryte of, I tryed of the brethren of Dumbarton and Pasley to be ane flight man, without letters or good manners. All he fayes of his Irish perfecciones and testimonies from us, feem to be allutterlie fale.

The carriage of our Asfemblie was thus. Since the Asfemblie of Aberdeen [1640] there was a continuall heart-burning betwixt the favourers of Mr. Harie Guthrie and Leckie; as in my difcourfe of that Asfemblie yow may fee, I foretold. As I came from London through Edinburgh, I fand the miuderftanding fo great, that I advyfed Argyle to take notice of it in tyme; and when Mr. Archibald Johnfloune came home, I wryt to him to draw fome of the parties together for advyfement how to preveene discord. For all that both could doe, at my coming to Edinburgh, on Saturday the 17th of July, I fand Leckie, and many that favoured him,

peremptor, not only to accuse Mr. Harrie Guthrie, but to have the Acts of Aberdeen about meetings and read prayers cancelled. They were much galled with the flanders went upon them for the abuses of privie meetings, and other things fallacie fathered on them. On the other part, Mr. Harrie, and many with him, were no lefie resolute to defend all that passed in Aberdeen, and to have sharp cenfurs concluded in the nixt Assemblie against all that were for novations, not approven by our Church. With those minds went too many to St. Andrewes, as it had been a place of combate. Our only remedie againft such scandalous debates were our prayers to God, which carefullie were offered, the Sabbath before we came from home, in a solemn humiliation for a bleffing to the ensuing Assemblie. This labour we found was not for nought; for at once we fand the good hand of God with us above expectation.

The King had fent his warrand to my Lord Weems to fitt, with as ample a Commiffion as either Hamilton or Traquair. His Majeftie intended this service for Southelk, by Traquair’s advyce, who yet had too great hand in affaires; bot Mr. Henderfone diverted the King from that man, towards whom the countrey had fo evill ane eye. For what speciall respects Weems fell to be nixt, I doe not know; however the modeflie and fimplicitie of the man made him difpleafing to none.

When we came to St. Andrewes, our first perplexitie was about a Moderator. Mr. Henderson was passionatelie defired in fo hard a tyme; bot there was [no] certaintie of his prefence. Mr. Harrie Rollock, on whom the voyces would have fallen nixt, had of purpofe abfented himself. The reft whic were mett were efteemed fo far ingaged to the queftion to be debaited: judge what ftraight then of men was there, when the lyke of me, who to this day had deelyned to moderate a Prebyterie, was fhored to be leeted for to moderate a Generall Assemblie. Yet, after much secreat advyfement with his Grace the Commiffioner, on Mononday, with much adoe, that difficultie was overcome.

On Tuesday, the 20th, the first day of the Assemblie, the laft moderator, Mr. Andrew Ramsay, preached the 122d Pfailme. According to his way, he went over it all. His much kything of lecture was not to all favourable; bot his falling flatt on all the particular queftions in hand, eagerlie enough, as if our Kirk were prefentiall burning with fehifme, did favour to none of fo much prudence as the tyme did require. The matter was nothing helped
in the afternoon; Mr. David Dickfone, antecedent moderator, as appeared to many, too passionatlie vindicating the credit of religious people from unjust flanders, and urgeing the repentance of such Ministers, who, with their conformitie, had brought latelie our Church to the brink of ruine, did highlie offend very many who were not farr from challenging him publicklie, as contradictorious to Mr. Andrew [Ramsay.] The first day of our Assembleie is appointed for fasting and humiliation. Of this disposition there was not so much this day among us as needed. After sermons we mett in the hall of the Old Colledge. Mr. Andrew did pray; the commissions receaved by Mr. Archibald [Johnstone]; many of the commissioners were members of parliament; diverse others also, upon the certain expectation of the Assembleie's translation to Edinburgh, had not come over. His Grace's commissiion in Latine was read; one clause thereof importing the Assembleie's translation, at the Commisitioner's advyce, was demurred on by the Clerk, as intrinſhing on the Assembleie's liberties; yet it was not publickly questioned. A letter from his Majestie to the Assembleie, fo full of grace and favour as we could have wished, was read: the copie you have at (A). The anſwering of it was laid on Mr. David Lindey of Belhelvie. His draught in the end of Edinburgh Assembleie was read; but it was so long and luxuriant, that our Mr. Hendrion could not make that short, decisely, and nervous anſwer you have at (B).

The Parliament had sent over a Commissiioner to us, one from ilk Estate, Caſſills, Auldbar, Provoſt of Dysart, intreating, without any preſcription, that, in regard many of them were members of the Assembleie, [but] could not, without detriment to the publick, attend at St. Andrews, we would be pleas'd to translate the Assembleie to Edinburgh; also that we would be pleas'd to enter in no weightie action, especiallie in choosing a Moderator, wherein they defyred to have voyce, before we returned to Edinburgh. In the translation there was no difficultie, but in the delay to choose a Moderator the difficultie was hude. The moſt thought the Assembleie could not be constitute, and was fo incapable to perform any act, let be fo great a one as to move a translation, before a Moderator was chosen. Some leading men, who would have had the moderation to themselves, or to theſe who did favour their intentions, did urge a present election. The matter was remitted to the nixt feſſion; wherein, to our great comfort, it was determined with farr greater ease than any expected. Many of us thinking the delay impof-
fible to be obtained, had concluded to voyce to [for] Mr. James Boner; yet to-morrow, the earnestnes of the Commisioners from the Parliament, the Clerk finding in the Regifter some such old practice, the certain hopes of Mr. Henderfone's near return, his Grace permitting the matter to our own option, (whileas before some about him had made him declare oft, that that delay would legallie evacuate his commission,) Mr. David Dagleish overcoming in boldness his good friend Mr. Harie Guthrie, and floutlie reaoning the sufficient formalitie of continewing, by voyces, the old Moderator, ad hunc actum, to transferre, and to choyfe a new Moderator in the beginning of the translated Assemblie, by pluralitie of voyces it was clearlie caried. We took that for a certain prefage of God's affliction in all subfquent purposes.

The nixt Seffion was appointed to be holden at Edinburgh, the 27th. No more bot a supplication of D. Houy (1) read, wherein he compleanned, that after his long service in the Kirk and Divinitie-schools, he had been made to demitt his place, by threats, in his extreame old age and extreame povertie. The cafe was very invidious, and reflected much on his colleagues in the Town and New Colledge. The matter, I heard, was, that he, as Principal, had given warrand for lifting of the New Colledge rent, whiles to a wicked knave his son, whiles to Dr. Panter, and to others; so that no compt could be made by him of much money. Mr. Samuel Rutherfoord, I think, caufed complean of this to the Committee of Estates when we were at London. They sent over Newton and William Ridg (2) with a commission, rigorous enough, either to gett a compt of him, or to lay him in ward. Upon the fear of this evil, he offered to demitt his place; and his dimission was taken, reſerving fyve hundredth merks a year to him for his entertainment. When his supplication came to be considered in Edinburgh, his good friend Mr. Henderfone guided it fo, that, with ane great deal of commendation to the old man, large as great, I am fure, as he ever deferved, it was voyced, that his dimission should be rendered to him; that, according to the acts of our old Assemblies anent failed minifters or profefſors, he should all his life tyme enjoy his full rent and honour, without any diminution.

(1) Dr. Robert Howie. He was brought from Dundee, in July 1607, to succeed Andrew Melville as Professor of Divinity, and Provost of St. Mary's or the New College, St. Andrews.

(2) Sir John Leslie of Newton and William Rigg of Athernie.
When we came back to Edinburgh, to our great joy we found Mr. Henderfone and Mr. Gillefpie come home. That week was spent in privie consultations for accommodating the feared differences. Argyle and Caflills drew together in Loudoun's chamber the Minifters of Edinburgh, Mr. David Dickfone, Mr. Blair, Mr. Rutherford, Mr. Cant, me, and some others. All the Minifters of Edinburgh were chaffed at their people's carriage toward them: they would have been at the simple difcharge of all privie meetings, but those of a familie; and for this the Act of Aberdeen was alleadged by them and many moe: for this the other partie would have had that Act recalled or exponed. I marvell much of both their forgetting the meaning and occasion of that Act, fett down at length to you in my letters. Then it was at laft agreed, that Aberdeen Acts should be altogether miilkyed; that a draught should be made for ordering thefe meetings now in queftion. The paper drawne up by Mr. Henderfone the 10th of June, which pleafed all weel that I had conferred with, but miilkyed [by] the Miniftrie of Edinburgh, and above all Mr. David Calderwood could not abyd it: the claufe into it of the number, which I lyked beft, did moft miilke them; they alleadged the permitting of any to meet, in the smaileft number, was ane eftabliffing by ane act the thing itsel. Many meetings there was for little purpofe. It was appointed, that Mr. Dickfone and Mr. Blair shoul meet with Mr. Henderfone and Mr. William Colvin, and fett down their mindes. Their draught was long, and too generall. It was laid again on Mr. David Dickfone, with whom he pleafed, to wryte down his minde That forme alfo did not pleafe. At laft Mr. Henderfone aſſayed it. His modell lyked us beft; yet Mr. David Calderwood ftrained mightilie at it. We defyrer Mr. David to dye what he pleafed: notwithstanding we were all refreshed with a certaine hope of a folid agreement; for Mr. David Dickfone, Mr. Blair, and the rett who were fuspected of innovating, did purge themselves fullie of all fuch intentions, and were readie to receive any of the modells any had proponed. And being posed, what was their minde anent all the novations? Mr. Andrew Ramfay could enumerate fuch as, omitting Glory to the Father, Kneeling in the pulpit, difcountenancing read prayers, and the rett. They gave anwer to fatisfaſtion, that betwixt us and them there was no difcrepancie at all. At laft Mr. Henderfone fell on that modell, which thereafter was voyced and printed. This happie concord, whereof Argyle and Mr. Henderfone were the happie
instruments, will, we trust, have a great blessing to this whole land, which every where began to be falled with idle toys and scruples.

On Tuesday, the 27th of July, we met before noon in the Grayfriars. After prayer, Mr. Andrew Fairfoull required that his commiffion might be given to Mr. Henderfone, in regard that the Presbytrie had choen Mr. Andrew Ramfay, Mr. Harie Rollock, and Mr. Alexander Henderfone if he should be present, and him only in cafe of Mr. Henderfone’s abfence; fo, albeit Mr. John Adamfone had, at his own hand, put in his own name in the commiffion, at the first meeting in St. Andrewes, and he had voyced there as commiffioner, yet Mr. Henderfone being now present, he required to be free of the burden, which he had undertaken only in cafe of his abfence. While the matter is going to voyceing, Mr. David Calderwood, albeit no commiffioner, did reafon very paffionateliie, that Mr. Henderfone was incapable of a commiffion; in this Mr. Henderfone did fecnond him: alwayes, when it came to voyceing, Mr. Henderfone’s commiffion was unanimoufie receaved. The nixt queffion was, about the lite for a new Moderator. The old fashion was, that the former Moderator lited whom he would, and the Asfemblie added whom they pleafed: Ane overture had paft att Aberdeen, that every Provincial Synod should have one of their number fo be on the lites for Moderator, one to be on the committee of Bills, one for the Reports, and one for the Overtures. The Northlandmen preffed much to have it fo; but it was found unreasonable; and that overture, not being an act, and not being booked, was rejected. Yet they got Belhelvie eikd to the lite which Mr. Andrew [Ramfay] gave in. Mr. Henderfone declined earneftlie the burden of Moderation: alwayes the moft of the votes fell on him. The noblemen were for Mr. Harie Rollock, fome for Bonner, fome for Belhelvie, none at all for Adamfone, Daglieh, Somervell, Mr. A. Blackhall. No more was done in that feffion; only Argyle told us, that the Parliament was content to have bot one feffion in the day, and that in the afternoone, hopeing the Asfemblie would be pleafed to make bot one feffion alfo, and that in the forenoon, that fo the Commiffioners might gett both Asfemblie and Parliament attended. This was agreed to.

Wednesday 28th. The Moderator read the overtures which I had drawn up, and were enacted at Aberdeen, for ordering of the
House. He did preffe them all; yet, through negligence to exact them thereafter, we fell at once into our old miforders. Always we expect that the exact order the Parliament hes now taken for ruling of their house, will make us, ere long, follow their good example. He read also a lift of names for the committees of Bills and Reports. Now for the Overtures: till those of Aberdeen were considered, verie hardlie would he permit any to be added to those of his own number: for affedflors to himself, he shew, he would advertise privilie those whom most he needed. Four were named to appoint preachers for all the Churches, of which Mr. James Bonner, my good friend, being chief, by his favour I gott my self shifted of that burden, as in all this Assembly I did what I could to hold my self quiet, and weel near mute. Mr. David Calderwood fell on again impertinentlie, and verie peevifhlie, as if it had been almost a null, an evill conftitute meeting, for being translated without a Moderator permanent, and chooping of him for Moderator who had no commifion. Mr. Henderfone dealt verie patientlie, and repectfullie with him: at laft his Grace commanded him to silence.

The Moderator did caufe read some letters, which was given him in England for the Assembly. The first was from a number of our gracious brethren of the miniftrie at London and about it, congratulating our happy proceeding, shewing their hopes to get our discipline eftablished there, telling that some of their brethren, who were for Independencie of congregations, were great hinderance to that designe; alfo that they did give out that some of the moft eminent men in the minifterie with us, inclined their way. The men they meant be (Mr. Henderfone told us) were Mr. David Dickfone, and Mr. Andrew Cant; but none in all the Assembly were more against Independancie than these two. The matters, after some dayes, were voyced; all in one voice rejected that conclusion, (6) as contrare directlie to our Covenant; and appointed Mr. Henderfone to wryte a courteous anfwer to our Inglis brothren; which he did verie accuratelie: if I can, yow fhall have the copie thereof. The nixt was from one Mr. Durie, for affiftance to his Negotiation of peace among Protestants. Whil some were beginning to lay somewhat to the man's prejudice, I excused all, fo

(6) As to Independancy. In the MS., it is "Rejected that confusion." The Letter there referred to "from some Ministers in England," dated 12th of July, and the Assembly's Answer, 9th of August, are printed in the Acts of the General Assembly 1641.
that his motion was receaved; and it was laid on Mr. Andrew Ramfay, Mr. Blair, Mr. Gilleipie, and me, to frame ane answер. We left the labour to Mr. Blair, who did it weell enough, in a fair gentile generall, appointing him, when he pleased, to keep correspondence with the minifters of Edinburgh. A third was from Dr. Sibbald of Aberdeen, supplicating for his books, which at the prior Affembly were taken from him. It was granted he should have all except some of his sermons, wherein a part of his proceffe was grounded. A fourth was from Mr. John Guthrie, Bifhop of Murray, supplicating that his place, for a little tyme more, might be keeped for him. It was rejected as unreasonalbe, and his Prefbytrie ordained to plant his place; yea, order was given, that none who had delayed so long to come in the Covenant should be receaved, without a singular meaure of satisfaclion and tryall, to be approven by the Generall Affembly. The Moderator did fall on a notable motion, of drawing up a Confession of Faith, a Catechisme, a Directorie for all the parts of the publick worship, and a Platforme of Government, wherein possiblie England and we might agree. All did approve the motion; and thereafter the burden of that labour was laid on the back of the mover, with libertie to vake from preaching whenever he pleased, and to take help of whom he thought meet. He did declyne to undertake it, yet it will lie on him; and readilie in this he may doe some good.

Thursday 29th. The Moderators of the Committees had no matter prepared for the Affembly; so we put off that feffion with generall discourses, especiallie upon the matter of tranflation, which had moﬆ troubled us in bygone Synods, and was lyke to doe so in this alfo. Ane Committee was appointed to find out overtures for that difficult matter. Leift I should be prejudged, I got on it my Lord Eglintoun and Mr. Robert Barclay. Glafgow alfo, by their importunitie, gott on Dr. Strang and Mr. David Dickfone. The Prefbyterie of Glafgow, it were long to tell yow the way how they shifted both Mr. David Dickfone and Mr. Robert Ramfay from being commissioners. This was verie evill taken by the whole countrey, and turned over to Glafgow’s prejudice: yet Mr. David was used no other wayes by the Affembly, nor if he had been a prime commissioner. This Committee did nothing for a day or two, and that, it was publickly compleaned, because Dr. Strang and Mr. David, for their own interef, did marr the rest; so they, and with them my Lord Eglintoun and Mr. Robert Barclay, were
removed from that Committee. Thereafter they blocked a number of tolerable overtures; the conclusion whereof was remitted to the next Generall Assembleie. The Moderator advyfed the Towne of Edinburgh, and other prime Burrowes, to intertain abroad some good spirits, who might be their owne, if they proved apt for their service. Alfo he fhew the expediencie of calling home one Mr. Thomas Young(7) from England, the author of Dies Dominica, and of the Synoctyminias [Svectyminus] for the moft part; and of Mr. Colvin from Sedan, to whose commendation he fpake much: If he hath done any thing in print, let us have it, and wryte what you know of his abilities. There was a Committee appointed to confider the flate of our farre remote Churches of the Isles, of Lochquaber, of Orknay, and Shetland. Some present courfe was taken for Lochquaber, and it was laid on Mr. Robert Blair and Mr. Andrew Aflateit [Affleck], to goe in the spring and visit Arran and some near Isles. There was a Committee appointed to confider the advancement of the weell of Colledges and Schools. All their confultations we hope in tyme will produce good effects.

Fryday 30th, came in a number of particular bills: yea, some dayes thereafter, there came more than two hundred, for augmentation of stipends, for dividing or changeing of churches; all which, without reading, were referred to the Parliament: regraits for the increafe of enormous finnes in the land, the removing of monuments of superflition, from diverfe parts of the countrie, yet remaining, was recommended to the Prefbytries. Mr. John Guthrie, Bifhop of Murray, sent out of the tolbooth, to the Assembleie, a supplication to conferre with the Moderator, and some others. All the subiect of his discourse with them, as alfo of diverfe conferences he had before with the Minifters of Edinburgh, was onlie a stiff wrangling about the formalitie of the proceffe of his excommunica. He fent in another supplication thereafter for the fame end, but was neglected; for he and others of thofe men, feems to be obdured in perverseness: yet it is lyke, that if the King

(7) This learned Divine probably never received such a call to settle in his native country. He was afterwards a Member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and for some years Master of Jesus College, Cambridge. He died at Stow-market in 1655. But what in our day may be regarded as his chiefest distinction, he was private preceptor to Milton; and of his pupil's affection for his early tutor, his Fourth Elegy "Ad Thomam Junium preceptorem suum," &c. and two Latin Epistles, are public testimonies.—(Todd's Edition of Milton, vol. i. p. 5; vol. vi. p. 197. Lond. 1826)
and we had fettled fure in Parliament, there is few of them, if any, bot will fpplicat to be permitted to doe all that fhall be pre-
fervyed.

Saturday 31ft, onlie particular bufinefs was handled, not worth
the wryting. Aberdeen, in their commiffion from the Generall
Affembie, had mct and decenter Mr. George Gillespie, then at
London, for their towne-minifter, and Mr. Edward Wright for
their divinitie-professor, in Marifhall Colledge. Mr. George’s caufe
came then to be handled. His Grace (§) did plead, that thofe
fifty years he and his people had been vexed with a moft weak
minifter; that he had gotten Mr. George admitted the firft in
Scotland without the Bifhops conftent. Mr. George fpake weell
for himfelf; that he nor his people were never advertifed till the
decreft was paft, and diverfe other things. The difpute was long
and hoff; it was remitted to the nitk feflion. Argyle fpake of
the regrate manie minifters made [refpeeting the] under payment
of their fippenfs, defired the Affembie to find overtures for re-
mead, and promifed the Parliament would confider what fhould
be proponed.

On Sunday afternoone, before the commiffioners, I heard Mr.
Blair teach very gravelie for peace, and abflinence from all fuch
meetings, as in former tymes had been very profitable, bot now
were unexpedient, unlawfull, and chiftmaticall. This fome did
miftake, bot the moft tooke it very weell from him. Truelie, I
bear that man record, that in all his English voyages, in manie
paflages of the Affembie, private and publiffick, he did contribute
as much to the pacifying of our differences as any, and much more
than manie. That day ane very unhappie accident fell in the hand
of a minifter, Mr. Thomas Lamb, who had been deposed by the
blind Bifhop of Galloway, for diverfe quarrells. The minifterie of
Edinburgh had obtained to him a church in the Prefbytric of Pee-
bles. The man had always been of a verie contentious humour.
They fay he had fitriken a man, whereof he died. However his
Prefbytric, for his perversenes and contentions, had fufpended him.
He had appealled to the Generall Affembie. The committee, on
Saturday, had agreed them, and remitted him to the Prefbytric.
On Sunday, after both fermons in Leith, he told Mr. James
Power that he was difpleased with that accord, and would com-

(§) The Commissioner to the Assembly, John Earl of Wemyss. Mr. George
Gillespie continued as Minister of the parish of Wemyss until his removal to
Edinburgh in 1642.
plean to the Affemblie, both of the committee and his Prefbytrie. Immediatlie goeing to eafe himself among the stufce, a young man to whom the stufce belonged, fell upon him with evill language, taking up his cloake and gloves: after some mutuall jarring, when he had gotten his cloak and gloves again, he fell in some quarrel-ling with the young man, and with his whinger stroke him, where- of prefentlie he died. He wrote a pitfull supplication to the Affemblie, to obtain some delay of his execution, till his wife and friends might come to him. This was granted. He obtained easilie a letter of Sleans from the partie; bot we think the Contable will caufe execute him; and so much the more, becaufe he a minister, on the Sabbath-day, had committed that villanie in the tyme of the Affemblie and Parliament.

Mononday, the 2d of Auguft, the Parliament fatt not, so wee had two seffions. The forenoon was taken up with the bufines of Aberdeen. Mr. Andrew Cant laid out Aberdeen's necessitie pathetickle; Mr. David Lindflay and Proveh Lefflie, shew their proceeding in Mr. Gillefpie's election to have been punctuallie according to the words of the commision. Notwithstanding the Moderator, defyrieng Mr. George's stay still in Fyfe for the use of St. Andrewes, did so state the question, for all the Northlandmen could say to the contrare, and notwithstanding alfo of Argyle's evident seconcing them, his abode at Weems was carried by pluralitie of voyces. Yea, when they preldec Mr. Edward Wright's transportion, albeit all that favoured Mr. David Dickfone did voyce for them, yet they loft that caufe alfo; in regard [it was] manifel, that before the meeting of that committee Mr. Edward was admitted to the church of Glafsow, and before his citation to come to that committee, or his knowledge of Aberdeen's intention, he was agreed with Glaafsow, and had obtained his diffimission from the Prefbytrie of Stirling. Mr. Robert Ramfay had fet the town of Glafsow on that man, whereof now I suspeect he repents: the man is learned and blameles; but it is not lyke Mr. David's way, nor among the moft prudent. Factions among that people and Prefbytrie is lyke to grow: I wiie they come not to a shamefull hearing, and that quicklie, on the occasion of Mr. Hew Blair's election to that town's ministrie. Sir John Scot's petition, to have a description of our Shyredomes, by some in everie Prefbytrie, to be fett before the mappes (7) yow have in hand, is granted.

(7) Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, was a chief promoter of the important scheme for illustrating the Topography of Scotland, by the publication of a series of
In the afternoon Mr. Andrew Keer, minifler at [Carriden,] being transported by the Provinciall Synod of Louthian to the burrough of Lithgow, had appealed to the Generall Affembly. His appeall was voyced null. This preparative made Glafgow too eager to call my caufe; but they found the cafe manic ways unlyke. At Aberdean there had been much adoe for planting of Innerneffe. The Laird of Streichan, patron, had presented Mr. James Anan. More than the two part of the parifh speaking Irifh, obtained Mr. Murdoch Maeainze, a bold weell-spoken man, to be conjoyned to ane equall flipend and burden. This equalitie Mr. Murdoch urged and refufed to preach to the Irifh congregation bot day about, fo everie other Sunday they fang dumb. After fome dayes travell, it was thus agreed, that a third man fhould be gotten to thofe who had never more nor one before, to preach in Irifh upon fyve hundereth merks, the Towne to pay three, the two minifters each one. We being agreed privatlie, the Moderator thought it tymc to move the quefitione about Meetings, and refuged the minifter rumors thereat. It was remitted to a committee in the Moderator’s chamber. After two afternoons conference, Mr. Henderfone fell on the modell yow have in print, (D.) On Wednefday he read it once, twyee, thrice. Many required delay to voyce till to-morrow, and a copie of the wryte. All delay was flatlie refufed; bot anie man was permitted to fay what he would, if it were to ten at night. Mr. David Calderwood was impertinent ftil in his opposition. Mr. Harie Guthrie, and thefe who were in this poyn, were feared fhould be more opposite than he had been. All called, to the Committee, and read at length. Some who craved delay were shortly taken up. Fear of a-ryfeing and fomenting needleffe scruples, if that paper had run a-foowing through the city, before it had been concluded, made the Moderator peremptorilie refufe that which now is every day praclifed in our Parliament, and I think were more neceffare to be praclifed in our Affembly, except in fome few extraordinary cafes. The paper that day was voyced, and unanimoufle affented unto; yet fundrie voyced it too generall and infufficient.

Tuesday, the 3d of Auguft, was taken up by a very factious

County Maps, from original surveys, accompanied with Descriptions. The Maps, at this time, were engraving in Holland; and the work, which was completed in 1651, formed the fifth volume of Blaeu’s “Theatrum Orbis Terrarum,” or the sixth of the “Atlas Major, sive Cosmographia Blaviana,” when republished at Amsterdam, in 1662.
question of your good friend Sir John Scot. He had promised to Mr. Mungo Law, second minister at Dyfart, in the prebytery of Kirkaldie, a presentation to the Kirk of Kilrinnie, in the prebytry of St. Andrewes. The Prebytry of St. Andrewes not very curious to crave his transportation, Sir John, in the Provinciall of Fyfe, urges his transportation. In the voyceing, not only the whole Prebytry of Kirkaldie getts voyces, but fome borrowes two ruling elders getts voyce. Upon this, and fome other informalities, Sir John did appelle to the Generall Affemblie. By strong solicitation, by a world of mirrie tales in the face of the Affemblie, he getts a sentence for his appellation, to the great indignation of the Synod of Fyfe, and the Moderator's malcontentment. Sir John held him with that advantage, and durft not pursue his maine poynct, anent the minister's transportation, which made manie take him bot for a wrangler, who did seek more the Synod's disfigure than another contentment. Overtures for planting of universitites, burrows, schools, were read; alfo a letter of the King's to the Affemblie, in favour of Panmure, requyrcing the Minifter of Monikey to be tranforted [to] fome other church of his Majefties presentation: the defyre, with the man's own content, was granted.

Wednesday, the 4th: Mr. William Bennet was ordained, according to the Act of Aberdeen, to tranfort to Edinburgh. Mr. John Colines, after long oppofition of the prebytry and parochine, was ordained to be receeived to the church of Campfie. His prefenration to the tack of Chancellor of the Chapter, wherein alfo he was obliedged to ratifie the patron's tack, was ordained to be rectified. Mr. Andrew Logie, depofed at Aberdeen according to the Provinciall [Synod's] appointment, was reflored to his owne kirk: Sir Alexander Abercrumbie of Birkenboug fashed the Affemblie much, that he [Logie] might be obliedged to receave a new preffenation, that a new edictum might be ferved, and fo, that the Affemblie's act of reponing him to his own church fould be evacuat; bot his motion being found to be from particular refpects, it was mifregarded.

Thursday, the 5th: Aberdeen did supplicat for Mr. Andrew [Honeyman's] tranfortation to their Colledge. Arthure Arfkine, had, of his own liberalitie, given him five hundred pound during ane old man's life, the man was but twenty-four years, and extreme unwilling to flitt. Arthur Arfkine, a weel defferving gentleman in our caufe, when he began to plead, was fo choaked with tears, that he became filent, and removed. This accident
made the Aßemblie fo compaflionat towards him, that, by pluraliti of voyces, he obtained his poynit. Thofe three rebuts in end weell near efferat Aberdeenne; by way of indignation they crave leave to have back their depofed Doëctors; yet they gave in the fourth bill for Mr. John Ofall [Oswald] of Penketland. His mißfortoun was to be laft, elle he had better reaons of flay than any of the former three; yet to pleafe Aberdeen, all he could fay was mißregarded; and he, full fore againft his heart, was or- dained to flitt.

Here came in my long-delayed action. After much altercation betwixt the paflionat parties, and fome calme dispute betwixt the Principall and me, by the favour of the Moderator, I got the invidiaus queftion efchewed anent my appeal, and the błatte made, Tranfport, or Abide; when, after I had read the Reafons (D.) I here fend vow, there was not twentie voices of the whole for my tranfportation. I did forefee that this favour may readilie tranf- port me, ere it be long, to places where my life will be much more mißerable than it is like it would have been in Glafgow; but yet I thought it was incumbent to me, in confcience, to ufe all lawfull means to keep me with my people. I took it to have been a finne to have neglected this dutie for the preveening of croffes never fo apparent. The Laird of Leckie gave in to the Committee of Bills a complaint of Mr. Harie Guthrie's flandering of him at Aberdeen. Of this Mr. Harie complained in the face of the Aßemblie. This was like to blow up that fyre again which we thought had been extinguißhed; yet even here alfo God was favourable to us. That matter was referred to us the Moderator's Aßeffors. We laboured fo into it fome nights, that at laft we got the parties agreed, both in a wryte, read to the Aßemblie, under their hands, declaring their good opinions each of other; for Leckie did truelie witnefs, that he knew no blame to Mr. Harie, neither in doctrine nor lyffe; and Mr. Harie teftified, that he never had a thought that Leckie, or any of his familie, was guiltie of thefe flanders he complained of. Of this pacification we were all moft glad.

Being defirous to have the Aßemblie at an end, it was appointed to keep her feffions twice in the day, and to dispenfe with the ab- frence of fo manie of our Parliamentarie members as could not be preffent in the afternoon with us. The reft of that day, and much alfo of posteriour feffions, was mißpent with the altercation of that bardith man Mr. David Dagleith, and the young Conftable of Dun- die. He had obtained from his father to Mr. David a presentation
to the perfonage of Dundie. The cuftome was, that of all the tithes, the Conjable payed bot to the church five hundred pound, the Towne gave to the parfon’s fupplie five hundred merk. The Toune not having much will of Mr. David’s miniftrie, refufes to pay the old five hundred merk. Mr. David refufes to tranfport from Cowper till the Conjable secure him in a fuficient fipend. The Affembly of Aberdeen ordains Mr. David to tranfport with diligence, and referrs the quefion of fipend to the decifion of the Committee of Eftates. The Conjable fupplie the Affembly to move Mr. David either to accept the charge, or give back the pre- fentation. This Mr. David peremptorilie refufed, intending by his preffentation to erect a fipend to that place, and then readilie to leave it, if all doe not imbrace him. Mr. David’s strang (1) replies to the Moderator would have been taken in worse part, if the Con- fable’s naughtinefs, in proclaiming, of the whole perfonage four or fyve chalders of virtue all was too much for him to pay to the church’s ufe, had not offended us all. My Lord Fleeming’s peti- tion, to have a new Prefbytrie erected in Biggart, of thirteen near adjacent churches of Lanerk and Peebles, was referred to the vifitation of the bounds. It was regrated by the Moderator, that Mr. David Calderwood, who deferved fo weell of our Church, was fo long neglected: He was recmdended to the first commodious vacant roome. Lykelie he fhall not be in haffe provided (2): the man is fixtie-fix years; his utterance is unpleaftant; his carriage about the meetings in this Affembly, and before, lies made him lefs reprefentable to diverfe of his former benefactors. The cafe alfo [of] Mr. James Fairley, late Bifhop of Argyle, was much regrait- ed; that he having given fo long agoe all fatisfaction, that yet no place could be gotten to him(3) to deliver him from that extreamitie of povertie wherewith long he had been vexed.

Fryday the 6th: A world of Bills came in to be referred to the Parliament. Among the refi, one of Anna Inglith, complaining, that her husband, young Aiket Cunninghame, having receaved above fortie thousand merks in portion with her, had deferted her, after frequent tormenting her with ftrokes and hunger, he debofhi-

(1) Not “Mr. David Strang replies” as in the printed copy, but “Mr. David’s [David Dalgleish’s] strang or bitter replies,” &c.

(2) The tranffportation of John Oswald to Aberdeen (see the previous page) made room at Pencaitland for the venerable Historian of our Church in his de- crining years.

(3) Fairley soon after this was appointed Minister of Lasswade.
ING all with harlots in Paflay. We sent two with this bill to the
Parliament to get present order. The justice of God was in this
matter. The damfet's father had left her to be married to Mr.
H. Montgromrie of Hafilhead, his wife's near counfine. After, his
wife falls in a conceit with Allan Lockhart, and gives herfelf to
him; and, by his perfuafion, makes her daughter, when fearce
twelve years, without proclamation, to be married to his counfine
Aiket. For her reward, her husband Allan leaves her to pay ten
thoufand merks of his debt, which made her a poor vexed widow,
and her fuccefs, as yow heard. Wee were fahed with a bill of
young Savill, a fyne gentleman, who required, that ane Littetour, (1)
whom the patron Lindores had thruft on his church, fhould be
transported. The gentleman, for the weell deferving of his house,
was much pitied; yet, feeing the young man was admitted, and
the moft of the parofhe did accept him, it could not be helped, till
the young man found commoditie to transport, which was not like
to be sudden. The Prefbyterie of Wigtoun compleaned of their
moleflation by one Magic, a notar, a criminof fellow, too much
fupported by that good man the Earl of Galloway. This bill being
referred to the Parliament, they enjoyned the Earl of Galloway to
goe home without delay, and fetch in that knave to suffer juftice.
There was no remed; his Lordfhip behoved to goe away to that
unpleafant fervice. One Thomas Frazer in the Tolbooth, being
condemned to die for murther, did fupplicat us to be relaxed, before
his death, from the fentence of excommunication: fome was sent
to visit him. His true repentance being reported, Mr. Andrew
Cant was ordained, on the Sabbath, after his fermon in the great
church, to relax him. On Mononday he died penitent. Dr. Scro-
gie of Aberdeen fupplicat to be admitted to our Covenant. The
tryall of his repentance was remitted to the Provinciall Synod.
In the afternoon, manie overtures by Mr. George Young, clerk of
the References, were read. Clappertoun's fupplication, to enter
in our Covenant, was referred to the Provinciall [Synod] of the
Merfe.

Saturday the 7th: When Mr. David Dickfone, in the queftion
of my transportation, had declared his intention to have als much
help from me, in profefling in the Colledge, as he gave by his
minifterie to the towne, the Moderator, and others then there, not
generallie lykeing of mixing these two offices, everie one whereof
required a whole man, Mr. David, left anie rub or marr from this

(1) So in the MS.—Query, John Littlejohn, Minister of Collessie.
should come to him in his miniftrie, which verie profitablie he did discharge, gave in a bill to have the matter cleared. It was gladlie condefcended, that it should be leaflume for him to exercife fo much of the miniftrie there as he fand himself able without detriment to his profeflion; the Principall not being fore-acquaint with that bill, except[ed] somewhat for the preparative, wherewith Mr. David was not weell pleafed. It was moved, that the declarations which the Earle of Traquair had alleadged he had made in the Assemble, but verie falifie, and had obtained to be regifterate in the books of Counceil, fhould be torne out and cancelled. This was referred to the Parliament; who, after the confideration of the truth of our alleadgeance, fuefcientlie verified by manie witneffes, did caufe rent out of the Counceil-books, according as we required, thefe full [falfe?] declarations. Two motions came in here, which was like to procure us great faflrie; yet, both by God's help, were brought to a peacable conclufion.

The Parliament fent in to us the Earle of Louthian, one from the Barrons, [and] one from the Burrowes, requiring our judgement of the Band; the tenor whereof was read. The reafon why they required our declaration in that matter, was, because they faid the Earle of Montrofe had profefled, the other night in his examination before the Committee, that however that band was burnt, yet all the subscryvers were yet by oath obledged to the matter of it; alfo they read a paper in our audience, written by Montrofe's hand, after the burning of the Band, full of vaine... (2) humanities, magnifieing to the skyes his own courses, and defbaneing to the hells his opposites. Here great wifdome was requifite. It was remitted firft to the afternoon, and then till Monoday. Sundrie of the banded Lords compeared: we feared their firring. Montrofe's advocate required to be heard. A supplication to us, wryten by his hand, was read, defyingreing our good opinion of him, offering to anfwer all we could lay to his charge, to our full satisfaction. He faid, that Band was destroyed by the Committees of Parliament; that the paper was but a private memorandum for himfelf, never to have gone without his charter-kift, had not my Lord Sinclair been pleafed to make it publick; that which was alleadged of his words in the Committee was not

(2) A blank space of half a line occurs in the MS. between the two words "vaine" and "humanities," and a similar blank, (fourteen lines below) between "obligation" and "onlie," but probably nothing material is wanting in either place.
anie part of his written deposition; that he had onlie spoken of a common guiltines of all the subfcriyvers with him; that he had spoken of their obligation...onlie in relation to his accuation. Balmerinoch, moderator of that Committee, spake verie pathetick-lye for the truth of Montrofe's words. The Affemblie paffed by what concerned Montrofe, or any particular person; and, in an-swer to the Parliament's quefion, a Committee appointed for that end, drew up that wyfe answer, penned by the Moderator, as you have it, (E.) making that Band to be unlawfull, and not obligatorie of anie; making thofe that will not subfcryve this cenfureable, and paffing in thofe who subfcryves, what is bygane and weell buried by the Committee of Parliament. The banders that were prefent, Kinghorne, Seaforth, Lour, did prefentlie subfcryve. Mr. Blair and Mr. Rolloch was sent up to Montrofe to acquaint him with what was paffed. He spake to them with a great deall of reffpect to the Affemblie, seemed to infinuate his willingnefs to subfcryve what the Moderator and Clerk would require. Some made the motion, which the Moderator did much applaud, that as fome from the Parliament had been verie happie instruments to take fome differences away, which were lyke to aryfe in the Affemblie; fo it were meet to offer to the Parliament the labours of anie they thought meet in the Affemblie, to help to remove what difference was betwixt the members of Parliament. This motion was from zeall to peace, bot not upon confideration of pre- fent circumstances; that the difference was not betwixt anie parti- cular men, bot alleadge crymes of high treafon againft the State, which could not be [by] counfells, being cited, and they standing to their defence. Yet Dr. Strang and Mr. Andrew Cant, who were to carrie our answer to the Parliament's quefion anent the Band, were burdened with the forefaid overtures; the imperti- nencie whereof the Parliament milket, and paft without anie anwer. All this paft on Mononday before noone.

The other motion, which on Saturday before noone perplexed us, was the Moderator's petition of libertie to tranfport from Edin- burgh. At the beginning we took it bot for jeft; bot it proved earneft. He affured us, his voyce was for no church of the Towne; that continuallie he was [unhealthie] there, and not fo anie where elfe; that to keep him there were to kill him; that in the act of his tranfportation from Leuchars, there was ane expreff claufe of libertie for him to tranfport when the publick commotions were fettled, if he found that townie difagree with his health. The
Towne of Edinburgh was extrem averfe; befyde the loffe of
that incomparable man, thought it a dangerous preparative to
have anie of their minifters tranported by Assemblies. They
offered to buy him a house, with good air and yards; to preach
onlie when he would; to goe freeli, if his health were not toller-
able. They were fo much the more averfe, becaufe St. Andrewes
fue at that tyme in a bill for his tranportation to be Principal of
their Colledge. He preffed his libertie, flewing his great carend
out of England was [to obtain this relief] from the Assembly.(6)
Some imputed his earnestness to some malcontentment from some
of the wyves speeches, the laft year, of him [when consulting] for
their weell, againft their humour in innovating; but he affirmed
health was the onlie ground of his petition, and if it should not faill,
notwithstanding of his libertie, he fhould not remove; and if
he did remove, he would not go to St. Andrewes, but [to] some
quiet little landward charge.

After noone there was a long debate for the Prefbytrie of Sky.
Glaflow Assembly had annexed it to the Provinciall [Synod] of
Argyle. Upon the petition of one, Edinburgh had annexed it to
the Provinciall [Synod] of Rofs. They had kepted neither. Ar-
gyle pleaded for the renewing of the Act of Glaflow; Seaforth
for the falling of the Act of Edinburgh. After long debaiting of
reaons, it was referred to the Commisioners of the Assembly to the
Parliament to determine.

Monoday the 9th, before noone, befydes the things alreadie
faid, the Prefbytrie of Newcaffe wrote a letter of complaint, that
there was a great neglect in manie Prefbytries to supplie the armie
with minifters: It was provyded for. The afternoone was our laft
Seffion. The anwers to the King’s letter, to the English letters,
to Duric’s letter, were read. The drawing up the Directory, of
[the] Catechifme, of the Confession, [and] of the Form of Govern-
ment, that was laid on Mr. Alexander [Henderfon]. His libertie
was voyced, and granted,(7) to the no small mifcontent of Edinburgh.
Hence thanks were given to God for his fenfible and moft
fpecciall afliftance; 23d Pfalm fung. Next Assembly voyced [to
be held] at St. Andrewes the 27th of July [1642.] Commisioners

(6) This sentence in the MS. reads, “showing his great carend (errand) out
of England was troublesome this reason from the Assemble,” which has no in-
telligible meaning.

(7) Henderson, it is well known, never availed himself of this liberty to leave
Edinburgh.
[appointed,] to the number of thirtie or fourtie, with some elders sixteen. Thoſe of a province might ſerve by turnes; so, after the firſt meeting, I left to goe home.

Yow have here an ac‐count of the Asſemblie, fo farr as my weak memorie, without anye notes to count of, can furniſh. What I ſhall hear of the Parliament, of Montroſe's proceediſe, of the King's proceediſes, who came here, to our great joy, on Saturday the 14th, you ſhall ſhorthly receave. What information I got from London, you have here incloſed; the eſvil illegible wryte [of] Sir Thomas Difhintoun contains a journall of that Parliament forſome weeks.

Your Counſine to serve you and your wife, and all others,

[Robert Baillie.]

Killwinning, August 20th, 1641.

[Some Account of the Proceedings of the Parliament of Scotland, in July and August 1641.]

The proceedings of our Parliament, if you defyre to know particularlie, crave them at other hands; for the preſent, take thoſe from me. A humme of the Clerk's minutes, and other papers and conſerences, gave me information.

On the 15th of July, the day agreed upon in our tratie at London for the fitting of our Parliament, the Nobilitie in a reaſſonable number, the Commiſſioners of fhyres and burrows fo ful as ordinariſe, met in the New Parliament Houf‌e, weel prepared and hung, without ryding or robes. The firſt action, after prayer to God, was the election of my Lord Burghlie to be Prefes. The Committee of Parliament had ſent long agoe for ſome of the Commiſſioners at Court. Dumfermling and Loudoun, at their parting, had receaved letters and inſtructions from his Majeſtie. The letter was ane earneſt defyre of ſome farther prorogation: you have the copie of it at (G.) The inſtructions had ſome demands, that the Parliament would be content of the article in the Treatie concerning the election of the Officers of State, as he had expreffed it; that they would accept of Traquair's ſubmittion, the double where‐of you have at (H.) together with Traquair's earneſt defyre to be tryed of thoſe things Walter Stewart had deponed againſt him: His Majeſtie demanded alſo to paſſe from all that were cited to the
Parliament, unless some crymes should be proven against them; in speciall, that the keepers of the Castles of Edinburgh [and] Dunbarton might be restored to their dignitie and late eftates; that no more new Acts should be proposed which might derogate to his Royall power, honour, or benefite; lykewayes they delyvered all the articles of the Tretie, that they might be taken to consideration. Here was matter enough for manie dayes debate; yet that fame day, and some following, it was resolved, that the Parliament could be no longer prorogate; onlie, for the King's satisfaction, it was promised, till the 17th of August, they should paffe no definitive sentence on anie matter of weight, unless necessitie constrained them, onlie they would agitate and prepare matters. Traquair's submiffion they did reject: to the demand, they thought meet to suspend a particular anfwer till it were given to his Majeftie in perfon, or to his Commiffioner; as for the Tretie, they gave doubles of it to everie Eftate for their tryall with diligence. These things they signified to his Majeftie in a letter, subfcrived by some of everie Eftate, appointed for that end. When these things were voyced and concluded, my Lord Loudoun shew, that the defyre of prorogation had come from the English Parliament; that his Majeftie had given him warrand to shew his contentment for their fitting for preparing of matters, if their affaires did permitt no delay.

The 16th of July, a committee was appointed for ordering of the Houfe: Kinghorn, for the Conftable, his pupill, Marr; for the Marrihall, his nephew, not yet come; Louthian and Almond for the noblemen; Power (8) and Dun for the barrons; Glafgow and Dundee for the burghs. Their orders were very punctuall and accurat: none to be abfent or late without a fyne, none to be prefent but the members of the Houfe. Durie and Craighall intreated, that the Lords of the Seffion, as thofe who were Judges to the lawes, might be prefent at their making, according to the old ufe and wont: it was flatly denied. Mr. Archibald Johnfoune required, that some of the Minifters, commiffioners of the Generall AsSEMBLIE, might have place for hearing: that motion was rejected by Argyle with forme, as making way for churchmens voyces in Parliament. But the greatest difficultie, the young Noblemen they were very malecontent to be removed from thofe places

(8) According to Sir James Balfour, the Members of this Committee, for the Barons were (Forbes) Laird of Craigevear, and (Erskine) Laird of Dun, and for the Burghs, the Commissioners of Aberdeen and Dundee.
where their birth called them at once to be judges after their fathers death; but there the Barrons were peremptor to have roome for the aftsellers: if any of the noblemen's sons got place, in this they were so ftrait, that one day they refused to voyce while [until] Angus, Montgomery, and Maitland, were removed out of the Houfe. The young noblemen were so much the more moved, as they forefaw the Barrons intentions, by this preparative, to queftion their places of dignitie, which both of late they had gotten; for before King James went to England, noblemens eldest fones were bot Maiters, and their younger brethren pretended not to take places of Barrons. This unexpected motion was lyke much to increase our divilions; which, without that occasion, were enough before. Yet, on all hazards, the Members of Parliament ftood to their mark, refolving to have all prejudiciall novations reformed. The young noblemen, left they should have seemed to be for any other new or old faction, fett still in their malcontentment, till the King, the fountaine of their honour, fhould come and decyde the queftion.

That day Erikine, Fleeming, and the Mafter of Naper, prefent-ed supplications, in name of Montrofe, Naper, and Keir, that they might have full audience in Parliament. This motion fpent much tyme in diverfe feffions. Firft, the supplications were refuted till fubferyved by the parties fuppllicant. After the fubfcription, it was granted they fhould all be heard, at what tyme the Parliament thought it convenient; but in the mean tyme they fand it rea- fonable to hear the information of the Committee, anent the caufes of their imprifonment, and all their proceedings with them. There-after they called Montrofe. When he came, he demanded what they had to hay to him? It was replyed, that upon his oft and earneft fuppliucating for a hearing, they had fent for him to give him a full audience. All he did hay was two or three fair gene- ralls, that they would find him innocent of all that was furmifed againft him. Having ended, they fent him back again to the Caflell, and heard a verie odious lybell againft him; whereupon they voyced him to be cited to answar within fifteen daves. Naper and Keir fpake, bot the fame purpofe, in generalls, of their innocencie, and confidence to answar fatisfactorilie to all challenges. They de- fended to no particular: [whether] because they thought not expedient as yet, or because they were commanded to defend to no particular of their caufe, wherein they were to be heard in tyme and place to the full, I doe not know; bot concerning their proceffe,
and their plott, so farr as I am informed, yow shall hear hereafter; for yet all is not discovered.

In the afternoone the Incendiaries that were all called. Sir Lewis Stewart compeared, defired to know what he was charged for, and offered to anfwer. He was remitted to the Parliament’s bett conveniencie. Loudoun fpake for him, telling the King had defyred him to affure the Parliament, that Sir Lewis had ever given him counfell of peace. Loudoun fo honeflly and effeclually did discharge himfelf of the King’s commandment towards the Parliament, diverfe began to miunderfand him, as if he had turned ane agent for the King: yea, this moft false fuptpicion did so farr increafe with fome, and my Lord Dumfermling’s earneftnefs to be back to Court for his private affaires was fo great, that Loudoun had weell neer been flummed of a commiffion to returne; which exceedinglily had prejudged us in our common affaires; for the Engliffh did deal with none of our Commiffioners with that truft they dealt with Loudoun: also his moft ingenuous freedome ever with the King, kepted him from that meafure of favor which a little complacencie might earlily obtained. Yea, fo farr was that moft happie and gracious instruiment grieved with the ungrate miſconfructions of fome, that he petifioned the Parliament to be difcharg’d of his commiffion, to be exonered of his negotiafions bygone, if they found him faithfull. This made Argyle and friends, yea all, awake. They anfwered, that of his faithfullnefs none did doubt; that to exHonoreh him of his commiffion, they could not till the Treatie were clofed; that he behoved to returne with the Treatie when it was revifed, as after fome dayes he did, and he onlie. As for Dumfermling, Argyle obtained to him fome ten dayes, after that he alfo fhould be fent up with fome instructions for difbanding of the armie. It was appointed that fome of everie Eftate should goe to St. Andrewes, and intreat the Afsembliie might transport to Edinburgh.

Saturday 17th: My Lord Weems prefentef a commiffion from his Majeflty, to attend, in his place, the Generall Afdembliie. He defyred a warrand from the Great Seall: it was granted. The rcf of the day was fpent on the Treatie, and ordering the Houfe.

Monoday the 19th: Orders for the Houfe were voyced and concluded. A letter to the Commiffioners with Loudoun, to deal with the Engliffh Parliament, for fending home the Incendiaries, and to complain of the compts of their fhayres, which were lyke to exhaust much of their brotherlie affiftance.
Tuesday 20th: The Articles of the Treatie were read. After- 
onoone, the letter to his Majestie, and the Commissioner with Lou- 
doun, read and subferyved. Two of ilk flate ordained to receive 
the bills offered to the Parliament. Argyle and the Advocat 
petition that a warrant may be given to the Justice-Court, since 
all courts in tyme of Parliament, without a warrant, did vaike, to 
fitt on Mr. John Stewart. It was granted; and affiffors alo 
appointed to fitt with the Justice-Deputs in that caufe; Elphing- 
flone, Edernie, Dumbartan, and Balcolmie, (*) for the Lords of 
Seffion.

Wednesday 21st: Before and afternoone was spent on the articles 
of the Treatie; on my Lord Balmerinoch his demand in name of 
the Committee, to have their proceedings with these in the Castle 
aproven or difproven.

Friday 23d: A proclamation voyced for difpenceing Sheriff and 
Burrowe Courts to fitt till the lafl of August. Afternoone, it was 
voyced that the artickles produced by the Committee, were suffi- 
cient grounds of citing the Earl of Montrofe, Lord Naper, Lairds 
of Keir, Blackhall, and Captaine Walter Stewart. The advocats 
which the Committees had appointed for the publick, Mr. Roger 
Mowat, Alexander Peifone, James Baird, Thomas Nicolfone, to- 
gether with Sir Thomas Nicolfone, and the King's Advocate, were 
ordained to draw up the summonds, and every poynyt of the lybell 
to perfue.

Saturday 24th: Mr. John Stewart condemned to die, by ane old 
aet of Parliament, he fupplicat the Parliament for mitigation of his 
cenfure. It is true that none ever died for no tranfgressions of 
that aet, and Balmerinoch being condemned for ane alleadged tran- 
gression, was thought to have gotten great wrong, and the prepar- 
ative may prove very dangerous. Whereupon some of the Juflices 
were verie scrupulous to pronounce fentence. Yet Mr. John was 
ffryving with [at] the life of Argyle, Hamilton, and Rothes; and by 
confequence at the overthrow of our Treatie of the peace, and wel- 
fare of the whole Isle. It was therefore thought necefary to make 
an example; so much the more, as his friends, for whole pleafure 
his lies were invented, were giving out, that all was bot collufion 
betwixt him and Argyle, who undoubtedlie would purchafe him a 
free remiffion. Thofe tales made Mr. John be remitted to the

(*) These Assessors were Lord Elphingstone, William Rigg of Atherny, John 
Semple commissioner for Dumbarton, and Sir James Learmonth of Balcombe, 
one of the Lords of Session.
Judges, who would nor could not dispence with his execution. Blair, Cunninghamhead, [and] Caldwell, my neighbours, gave in supplications to have their wards and marriages past to themselves gratis, seeing their fathers had died of sickneses contracted in the publick service: their defyres were granted. Articles of the Tretie were put in mind, and by voyces concluded, and Instructions formed for the Commissioner carrier thereof. Diverse bills dailie of particular persons were read and answered.

Tuesday 27th: The Prefes and Clerk ordained to subferyve a warrant for two of everie flate to subferyve the Tretie. Ordained, in the tyme of the Assembly, the Parliament should have but one tellion a day. In the afternoon, Montrofe, Keir, and Naper were heard, as was said. Blackhall was voice to have a chamber in the Castle. The reason of his long libertie was thought to be Argyle’s favour, to whom, they say, he made confession of sundrie of the plotters mysteries. Committees for the Incendiaries, and other purpofes, appointed.

Wednesday the 28th: Committees appointed for thefe in the Castle, for the Incendiaries, for the Bills, for answering our Commissioners letters, anent disbunding of the armie, and delay of payment of eighty thoufand pound. Montrofe petitioned to have Mr. John Gilmore, Mr. John Nibitt, and Mr. Lues Stewart, appointed to plead for him. It was granted, that all advocates should be appointed to consult who were required, except thefe who were required to perseue; as for pleading, it was taken to farther adyfement.

Thursday 29th: It was denied to Montrofe to meet for consultation with Naper, Blackhall, and Keir; also it was appointed that they should anfver to what interrogatories the Committee pleaded to propone to them; though after their citation it was ordained, that all the members of Committees who were absent, or came after the hours, should be fyned in the fame penalties which were ordained for abfence or latenes in the Parliament. Every Committee had power to doe all things they thought neciflare for their buffinefs, provyding they determined nothing, but onlie prepared matters to be reported in face of Parliament.

Friday 30th: Instructions to our Commissioners at London, and the armie, and payment of eight[?y] thoufand pound, also for a commilion to them to examine witneffes at London upon the Incendiaries, were twyce read and voyced, and my Lord Dumfermling voyced to be their carrier. Stevin Boys warranted to take
up fill the Castle rews [ rents] for paying to Colonell Lindfay his two hundred merks a moneth, and to his fojours their payes. Colonell Lindfay was directed to admitt my Lord Montrofe's friends who pleased to come to him; yet in fuch a number at once as he might command; also, that it was not needfull for him to be prefent with the advocates conflutations. The Lieutenant-General was ordained to make proclamation, that all officers and fjours not members of Parliament, fhould repaire to the armie with diligence.

Saturday 31fl, Sunday 1fl of August, Mononday the 2d, no fitting.

Tuesday the 3d: A supplication was given in by the Earl of Arroll Constable, that the Toune of Edinburgh fhould be caufed to delyver to him Mr. Thomas Lamb, for his flaughter committed in tyne of Parliament. After fome dayes debate, the Town of Edinburgh, protefling that no damage hereby fhould befall their privileges, was made to delyver the faid crimnall; efpeciallie fince they acknowledged the flaughter to have been committed without the bounds of their jurifdiction. Fyntrrie gave in a supplication in Montrofe's name, to have the double of the depofitions of Mr. Robert Murray, Mr. John Robertfoun, Naper, Keir, Blackhall, Walter Stewart, and Mr. John [Stewart,] and [Col.] Cochrane, and of his owne. It was voyced, that Montrofe fhould firft anfwer to his interrogatorie, before he Gott thofe depofitions. Monroe supplicat that monies at laft might be provided for his regiment. Justice-deputys petition for the Parliament's advyce, in giving out their fentence againft Edward Skular, who was convict by ane affife, albeit the probations were bot presumptions. The petition, after voyces, was remitted to the Justices, and they ordained to proceed according to law.

Wednesday 4th: The Eftates ordained, that the half of every Eftate, in a committee, fhould make a quorum; also that the Committee of Bills fhould have power to subferyve fummons for citation of parties and witnefs. It was proponed by the Committee for the Incendiaries, and agreed to by the Eftates, that the Incendiaries, if they did not, at their firft coming, prefent themselves to the Parliament, fhould be imprifoned by any Judge-ordinare; that who did conceall them, fhould be punifhed as contemners of the orders of Parliament; also that any member of Parliament fhould be ufed as a witnefs, without prejudice of his voyce as a judge. Caillfs, Durie, and Irvine, were ordained to interrogate Riccar-
Thursday 5th: Sundrie supplications, anent passing of signators, answered. Upon the Presbytrie of Wigton's supplication, the Earle of Galloway ordained to bring in within fifteen days, one Magie, a troublesome knave. Balmerinoch complained, that Keir had refused to answer some interrogatories of the Committee: The Eftates ordained him to answer to all.

Tuesday the 10th: Loudoun's letter the sixth of this instant from London, and the rest of the Commissioners, except Rothes who then was dangerous sick, was read, bearing the King's resolution to take journey the tenth, and to be in Edinburgh on Friday the thirteenth; also the sending away of all the arriers in carts, and forty-one thousand pound to be paid, presentlie, the rest of the eighty thousand pound to be given for the armies debts in the North-countreys; the finifhing also the Treate, except what concerned the trade, which behoved to be referred to a Committee. Argyle, Maribhall, and Almond, were ordained to meet the King, with the best horfe of Merfe and the three Louthians, on Gladnure, neir Haddington, on Friday. For to make all the members of Parliament fo fast to the Church and State as was possible, and to be without danger of temptation and Court corruption, one oath, after long adyfement, was agreed upon, in manie things the same with the English protestation, to be taken, now and ever hereafter, by all the members of Parliament, before they get leave to fitt and voyce; the first draught of this oath yow have at (K.), thereafter it was mended in some words, and ordained to be printed. A warrand given to Zetter, Kerfe, Aberdeen, with Mr. Archibald Johnstone, Mr. William Hay, Mr. James Durham, to fee the rolls and Exchequer-compts since the year 1630, to make their reports before the Committee for Incendiaries. Lykelie from them ane great eik will be putt to Traquair's proceffie, which before was long and odious aneuch. Possiblie I may fend yow the abreviat of it, if it were once closed.

Wednesday the 11th: The Commissioners of the Generall Affemblie craved, that the declarations of the Earl of Traquair [which he] had caufed regifter in the Counfell-books, being contrarie to his true declarations in the face of the Generall Affemblie, might be torn out of thes registers. After tryall this was granted; and, in face of Parliament, they were torn out, their double yow have at (KK.) Colonell Lindefay being fick, he gott warrand to put in his
place, for charge of the castle, any for whom he would be answerable. He named Steven Boyd, his predecessor, whom the Committee, for his too great respect to his prisoners, had shifted of that charge. President Spotwood offering himself to the Parliament's tryall, yet a free ward in the partie (?) castle.

Thursday the 12th: It was agreed that a Prefes every Parliament should be chosen, and continued till the election of a new one; likewayes that no particular business should be handled till the generall were ended. Sundrie supplications read and answered.

Friday 13th: Two of every estate, to wit, Argyle, Almond, Innes, (?) Kers, St. Andrewes, Aberdeen, together with the President and Clerk, were appointed to give the King information of all that had past in this Session of Parliament. A proclamation ordained, that no Nobleman cited to the Parliament, should claime to fitt or voyce before he be tried; and that no Nobleman who has been out of the countrey, though not cited, be permitted to fitt or voyce before they swear the covenant, also the band to maintain the acts of Parliament, and the oath, in face of Parliament. Noblemen, Officers of State, ordained to take place according to their creation, except the Chancellor. It is declared, that the act of constitution of the Parliament excludes all Officers of Estates.

Saturday 14th: Advocats for the State calls the Earle of Montrose: he offered himself to answer, and defrayed no continuation. The Estates thought meet to delay till the 24th day. To the committee for redreffing of infulencies of the North, many supplications referred. Langtoun's bill to have Wigton discharged the office of Utheric, referred to a committee.

His Majestie, on Friday, dyed with the Generall in his house at Newcastle, did give a good countenance to all he saw. On Saturday came to Edinburgh; but with a small traine: yet the Palatine, Duke of Lennox, Hamilton, Lord Willoughbie, was with him. On Sunday, Mr. Alexander Henderfoun, on the 11th of the Rom. ult., had a good sermon to him in the forenoon in the Abbay church. Afternoon he came not; whereof being advertised by Mr. Alexander, he promised not to do soe againe. Mr. Alexander in the morning, and evening before supper, does daylie say prayer, read a chapter, sing a psalm, and say prayer

(1) In the MS. "James, Kers," &c.—The persons nominated for the Barons were the Laird of Innes and Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse.
againe. The King hears all duellie, and we hear none of his complaints for want of a Liturgie, or any Ceremonies. On Mononday the King came not abroad.

Tuesday 17th: After Mr. A. Ramfay's long sermon on Rom. 5. "Being justified," &c. the King came in coach to the Parliament Houfe. He spake very gracioufli : The Prefes, and then Argyle, anfuered him with cordiall harrangues of welcomes. His Majeftie offered prefentlie, without delay, to put his fcepter to the thirty-nine Acts of Parliament enjoyed in the Treatie. He was intreated, according to the order of the Houfe, to fufpend till the morrow: at which tyme he prefled againe that he might ratifie the Acts. He was intreated to delay till the returne of the Commissioners who were prefent at the Treatie: at laft he was intreated fo to doe. The queftion of the Ufherie depending, Langtoun too rashlie takes a rod, and putts himfelf in poffeffion of the place: The King herewith offended, commands to committ him for his presumption. It was agreed on, at Argyle's motion, that when any matter of debate did occurr, two of everie flate fhould be appointed to acquaint his Majeftie. This was done in the afternoon: for they told the King, it was hardlie taken that Langtoun, a member of the Houfe, fhould be committed without advyce of Parliament; and did require, it fhould be enacted and recorded, that neither he, nor any of his fucceffors, fhould committ any Member of Parliament, without the Parliament's advyce.

Wednesday 18th: The Covenant, oath, and band, was read in prefence of his Majeftie, and approven. The Marquesis Hamilton, Mortoun, Roxburgh, Lanerick, and others, did subfcryve and fwear as before the King and Parliament. Burghlie the prefes required to dimit his place, as was conditioned to him, in confideration of his weaknes. His Majeftie spake to his commendation: He obtained ane act of exoneration and approbation of all his carriage in that charge. His Majeftie did nominat, to be elected in Parliament, for prefes, Balmerinoch: to him went all the voices.

Thursday [19th]: The Duke of Lennox, Earles Annadale and Dumfreis, did fwear the covenant, band, and oath, and fo took their places. The Commissioners at London their letter, for disbarding of the armie the 20th of this inftant, was read. After some motion of the King, that they fhould march on a bridge of boats, over Tweed, it was concluded, with his Majeftie's confent, they fhould come alongt Berwick bridge. No Parliament man was permitted to goe to the army but the Lieutenant-General. It was appoynt-
ed that everie Eistate shoulde meet dailie from seven a'cloak to nyne; that the seccion shoulde be from nyne to twelve; that the committee shoulde sitt from three to fix; with power to call any member of Parliament before them, or other, and to remove them alfo; lykewayyes, that any member of Parliament shoulde be permitted to sitt in their owne place, in any committee. The Procuration for the Church was ordained to present for the Church what he thought sitt. Sir John Hay offers himself, but supplicats he might be permitted, for his health, to keep his own house for some dayes. Dr. Arnot and Maclure are appointed to visit him, and to report, on their oath.

Fryday 20th: His Majestie presented a manifesto, emitted by him in favours of the Palatine, there recommended by the Parliament of England to the Parliament of Scotland. It was read, and taken to consideration. The petition of the Noblemens eldest fonnes, to sitt and hear in Parliament, [with] the overtures from the Generall Assembly for univerfities, churches, and schooles, were lykewayyes taken to advyfement, alfo overtures anent the Commiffariots.

Saturday 21ft: Montrofe's petition to have [his] caufe discussed, was referred to his committee. After manie deliberations, since he refudef to fubferyve the fubfcription, which the King did fee, and not difallow, the cognition of his caufe was caft by till the Parliament had dispatched their more weightie affaires. Some of every Eistate was appointed to meet in the Duke of Lennox's chamber, for the Palatine's affair. They drew up a heartie conflent to the King's defyre, which the Parliament did inact, their readiness to affift his Majestie in a parliamentarie way, to regaine the Palatinate when ever he requryed. The controverfie betuixt the Marihall and Constable, alfo betuixt the Marihall and Macers, were referred to Committees.

Tuesday the 24th: My Lord Loudoun asked instrument of his production, in face of Parliament, of ane exemplification of ane Act of the English Parliament, wherein they ratifie the Treatie; alfo ane exemplification of ane other Act, for securing the payment(2) of the two hundred and twenty-one thousand pound Sterling, the remainder of the brotherlie afliftance; both which Acts were under the Great Seall of England. Alfo that he produced the copie of the Treatie, which at his last going to England was deliver'd to him by the Parliament of Scotland. The Eistates are appointed to

(2) In the MS. "for securing by public of" &c.
meet, by themselves at two o'clock, and all together at three. In the afternoon they agreed upon, and subferyved the instructions to the Generall for paying of the Armie.

Wednesday, the 25th of August [1641.]

[To Mr. William Spang.]

Cousine,

As in my laft I promised, have now what comes to my mind of the courfe of our publick affaires since the 25th of August, where my Diurnall of our Parliament did end. The tyme now is so long, and my memorie so weak, that the courfe of weeks, let be dayes, I cannot follow; but of the matters of greatest moment have a part, as I can remember.

Before I came from London, his Majestie's voyage for Scotland was resolved; upon what grounds, it is bot onlie conjectured. My Lord Rothes was become a great courtiour. The Queen began to speak honourable and affectionatlie of our nation, and, in found earneft, to think of her convoying the King to Scotland. It was thought the heartie agreeance, and fullie satifftieing of our needlelie irritat land, would be a soveraigne help of the continual harsh encounters of the English Parliament. Befydes, as it appeared afterward, about that tyme Walter Stewart's informations had come to the King, giving probable assurances for convinceing of Hamilton and Argyle of capitall crymes, if the countenance of a present King might favour the accusers. Our Commisioners of the beft nott, and the leaders of the English Parliament, by all meanes laboured to make the King's voyage difficult. Few did believe it poftible; notwithstanding he was peremptor, and did goe. The first thing his Majestie affayed in Parliament was, to touch without all delay with his scepter the thirty-nine acts of the former Session. To the moft the motion was very plausible. It was given out to be ane act of forward zeal to perform what was promised in the Treatie;

(3) This letter has no date in the MS.; but it must have been written either at the close of 1641, or the beginning of the year following.

(4) It is singular that Baillie should thus make mention of the Earl of Rothes, and take no notice of his death, which happened at Richmond upon Thames, on the 23d of August 1641.
onlie some two or three expyed the danger of this action; who incontinent drew up firft a short nott, then a larger paper, demonstrating the great prejudice that the treatie of peace, and the libertie of the land, would receive, by such ane unreasonable and undefyed ratification. You have the firft at (A.), the next at (B.) Thefe informed fo weell the Parliament, that the King’s offer was firft shifted for a tyme, and then clean laid by as prejudicial; and after much debate, the forme of publishing both thefe Acts, and of the whole Treatie, which yow did fee in print, was agreed upon. For ane fate proceeding in all things, before the King’s coming, there was fundrie cautions enacted, whereof I writ to yow before, excellent orders for the Houfe, which yet are not come to my hands, whereby the Officers of Eifate for the moft part, all the Lords of Seffion, all not members of Parliament, were excluded. Earles eldest fones took this in verie evill part; seeing the Barrons, by that beginning intended to sioyle them of that honour, which latelie, by the King’s favour, had been bestowed on them, and to reduce them to the old flate of mere Matters: yet they resolved patience; for the leading young nobles were Angus, Montgomerie, Maitland, who, for fear of increasing division, were content to swallow down their grudge. It was much feared that the Burrowes shoulde fall foule with the Barrons, who did claim everie one a full voyce; while as, in King James’s dayes, the two Commisioners of a flyre had been in possession of one onlie suffrage: (5) yet this difference was quietlie carried, for love of peace, in so dangerous ane tyme. Sundry papers also were scattered, for holding the members of Parliament right, and ordering of affaires before the King’s coming; one whereof you have at (C.) Bot the tough difpute betuixt the King and Parliament was about the election of the Officers of State, of the Counfell, and of the Seffion. Upon this poynt much difpute had been in the treatie at London. We alleadged it was our law, and old cuftome, to have all thefe elected by the aduyce of Parliament; that the election of thefe by the King alone had been the fountain of our evills, and was lyke to be a constant root of corruption, both in Kirk and State, if not seen to. His Majestie took the nomination of thefe to be a speciall part of his prerogative, a great finew of his government, the long possession of Kings in Scotland, the unquestionable right of the Kings in England. Much difpute in private and publikk wes for this great matter. The equitie of our States demand yow may fee at

(5) In the MS. "one onlie suffering yet" &c.
(D.) yea, these good hands whilk were alwayes readie to caft in write reafons for all that we craved, caufed difperfè lykewayes other two papers; one, for the precedencie of noblemen according to their creation to flatemenv (E.); another, for exclusion of all flatemenv from voyce in Parliament, except the Chancellour (F.). When thefe things with great difficultie were obtained, there fell in for the nomination of the perfones to the places vaiking, queftions unextri-
cable. For the Counfell and Seffion there was not much difpute; neither for the continuance of Roxburgh in the Privie Seall, or the Advocat, Thefaurer-depute, or Justice-clerk: bot all the queftion was for the Chancellour, the Thefaurer, and Regifter. The King made no queftion to fatiffie that defyre, which was univerfall, about my Lord Loudoun's advancement; it was resolved he should be Thefaurer. Bot when his Majeltie found it more eaſtie to find abilities for the Thefaurie, than the Chancerie, he changed, and declared Loudoun Chancellour, againft both his own mind and his friends. The objected difficultie of the smallnes of that office fees, was presentlie helped by the addition of one penfion of one thou-
sand pound flerling. For the other two offices arose unhappie de-
bates. For their quiet fettling, it was propounded, and long pref-
ed, that the verie nomination fhould be by the aduyce of the States; the reafons you may read at (G.) When little here could be got-
ten obtained, it was urged, that the States, in their aduyce, for efchewing perfonnall offences, might voyce by sheduls, as you may fie at (H.); bot this was counted a noveltie, and rejected. Fac-
tions began here evidently to appear. The moft and beft part of the Eftates were content to have Argyle Thefaurer; bot others efteeming that are infupportable greatnes, did make the King peremptor in refufeinge that motion. Upon this rock there was a long flicking. The King did nominate one day, in face of Parlia-
ment, [the Earl of Mortoun], whill Argyle topes this nomination, as of man unmeet, because of irreponsionablenes to the law for his debts, there fell a verie foule flyting betwixt the two; the end was that Mortoun was paft by. So much the leſſe lykeing had the States to him, in regard of some contumelious words caft by him fome dayes before upon their prefident, Balmerinoch, who took them in verie evil part, and refufter to proceed till Mortoun was forced to give him publick fatification. The nixt on whom his Majeltie pitched was Almond. This motion was alfo rejected. Argyle had been before allways to that man a moft speciall friend; bot he faid, he behooved to preferr the publick good to private
friendship, and so did avow'dlie oppos'dlie that motion; as indeed it
was thought Almond, in that place, might have been also good a
head and leader to his old friends, the banders and malecontents,
as any other of our nation.

Upon thefe jarres whole moneths were mifpent. It was gene-
rallie thought, that from thefe divifions the laft plotts which brake
out did either arise originallie, or were refumed, when for a while
they had fleeped, and were laid afdye, when before his Majeftie's
coming, all what was alleaged, about Montrofe's intentiones to
accufe Hamiltoun and Argyle in face of Parliament, was made
grofflie odious; and by the beheading of Mr. John Stewart, the
confedt calumniator, the progreffe of thefe defignes were chocked.
Behold, at this tyme, thefe fame, or the like counfells, are taken
up againe. My Lord Kerr, in God's mercie, makes vent to them
in his drunkennets before their maturitie. That very influent youth,
without all provocation, one day, after too much drink, will bot car-
tell the Marqueis of Hamiltoun as a juglar with the King, and a
traitor both to him and to his countrie. This meffage he fends to
the Marqueis with his no less furious and drunken fecond, the
Earle of Crauford. The Marqueis receaved the challenge in the
chamber of prefence; bot finding Crauford in drink, he anwers
modeftlie, that gif to-morrow he would returne, he would give him
ane anfwer. This filled the whole Parliament with high indignation,
that a member of theirs, of the Marqueis's qualitie, should be fo
abufed, at his Majeftie's elbow, by drunken fooles. While in face
of Parliament, a complaint is made of it to the King, the Marqueis,
on his knee, did supplicat the King for Kerr; to whose father he
profefled his manifold obligations: He excufed Crauford, as if he
could doe no leffe than delvery his commerad's meffage; bot with-
all the wise man did make ufe of the injurie, and humblie required
his Majeftie's and the Parliament's declaracon of their judgements
in the matter itfelf. By this meanes he obtains, by way of act of
Parliament, both from the King and State unanimouslie, a declara-
cion of his most loyall and faithfull service to that day; and my
Lord Kerr is commanded to crave him pardon in thefe words,(J.)
prefcryved, and registraf in the records of Parliament for Kerr his
perpetuall infamie.

Sundrie wyfe men even then did begin to finell some worfe thing;
bottt at once there brake out ane noyse of one of the most wicked
and horrible plotts that hes been heard of, that putt us all for some
dayes in a mightie fear. It was noifed everie where, that upon
Captain Walter Stewart's relation, that Hamiltoun, Argyle, and Lanerick, onlie for companie, should have been called for out of their bed, that same night it was revealed, by Almont, as it were to the King's bed-chamber; when they should have come, they were to have been arrested as traitors, and to have been delyvered to the Earle of Crawford, waiting on with armed fojours at the foot of the back flairs (6) in the garden, by them to be caft in a close coatch, and carried to the shore; for there was a boat attending for their convoy to one of the King's shippes, which for some weekes had been in the Road, for no other purpose that was known, that should have been the prifon out of the which they were to be brought before the Parliament to anfwer challenges of the highest treafon; bot if in their arrefting, they should have made any re-fistance, Crawford and his fojours were readie to have flabbed them. Cochrane was faid to have given auffurance for bringing his regiment from MufTelburgh to command the caufe of Edinburgh; and that night, with the affiftance of manie friends in the tounne, to have made faft, or killed, if need had been, fo manie of the Parliament men as were fulspeeted might have been headie for the prifoners re-lief. Wayes were made to delyver the caftell to Montrose and his fellow-prifoners. The Kerrs, Humes, Johnftouns, and the moft of the borderers, were faid to be in readines, and under warning, to march towards Edinburgh; the fojours of Berwick alfo, who yet were not difbanded. These horrible defignes breaking out, all the citie was in a fought. Hamiltoun, Argyle, [and] Lanerick, took a short good night with the King, and fled to Kinneill. The citi-zens kept a strong guard that night. Manie of the weel-affected noblemen caufed watch their houfes. To-morrow the King came up in a coatch to the Parliament, and near fyve hundred of fojours, and the worft affected men about him, with their armes in a minacing way: they brake in to the midft, near hand of the Parliament's outer hall. The States were mightifie offended, and would not be pacified till Leflzie had gotten a commiffion, verie absolute, to guard the Parliament, with all the bands of the citie, and regiments yet on foot, and fome troupes of horfe, which, according to his printed warrand, he did quicklie and diligentlie. Crawford, Cochrane, and others, were made faft. Great adoe there was for their tryall. The King complained much of the vyle flander which Hamiltoun's

(6) So in the 4to. MS. and no doubt correctly. In the later MSS., "at the foot of the Blackfriars," &c. But the passage evidently alludes to the garden behind the Palace of Holyrood.
needles flight and fear had brought upon him. He proset to deteft all fuch bafe treacheries as were spoked of; urged a prefent tryall, in face of Parliament, for the more clearing of his innocencie. Yet this way was rejected as verie unmeet, for the reafons at (K.); and a committee appointed for a more accurate tryall in private than could have been publick. Manie evill favoured things were found; yet in the papers that went abroad we found nothing that touched the King, neither much which did refléct on the Duke, Almond, or William Murray. A part of the confeffion of the accused yow have at (L.) The Parliament in England fell in great feares at the fame tyme of some mischievous plotts for the lyves of their prymie men: bot fo foone as our flories had come to their cares, they fett the trained bands about the doores to be their guard, and fent down inftructions (M.) to their Commiſioners to make known their deep resenting of our affaires. My Lord W. Howard, and some four of the Lower Houfe, had been attending all this while in Edinburgh, for keeping good correpondence betwixt the Nations and Parliaments; the King had refufed to fett his fcall to their commifion; wherefore the English Parliament took offence at the Duke of Lennox and William Murray, who were thought at that tyme to guide all the Court much at their pleafure.

In the meantyme, Hamiltoun, Argyle, and his nephew Gordoun, lay quietlie at Hamiltoun without any convocation of friends. The King vented much malcontentment againft Hamiltoun; and if the late Declaration had not fecured him, was near to have intended a citation of him to anfwer for poynts of treafon: yet for his clearing, this paper was fent amongt the hands of the States (N.); and after fome two or three weeks abfence, upon the King and Parliament's letters, which you have at (O.) they all returned, and at once feemed to have als great confidence in the King as ever. Sure their late danger was the meane to increase their favour with the Parliament; fo whatever ruleing they had before it was then multiplied. The Marqueis did not much meddle; bot the leading men of the Barrons and Burrowes did daylie con- fult with Argyle. He had been verie forward for accommodating the bufinefs both of the Incendiaries and plotters with Montrofe, and thefe who were cited to the Parliament. He had, the day he fled, brought all things verie near to that poynt the King defyred. At his return, he began where he left. The great knott was, that the oath which he had invented, obliedged the Parliament, in
direct terms, to ane accurate tryall of all Incendiaries and plotters. To elude this oath, the accommodators used manie distinctions. About it Mr. Henderfoun and Mr. Blair had been in contrare terms: In our meeting, who were commissioners for the Church, Mr. Henderfoun spake for the passing of the tryall; I contradicted him at some length. Mr. Archibald Johnston was verie infirme, and dangeroulie sick for the tyme; yet I moved him to draw up that paper, as he did manie moe, which yow have at (P.); for all that we were troubled with the questIon. Sundrie of the Parliament would have the invie of refuseing the King's demand to fall on the Church; bot by ane overture cast in by our good friend Mr. George Young, we got the thorne put in the right foot; for they had flated, by good Southesk's advyce, a verie captious questIon to us, Whether, in confience, the tryall of the Incendiaries or plotters might by the Parliament be dispence with? If so they did conceive the passyng of that tryall was the meane of the country's peace, &c. We required, before we could give ane answyer, our interrogators declaration, Whether they in confience, thought, that the passyng of that tryall was a pure meane of peace, without which it could not be had? Upon this, without farder troubling of us, the States resolved, as yow have in the printed act, for taking the tryall, for their oathes fake, bot remitting the sentence to the King. A little before the King was like to be verie peremptor; for he menaced to raise or leave the Parliament in confusion, if they would not yield to his demand of a publick tryall of that plott was alleaged against Hamiltoun and the rest. Bot herein he had ane hard enough rancounter; for a verie strang declaration was drawn up, which yow have at (Q.) and had paft the Committees of Burrowes and Barrons, which fo moved his Majestie and his cabbin-councill, that, without farder delay, they yielded to the tryall of a private committee, whereat the King should not be present, and all the members should be sworn secrecie till the tryall were ended.

All this while the common affairs were interrupted, as yow may mark in the dates of the Acts of Parliament. We had obtained some trifling Acts for the Church; bot that which we moft intended verie hardlie could be obtained, our Commision for setteling the churches and schooles. We had here few or no reall friends. The Advocate, (?) with his idle curiositie, put us to infinitie difficulties. When we had gotten him somewhat satisfied, then

(?) Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, Lord Advocate.
fundrie of all the Estates carped for their own interest at everie other claue of it. All that we could obtaine was that forme you fee in print, and such men on it as we have bot small confidence in, as since it hes proven; for when we expected, that Church-bufflinefs should have been taken in the firft place, upon pretence of the publick affaires, all that concerned us was rejected to June's flow feccion; yea, the churches of the West will not come in thefe two yeares yet to come. This I took for a great oversight in some from whom I expected, in wifdome towards their own standing, more favour towards the Church. We were at that tyme preching some of us verie zealoufie againft both the old and new Plotters; for which we gott thanks. One fermone I had in the Parliament Houfe which was weell lyked. Good Mr. Henderfoun all this while was verie filent, and under mifconftuction with the chief of his old friends, as if he had been too fparying with his Majeftie in thefe dangerous occasions, and that in his fermones some fentences did fall from him prejudicial to the States proceedings. But furelic that man is moft gracious; he was a good instrument, after much dificultie, to obtaine to the Univerfity of Edinburgh both the Bifhoprick and Priorie. Glafgow was pitifullie crofled by the Duke [of Lennox], who mult needs have the Temporalitie of that Bifhoprick; the Spiritualitie fell to the Towne-miniftrie, which is bot a small thing. Bot, to content Glafgow, the Bifhoprick of Gallo- way was given to the Colledge, deduceing a flipend to its Cathedrall, and what will fall to the augmentation of Minifters. Aber- deen Univerfity got the Bifhoprick. Edinburgh had gotten the gift of their own, and of Orkney; bot they fand that both were all fpoyled by prior gifts; fo they took themselves to be near diap- poynted. Richard Maxwell, to ingadge his hammermen to the King, got to their Meddlen Chappell, (*) the moft of Dunkell. The Deanrie of the Chappell, (?) fome four thoufand merks a-year, fell to Mr. Henderfoun. Argyyle, Ifles, I fufpect to Argyyle. Rosß, Murray, and Caithnife, are divided to Northland gentlemen and minifters, who are bot of verie small deferving. The Bifhopricks were fo quicklie, and fo much againft our mindes dilapidat, that we were near to have made a protetfla in Parliament in the

(*) Magdalene Chapel in Edinburgh. See the "Ratification in favouris of the beidmen of the H-spitall callit the Magdalene Chappell, (quhairof the Hammermen of Edinburgh ar Patrones.)" November 17th, 1641. (Acta Parl. vol. IV. p. 6.)

(?) The Chapel Royal at Holyrood.
Church's name. The fear of this protestation made our Universities to come the better speed.

The question about the Offices of State did here againe waken. Moff adoe was for the Register. Hamiltoun was bent to have it for Orbifloun; but Durie, by William Murray, gott the King and the Duke to be passionatlie for him. The bodie of the weel affected Estates thought that place the just reward of Mr. Johnftoun's great and verie happie labours. Manie papers ran against Durie, amongst the rest this at (R.) ; notwithstanding, by Argyle his meanes Moff, whereof manie wondered, Durie (1) gott the prize; and Mr. Archibald was made content with knighthood, and a place in the Session, and two hundred pounds of pension. For the Thesaurie, since it could not be gotten to Argyle, it was agreed to keep it vacant till the King might be gotten drawn; and, in the mean time, after the English fashion, to serve it by a commiision of fuye, two of Hamiltoun's friends, Glencairne and Lindefay, the Chancellor, and Argyle himself, with the Thesaurer-Deput.

Att this tyme it was when the Irish Rebellion brake out. (2) At the first hearing, our Estates offered to the King and the English Parliament, to send over in haste ten thousand well-armed men; the way of raising you have at (S.) If present use had been made of that offer, manie a life of our friends had been saved; but manie impediments have hindered that to this day. There are not over of our men above five thousand, who yet does among the rebels what they will. This Rebellion made both the King and us to haste all affaires; fo in some eight days as great and precipit haste was used, as in three moneths before there had been needfuls protraction. A committee was appointed; the minute whereof, the 4th and 5th of November, see at (S. 2.) which in two or three nights did agree all things privatlie with the King, most according to Argyle's minde; whereupon the number of malcontents in all estates grew against him; bot without anie just cause: fo our Parliament ended, after so long sitting, somewhat abruptlie. The King behoooved to be gone; and yet he made no such speed as was expected; for at York he stayed some dayes, and wes long.

(1) Sir Alexander Gibson, younger of Durie, was appointed Lord Clerk-Register, 13th November 1641.

(2) The news of the breaking out of the Irish Rebellion was communicated to the Scottish Parliament by the King in person at the morning session on the 28th of October.
ere he came to the Parliament, which prefentlie hes the mouths of all, that the Irish Rebellion, and new plotts in England against the Parliament, were invented by the Queen, and not againft the King's mind: bot in manie declarations his Majestie hes since put all fuch fuppitions out of everie equitable minde: however, too manie to this day will not take fatisfa{fion.

There was appointed a Committee of our Estates to attend the Parliament of England, not fo much for the perfecting of our Trefie, as to keep corre{pondence in fo needfull a tyme. None of the former commissioners were employed, bot Sir Arelibald Johnftoune, and Sir John Smyth; for the moft of all the rest were fallen in the countrey's diflyke, complying too much with the King. Certainlie Dumfermling, Waughtoun, Sherriif of Teviotdale, Rickartoune, Clerk of Dundie, did tyme all credite with the Estates. Our new Commissioners obtained warrant of Parliament to choose for their service what ministers they thought meet. They agreed on Mr. Harie Rollock, and Mr. Borthuick. It was thought the King was evil furnifhed of preachers; for his stay was long: Mr. Hendersfon, on whom it lay to provide for two everie Sabbath, and one upon the Tuesday, could not get men accordine to his mind. The Commissioners of the Assemblie behooved to make fome of their number to pray daylie in the Parliament, at the entrie and in the end of the action. These who were moft hable, did deelyne both preaching and prayer, and thefe who wer leaff hable, were fooneft intreated. In the end of the Parliament, the Advocate's idleneffe put the King on ane humour of prote{ting of faving his right. This dang{erous noveltie, of cafting all loofe, his Majestie at laft was moved to give over, moft by Mortoun's perufe{ion. The author, for this, and other his nedle's offices, obtained to his fone Sir Thomas, not onlie a place in the Session, but alfo, to the indignation of the nobilitie, a patent to the Generall Juf{ciarie, at leaft for one year. Poor Mr. Elping{toun, who had it before, was caft by without anie challenge, as a man contenmed by all. The King made all the haffe he could, and frove to give contentment to all. Manie moe penions given than ever will be payed. Sundrie Earles and Lords, bot a world of Knights, were created. Among manie referrs from our Generall Assemblie to the Parliament, there was one verie good, for ordering of the levies of our

(5) Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse, the second son of the Lord Advocate, Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, was appointed one of the Lords of Session, and Justice-General, in November 1641.
countrey men who went abroad to serve Popish Princes, as yow may see at (T.) It had been a pitie bot the Parliament had taken some notice of it.

Alfo the Parliament was in a fair way, before the breaking out of our wicked plotts, to have put over fea, to Germanie, ten thou-
sand brave and well armed fouldiers for the Palatine. And for the advancement of that service, this letter (W.) was drawn up by Robin Meldrum, (who is yet a man altogether, bot verie unjustlie and imprudentlie, negle&ted by our State,) and sent away be the King to the Queen of Swedden: bot mischeant instruments, as thefe twentie years bygane, fo to this day, mileads fo the Court, that nothing can be gotten done for that poor Prince. Never fuch order in anie Parliament among us. The whole States mett daylie in the forenoon, and fometyme in the afternoon alfo. Oft the fe-
veral States had their afternoone, and ever the committees, which were manie, for facilitating of all buffineires of importance. No Act paft till it were firft read to the whole States, and doubles of it given to everie State for advyfement, at leaft for one day, except in the laft two or three dayes, where manie acts could not, it seeemes, for hafte have that leasurelie confideration.

A Memorandum from Mr. Robert Baillie for the Towne and Colledge of Glasgow. (1)

First Defyre.—That the Towne may have a new warrand, under the King's hand, for election of their Magifrates.

Reafons.—1. This power is common to all Regall Burghs, such as their old Chartours makes them. 2. The King, in their late signatour, hes exprelled particularlie that favour. 3. Their service deferves it, as weell as any burgh in Scotland, as my Lord Marqueis [of Hamilton] can weell inftruct. 4. If it should be denied, it would caft that City on the dependance of some Noble family or Statefman, which might be an occafion, as of old it was, of great trouble to that countrey fyde.

Second Defyre.—That the King would be pleafed to give affure-

(1) This paper occurs in the MS. immediately preceding Baillie's letter to his Wife, from Gravesend, on the 2d of June 1641;—it must evidently be some months later, probably in October, as it doubtless refers to the anticipated distribution of the Bishops Lands, which took place in November that year; see supra, page 395.
ance to maintain, out of the Bishoprick, a Minister in the High Church.

Reasons.—1. The Bishops did ever, by themselves or chaplaines, take upon them to supply that place: their fall ought not to prejudice the Church of one preacher at least, in their room. 2. The Towne would be overburdened to provide that place, being overcharged with the stipends of so many more, both ministers, readers, schoolmasters, Hospitals, and such publick works as exhaust their rents.

Third Defence.—That the fair and famous High Church of Glasgow may not be permitted to decay: it is neither equitie nor possibility for the Towne to keep it up. Fyve or fix chalders of bear, if it be presentlie bestowed by the King, will uphold it; but if long delayed, all the Bishoprick will not repaire the ruins of that building, which is Scotland's only Paul's.

Fourth Defence.—It is all the reason in the world that the Bishops Hospitall should have a part of the Bishoprick, if it were but some few chalders of victual. For the present, the full rent of it, in my opinion, is within fifteen pounds Sterline.

Fifth Defence.—Whatever his Majestie will be pleased to bestow on a Preacher, on the fabricke of the High Church, on the Bishops Hospitall, it would be put in a signatour for the Towne, to be defrayed out of the Bishops milnes lying within and near the Towne.

Memorandum for the Universitie.

The King being willing to help all the Universities out of the Bishopricks, your Lordship(*) have [has] reason to see Glasgow provided with the first.

It is founded by the House of Hammiltoun, yow are one of its plants, the most of your friends have [had] their breeding there. It is verie poor for the maintaineance of ane Principal, a Professor of Divinitie, a Professor of Phyfick, five Regents, fourteen or fifteen Burfars, a collector, a steward, a beddall, a porter, some cookes; I think about twenty-eight founded persons: They have not for table and stipend four hundred pounds of rent. It were a pitie but at the least four hundred pounds out of the Bishoprick, and one

(*) James Marquis of Hamilton.
hundred pounds out of the Subdeanrie, might be gotten, for augmentation of stipends alreadie founded, for the maintenance of three new Professors, (one for the Contraversies of Divinitie, one for Mathematicks, one for the Orientall Tongues,) for at least fix Burfars of Divinitie, for some yearlie rent to the Bibliothek, also for maintaining and enlargeing the fabrick of the House: Whatever is gotten, God and the King and your Lordship shall have the thanks.
APPENDIX

to

VOLUME FIRST

of

BAILLIE'S LETTERS AND JOURNALS.
APPENDIX No. I.

LIST OF PAPERS INSERTED IN VOLUME FIRST OF THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF BAILLIE'S LETTERS AND JOURNALS.

M.DC.XXXVII.—M.DC.XLI.

[The following is an accurate List of the several Papers which are interspersed in the MS. Collection of Baillie's Letters. A considerable number of these papers were printed at the time as separate Tracts; others obtained an extensive circulation in Manuscript, and many of these copies are still preserved. It has been thought sufficient, however, merely to indicate references to such as have been published in works that are easily accessible; or are included in No. II. of the Appendix. The titles of the abbreviated references are as follows:—


*Bailie*,—Appendix No. II, of the present edition of Baillie's Letters and Journals.


*Large Declar.*—His Majesty's Large Declaration concerning the late Tumults in Scotland, [by Walter Balcanquall, D. D.] Lond. 1639, folio.


*Rothes*,—Relation of Proceedings concerning the Affairs of the Kirk of Scotland, from August 1637 to July 1638, by John Earl of Rothes. (Presented as a Contribution to the Bannatyne Club, by James Nairne, Esq.) Edin. 1830, 4to.

*Rushworth*,—Historical Collections, &c. Lond. 1682-1701, 8 vols. folio.

*Spalding*,—History of the Troubles in Scotland and England from 1624 to 1645. (Bannatyne Club edition.) Edin. 1828, 2 vols. 4to.

*Stevenson*,—History of the Church and State of Scotland, from the Accession of Charles I. Edin. 1753-1757, 3 vols. 8vo.]
1637.


Informations given to severall Counsellors. . 19 Rothes, 46.—Baillie, 1. 450.


C. 6. The King's Letter to the Counsell, 10th Sept. . 21 Balfour, 2. 232,—Records, 54,—Baillie, 1. 452.

The Supplication presented to the Counsell, 20th Sept. 21

C. 7. The fame Supplication, as corrected and sent up to the King. . 22 Rothes, 47.


Considerations for such as lay to heart the danger of this intended Liturgie; (wherunto let every watchman and wyfe-hearted Reader adde as he thinks fitt:) with Motives and Overtures. . 23 Stevenson, 2. 206-211.

F. Supplication of Noblemen, Barons, Burgeffes, Minifters, &c. to the Lords of Secret Counsell, 18th Oct. 36 Rothes, 49,—Large Declar., 42,—Rushworth, 2. 406.

Supplication to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, [presented in the year 1633.] . Stevenson, 1. 104.

L. Declaration of the King's abhorrence of all superftitions of Poperie, at Linlithgow, 7th Dec. . 43 Large Declar., 46,—Rushworth, 2. 408,—Stevenson, 2. 236.

N. 5. The Clearing of these who have subferyved the Complaint against the Prelates for undermyneing of Religion in the two Books of Canons and Common Prayer. . 44 Stevenson, 2. 243.
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P. 2. Act of the Counfell, same date. 

H. A Power for (or granted to) Commissioners. 42

O. The Protestation. ("It was reddie, but not presentit.") 45

N. 1, 2, &c. "No Alteration,"—"No Alteration of the Words Archbishops and Bishops,"—also "We cannot divide." 

The Heads of my Lord Loudoun his Speech to the Counfell, concerning the Controversie depending for the Service-Book, Canons, High Commissions, and other Innovations, prefixed upon Scotland.

Balfour, 2. 240.—Records, 57,—See the fuller report in Baillie, 1. 455.

T. Mr. James Cunninghame's Speech. 46

Balfour, 2. 246.—Stevenson, 2. 258.

S. 1. & 2. Copie of the Bill presented to the Counfell 21st Dec., and the Declinature given in the same day. 

Rothes, 50, 51.

V. Ane Act of Counfell, at Dalkeith, 21st Dec. 46

Rothes, 40,—Balfour, 2. 249,—Stevenson, 2. 262,—Records, 58.

Memorandum for these who did confer with the Counfellors, 15th Nov. 41

G. 2. The Counfell's Letter to the Secretary, 17th Nov. 41

D. Letter from the Counfell to the King, 20th Sept. 

Baillie, 1. 453.

Extracts of the Books of Secret Counfell, from the 20th December 1636 to 25th August 1637. 32

Rothes, 201, 202.—Baillie, 1. 440, 447, 449.

The Supplication of the Prebytery of Couper, 20th Sept. 1637, 

Anonymous Letter, beginning "Most Holy Father;" dated Madrid, 8th July 1623. 42

Meditation upon the Canterburian Faction, penned and given out some five years agoe, (in Latin.) 113-114

A. Missive Letter from His Majestie for Establishing the Service Book; dated 18th Oct. 1636, 

Rushworth, 2. 343.—Balfour, 2. 224.—Records, 50.

—Baillie, 1. 441.
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G. 1. Letter to his Majesty from the Counsell, 17th Nov. 41

K. Letter from his Majesty to the Counsell, 15th Nov. 43 Balfour, 2. 237.—Records, 57.

M. 1. Act of Counsell, 7th Dec. 43

M. 2. Proclamation at Linlithgow. 43

G. The way of Advertising the Commissioners of Shyres. 42

Q. The Counsell's Letter to the Secretary, 14th Dec. 45 Rothes, 44.—Baillie, 1. 454.

R. The Earl of Loudoun's Speech to the Counsell, 21st Dec. Stevenson, 2. 251.—Baillie, 1. 455.

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The Common Advertisement sent from the Commissioners and chief men of the Shyres to all that are well affected, &c. 22d Febr. 1638. Rothes, 68.

The King's Will proclaimed at the Crofles of Stirling and Edinbrough, 19th and 22d Febr. Rothes, 87.—Large Declar., 48.—Rushworth, 2. 731. —Stevenson (abridged) 2. 273.—Records, 59.


Confiderations according to the Grounds of Conformity for thse who are scrupulous in subfcrvyving the Covenant. (To this paper by Robert Baillie there are Additions at fol. 58 of the MS.) 93

The Confession of Faith subfcryvit firft by the King's Majesty and his Houfhold, the year of God 1580,—again in 1590 and 1638. Large Declar., 55,—Rushworth, 2. 734,—Acta Parl. 5. 294.—And often elsewhere.
InSTRUCTIONS from his Majestie's Counfell to the Lord Juftice-Clerk, whom they have ordained to goe to Court for his Majestie's service: at Stirling, 5th March 1638. 

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Rothes, 84,—Balfour, 2. 258,—Rushworth, 2. 742,
—Burnet, 34.—Records, 60.—Baillie, 1. 460.

The Lawfulnes of the Subscription to the Confession of Faith.

Rothes, 90.

The Least that can be asked to settle this Church or Kingdome, in a solid and durable Peace.

Rothes, 96.—Balfour, 2. 252.

Thefes de Majeflatis Jure.

3. The Noblemen's Letter to the Duke of Lennox, Marqueis of Hamiltoun, and Earl of Morton, 8th March. 64

Rothes, 83.

To the King's most excellent Majestie, the True Re-monftrance of the Nobility, Gentry, &c. (fame date.) 70

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Reasons for the Univerfitie of St. Andrewes, of their juft refufall of their Oath and Subscription to that pretended Covenant, obtruded upon them amongft the reft of the leidges, 20th March. 62

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Urbanus Papa Octavus : datum Romae, pridie Idus
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ORIGINAL LETTERS AND PAPERS CHIEFLY RELATING TO ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND, M.DC.XXXXIII.—M.DC.XLI.

I.

CHARLES THE FIRST TO BELLENDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio, Vol. LXVI, No. 12.—Adam Bellenden was consecrated Bishop of Dunblane in 1615. At this period, as the Deanry of the Chapel Royal was conjoined with that See, and the Bishop usually resided in Edinburgh, Bellenden was translated to Aberdeen in 1635, (as intimated in the letter No. XI.) to make room for Dr. Wedderburn, whom the King and Laud thought would be more serviceable as Dean of the Chapel, in promoting their views. See supra, page 161.]

Reverend Father in God, and Trufty and Wel-beloued Counfellour, Wee greet yow well. Wee have thought goode, for the better ordering of Divine Service to be performed in Oure Chappell Royall there, to fett downe some Articles vnder our owne hand to be observed therein, which Wee fend yow here enclosed. And it is our speciall pleasure, That yow carefully see everie thing performed, according as Wee have directed by these our enclosed Articles; And likewise that yow certifie to the Lords of oure Privie Counfell, if any of thefe appointed by oure former letters to them to communicate in oure Chappell Royall, shall not accordingly per.
forme the fame, to the effect such order may be taken by our counsell therein, as by our saydes former letters to them wee did appointe. Wherein expecting your diligence and care, wee bid you farewell. From our court at Whitehall, the eight day of October 1633.

To the Reverend Father in God, and our right trusty and wellbeloved counselloure the bishop of dumblane, Deane of our chappell Royall within our kingdom of Scotland.

[Indorsed.]—The Letter and Orders for the Chappell Royall.

II.

THE ARTICLES FOR HIS MAJESTIE'S CHAPEL-ROYAL.

October the 8th, 1633.

[The Articles referred to in the preceding Letter, have not been preserved along with it; but they are inserted in Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. p. 205, from which they are here given. Rushworth introduces them with the following notice,—"The Bishop of London (Laud) being lately translated to be Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, he, by virtue of his place, as the greatest man in the Church, thought fit to advise His Majesty for a reformation in the Church of Scotland, and began with the Royal Chappel in these following Articles sent in His Majesty's name, with a Letter to command obedience." He also subjoins a copy of the Letter, which corresponds with the original above printed.]

CHARLES REX.

Our express Will and pleasure is, That the Dean of our Chappel, that now is, and his successors, shall be Assistant to the Right Reverend Father in God, the Arch bishop of St. Andrews, at the Coronation, so often as it shall happen.

That the Book of the Form of our Coronation lately used, be put in a little box, and laid into a standard, and committed to the care of the Dean of the Chappel successively.

That there be Prayers twice a-day, with the Quire, as well in our absence, as otherwife, according to the English Liturgie, till some course be taken for making one, that may fit the custom and constitution of that Church.

That the Dean of the Chappel look carefully, that all that receive the Bleffed Sacrament there, receive it kneeling; and that there be a Communion held in that our Chappel, the first Sunday of every month.

That the Dean of our Chappel that now is, and so successively, come duly thither to prayers upon Sundays, and such Holy-days as that Church ob-
fervés, in his Whites, and preach so, whenever he preacheth there; And that he be not absent from thence, but upon necessary occasion of his Diocese, or otherwife, according to the course of his preferment.

That these Orders shall be Our Warrant to the Dean of our Chappel, That the Lords of our Privy Council, the Lords of the Seffions, the Advocates, Clerks, Writers to the Signet, and Members of our College of Justice, be commanded to receive the Holy Communion, once every year at the leaft, in that our Chappel-Royal, and kneeling, for example fake to the Kingdom. And We likewife command the Dean aforefaid to make Report yearly to us, how We are obeyed therein, and by whom; as alfo, if any man shall refuse, in what manner he doth so, and why?

That the Copes which are confecrated to Our use, be delivered to the Dean to be kept upon inventory by him, and in a Standard provided for that purpose; and to be used at the celebration of the Sacrament in our Chapel-Royal.

III.

CHARLES THE FIRST TO THE LORDS OF COUNCIL AND SESSION IN SCOTLAND.

[This letter "Anent communicating in the Chapel Royal," is transcribed from the "Books of Sederunt," or the Register of the Court of Session. The Chapel Royal, says Rushworth, "being thus ordered, was declared to be for a pattern of the intended Reformation, to all Cathedrals, Chapels, and Parish-Churches in Scotland.”]

CHARLES R.

Right Trufly and Well-Beloved cousin and Counsellor, and Trufly and Well-Beloved, Wee greet you well. Whereas Wee were formerly pleased to require the Lords of our Privy Council to give order, by publick proclamation, or otherways, as they could think fit, that they, and you of our College of Justice, and Members thereof, should communicate twice [once] every year in our Chappel of Holywoodhouse: Bot now, being willing, for good considerations, that the Communion be oftener celebrated there, and to nominate such times as we have thought fit for that purpose, IT is our pleasure, that every firt Sunday of the months of July and December yearly, you prepare and address yourselves, with your Advocates, Clerks, Writers, and all other members of that Judicatory, (to whom you shall cause intimate this our pleasure,) to our said Chappell, to participate of that Holy Sacrament, that others, by your example, may learn to observe the laudable order in that cafe prefcribed: wherein fail you not, as you tender our princefly respect and pleasure, and as you will answer to the contrary; for Wee will not suffer you, who fould precede others by your good example, to be leaders of our other subjécts to contemn and disobey the orders of the Church.
IV.

THE WARRANT OF CHARLES THE FIRST FOR ESTABLISHING THE COURT OF HIGH COMMISSION IN SCOTLAND,

October 1634.

[From a contemporary copy in Wodrow MSS., 4to. Vol. LXXVII. No. 16. The Original Warrant or Signature does not appear to have been preserved, but agreeably to this Warrant, a Commission (in Latin) was passed under the Great Seal, and is recorded in the Paper Register, (vol. iv. fol. 24;) which also presents similar blanks, in regard to the names of some of the Commissioners.]

Our Soverane Lord ordeane a Commission to be granted vnder [his] Hienes Great Seall of the Kingdome of Scotland, making mention yt quhair divers complaints have bene made to his Maiesty be the most Reverend Fathers in God and the Reverend Fathers the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of Scotland, vpon certane advocationis and Inploymentis granted by the Lords of his Majesties Counfall and Seffion, at the instant tye of parties callit before the judicatories of church dioclesia. For removing of that inconvenient, and to the effect no wicked, scandalous, nor disobedient peronne pafs vnconfirme and escape without punishment, his Majestie, as being Supreme Judge of all peronne and caufes, alweise civill as ecclefaiatical, within the Kingdome and all vtheris his Majesties dominions, have venny and granted, lyk as his Majestie, be the tenor heirof, geves and grants full power and commissioun to the most Reverend Fathers in God and his Majesties right truffic and wele-beloved Counfallors, the Archbishops of Scotland, Primat and Metropolitane of Scotland, and the Archbishops of Glasgowe; to his Hienes truffic counse and cousfallors, George Erle of Kinnowll Lord High Chancellor, Wm Erle of Mortoun Lord High-Thefauuer, Thomas Erle of Hadintoun Lord Privie Seall, James Duik of Lennox, James Marques of Hammiltoun, William Erle of Merchell, George Erle of Wintoun, Alexr Erle of Linlithgowe, Joa Erle of Wigtoun, Joa Erle of Kinghorne, Roft Erle of Roxburgh, Alexr Erle of Galloway, John Erle of Anndaill, John Erle of Lauderdale, Wm Erle of Dumfreis, Wm Erle of Quinberrie, Wm Erle of Stirling, David Erle of Southafk, John Erle of Traquair, Joa Erle of Weymes, Roft Erle of Ancram; To the Reverend Fatheris in God, the Bithop of Edinburg, the Bithop of Galloway, the Bithop of Dunkell, the Bithop
of Aberdene, the Bishop of Murray, the Bishop of Rois, the Bishop of Brechin, the Bishop of Dumblane, the Bishop of Argyll, the Bishop of Caithness, the Bishop of the Isles, and the Bishop of Orkney; his Maties truflie confing Mungo Vicecount of Stormont, his Hienes truflie couings and counfallors George Lord Gordoun, Archibald Lord Lorne, and Jo Lord Erfskin, and his Hienes right truflie and well-beloved Ro Lord Dalzell, and Ro Lord Kirkcubrin; his Hienes truflie couings, Alex Macier of Elphinstoun, Sir Archibald Achefon of Gueueairne knyt his Maties Secretar, St John Hay of Baro knyt keiper of his Maties Register and Rolls, St Thomas Hope of Craighall knyt barronet his Maties Advocat, St James Carmichael of that Ilk Justice-Clerk, St James Galloway M of Requeftis, and to his Maties truflie and well-belovit St Ro Spottifwood of Dunypace Knyt Preident of the Seffion, St John Seat of Scottifbarbet knyt Director of the Chancellerie, St Ro Gordoun knight barronet, St Jo Seryngeor of Dudope, St Wm Sinclare of Roifline, St Walter Stewart of Myno, St John Spottifwood of Darrie, St Jo Hammitloun of Bargeny, St Wm Cunninghame of Capringtoun, St Ro Greir of Lag, St John Charters of Amifteld, St Wm Mure of Rowallane, St Jn Maxwell of Pollock, St Wm Douglas of Cavers, St Patrik Agnew of Lochmaw thiref of Wigtoun, St John McDougall of Garthland, Sir James Baillie of Lochend, St Jo Auchinmowtie, of Gosfurd, St Ro Mongomrie younger of Skelmurelie, St James Loekhart younger of Ley, St Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck younger, Sir Wm Seat of Harden, St Donald McDunnald of Slait, St Ro Innes younger of Balveny knight barronet, St Thomas Vrquhart of Cromartie, knight, Jo McCloud of Herreis, Jo Campbell younger of Caddell, Campbell of Ardkinlafe, Lawmount younger of that Ilk; and to his Maties well-belovit Doctor Andro Bruce deane of St Andros, Mr James Hammitloun deane of Glagow, Doctor Alex Gladfianes archdeane of St Andros, Doctor Theodor Hay archdeane of Glagow, Doctor Walter Whytfurde subdeane of Glagow, Doctor Ro Howie provfet of the New Colledge of St Andros. Doctor George Martene provfet of the Auld Colledge of St Andros, Doctor Patrik Panter profefor of Theologie in the New Colledge of St Andros. Doctor John Strang principall of the Colledge of Glagow, Doctor John Douglas, Doctor David Monro perfone of Kinnehar, Mr James Hannay Deane of Ed, Mr Wm Withart perfone of Reftalrig, Doctor Jo Mitchellone minister of Brunteland, Doctor George Withart minister at St Andros, Doctor Henry Seryngeor minister at St Phillanes in Fyffe, Mr Coline Campbell minister at Dundie, Dr Ro Barroun profefor of Theologie in the Colledge of New Aberdene, Mr Wm Annand minister at Air, Mr John Tennent perfone of Calder, Mr Andro Ramlay and Mr David Mitchell ministers at Ed, Mr George Hannay minister at Torphichen, Mr Wm Maxwell minister at Stow, Mr James Logane minister at Smallhame, Mr Patrik Durame deane of Ros, Mr George Monro chancellor of Ros, Mr Thomas McKeuzie minister at Tarbet, Doctor James Elliot, Mr John Bell, Ro Wilkie, John Maxwell, and Zaeharie Boyd, ministers at Glagow, Mr John Hay perfone of Renfrew, Mr Wm Birfbane
perfone of Erikin, M'D Walter Stewart minister at Kilpatrick,
minister at Cambufnethan, M'D Michael Wallace minister at Kil-
marnock, M'D George Lindsay perfone of
Carstairs, M'D Thomas Ramfay minister of Dunfries, M'D Jo'n
Alex' perfone of Hoddom, M'D George Buchanan perfone of Kirkpatrik
Juxta, M'D Wm' Bennet perfone of Acrum, M'D Jo'n Maitland perfone of
Edilltoun, M'D Abraham Henderfone minister at Whithorne, M'D Alex' [Ham-
miltoun] minister at Mongoff, M'D James Hamiltoun minister at Wigtoun,
M'D James Scott minister at Tungland, M'D David Leitch minister at Dun-
dreuan, M'D Henrie Guthrie minister at Stirling, M'D Thomas Spittell per-
fone of Fawkirk, M'D Ro' Balcanqi minister at Tranent, M'D George Sydferie
minister at Colbrunspeth, M'D James Burnet minister at Lawder, M'D Alex'
Kinneir perfon of Whitfon, M'D Murdo M'Kenzie perfon of Dinguell, M'D
Douglas Campbell, minister at Knapdaill, M'D Donald M'Gillinoriui minister
at Innerara, Frazer Deane of the Ies, and M'D Patrik Stewart
minister at Bute,
Confable of the Threue, S'r Jerome Lindsay S'r Hendrie Hay, M'D Ro' Nicollone and Thomas Aikin-
heid, Comifbars of Ed', M'D James Wemyes comifbar of S' Andros, M'D
James Sandilands, comifbar of Aberdene, the Comifbars of Elgin, Innernes,
and Ros, present, and who fall be for the tyme being, M'D Ro' Murray,
comifbar of Stirling, Adame Cuninghame, comifbar of Dunfries, the Comifbar
and Proveif of the Citie of Glasgow, the Comifbars and Proveifts of Wigt-
toun and Kirkcubru': Or to any fevin of them, one Archbfhop or Bifhop
being one of the number, to famond or call before them, at quhatfomever
tyme or place it fall pleafe them to appoint, all and findrie perfones within
the Kingdome of Scotland, and dwelling within the provinces of S' Andros
and Glasgow, that ar ather scandalous in lyfe, doctrine, or religion, speci-
allie all traffiquers, intercomouers, refletters of Jefuits or fennaric priexc, all
herars of mafs, all excommunicat papits, recuants or non-comunicants, all
inceftuous or adulterous perfones, all obfinate contemners of the discipline
of the Church, or for that caus excommunicated, all abusers of religious per-
fones and places, and difurburs of divyne service, and things thereunto be-
longing, and all blasphemars, curfars, and fwerars; and not onlie to call the
faids transgressors, and everie one of them, bot lykwawes all perfones quhat-
fonevir within the said Kingdome fufpected to be guilte of the afofraid
crymes, or any of them, and to try and to cognofce of the afofraid crymes
and offences, and if they fall find any man guilte and impenent, to geve
direcioun to the minifter of the parich quhair the said impenent perfone
remaines, to proceed againft him or hir, and pronoce fentence of excom-
nunication againft them; and if the minifter diffoeby the said direcioun, to
suspend, deprive, incarcerate, and puniie, as they fall think fitt. Attour,
with power to them [to] puniie, incarcerat, fynie and confyne, any that fall
be fund guilte of the faids crymes and offences, or fall prove contumacious,
or refuse to complier before them; with power lykwawes to the faids comii-
ционers to call before them all minifters, preaching, M'Ds of schooles, col-
ledges, and univercities, exhortars, and letterars, within the faids bounds,
that fall be deleat unto them for preiching or speiking in public against the present state and governement of the kyndome and church, or against any of the conclusions of the bypast Generall Assemblies, particularlie against the Acts concluded in the Generall Assemblie holdin at Perth in the moneth of August 1618 yeirs, and whom they fall try disobeyars of the saids acts, writers of lybells and pamphlets against any of the constitutions of the Church, the imprinters of the saids lybells, pamphlets, or any vther bills, without his Matres licence and warrand, or the licence of these who fall be authorized by his Hienes to that effect, to cenfure and punish, by supenioun, deprivations, fyning, committing, and incarceration, according as they fall find the qualitie of ther offence to deserve. As also with power to receave and discuss all appellations made unto them from any inferior eclesiall judicatories, and to inhibit the saids inferior judicatories to proceed in any cause that they fall judge impertinent, and not to belong to their cognition, and to cenfure the saids judges whom they fall find to behave themselves partiallie in any case concerning the forfaids. Comanding the captane and levittenent of the guaerd, the proveit and baillies of Burrowes if it fall hap-pin the saids commisioners to refide, the Shirefs and Baillies of regalities to search, feilk, tak, and apprehend all such delinquents, and present them before the saids commisioners, vpon the warrand of any fevin of them, ane Archbishop or Bishop being one of the number. Comanding lykewyse the captanes and constables of his Hienes castles and houses, and the keepers of prifons and vtheris places of firmance, to receave and deteane thefe that fall be directed unto them by the saids commisioners vpon warrand as saied is, As they will anfiwer vpon their disobedience and vittemost perrill; ordaining farther the Lords of Privie Counfall, vpon the certificat subfcrivit by the saids Comissioners, or any fevin of them, an Archbishops or Bishop being one of the number, to direct letters of horning for payment of the fyne impos'd by the saids Comissioners, in case of the delinquents disobedience or refuall to compeir, when they are cited before them. Of which letters and charges, no supenioun or relaxation fall be granted without the testimonie of one of the Archbishops or Bishops being obedience to the decree of the commisioners and fatification of the pairties. And maked constituens Mr. Wm. Hay, comissar-clerk of Edinbroch, clerk of the said High Counmission during all the dayes of his lyftime, with power to him to creat deputs vnder him, in ather of the saids two provinces requiring the saids Comissioners, to receave the oath of the said Mr. Wm., for dew administration of the said office, with power to them to appoint fisical, officers, and all vther members of Court, and to direct sumonds and precepts in his Hienes name, for citing quhatfomever pairties or persons in any of the causys forfaids; which precepts fall be sealled with one of the Archbishops or Bishops seals and subferyvitt be the saids clerks, with power to summond witnes in any of the forfaids causys vnder the paine of fourtie pundys money of Scotland; and if the saids witnesis refuile to compeir, or the saids pairties decreed in a fyne, delay to mak payment of the samynye, Ordaining the Lords of Privie Counfall to direct charge vpon the certificat of the said
comissioners, as is above specifit. Of the which fyne the ane half fall perteane to his Maieties, and the vther half to be imploied vpon the charges which the faids Comissioners fall be forced to mak in the executing of the faid Comissionou, and if any remainder fall be, the same fall be bestowed to pious vyes, at the fight of the faids comissioners. And generallie all and findrie vther things to doe and exerce that are necessarie in the premisy, or may be thought onawayes requisite for his Hienes servisice, and according to the intention of this preuent comissionou, inhibiting the Lords of Secret Counfall and Seffion to grant no advocation from the faids comissioners in matters of the qualitie foireit, bot to remitt the tryall and euenfure thereof to the faids comissioners. Comanding, laftly, all his Maieties lieges whom these things may concerne, to answere and obey the faids Comissioners, or any levyn of them, ane Archbiphop or Bishop being an of the number, and their ouerie and minifters quhatifomevir vnder all hyest paine that may follow, and ordeanes thir presents to be an sufficient warrant to the Direicter of the Chancellarie for wryting of the fame to the Great Seall, and to the Lord Chancellor for appendign the faid Seall thervnto, without any farder precepts to be direct thervpon.

Given at our Honnour of Hamptoun Court the twentie-ane of Octobeir, the yeir of God I. vi. threttie-four yeirs.

V.

ANE ACCOUNT OF PAPERS INTERCEPTED BETUINX ARCHBISHOP LAUD AND THE SCOTS BISHOPS.

[From a contemporary MS. in the Editor's possession. The above title is the indorsation of the paper, in a later hand, with the date 1637 added. It appears, however, that it was not before the year 1640 that the Papers here referred to came into the possession of the Covenanters.]

To Remark and remember God's providence in bringing to our hand some princiopal authentick Autographes betuinx the B. of Canterbury and our Prelatis, quhilck contributes to the dисcovering of their plottis and projectis. And first, amongst utheris we haiff gone through, of memoires, intituled "Memories for my Lord B. of Ross, of matters to be proposi¬ted to his Majestie and my Lord Cant. his G.," all writtin and subfcriptit by the Archbishop of St. Androis, August 8, 1634; of the fame dait, and subjoinit with the first draucht of the Book of Canones sent up to be correctit, and no doubt correctit with the fame hand to quhom it is sent; as fra the dait, so fra the conjunctione of the King and Canterbury in the title, ye may eleirlie perceive the fame, and the dependance of our Prelatis from Canterburry, to quhom, equallie with the King, they mak ane accomptit of all things: As in the first directioune, they give ane accomptit anent the Liturgie,
the Canones, and the Psalms. In the 2, anent the filling of voyd places in the Church. In the 3, anent the Communion in the Chappell. In the 4, anent refraint of wageing to Communione. In the 5, anent the Hie Commissioune to be a constant judicatorie, or undoing the Presbyteryall discipline, whereupon the B. of Rois obteinit a letter from the King to the Counfaill, supperferyvit be the King. 20th of October 1634, whereof we have the principall. In the 6, 7, 8, 9, ane accompt gevine of all that was injoyned at St. Androis; anent the feats of the Kirk; anent the comenement of the Univeritie; anent the doctrateing of Clyit ane Inglithman, and the degradeing of one Baftock. In the 10, anent the Commissioune of Surranderes, that ane new injunctione be sent doun to prohibit all other churches but thefe of the Ereccione. In the 11th, anent the Commillariot of Argyle. In the 12, anent the B. of Ed.: reliict. In the 13, 14, 15, 16, anent the Pryorie of St. Androis, where mentione is maid of founding a Cathedrall in St. Androis, and in bringing the Pryorie to greater integritie after these dayes. In the 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, and 24, all anent the Exchequer for ane new Commissioune to reforme it: that few noblemen be on it: that the President sine quo non; that the forme be conforme to that of Ingland; that the [office] of Thefaurer and Comptroller be separted; that the annuitie be put in ane churchman's hand to bring in church livingis againe; that all signators pas in Exchequer; that the manageing of his rentis be intrusted to men responfabil and comptrollabil. The 25 anent Balmerinoch and his lybell. The 26 anent the two comissions for the Chappell rentis, the Erle Roxbruche's kirks. Be the quhilk Memoires, even in all forthis of matteris, sent by our chiefest Prelat unto the B. Canterburry, yow may perceave his medling in all our effaires, and their absolute dependance on him therein as the Primus and principall mover, author, and director, from quhom all did and moist flow, especcially wherin his Ma. was to haiff any hand, or give any countenance, and particularie aneunt the Service-Book and Book of Canones, wherin our greateit Prelate gewis ane accompt to the B. of Canterburry, as equally joyned with the King, ewen as schollaris does unto their matteris.

Lykas we haiff ane uther autographone intituled, Memoires for my Lord B. R. (1) all wriitten and subd by the B. of St. Androis hand, but without a dait, quhilk beginnes thus, "My Lord Cant. defyrde to be informit," and than goes one. In the frist article he scheonis both how the Channeller had the place before St. Androis, and how it full be redeft be ane act of Counfaill. In the 2, anent the Liturgie, that they had done all that was possibill. In the 4, anent the Canones, to gett a varrass for the print. In the 5, anent the kirkis that are voyd, your Lo. will aquaynt my Lord Canterburry with our opinione. In the 6, anent the Comissioune of Surranderes, that all continuations of erectit kirkis. In the 7, your Lo. may tak occasion to speack of the Pryorie to my Lord Canterburry, and learrne quhat is done, and schow how necefarie it is. In the 9, that the Annuities be used for buy- ing of the erectit Lordchips, and a comissioune grantit to fyve persones there-

(1) Lord B. R.—that is the Lord Bishop of Ross.
for. In the 10, anent the reduction of the laite Patronages, that Bishops be dischargit to give collatione therupon. In the 12, anent Lindores to Mr. Andro Leirmonth. In the 13, that Wederburne be brought to the Chappell. In the 14, that the loftis of the church of Ed' be takine done. In the 16, touthing my Lord Balmerinoch, ye falt schow my opinion to my Lord Canterbury. Quherby he may perceave that nothing was done or might be done in this Church quhocof Canterbury was not the pryme and \textit{primum mobile}; especiably anent Service-Book and Canones, and all other our church changes.

We haiff ane letter writtin all be the hand of the B. R., [Bishop of Rofs.] but unsubberyvit, to the B. of Canterbury, quhilk is the scroll of the principall whilk he has sent away, quherin he acknowledgis and admires Canterbury's wifedome in the governing and directing of this Church, and all the effaires thercof.

We haiff a letter of my Lord Sterling's to the B. R., 17th February 1636, quherin he schawis my Lord Canterbury delyvered our new printed Book of Canones to the Kingis Majefty, with ane direction to him for tuo letters to be drawyne up for the Kingis hand, concerning the authorizing of the Book. Quherby ye may perceave Canterbury medling therin.

[The following Letters from Archbishop Laud to the Bishops Bellenden and Maxwell, says Lord Hailes, "were made part of the Charge by the Scottish Commissioners against the Archbishop in December 1640. It does not however appear, that they were ever produced in support of that charge. See \textit{Troubles and Trial of Laud.} p. 89. 91. The Letters are now in a very imperfect condition; some parts of them are worn away, others much defaced; the Editor has, from conjecture, supplied a few words, and distinguished them by \textit{Italics}." (Memorials, &c. in the Reign of Charles the First, p. 3.) The Original Letters are now in a very frail, as well as a mutilated state, which rendered it desirable to have them printed in a more full and accurate manner than accorded with Lord Hailes's plan, who omitted several passages which he conceived did not "serve to illustrate the History of those times." The words that have been supplied are now printed within brackets. It will be seen from the Inventory of these Papers, which is given in this Appendix under the date June 1641, that only a portion of them has been preserved.]
VI.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD TO BELLENDE, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVI. No. 13.]

My very good Lord, S. in Xpo. [Salutem in Christo.]

You are much beholding to my Ld. Sterlinge; and for my selfe, I did you the best service I could, and am glad your troublesome suits are at an end. I hope that with ye Kinge hath now done will preferre you against your prefling necessityes, thorugh with I pray God fend you a good paflage: But for Weftminster foes, they did very much wrong you, whoever they [were,] ye made those relations to you of ye great Sum; for my former [letters told] ye true th at you.

Concerning your preferment, until any better place falls, I can promise nothing; but I affure [you, his Majeftie] hath a very good opinion both of you and your service; and therefore I [can not] doubt but ye he will take you and your estate into his conideration. Att this time you have given his Majeftie good content, and he expects that you continue in ye course; and lett him full receive a note whose they be that conforme, and whose not, for I fee his Majeftie is resolved to goe confrantlie on, and therefore you must not fayle.

I have considerd howe much reaon you speake concerning ye poore Singing men, and have receivd their Petition with ye sent enclofd. I must needs fay their case deferves a great deale of commifferation; and the very first time ye I gott accettie to his Majeftie, after ye receipt of your letters, I acqüainted him with their necessityes, and he, like a gracious and a good Prince, was very much moved with it, and commanded me to deliver theire Petition to my Ld. Sterling, ye some course might be taken for them; and this, God willing, I will doe soe some as ever I can meete with ye Ld., with I hope will be this day, and soe some as I can drive it to any good issue, you shall hear from me. Soe, in haft, I leave you to the Grace of God, and reftr.

Your Ld. very lovinge friend and Brother,

Lambeth, Jan. 14,
1633 [1633-4].

To the Rl Reverend Father in God, my very good
Lord and Brother the Ld. Bp. of Dunblane, at Edenburrow, thefe.

[Endorsed.] Anent his encouragament, and anent non-communicants.
VII.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD TO THE SAME.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio, Vol. LXVI, No. 15. William Forbes, the Bishop of Edinburgh, who is mentioned in this letter, died on the 1st of April 1634, or little than two months after the date of his patent. His successor in the Metropolitan See was David Lindesay, Bishop of Breehin.]

MY VERY GOOD Lo. S. in Xpo.

I am right sorry for the death of ye Bishop of Edenburrow, the loss being very great both to the King and the Church. I acquainted his Mat' how needfull it was to fill ye place with an able Successor; and when mention was made of divers men to succeed, I did, as you defire, shew his Mat' what your desires were, and what necessityes lay vpon you. After much consideration of the busynes, his Mat' resolved to give the Bp.ricke of Edenburrowe to my Lo. of Brehen; and for yourselfe, he commanded me to write expresly to you, y' he did not take it well, y' contrary to his expres command, you had omitted prayers in his Chappell Royall, according to the English Liturgye, w'th some other ommisions there, w'th pleased him not; besides, his Mat' hath heard y' there have been lately some differences in Edenburgh about ye Sufferings of Christ, &c. and y' your Lordship was some caufe of them; or, at leaft, such an occasion as might have bred much disturbance, if ye late Bishop of Edenburrowe his care and temper had not moderated them; and this his Mat' is not well pleased w'th neither:

And this hath been ye caufe, as I conceive, why his Mat' hath past you over in this remove; and you shall doe very well to applye your selfe better, both to his Mat's service, and ye well ordering of ye Church, leaft you give just occasion to the King to passe you by when any other remove falls. I am very sorry that I must write thus unto you; but ye only way of helpe lyes in your selfe and your owne carriage; and, therefore, if you will not be carefull of ye, I doe not see what any friend can be able to doe for you. Therefore, not doubting but you will take thefe things into serious consideration, for your owne good, I leave you to the Grace of God, and reft,

Your Lordps very loveing Freind and Brother,

Lambeth, Maye 6th

1634.

W: CANT:

To ye Reverend Father in God, my very good Lo. and Brother, ye Lo. Bishops of Dunblane, att Edenburrowe, thefe.

[Indorfed.] Anent the Liturgie, and his Sermon.
ARCHBISHOP LAUD TO THE SAME.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio, Vol. LXVI, No. 16.]

My very good Lo.          S. in X

My haft att this time forces me to write very brefely: And thefe are to lett you knowe, that I writ nothing in my former letters but as the Kinge was entformed, and myself by him commanded. I have nowe read your Lord's letters to his Matie, wch hath in some part satisfy'd him, but not altogether.

And for ye first, his Matie faith, ye though ye Gentlemen of ye Chappell Royall did abstent themselves for feare of arrefts, having not to pay; and ye that might hinder ye service in ye Chappell in a solemnne and a formall way of finging by them; yet his Matie thinks you might have gott a Chaplainne of your owne, to have read the English Liturgye, that foe ye worke, for ye maine part of it, might have gone on; And for ye payment of thofe menn, I thinke your Lord's knowes I have done all ye good offices I cann, but have it not in my power to mend all ye difficulties of ye time.

Concerning ye disturbance ye was in Edenburrowe, if any wrong was done your Lord, ye must lyke upon whom misreported you to ye Kinge, whom ere they were. And howsoever, ye Kinge took it not ill you advised ye then Bifhop of Edenburrowe to appeafe ye differences, for that was very worthily and deferverely done by you. But as farre as I remember, ye charge layed upon you to the Kinge, was, ye in your owne Sermon, wch you preach'd about ye time, you did rather side w't one partye, than either re-prelle or compofe the difference. Though I must needs confesse to your Lord, that, by reafon of the multitude of busynesses w't lyke upon me, I cannot charge my memorye w't ye particular.

You have done very well to acquaint the L's of Counfell and Seffion, &c. w't his M'thes refolution concerning ye Communion in ye Chappell Royall. And I doubt not, if you continue to doe ye w't his Matie looks for in ye course of ye Church, and w't is most just and fitt to be done, but ye you will easily recover his Maties favour, and finde ye good of it. Soe, in haft, I leave you to ye Grace of God, and reit

Your Lor's very lovinge Freind and Brother,

Lambeth, July 1st,

1634.

To the R'l Reverend Father in God, my very good Lo.

and Brother, the Lord Bp. of Dunblane, thefe.

[Indorsed] Anent Reading of the Liturgie, and his Sermon at Edinburgh.
My very good Lo. S. in Xp.

I have a second time mou'd his Matie concerning your Communion in ye Chappell att Hallyrudhoufe, and you shall not fayle to receive his Maties anfwere by my Lo. [of Roffe]; foe ye I shall not need to be farther troublesome to you in ye particular.

His Matie is fully satisfied ye Engifh in ye Chappell Royall before my Lo. of Roffe and in all things else, onl... satified me concerning... his Matie such satisfaction... doubt not but your L. foe much to your 6

... Gentlemen of the Chap... to mone his Maties conce...

... and he told me ye a little before his, d since ye... your Lordp halfe ye money was payed unto ye. And ye other halfe was payed before to one, I think of theire company, whomse themselves employed to receive it; whoe, it seemes, was a Bancroft, and either runne away with their money or mispent it, or else ferued his owne turne with it. Now, what to fay to this, I cannot tell, for ye Chequer is not in ye cafe ye I can thinke it fitt, (or if I doe,) I am sure ye Lo. Treasurer will not thinke foe, ye Kinge should paye ye fame fumme twice; and yet, I muft confefse, it falls very hard upon ye poore men to beare ye loffe; but they should have been wiser in ye choyce of their agent. Notwithstanding, if there can be any hope in this cafe to releue ye, I shall doe my beit, and, for ye future, my Lo. hath promifed me they shall be duly payd. Soe, I leave you to ye Grace of God, and reft...

Your Lordp louing Freind and Brother,

Croyden, Octob 4, 1634.

To the Rt Reve...

my very good L...

Lo. Bp. of Dun...

[Indorfed] Against these the... municat.
[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio, Vol. LXVI, No. 14]

[Mr. Edward Kellie, who is mentioned at the close of this letter, was by a writ under the Privy Seal, appointed Receiver of the Fees of the Chapel-Royal, 26th of November 1629. There is an original and interesting paper by him, preserved in the General Register House, entitled, “Information touching the Chappell-Royall of Scotland,” dated at Whitehall 24th of January 1631, which has been printed in the Appendix to Mr. Dauney’s “Ancient Scotish Melodies,” p. 365. Edinb. 1838. 4to.]

My very good Lord, S. in Xpo.

I am very very glad to hear your resolutions for the ordering of his Majiey Chappell Royall, and yt you are resolv'd to weare your Whites, notwithstanding the malicieuxnes of foolifh men. I knowe his Majiey will take your obedience and care very well; and being fully satisfi'd both concerning your Sermon, and all thinges else committed to your tru't, you may, as opportunity ferues, expect from his Majiey all reasonable thinges; and I shall not be wanting to give you all yt affittance yt I can upon all occa'sions; of wch I heartily pray you not to doubt.

My Lo. yt Earle of Traquare is now come, and I shall take yt fir't opportunitie I can to speake once more wth him about yt Gent. of yt Chappell, and shall shewe him what your Lordp writes concerning one Edward Kelly, whome you mention; and what anuere forever I can gett, you shall receive from me. Soe, in haft, I leave you to the Grace of God, and ref,

Your Lordp's very loveinge Friend and Brother,

Lambeth, Jan. 12,
1634 [1634-5].

W: Cant:

I have speken wth my Lo. Traquare, and he tells me, (if I mistooke him not,) yt paym't was made to Kelly wth relation to the Gent. of the Chappell, and yt your owne hand, as well as others, is to some agreement yt was made thereabout. The paper was not then about him, else he had thowed it me. Your Lordp therefore shall doe very well to speake wth him againe about this particular. As for the time to come, he hath assumed to me they shall be duly paid.

To yt Rt Reverend Father in God, my very good
Lord and Brother, the Lord Bishop of Dunblane,
att Edenburrew, these.

[Indorfed] Anent wearing of the Whites.
XI.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD TO THE SAME.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio. Vol. LXVI. No. 19.]

My very good Lo. S. in X^o.

The Kinge hath been acquainted with yo^e care of the Chappell Royall, and is very well pleased with ye conformity that hath been there att ye lait reception of ye blessed Sacrament; and, for my part, I am heartly glad to see in what a faire way ye Church-busynesses now are in those parts. I hope, if ye Bp. be pleased to continue their good example, and their care, all thinges will settle beyond expectation.

The Kinge hath declared his pleasure concerning ye Bp.rickes now void, and hath given you ye Bp.ricke of Aberdeen, as you well heare more att large by my Lord of Rolfe. But being an Univerfity, and a place of confequence, he will have you refide there, and relyes much upon you for ye well ordering of ye place. I am very glad ye Kinge hath been foe mindfull of you, and given you foe good a Testimony upon this occasion of your remove. Soe, I leave you to ye Grace of God, and refi,

Your Lord^s very loveinge Freinde and Brother,

Lambeth, May 19,

W: CANT: 1635.

To the R^e Reverend Father in God, my very good Lord and Brother, the Lord Bifhop of Dunblane, att Edenburrowe, these.

[Indorfed] Anent their encouragement.

XII.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD TO MAXWELL BISHOP OF ROSS.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio, Vol. LXVI. No. 20.]

My verie good Lord, S. in X^o.

My Lo. Sterling is not yet come, but I have acquainted his Mate in what forwardnes your Liturgye there is, and with what approbation it is like to come forth. And, by ye King’s command, I have sent for Yonge ye Printer, ye better to prepare him to make ready a blacke letter, and to bethinke himselfe to fend to his ferrants att Edenburrowe, ye foe, against ye Lo. Sterling’s coming, all things might be in ye better readines, w^th is all ye service I can doe till his Lord^p come.
I am very glad your Canons are asfoe in soe good a readings, and ye the true meaning of ye one Canone remaines still under ye Curtaine. I hope you will take care ye it may be fully printed and pasied with ye rest: 'Twill be of great use for the etangling of ye Church.

I thank you for your care of D* Wedderbourne: He is very able to doe service, and will certainly doe it, if you can keepe up his heart. I was in good hope he had been consecrated, as well as my Lord of Breheyno, but I perceive he is not; what ye reason is [I know] not, but 'tis a thousand pittyes ye those uncertainties abide with him. I pray [commend] my love to him, and tell him, I would not have him fickle att any thinge, for ye Kinge will not leave him long att Dunblane, after he hath once settled ye Chappell right, which I see will settle apace, if he keepe his footing. My letters are gone to ye Bp. of Aberdeene, by the King's command, to diffrert his protestation concerning ye Chappell, [and] to leave ye rents presently to Dr. Wedderbourne; and 'twill not be long ere letters come from ye Kinge to take of the Annats from ye Bp.ricks; and D* Forbes being ye late B* Exequator, being a worthy man, may be better considered some other way. As for ye Annats of ye Minifters, ye Kinge is resolued not to tuch ye annats this time.

Concerning ye th with you mention about fittting of ye Chappell, both with silver vefells and other ornaments, upon ye fale now to be made of some stuffe of ye King's; I thinke my Lo. of St. Andrews will very shortly receive a letter, under the King's hand, to give power for all ye yt you defire; and then, if you do not see ye Chappell well furnishe, ye blame for ever be yours.

The Bp. of Breheyno is come, and my Ld of St. Andrews hath written att large by [him,] and I have given my Lord's Grace anfwere to all ye particulars as well as I can. Indeed, my [Lord, I hold no]thing certaine in Court till it be done; yet I have that allience in my Lo. Marquefle, [that I am confident,] he will passe Arbothe, full and wholly. Precinct and all; and his [Majesty is of the] fame opinion with me. Therefore I hope that both my Lo. of St. Andrews feare [and your]s caufe leffe.

[The next paflage in your letter is only an exprefion of an apprehenfion wth you [have for your over]thowre, and that if they can bring you into disgrace wth ye Kinge, [they will find easier paflage] to damnify ye Church. I pray trouble not yourfelc wth thefe [conceits; but] serve God and the King, and leave ye rest to their protection. It may be such [a fear were] fitter for me, and perhaps I have juiter caufe of apprehenfions, would I give way to [fuch thoughts .]

In the next paflage you are more confident; hold you there, & lett no man stagger [you in the fer]wife of God and ye King. But wheras you write ye thome wth have promised, and [profeffed f]aire to me concerning ye Church, have, in all Judigatures, since your last return, gone [against] ye Church, I pray name ye; for I am loth to mistake perions, and then I shall not [fpare] to acquaiut ye Kinge wth what they doe; and, in ye mean time, you have noe caufe to doubt, either ye change of ye King's counte-
nance, or his giving full credit to any against ye Church, till ye Church be heard.

You need not fear any thing in my Lo. of Roxborough's buynesse, for I doe not beleue ye King will erect any other Bp.rick in haft. God bliffe him, and make him able to better thofe which are already, and stand in need of helpe. I doe not heare of any alteration to ye leffe or ye more about ye Exchequer there; but should there be any, I haue moned his Ma: ye no thing be concluded till my Lo. of St. Andrewes judgment be knowne, according as you desire. As for ye infinance you make, in ye Annuity of Tithes, I read ye afoe to ye King; and you cannot but remember ye King hath saied enough to you in ye par[ticular: Let this] be enough.

My Lo. for ye clofe of your letter all ye I can say is this, my affittance you shall have in all ju: and hono: ways for ye Church; but ye King is foe gracious of himselfe, ye you may be better able att any time to doe your owne buynesse w't him then I am to doe it for you, being not able to vnderstand many difficulties of your buynesses. Yet, considering my presence is here, where yours cannot always be, I shall be euer as ready to ferue you as I haue beene, ye is, to ye vthenof of my power. Soe, wishing you all health and hapines, I leave you to ye Grace of God, and reft,

Your Lord's very loueinge Freinde and Brother,

Croyden, Sept. 19th, 1635.

W: CANT.

To the Reverend Father in God, my very good Lord and Brother, the Lord Bishop of Ross, att Edenburrowe, these.

[Indentified] 19 September 35, His gladnes for their being at the preffe, especialllye that one Canon vnder the curtaine.

XIII.

DR. JUXON BISHOP OF LONDON, TO MAXWELL BISHOP OF ROSS.


My very good Lord,

Vpon the receipt of yo: former letters, I p[refentlie] repaired to my L: Grace of Canterburie, and gott a dispatch of what you defir'd to have explained in yo: Common Praier Booke; and I hope ere this it hath found the waye to Edinburgh, that yo: preffe stand not still: for I was enforced, w't signification of the haft it required, to leave the care of conveniance vpon his Grace; becaufe, my letters coming from Newmarkett, (where the Court then was,) by an vnknownen hand, I knew not well how to gett it returnd.

With yo: letter of the 6th of this month, I receaved yo: Book of Canons,
which perchance at first will make more noise then all the Canons in Edin-
burgh Castle; but when men's cares have beene vide awhile to the sound of
them, they will not startle so much at it, as now at first; and, perchance, find
them as videfull for preservation of the Church, as the others for the Comon-
weale. Our prayers her are for yo' happie proceedings in that great service,
wherewith I ref,

Yo' Lordshippes assured frend to serve you,
London House,
17\th Februarij 1635 [1635-6.]

To the right Reverend Father in God, my
verie good Lord, the Lord Bpp. of Roffe
these bee, Ed'.

XIV.

THE EARL OF STIRLING, TO MAXWELL BISHOP OF ROSS.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio Vol. LXVI. No. 22.—Sir William Alexander
of Menstrie, Author of the Monarchick Tragedies, was created Earl
of Stirling in the year 1633. At this time, he held the office of Secret-
tary of State for Scotland.]

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, AND MY VERIE GOODE LORD,

I THANKE YOW VERIE HARTIELY FOR YO' BOOKE OF THE CANNONS, wch I receaued
yefternight. I was prefent in the morneing when my Lord of Canterburry
delivered the Booke to the King, wch, as foone as his Maffie had reade fome
parte of it, he delivered unto me; and I was glade to heare him fo well
pleased therewith. I finde fome erreoures in the Printer, by mistaking or
renverfing of letters; and therefore have the more care in lookeing to that
in printeing of the Service-Booke, for Yong the printer is the greatest
knave that euer I dealt with; and therefore truft nothing to him nor his
fervants but what of necellity you muft [leave.]

[Since] the writeing hereof, I receaued a letter from my Lord of [Can-
ter]burry, signifying his Mahie pleafure for two letters that should be
[drawen] vp for his hand, concerning the authorizing of the Booke [of Ca]nnons; wch, God willing, fhall come home with the next packett. I
hope my Sonne will take fuch a course, with yo' advice, concerning the
Pfalmes as fhall be fitt, to whom I refere the fame; and flll remayne,

Yo' Lo's verie affectionate frend and fervant,
I send you these inclosed letters from my Lord of Canterbury, to be delivered by you according to their severall directions.
[Whyte]hall, the 17 of Feb[r] 1636.

To the right reverend Father in God, and my verie goode Lord, my Lord Bishope of Rosse.

[Indorfed] 17th Februar 1636. His purchasing the King's authorizing the Canons.

XV.

ACT OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL AUTHORISING THE SERVICE BOOK, WITH HIS MAJESTYS WARRANT:

October 1636.

[Registrum Secreti Concillii, fol. 179.]

Apud Edinburgh, 20 Decembris 1636.—Sederunt.

Thefaurar. Angus. Deputie Treausurer. Justice-Clerk

Act anent the Service Booke.

Forfamekle as the King's Maieftie, ever since his entrie to the imperiall Crowne of this his ancient Kingdome, especiallie since his late being heir, hys distant times recommendit to the Archbishops and Bishops his, the publishing of a publick Forme of Service in the worship of God, which his Maieftie would have vniformelie observed in this Kingdome; and the fame being now condefended upon, although his Maieftie doubts not bot all his Maiesties subjects, both clergie and others, will receave the said publick Forme of Service with such reverence as appertaineth; Yitt his Maieftie thinking it necessar to make his pleasure knoowne twiching the authorizing the booke thairof, Thairfore the Lords of his Maiesties Privie Counsell, according to his Maiesties speciall warrand and dire&ion, Ordauns letters to be direct, to command and charge all his Maiesties subjects, both ecclesiastical and civill, be open proclamation at the Mercat Crofes of the heid Burrowes of this Kingdome and other places needfull, to conforme themselves to the said publick Forme, quhilk is the onlie forme quhilk his Maieftie, (having takin the Counsell of his Clergie,) thinkes fitt to be used in Gods publick worship heir: Commanding heirby all Archbishops and Bishops, and others presbyters and churchemen, to take a speciall care that the said publick Forme of worship be dewlie observed and obeyed, and the contraveaners condignlie cenfured and punished; and to have a speciall care that euerie
Parish betwix and Pasche next, procure unto thamefelfes twa at the leaft of the saids Bookes of Commoun Prayer, for the ufe of the Parish.

FOLLOWIS HIS MAJESTIES MISSIVE FOR WARRANT OF THE ACT ABOUT-WRITTEN.

CHARLES R.

Right Reverend Father in God, right truftie and weil-belouit Cousins and Counfellors, right truftie and truftie and belouit Counfellors, We greet you well. Whereas since our entrie to the Crowne, especiallie since our late being in that Kingdome, We have dierfe times recommended to the Archbifhops and Bifhops there, the publifhing of a publicit Forme of Service in the worchip of God, whiche We would have uniformalie obferved therein; And the fame being now condefcended vpon, thogh We doubt not bot all our subjefts, both Clergie and others, will receaue the fame with fuch reuerence as appertaineth; Yitt thinking it neceffarie to make our pleafure knowne, tuicheing the authorizing of the Booke thaireof, We require you to command, by opin proclamation, all our subjefts, both ecleliaftical and civill, to conforme thamefelfes in the praftife thairof, It being the onlie forme which We, (having takin the Counfell of our Clergie) thinke fitt to be ufed in Gods publicit worchip thaire; As alfo We require you to injoyne all Archbifhops and Bifhops, and other Prefbyters and churchemen, to take care that the fame be dewlie obeyed, and the contraveeners condolliglie ceinfured and punifhed; And to take order that euery Parifh procure to thamefelfes, within fuch a space as you Hall thinke fitt to appoint, two at leaft of the saids Bookes of Common Prayer for the ufe of the Parifh; wherein you will doe us moft acceptable fervice, and for which thefe shall be your warrant. We bid yow farewell, from our Court at Newmercat, the 18 of October 1636.

XVI.

DISCHAIRGE BE THE PRINTER FOR THE BOOKS TO THE CHAIPPELL.

[The Original indorfed as above, is preferved in the General Regifter Houfe.]

We, Robert Bryfon, Bookfeller, and I, Evan Tyler, Printer, by thefes preffents grants us to have received from Mr. George Halyburton, all & whole the fowme of Ane hundred fourty-four pounds, four hillings Scots money, being the juft prIce of the Liturgies, which are given in to the Chappell Royall. In witnes whereof we have subfcritved our names, At Edinburgh this fifteenth of Aprill 1637 years.

Robert Bryrone.
Evan Tyler.
My Very Reverend and Honorable Good Lord,

I was desired to present to your Lordship with one of the copies of our Scottish Liturgie, which is formed so nigh to the Inglish, as we could, that it might be known how we are nothing different in substance from that Church. And God I beseech to keep us one, and free us from those that cause divisions. Zo L. will be pleased to accept this little present, as a testimonie of our Churches love, and sent by him who truly loveth Zo L. and will still remain,

Zowr L. most affectionat Brother,
Sanctandrews.

[Indorfed.]—To my very Reverend good Lord and Brother,
my Lord the Bishop of Norwich.

WELBELOVED BRETHREN,

A great number of the Ministers of this diocese, thinking the day of the Synode had beene the last Weddingsday of Apryll, did come to this Towne, and finding themselfes mistaken, prefentlie returned to their owne homes, w't whom I spake not. These presents therefore are to defyre you to keipe preceiflie the tyme appointed, w'ch is the laft Weddingsday of Maij, for at that tyme there [are] sundrie things that I haue to impart vnto you, and in speciall concerning the Service Books that are to be receaue in our Church; of the w'ch books it is thought expedient, that prefentlie everie Minister and Congregation buy two vpon the common charges of the parish, one for the use of the minister, and the other for the reader, or him that shall assist the
minister in the service. The price of the Booke I think shal be 4lbs. 16ths. ye is 9lbs. 12ths. the two. The matter is of no great moment, and the employment verie necessarie and profitable, as experience shall prove. I hope y'fore yee will not faile everie one to bring in your moneyes and receaue your books, for it is appointed that the Printer be payed, and the buiks taken off his hand, betuix this and the firit of June. In the meanie tyme I expect that yee will obserue the commemoration of Christ's ACpphion, on Thursday the 18th of May: and on Sunday the 28th thereafter, called Whitsonday, a commemoration of the defencing of the Holy Ghost, w't haue beine and are solemnly obserued throw all the Christian world, to the hono' of him who is the God of order, vnty, and peace; to whose grace I leave you, and shall ever remaine,

Yo' loving Brother,

Halyrudhous, 28 April 1637. DA : EDENB.

To his wellbeloved Brethren the Moderator and remenant Brethren of the Exercife of Dalkeith, these.

XIX.

INSTRUCTIONS HOW THE SERVICE CAME TO BEE MADE DELIVERED TO MEE BY THE KING.

[Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVI. No. 36. The above title is the indorsation of this paper in the hand-writing of Dr. Balcanquall. It evidently was drawn up by the Earl of Stirling, then Secretary of State for Scotland. The original is mutilated in the several places marked with points, or where words have been supplied within brackets.]

KING JAMES, of blest memorie, who knew most perfectly the defects of the Church of Scotland, shortly after his coming to the Crown of England, out of his relligious and pious care of God's glorie, and tender affection to that poore Church, in qua natus et renatus, beganne seriously to think vpon the esfa[blishing of a] Liturgie there.

After many though'ts for that purpose, he] obtained that in a Generall Assembly at Aberdeen in the year 1616, it was enacted that a Booke of Co[mmon Prayer] should be framed; and, by Act of Assembly, so many were trusted with it to draw it vp, of whom I am sure Mr. Wm. Cowper B. of Galloway was one.

Then a Booke of Common Prayer was formed and delivered to my Lord Archb. of S't Andrew's, we after hee had reuified, it was sent vp to King James, who did take the paines to peruse and consider it, and gave order to the Deane of Winchester to doe the like, the same was returned to my Lord of S't Andrews, with his Ma. directions what hee would have to be changed, omitted, or added, to make it the more perfect.
Before it could be brought ad embilicum, God called that blessed King to Glory.

King Charles shortly after his entrance to the reign, air not only to his Father's crown, but pietie, vrged the same w't a most pious care and fatherlie affection. This very Book in statu quo King James left it, was sent to his Ma. and presented to his Ma. by myselfe, (whether the same was done or not by the B. of Rofs then, now Archb. of Glagow, I darre not confidently averre, but I thinke hee it was). His Ma. took great care of it, gave his Royall judgement, and I returned home and signified his Ma. pleasure to my L. St Andrew's, and hee to such of the Clergy as hee thought fit.

There was during this time much pains taken by his Ma. here, and My L. St. Andrew's, and some others there, to have it so framed, as wee needed not to be ashamed of it when it should be seen to the Christian world, [and] w't that prudent moderation that it might be done in that [way which might occasion] the least offence to weak ones there.

In God's mercy ....... that it was framed so as the ....... it, and put their hands to it, w'e I shewed to his Ma.; and thereafter his Ma. gaue His Royall approbation, writte to the Council for authorizing of it, and to the BB. to be cairfull, in all prudent and convenient speed, to put it in practice, and that it should goe to preis, that this might be the sooner and better done.

To facilitat the receiving of the Booke of Common Prayer, a care was had befores to make it as perfect as could be, so lykwise that howsoever it shoulde come as neare to this of England as could be, yet that it shoulde be in some things different, that our Church and Kingdome might not grumblse as tho wee were a Church dependent from or subordinat to them.

His Ma. prudent pietie was such, that tenderly caring for the peace of this Church, some things were keept in our Liturgie which as yet our Church could not be vrged with, and some things which the weakness of the greater part would except against: that the turbulent heire might get no advantage by our Booke to disquiet the Church, and that ours might the more [smoothly] be receauned His Ma. in a gratious moderat .... ned vnder his hand, difpens'd w't ye BB. not ......... vpon any but such as were willing ......... their flocks to doe it.

And yet [His Majesties] care and prudence was more, that when all was concluded, and the Booke ready for the preis, to prepare men the better to receve it, gave order to all Archbishops & BB., till our owne shoulde be printed and fully authorized, to cause read the English Service booke in their Cathedrals, to vfe it morning and evening in their owne houses and colledges, as it had been vfed in His Ma. Chappell Royall in the yeir of God 1617. The BB. vpon a remonstrance made to his Ma. that feing their owne was shortly to come forth, desired that all shoulde be continuat till their owne were printed and fully authorized: to which his Ma. gratiously accorded.

In 1636, at fartheft in the beginning of 1637, the Booke was printed, sent to his Ma. presented to the Councill, authorized at His Ma. command, publick proclamation made to all churchmen to beginne the practice at
Easter 1637. His Ma. at this tyme, at ebery occasion, put the BB. in mynd of their dutie, and not to be negligent.

The Bishops of Edinburgh not being able to beginne at the appointed day, the Bishops meeting in June and July, carefull to obey his Majestie did think fit, before the Seccion rais'd, (that so it might be known in all the corners and parts of the kingdome,) that the reading and vfe of it should beginne in Edinburgh and all the neireit adjacent churches; and knowing that all were not alike affected to fo pions a worke, ordaining intimation to be made the Lord's day before the 23 of July, that the Service was to beginne and continoue, fearing that some disaffectté would prevaricate in the intimation, caufed print the intimation, and intimat it in all the churches of Edinburgh, in the printed order.

What a barb[arous] hub-hub was then, wou'd to God it were buried in [oblivion. After] that the Toune of Edinburgh, fearing His Ma: [displea-
ure,] yea puritans themselves condemning it . . . . . . . . . . . . . expressly . . . . condemning the faictis . . . . . . either know-
ledge of it, or hand in it, and promising obedience (. . . . . was put
vpon Rafealls and Coal-teillers, but how justly, let subsequent actions and
events declare:) His Majestie was fo gracious, that he pardonèd the Toune,
accepted of their excuse: Such was His goodness all this tyme, not one, no
not the baitef, cenured.

The 23 of August, a Councell day, appointed to meet solemnly, to know
His Ma. pleasure, expected to returne before then; their came to that diet
some few Minifters from Fife, and some from the West, being charged to
to and receive the books, to suspend. Nothing was done then to curbe
them, but at Councell table speking that their was a fire in all the parts of
the kingdome. Quherevpon, in the nixt Councell day, noble-men and num-
bers of Minifters did appear w't petitions, and crying out against the Booke as
Popith superstitions. After which petition and petitions were sent to his Ma.
At this tyme, if I mistake not, my L. D. of Lennox, occasionally being at
home, did bringe vp their Petition. They encreased in number, and then
spoke against Service-book, Canons, His Commiffion, &c. Declarations
were given in to the Councell; and heir you would admire to see the tennor
of that Act at Dalkeith, which they pretend as their warrand for meeting,
which they abusèd to the establising of their [Tables. His] Ma. was
gratiouly pleased to declar, by op[en Proclamation, hee] intended no no-
vation in Relligion, &c.; [but that the conte]mpt of the Proclamation con-
cluded at Lin[lithgow.] commanding them all to repair home, would be
lookt to. Traquair written for came vp. At Stirling was a gracious pro-
clamation, to assure His Majestie's subjects of the fyncery of Relligion.
Heir was made the first protestation against authority, which in terminis
meets & opposes the proclamation. After that, Privie Seale was sent home.
Then the Covenant was put on foot, &c. After that, his Lordship's panis
did proue successfull: His Lordship can give you information of this. Then
the Marquis of Hamilton, &c.
XX.

INFORMATION FROM THE EARL OF STIRLING TO DR. BALCANQUALL.

[Woodrow MSS., Folio, Vol. LXVI. No. 26.—This paper has no date or signature, but it relates to matters which occurred in 1637, and appears to be a continuation of the preceding article.]

The Counsell gave out letters, charging every minister to receive two Service Booke for every paroch church; but Mr. Alex. Henderion, and two other ministers with him, in name of the rest, gave in a petition the next day, that they might have some reasonable time to see the Booke and consider of it; whereupon the former charge was suspended. The Service Booke was begun to be read in the church of Edinburgh upon a Sunday, when the Lo. Treasurer was forth of town, and the Counsell not present, which made a great mutiny in the church, and the service was read with difficulty, the church doors all being shut; and as soon as the sermon was ended, they threw stones at the Bishop, and entered in a great tumult. There was a tumultuous multitude that came about the Towne Counsell-house, the Clerk Register being then Proved, urging him to sign what they demanded, till the Lo. Treasurer came and relieved him.

The Towne of Edinburgh being pressed to receive the Service Booke, offered once to do it, so they might have men to read it to them; and they gave in a petition that they might not be urged to vfe it till the rest of the Borroughes did consent to the receiving of it, and they would abstaine, in the mean time, from joyning in petition with them. They could have no answer, but that they must either receive it presently, or joyne with the rest, which they did, though it might then have been prevented.

The Counsell, vpon this, was removed from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, and the Lo. Roxbrughe was sent home with a commiission from his Majestie, and a proclamation, shewing that no innovation in Religion was intended; but it was so far from settling the busines, that they proceeded to more high demands than before, and of others then concerning the Service Booke.

Thereafter, the Seffion being removed to Sterline, and the troubles still encraewing, a proclamation was made there, expressing his Majesties gratious intention and sincerity in Religion, and withall, charging all men, under paine of Treason, to retire themselves to their owne houses; but this was encountered with a protestation, and no obedience given to the charge.

After this, they made a Covenant amongst themselves, and a Bond of mutual aide, for prosecuting their cause in establishing of the Religion in that estate which they conceaved to be the purity thereof, and confirmed the same by an oath and subscription of all such as they could, by any means, draw to adhere to them. The Ministers, taking a liberty, even out
of the pulpits, to abstract from the authority of Bishops, thereby to incense the people against them; and all such of the ministerie as would not conform to their Covenant, the Presbyteries either deprived, suspended, or silenced, for any fault they could find out, (or, they say,) could be pretended against them.

[Indorsed in Balcanquall’s hand.] From my L. Sterlin.

XXI.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REGISTERS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND.

(1.) Apud Edinburgh, 13 Junij 1637.

ACT ANENT SERVICE BOOKES.

Forasmeikle, as by act and proclamation, made and published heretofore, It was commandit and ordained, that everie Presbyterie within this Kingdom fould have had a care that their parochiners fould have beene furnished and provydit, betwixt and Pasche lait, with twa of the Bookes appointed to be univerallie receaued throughout this Kingdom, for the publict forme of Service in the worship of God, as in the act and proclamation made to this effect at lenth is conteinit: Quhereunto, altho great numbers of the ministrie of best learning and foundest judgement and gifts, hes given dewtfull obedience, and hes conformed themselvses to his Maiefties royall will and pleasure in this point, Yitt there is some others of the ministrie who, out of curiosity and singularitie, refuise to receaue and embrace the said Booke, and does what in thame lyes to fofter and interteyny distraction and troubles in the Kirk, to the disturbing of the publict peace thereof, without remed be provydit; Thairfore, the saids Lords ordains letters to be direct, charging the whole Presbyters and Minifteris within this kingdom, That they and euery ane of thame provide and furnithe themselvses, for the use of their Parishes, with twa of the saids Bookes of publict Service, or Commoun prayer, within fyftcine dayes nixt after the charge, vnder the paine of rebellion and putting of thame to the horne; and if they faillie, to denunce, &c. and to echeit, &c.

(2.) Apud Edinburgh, 28 Julij 1637.

Sederunt.

Chancellor. Dumfries. B. Ros.
Thesaunter. L. Lorne. B. Brechin.
The Lords of Secret Counsell having heard the Proueit and Bailleis of Edinburgh tuiching the proposition made be thame, and courfe taken conforme thereto, for a peaceable exercice of the Service-booke, and securitie of the personis imploied, or who fall be prent and affist at the practife thairof: The Lords ordaine the Proueit and Bailleis to advyse amongs thaimselfis anent ane obligatorie act to be given be the Toun for the real performance of what they fall undertake in the busines abone mentioned, And allowes thame to publifie, by touck of drwm, the Orders to be eftablished be thame for keeping of thair Toune in peace and quyetnes, and preventing of all trouble and commotiuin within the same.

(3.) Apud Ed$ 29 Julij 1637, in the Chan$ loodging.

Soderunt.
Treasurer.  L.  Alexander.  Clerk Registrar.
Wintoun.  B.  Brechin.

The Clergie's Report anent the Service Booke.

The whilk day the Archbishop of S$ Andrewes, Lord High Chancellor of this Kingsdome, for himselfe and in name of the remanent Bishops, reported to the Counsell, That, in regaird of the late trouble and insurreciton raifed upon Sunday laift, for opposing the Service-booke, and upon new emergent occasions and considerabe reflectts, It wes thought fitt and expedient be thame, That thereould be a furceasle of the Service-booke till his Maiestieould signifie his pleazure tuiching the redres and punishment of the authors and actors of that difierdleg tumult, and that a courfe be fett down for the peaceable exercice thairof, to the glorie of God, his Maiesties honour, and the good of this Citie; And in the meane time, to the effect his Maiesties good and loyall subjets be not defrauded of the comfort of the word, the saids Bishops had appointed and given order that, in the whole churches of this Citie, sermon fall be made at the accustomed times, by regular and obedient Minifters, and that a prayer fall be made before and after sermon, and that neither the Old feruice nor the New eftablifhed feruice, be vied in this interim: Whiche report and conclusion, takin be the saids Bishops, being heard be the Counsell, They remitted to thame to doe therein according to the power incumbent unto thame in the dewtie of thair offices.
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(4) Apud Edinburgh, 25 Augusti 1637.

DECLARATION ANENT THE SERVICE BOOKES.

The Lords of Secret Counsell, understanding that there has been a great mistaking in the Letters and charges given out upon the Act of Counsell made anent the buying of the Service Bookes, the saide Lords for removing and clearing of all such surples, declares that the said Act and Letters extends allanerlie to the buying of the saide Bookes and no farther.

XXII.

THE SUPPLICATION OF CERTAIN MINISTERS OF FYFFE, GIVEN IN TO THE COUNSEL., THE 23D OF AUGUST 1637.

[From Baillie's MS. Letters and Journals: Compared with other Copies.]

My Lords of Secret Counsell unto your Lordships humbly meanes and shewes we your servitors, Mr. Alex' Henderson minister at Leuchars, Mr. George Hamilton minister at Newburne, and Mr. James Bruce minister at King's Barnes, That where we wer requyred of late, by the Moderator of our Prebytery, to receive two eoppies of the new Booke of Common Prayer, and declaring our selves most willing each of us to receive one of the saide Bookes to read, that we might know what it containes before we could pro-mife to practise it, allceeding, that in matters of God's worship we are not bound to blind obedience; it was refuifed us, and taken out of some of our hands; and yet we are now charged with Letters of horning, directed by your Lordships, upon a narrative that we have refuifed the saides Bookes out of curiosity and singularity, to provyed every one of us too of the saide Bookes for the use of our Parishes, which hath made us, who wer never acquainted with any charge from authority, and knowing no other way fo just and voyd of offence, to have recourse to your Lordships, most humbly intreating, that the Charge may be suspended, for the Reasons following:—

1. Because this Booke is neither warranted by the authority of the Generall Assembly, which is the representative Church of this Kingdome, and hath, ever since the Reformation, given direction in matters of God's worship; nor by any Act of Parliament, which in things of this kind hes ever been thought necessary be his Majestie and the Estates.

2. Because the liberties of the true Kirk, and the form of worship and religion received at the Reformation and univerfally practifed fenfyne, is warranted be the Acts of Generall Assemblies, and diverse Acts of Parliament, especially of the Parliament 1567, and the late Parliament 1633.

3. The Kirk of Scotland is one free and independant Kirk, and their paftours should be moit able to difcerne and direct, what doth beft become our measure of Reformation, and what may serve moit for the good of the people.
4. It is not unknown to your Lordships, what disputing, division, and trouble hath been in this Kirk, about some few of the manie Ceremonies contained in this Booke; which being examined (as we shall be ready, a competent tyme being assign'd be your Lordships to show,) will be found to depart far from the forme of worship and reformation of this Kirk, and in points most materiall to draw neir to the Kirk of Rome, which for her heresies in doctrine, superstition and idolatry in worship, tyrannie in government, and wickedness every way, is alledged Antichristian now, as when we came out of hir.

5. The People hath been otherwayes taught by us and our predeceivers in our places ever since the Reformatione, and so it is likely they will be found unwilling to the change when they shall be affayed, even where their pastors are willing, in respect whereof, the saide Letters of horning, haill effect and executions whereof, ought to be suspended simply in tymne coming. Therefore, we beseech your Lordships that we may have letters directed, charging the persons who hath caused us this Charge against us, to compear personally, bringing and producing the said Letters of horning, with the executions and indentations thereof, at ane certain day, to be seen and considered; and in the meantime to be suspended, and your Lordships answer, &c.

XXIII.

INFORMATIONS GIVEN TO SEVERALL COUNSELLERS.

[From the same.]

1. This Booke of Common Prayer hath no warrant of a Nationall Assemblie, which in all Nations ought to direct, and in this Nation hath directed, in the matter of God's worship ever since the Reformation.

2. It hath no warrant of the Estates of Parliament, without whose consent to alter the Form of worship, and to enjoy all his Majestie's subjects to receive every form of religion, under the pain of rebellion, we defyre to be considered how important this is.

3. The Form of worship here is ratified be the Parliament 1633, and consequently all different Forms are forbidden.

4. This Kirk is a free and independant Kirk, no les then the Kingdom is a free and independant Kingdom; and as our owne Patriots can beft judge what is for the good of the Kingdom, so our owne Pastors should be most able to judge what form of worship becometh our Reformation, and what serveth most for the good of the People.

5. This Booke destroyeth all the order of our Kirk-Sessiones, Prelbytries, and Assemblies, and puts the censure of doctrine, the admition of ministers, and the whole government of the Kirk, absolutely in the hands of the Prelatts.
6. It establisheth a reading ministry; whosoever can read the Booke can be a minister; and he who is best gifted may pay no more nor he readeth, whether in prayer, baptism, communion, &c.

7. It preferveth Apocrypha to be read, as if it were the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles; hath many gross points of Popery, and openeth a wide door by generalities and ambiguities of speech to many more, as we shall be ready and are most desirous to be employed, to manifest in particulars, upon a competent tym granted to us by authority.

XXIV.

LETTERS TO AND FROM THE LORDS OF PRIVY COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND.

[From the Same.]

(1.) The Counsell's Letter to the King.

Most Sacred Sovereigne,

According to the warrant of your Majesties commandement, wee have been most willing and ready to give all concurrence and assistance to my Lords of the Clergie for establisling of the Service-Booke; and notwithstanding of that barbarous tumult (occasioned allenarie, for any thing wee can yet learne, by a number of base and rascall people,) wee were very hopeful in a short time, without any further trouble or importunity to your Majestie, to have brought it to practice: but having appointed a meeting of Counsell upon the 23d of August instant, in this extraordinary time of vacation, expresslie to think upon the best expediencies for advancing of that Service, wee found ourselves farre by our expectation, surprized with the clamours and feares of your Majestie's subjects from almost all the partes and corners of the Kingdom; and that even of them who otherways hes heretofore lived in obedience and conformitie to your Majestie's lawes, bothe in Ecclesiastical and Civile buffinesse, and thus wee finde it so to increafe, that we conceive it to be a matter of high consequence in respect of the generall murmure and grudge in all sorte of people for urging of the practice of the Service-Booke, as the like hath not being heard in this Kingdom; so that wee dare not longer delay, nor conceale it from your Majestie, not knowing whereunto the same may tend, and what effects it may produce; neither dare wee dye further in the tryell of the caufe of the said feares or remedies thereof, till it shall please your Majestie, in the deepnesse of your Royall judgment, to preceive the way, after hearing of all the particulars, either by calling some of your Majesties Counsell, bothe Clergie and Laittie, to your Majestie's owne presence, to the effect our cafe may be taken for pacifying the present commotion, and establishing of the said Service-Booke, or otherways by such other means as your Majestie in your owne
great wisdome shall think fitting; and wee have appointed the 20th of September for attending your Majesties pleasure hereaunt, which wee, as becomes humble and faithfull subjects, and thence whom your Majestie has honoured with your Royall commandments, will follow and obey: and so, with all our most humble prayers for your Majestie's long and prosperous reign, we humblie kisse your Royall handes, from Edinburgh 25th of August 1637.


(2) The King's Letter to the Council.

Charles R.

Right Reverend Father in God, &c.—Wee have considered your letter, and do find that our former directions have produced verie small effects; neither doe you hereby propose any new expedient, but onlie that you desire that some of the Clergie and Laitie should be sent for to deal with us therein, which wee conceave not to be fitt; and by a needleffe noyle, would make it appear, that either wee have a verie slack Counsell, or verie bad subiects which wee will never beleive, having had noe great a proofe of their affectio heretofoir; but rather will that a sufficient number of you doe still attend at Edinburgh, or neere thereabout during the vacation tyme, till the Service-Book be settled; and wee are not well satisfied neither with yow nor with our Town of Edinburgh: that after that the Service was read upone the Sunday in the afternoone, it should have beene intermitted immediately thereafter, and that no delinquents, who were authors or accesorie to that insolencie and ruyot (committed in the tumult that day), were nowayes confirued to terrify others from attempting the like; and it doth likewayes seeme verie strange unto us, that the Ministrs of Edinburgh, haveing offered to beginne the reading of the Service prouyding that they were secured from indemnity, and releved by our said Cittie of the forefaid charge within a moneth thereafter, that the saide offer was not accepted, which wee will you yet to accept, and see it performed; and it is our pleasure that everie Bishops saufe read the Service within his owne diocie, as the Bishops of Rofs and Dumblane have alreadie done; as lykewayes that yee warne our Burrowis, particularie that none of them make choyse of any Magistrates but of such for whom they will answeare for their conformitie: So expectting that yee will extend the uttermost of your endeavours, by doing what is necessari, and preventing any inconvenients that
may occur, that Wee may have a good account with diligence, Wee bid you farewell.

From our Court at Oatlands, the 10th of September 1637.

(3.) The Council’s Letter to the King.

Most Sacred Soveraigne,

We received your Majesties letter concerning the Service Booke, and according to the prescript and direction thereof, we are seriosly applying ourselves toward the performance of what your Majestie hes committed to our care. For which purpose, we have appointed a constant Counfell to reside here at Edinburgh, and have required the Prelats presence, and written to thefe that were absent, for establishing the Service within their severall diocies; and have accordinglie given order to the Burrowes to make a right choyfe of conforme and well affected perſones, for the charge of the Magiftracie, this enfuing year.

By our former letter, we certificated your Majestie of the generall dislike and prejudice conceaved againſt the Service Booke; which, at this Counfell-day, hes beene more fullie evidenced by the numerous confluence of all degrees and ranks of perſones, who were earnest and humble Supplicants for oppofeing the acceptation of the Service Booke, as by their petitions, extending to the number of three score and eight, may more clearlie appeare; whereof we have herewith sent to your Majestie three copies, one in name of the noblemen, bartons, and gentlemen, one from the minifters of the Exercise of Auchterarder, within the dioce of Dumblane, (where your Majestie is informed the Service is practised), and the third from the citty of Glasgow; together with the lift of the remanent petitions: The effect and substance of all which resolves in one alleadgance, that the Service enjoyed, is againſt the religion prefentlie profefed; or that the same is inorderlie brought in without the knowledge or content of a Generall Assemblie, or contrarie to the Acts of Parliament, or diſconforme from the Service used and received in England, which the Petitioners undertooke to qualifie and make good; wherewith we have forborne to meddle till we receave your Majesties gracious resolution thereon.

We doe humble crave pardon to exprefse our unſpeakable greffe to find that your Majestie is not satisfied with the sincereitie of our faithfull endeavours in this particular service. For the better clearing of the truth and ingenuitie of our proceedings therein, we have sent to your Majestie’s Secretar a more full and particular accompl of all that was moved or concluded in Counfell concerning that busines. We have always beene dewtifullie inclyned to further the performance of your Majesties royall commandements, and shall still continue, as in dutie bound, to anſwer the truth which your Majestie hes reported in us; and fo humblely entreating your Majestie to be graciouslie pleased not to hearken to wrongous suggestions which may prejude us in your Majesties favour, we pray God to bleffe your
Majestie with a long and prosperous reigne, and we rest your Majestie's most humble and obedient subiects and servants, &c.

Edinburgh, the 20th of September 1637.

(4) Letter from the Lords of Privy Council to the Earl of Stirling, Secretary of State.

Our very honourable good Lord,

The Earle of Roxburgh having, upon the seuenth of this instant, exhibit to his Majestie's Counfell his Majestie's letters directed to them; to wit, one for a frequent meeting of the Counfell, for obedience whereof letters were ordain'd to be directed to all those of the Counfell who wer not present; which was done: the other letter was the letter of truth, and withall commanding the Counfell to take the readieft way for vindicating his Majestie's honor, and settling the peace of the Kingdom. Thereafter the Earle of Roxburgh did signify his Majestie's pleafure anent the places of Counfell and Seffion; according to which, the Lords preferring his Majestie's commandments to all particulars, ordained the Counfell to fitt att Dalkeith till the firft of February, the Seffion then to begin, and to hold at Stirling. Thereafter, the Earle of Roxburgh reprefented his Majestie's favor and declaration anent the miſtake of his Majestie's intention in the matters of the Service-Book; according whereunto the Counfell ordained proclamation to be made, (whereof we have herewith fent your Lordfhip ane double,) which was published at all the publick places of this Kingdom, and which we caufed to be done at Linlithgow before our removeall, and thereafter at the mercatt crofs of Edinburgh, in moft solemn manner, with displayed coat of armes and found of trumpet; which gracious expression was accepted in all humilitie and thankfulness be his Majestie's subiects. Thereafter, the Counfell met at Dalkeith on Tuesday and Wednesday, being the 12th and 13th days of December, where they entered upon confideration of the way of the truall of the tumults in Edinburgh, and of the caufe, effects, authors, actors, and whole circumftances thereof; and continued the matter till Tuesday next, upon one motion made to the Counfell be the Proverff of Edinburgh. Thereafter, some few of the noblemen, barrons, burgeffes, and minorites, in a moft humble and modest way, according to the order taken the 15th of November, defrayed to be heard, and made offer to give in ane petition; but the Counfell, being carefull to follow his Majestie's gracious commandments and directions, which wer reprefented to them by the faid Earle of Roxburgh, entred in a serious confideration how far they might receive petitions, and of what nature; wherein the Counfell debated and laboured the moft part of Tuesday and all Wednesday, and finding some things to tend to informations against the Bifhops in their carriage concerning the Service-Book, the Lords absolutely refused to receive any thing of that nature, and expects to hear no more of this petition; and upon Tuesday we are to meet again at Dalkeith for-prosecuting this matter according to his Majestie's commandments. And fo we ref. From Dalkeith, the 14th December 1637.
XXV.

THE EARL OF LOUDOUN'S SPEECH TO THE LORDS OF PRIVY COUNCIL, 21st of December 1637.

[From the same, compared with other manuscript copies.]

My Lords,

A more weighty and stately cause than this, for the which we compel before your Lordships at this tym, was never pleaded before any judge on earth; being for the defence of true Religion and established Lawes, on the which depended the weelfare both of Church and Commonwealth, our condition of lyf, liberty, and temporall estate in this tranitory world, and our eternall happines in the world to come; our duty to God Almighty, the Supream King of Kings, and our alledged anace and duty to our Soveraign Lord and Master the King: And as the public form of God's worship is the most comfortable and solemn action of us his creatures on earth, so the greatest grievance we can sustaine is the alteration of Religion, which, by the Innovations complained of, is pitifully changed, in Doctrine, Sacraments, and Discipline, contrary to severall laudable Acts of Parliament and the Constitutions of the National Assemblies of our Church, by the illagall introduction of the Book of Canons, Ordination, High Commision, and Service Book, called the Book of Common-Prayer, in which are fown the seeds of diverse superstitions, idolatry, and falf doctrine, so as the Romish Maffe is in the main and subftantiall points made up therein: which whole Innovations, as they are fraughted with heaps of absurdities, and intollerable pollutions, in the matter, tending to the undermining and extirpation of true Religion; so, in the manner of inbringing, they want the warrand of Generall Assemblies, the only reprentative body of the Church, or allowance of Parliament, but are unlawfully introduced, contrary to both, by the Prelats. First, by causing set forth ane Book of Canons, wherein it is ordained, that. "Whosoever should affirm that the form of worship in the Service-Book, and administration of the Sacraments, doth contain any thing repugnant to the Scriptures, or is corrupt, superstitious, or unlawfull in the worship of God, shall be excommunicate;" which Book of Canons was the forerunnder and usher to the Service-Book, printed thereafter: which Service-Book, by the Bis hips conveyance, was, by Act of Counfell, ratified, long before it was either printed or seen; and thereafter, being thus sheltered by some shadow of authority, by publick proclamatione, it came forth, charging all his Majestie's subjefts to conform themselves thereunto, as the only form of God's public worship to be used within this Kingdom; and minifters, ere ever they had seen it, wer charged to accept and buy the same for the use of their Parishes, upon an implicit faith, under the pain of rebellion; whereupon they were forced to supplicate your Lordships, by giving in an Bill of sufpenion in the moneth of August, being charged in the moneth of July before: And your Lordships were pleased to restrict the
charge to the buying of the Book allanerie, and did write to his Majestie the difficulties of establithing it. And the subjects finding themselves thus insnared betwixt two extremities, by danger of rebellion and excommunication on the one hand, or of forfaking the way of true Religion and breach of our Covenant with God on the other hand, could find out no safer nor more legall way nor humbly to supplicat your Lordships against these Innovations, so farr tending to the overthrow of true Religion and our lawfull liberties. For preventing whereof we resolv'd to proceed in that most orderly and legal way whereby to evehew all imputations of factious convocations, or tumultuous dealing, and which might beft testifie our loyalty to the King our Master, by selecting one or tuo of the gravest ministers within each Prefbytery, and one or tuo discreet Gentlemen from every Shyre, to preser our complaints, and remonfrit our just grievances to your Lordships; by whose mediation, the matter might be represented to the King's Sacred Majestie, from whose justice redreffe was humbly crave and expected, and supplications at divers tymes were given in name of the nobility, gentry, ministry, and burrowes, to that effect: as the petitions themselves, especialy that which was given in the 25th of September, and upon the 18th of October, doth clearly proport: At which tyne, by warrand from his Majestie, procured, as we apprehend, by the Bishops, the course of our supplications was interrupted, and the Counfell at this tyne discharged to medle with any Church busines; and the Supplicants, by open proclamatione, wer chargd to depart off the Toun within the space of 24 hours, under the pain of rebellion: whereby we were contrainstrd to give in that supplication the 18th of October, containing ane complaint against the Archbishops and Bishops as the contr vyrs, maintainers, and urgrs of the Service-Book and such other grievous Innovations; and so, in obedience to the proclamation, that meeting was dissolv'd, and the Supplicants did return to the severall places of their residence in the country, till the earnest defyre of an gracious answr of our former demands, whilk was always longed for from his Majestie, made us return to Edinburgh the 15th of November, as a tyne conveniend of our meeting, being coincident with the term and doun sitting of the Session: where we might lykwayses consult and advysse of the most expedient way of representing our humble defyres and remonftrating our just grievances to the King's Majestie. But my Lord Theflaurer, with the Earle of Lauderdaill and the Lord of Lorne, having, out of their respect to his Majestie's service, and the quietnes of the countrie, signified to us that fo frequent a meeting might be misconstrued, and produce some dangerous effects, even contrair to our intentions; to testifie how much defyrous we wer to carrie our selves in that humble and respectfull way which might be most pleasant to his Majestie, (as we hope your Lordships will bear us wittnes,) and that the important businesse so deeplie concerning us all might be attended and prosecut by a few; that frequent and numerous meeting was dissolv'd, and Commissioners chosen for attending his Majestie's answr, and to doe what else might conduce for furthering our lawfull defyres: who have
remained in Edinburgh, till the Earle of Roxburgh's coming from Court, with whom his Majestie's answer was expected, at whose return the Privie Counfell was appoynted to conveen at Linlithgow the 7th of December; where we lykways intended to have gone to get his Majestie's answer of our former demands; but being defrayed by my Lord Thelauner and the Earle of Roxburgh not to appeir at Linlithgow, upon assured promife, that our petitions and defyres should be judicialie heard in Counbell the next week thereafter: in obedience wherof we did stay at Edinburgh, where, after your Lordships returned from Linlithgow, there was an publick declaration shewing that his Majestie doeth abhorre all superstitiions of Pope-rie, or violation of the laudable lawes of the Kingdom: By which signification of his Majestie's gracious pleasure, we are still more and more confirm'd of his Royall care for prevervation of true Religion establisht in this his ancient and native Kingdom; and are encouraged, with the greater confidence, to remonstrate and fo prosecute our just exceptions and complaints against the Service-Book, and other superstitiions and unlawfull innovations, which we offer to prove, in tyme and place convenient, to be contrare to our true Reformed Religion, contrare to the laudable Lawes of the Kingdom, contrare to his Majestie's gracious Declaration. And seeing, after fo long and patient attendance, our earnest defyres doeth tend to the prevervation of true Religion, (which is the very salvation of our soules,) his Majestie's honor, and the subiects lawfull liberties, we beseech your Lordships, out of that duty ye owe to God, to the King, and your native countrey, that ye will be pleased to read and ponder our Supplications, and give such ane answer thereto, as the justice of our caufe and the equity of our demands doeth deserve; and if this shall seem ane matter of such importance as your Lordships will not give ane determinat answer therin till ye know his Majestie's royall pleasure, we humbly crave, that these our preffing grievances, and just defyres, may be fully reprefented to his Majestie by the hand of your Lordships who have the honor to be intrusted, as prime Officers of State, and as his Highnes's particular servants, with his Majestie's royall commandments; whose faithfull counfell and travell is moft requisite in this bufineffe, whilk doeth fo highly concerne God's glory, the King's honor, and the good of his subiects.

And in respect that, by the whole strain of our Supplications and complaints, given in to your Lordships, the Archbishops and Bishops are our direct parties as controyers, devyfiers, introducers, maintainers, and urgers of the Books, (the one whereof is called the Book of Canons, and Constitutions Ecclefaftical, the other is called the Book of Common Prayer,) and other unlawfull Innovations and just grievances complained of by us, we crave, that the matter may be put to tryall, and the Prelates our partie taken order with, according to the lawes of the Realm, and not suffered to sitt as judges, untill our caufe be tried and decyded according to justice; and fo, the saide Prelates being our only partie, upon whom we have at this tyme justly complained, must be declyned as our judges, seeing they cannot be both judge and party, according to the laudable Lawes of this
kingdome, and of all nations in the lyke cafe: And our Declinature ought to be sustaine as relevant against the Prelates, notwithstanding they have purposelie absented themselves at this time, because if the matter and action depending shall not receive a present decision, but shall happen, by answer or letter from his Majestie, to be remitted back to the Councill, the Chancellor and Bishops who are Councillors, will be judges in the complaint given in against themselves; and the Chancellor, with fixe or seven of the Bishops, making vp a quorum of the Councill, may doe and determine of our cause and petitions, now depending, as well as they past an Act of Councill for approving the Service-Book, before it was either printed or seen; which Act, we perswade ourselves, had never been past, if either there had been a frequent Councill, or if the Bishops had not been the predominant ingredient at that tymse. And where, by our Petitions, it is craved, that the matter may be tryed, and the Bishops, as the partie delinquent, taken order with, according to justice, we declare, that our defires doeth chiefly tend to the preservation of true Religion, and the subjects lawfull liberties; neither doe we crave the Bishops blood, nor revenge on their persones, but that the abuses and wrongs done by them may be truely remonstrat to his Majestie; that after due tryall of the wrongs, such order may be taken, as the evils may be remedie, and the power that they have abused may be so restrained, as the lyke evils may be prevented in tymse to come.

XXVI.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REGISTERS OF PRIVY COUNCIL
continued from No. XXI.

Acts anent the present Combustion in the Countrie.

(5) Atud Stirlin, primo Martij 1638.—

Sederunt.

Thefaurer. Lauderdaill. L. Elphinston.
Winton. L. Augus. Clerk Reg'.
Wigton. L. Doune. Deputie Tre'.
Kingorne. B. Brechin. Advocat.
Justice Clerk.

The 9th day, the Lords of Secret Counfell being conveenned in Counsell, and having at lenth reafouned upon the causes of the present combustion within the Countrie, and of this present meeting, they declare, that the cause of this meeting is to repreffent to his facred Ma'th the trew effat of the Coun-
trie, be occasion of the Service-Booke, Booke of Canons, and the Hie Com-
mission; and to thinke upon the best way how his Ma\textsuperscript{ie} may be satified in
honour, and the peace of the countrie secur\textperiodcentered.

Thereafter, the Clerk of Reg\textsuperscript{e} produced ane letter from the Lo. Chan\textsuperscript{e},
excusing his not keeping of this dyet according to his promise; and the
Lord Privie Seale declared, that he had receaued the like letter, and to the
same effect, which he had communicat to the Lord Treasurer, who imme-
diatelie dispached a letter to the Lord Chancellor, deifying his LP. to keepe
this dyet preci\textperiodcentered. And in respect thairof, and seing the Lord Chancellor
was not come. The Lords thought meit to continue all further doing in
this mater till the mornie, at eight of the clocke in the forenoone, whilk
they appointed to be thair nixt meiting; and to set till twelfe, and to meit
at twa after noone, and set till sax. And the saids Lords ordains the said
Lord Chan\textsuperscript{e} his letter, produced be the said Clerk Reg\textsuperscript{e} to be inert and
registrat in the Bookes of Privie Counsell. ad futuram rei memoriam: Of
the quhill the tenor followes:

Please your Lordships to excuse my abside frome this meiting whiche
I promisied to keep, but am hindered by diversie vrgent occa\textperiodcentered. Your
Lo. knowes my minde in the cheefest baffines whiche is to be intreated.
whiche I affirme myselfe will be the mynd of all good clergie men, that is,
to lay aside the Booke, and not to preffe the subject\textperiodcentered with it anie more,
rather then to bring it in with suche trouble of the Church and King-
doms as we see. But I foule withe all this to be fairelie caried, without
anie taiche to his Ma\textsuperscript{ie} honour, and the opening of a doore to the dis-
obedience of ill affected people. q\textsuperscript{e} I know your Lordships will be care-
full; and fo befeeching God to bleffe yo\textsuperscript{e} Counsell\textperiodcentered with a good succe\textperiodcentered, I
take my leave,

Reiting yo\textsuperscript{e} Lo. humble servant,
(\textit{Subscribitur}) SANCTANDREWES.

Ed\textsuperscript{e}: the lait of Februar 1638.

(6) Apud Stirline, 2 Martij 1638.
Sederunt, \textit{ut die pr\textperiodcenteredicto}.

The q\textsuperscript{e} day, The Lords having entered vpon considera\textperiodcentered of the pre\textperiodcentered
efat of the Countrie, and caus\textperiodcentered of the generall combu\textperiodcentered within the same,
They all in one voice concea\textperiodcentered that the feares apprehended be the subject\textperiodcentered,
of Innovation of Religion and discipline of the Kirk e\textperiodcenteredablished be the Lawes
of this Kingdome, vpon occasion of the Service Booke, Booke of Canons,
and High Commissi\textperiodcentered, and the forme of introdu\textperiodcentered thairof, contrare or
without warrant of the Lawes of this Kingdome, ar the caus\textperiodcentered of this com-
bu\textperiodcentered.

(7) Apud Stirline, 3 Martij 1638.
Sederunt, \textit{ut die pr\textperiodcenteredict}.

The Lords having tane to thair considera\textperiodcentered what farther fall be done
for compe\textperiodcentered and seting of the pre\textperiodcentered combu\textperiodcentered within this Kingdome,
and dissipating of the convocations and gadderings within the same, feing proclamations are already made and published, discharging all suche convocations and unlawfull meetings, the Lords, after voting, finds, they can doe no farther nor is already done heerin.

It being after propounded, what nixt wes to be done, It wes resolved, that one or two of the Counfell fould be sent to his Ma** with the trew effet of matters heir; and it being voted whether one or two fould be sent, it was voted that one fould goe, and choice wes made of the Justice-Clerk.

Item, the Lords having entered vpon conferendation of the remedies, and conceaving that the Service Booke, Booke of Canons, and Hie Commilion, as is sett down, ar the occasiion of this combustion, and that the subjects offers thame, upon perrell of their lyves and fortuns, to cleere that the saide Service Booke and others forcefaids, conteame diverifie points contrare to the Religion prefentlie profesi, and Lawes of the Kingdome in mater and maner of introduction. The Lords thinkes expedient that it be represented to his Ma** gracious confideration, if his Ma** will be pleasfed to declare as ane act of his singular justice, that his Ma** will take tryell of his subjects grievances and reafons thairof, in his owne time, and in his owne way, agreable to the Lawes of this Kingdome; and that his Ma** may be pleasfed graciously to declare, that, in the meane time, he will not preffe nor vringe his subjects therewith, notwithstanding anie act or warrant made in the contrare.

(8.) INSTRUCTIONS FROM HIS MAJESTEIS COUNSELL TO THE LORD JUSTICE-CLERK, WHOM THEY HAVE ORDAINED TO GOE TO COURT FOR HIS MAJESTEIS SERVICE.

In the firit, Yow ar to receave from the Clerk of Counfell all the Acts paft since our meeting vpon the firit of Marche initant.

Item, You have to represent to his Ma**, that this dyet of Counsell wes appointed to be solemnelie kepeed, be the advice of the Lord Chan* and remenant Lords of the Clergie, being at Ed* for the tyme, who affured ws that theyould keepe the dyet precifelie; but at our meeting at Stirline, we receaue a letter of excufe frome the Lord Chan*, whiche forced ws to proced without his Lordship’s preffe, or anie others of the Clergie, except the Bifhop of Breechin, who attended with ws three days, but removed frome ws before the closing of our opinions in this buffines.

Item, That immediatlie after that we had resolved to send yow with a letter of truft to his Ma**, we did send ane letter to the Lord Chan*, ac- quainting him with our proceding and defyning him to consider thairof, and if he approved the fame, to signe thame, and to caus the remenant Lords of the Clergie neereit vnto him, and speciallie the Bifhop of Breechin, who wes ane eare and ey witnes to our consultations, to signe the fame, and by thair letter to his Ma**, to signifie thair approbation thairof; or if his Lp
did find some other way more convenient for his Majesty's honour, and the peace of the country, that he, by his letter to the Lords Treasurer or Privy Seal, would acquaint them therewith, to the effect they may convene the Council for containing thereon.

Next. That you show to his Majesty, that his Majesty's Council, all in one, finds, that the causes of the general contention in the country, as the former apprehended to the subject, of innovation of religion and discipline of the church, are the bases of the kingdom, be occasion of the Service-Bookes, Books of Canons, and High Commission, and the forms of inculcation thereof, concerne, as without warrant of the bases of the kingdom.

Next. You are to represent to his Majesty our humble opinion, that being as we conceive, the Service-Bookes, Books of Canons, and High Commission, as it is set down, at the occasion of this contention; and that the subject offends the same upon a sound of those tyrant and dangerous, to cause that the said Service-Booke, and others forementioned, containe diverse points contrary to the true religion protestant prefect, and bases of the kingdom, in manner and manner of inculcation. That the Lords thinkes it expedient, that it be represented to his Majesty gracious consideration, if his Majesty may be pleased to declare, in one act of his authority, that his Majesty will take care of all his subjects grievances, and reasons thairin, as in his own time and in his own way, according to the bases of the kingdom, and that his Majesty may be pleased graciously to declare, that in the mean time he will not prefix nor write his subjects therewith, notwithstanding of the act of warrant made in the country.

And in case his Majesty shall be graciously pleased to approve of our humble opinions, you at thereafter do represent to his Majesty wish and grace consideration, if it shall not be doing to consult the Majesty's Council, or some name of the same as he shall be pleased to call to him, to allow to be sent from the Table, both amount the time and way of doing.

And if his Majesty, in God forbid, shall deliberate of what we have conceived, much proceeding to his Majesty's service, and cause of this kingdom, you are to urge, by all arguments you can, that his Majesty does not determine upon any other course, until some at the least of his Council give him to hear to give the reasons of their opinions, and in this mean byways, you are so represent to his Majesty consideration, if it shall not be doing and necessary so call for the informers, together with some of his Council, that in his own preference he may hear the reasons of both informations fully detailed.

And you will take care, show his Majesty, that the Council, having made to their consideration what further was to be done for concerning and and purging the prefect combustion within the kingdom, and setting of the controversies and differences within the same, doing premonstrations at this time made and published, discharging all these controversies and unlawful meetings. The Lords, after debating, finds they may use no further, nor alreadie done better, until the Majesty please be returned to that our humble Remonstrance.

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(9.) Missive to his Majestie anent this mater.

[Other letters of the same date from Members of the Privy Council to the King and the Marquis of Hamilton, are given by Burnet, in his Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton: a work, it is scarcely necessary to mention, which contains a number of very important original letters relating to this period.]

Most Sacred Soueraigne,

The Estate of this Kingdome is suche, That since this last proclamation, the expredion of the subjects thair feares, and apprehenfion of alterations in religion, and of these other things conteainit in their petitions, ar come to fo great hight, that we conceive oursevles bound in dewtie to repreffent the fame to your Sacred Majestie be one of our owne number, and be him likewayes to acquaint your Majestie with our humble opinions and advices anent the remedys; and having for this purpose made choyse of Sir John Hamilton of Orbiston Knight, and Justice-Clerk. We humbelfie intreate your Majestie may be graciously pleased to give credit unto him, in what he fall deliver concerning thir maters. And so praying God to blesse your Majestie with a long and happie rayne. We ref,


Frome Stirline, 5 of Marche 1638.

(10.) Missive to the Chancellor.

Our verie Honourable Good Lord,

We receaved your Lp letter and excuse anent your Lp not keeping of this meting of the Counsell, whilk be your Lp owne proposition and motion wes appointed and found most necessarie to be at this time and in this place, and we expected to have been aftiftit with your Lp best advice and opinion in thir great and weightie affaires now in hand, wherein the bodie of the eflat is too neerlie interett. But feeing your Gr other adoes withdrew you from this meting, and we finding the necelitie and importance of the buffines to be fo vrgent as it could not admit anie delay, we therefore entered to the confideration of the caufes of the prefent evils and remedies thairof; and having spent three dayes thereupon, and debated and digested all that could be faid therecument, wherein as we fall anawer to God, We caried our selues without all priuat respeckt, and had nothing before our eyes but the glorie of God, his Majestie honnour, and the peace of the countrie. In end, we agreed vpon some articles to be remonfrat to his Majestie be Sir John Hamilton of Orbilton, Justice-Clerk, the copie whereof your Lp fall herewith receave marked by our clerk; and if yow approue of our judgements, we intreate your Lp to Signe the fame, and to fend the fame to the
Bishops of Glasgow and Edir. requesting thame and such of their number as fall be in Edir. or Glasgow, to signe the fame. And we ar the rather moved heereto, that the Lord Bishop of Brechin were ane eare and ey witnes to all our proceedings, and assented and afflictit all that wes done heerin; and we thinkes it lykewayes verie necessarie, that if your Lp apprrove heirof, you fall tectifie the fame to his Maistre by your awne particullar letter; and if your Lp thinkes upon anie better course for his Maistre service and peace of the countrie, we expect that your Lp will acquaint us therewith, and with the reasons moving yow thereto; and fend your answyr in writt to the Lords Tre and Privie Scale, who will be resident at Edir. that, accordinglie, they may conveene the rest of the Counfell to consult thereupon. And so with the remembrance of our best affections, committing your Lp to the protection of God, We refi,

Frome Stirlin, 5 Martij 1638.

The qth day the Counsellers present, promeit that they, nor nane of them fall, fend anie advertisment to Count tuiching the proceedings of this meet ing, till firft the Justice-Clerk acquaint his Maistre with the fame.

XXVII.

Mr. DAVID MITCHELL. ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH, TO DR. JOHN LESLEY, BISHOP OF RAPHOE.

[Orig.—Wodrow Mss. Folio, Vol. LXVI. No. 49. In some old transcripts this Letter is marked, by mistake, as having been addressed to (Henry) Lesley Bishop of Down.]

My Lord,

This is the firft occasion I [have] found to answere your laft kinde letters. I can do no more bot humble thanke your Lo. for the sincere proffers of your undeserved kindnesse. Truelie it is like ynough I will be brought to that necelitie to leave my charge here; and then there is no man to whom I will be more willing to be beholding. It would make any man's eares to tingle to heare what a pitifull plunge this Church and Kingdome is in. The greater part of the Kingdome have subfcribed, and the rest are daylie subfcribing, a Covenant: It is the Oath of the King's Houfe 1580, with strange additions, a mutual combination for refistance of all novations in religion, doctrine, and discipline, and rites of worship that have bin brought in since that tyme; fo as if the laft of the subfcribers be touched, (and there be some of them not 10 yeeres of age, and some not worth 2 pence,) that all shall concurre for their defence, and for the expulsion of all papistis and adverfaries (that is all that will not subfcribe) out of the Church and Kingdome, according to the lawes, whereof a 100 are cited in the Carta. This goes on a pace. The true Pastors are brought in to Edir., to cry out against
vs wolves; and they, with our brethren here, M. A. Ram. M. H. Roll. and your whilome friend the Principall, (cryng out that they are neither good Christians nor good subjects that do not subscribe, nay, nor in Covenant with God,) have made vs so odious, that we dare not goe on the streets. I have bin dogged by some gentlemen, and followed with many mumbled threatnings behinde my back, and then, when I was up staies, swords drawne, and, "If they had the Papift villaine, O! Yet I thanke God, I am liuing to ferue God and the King, and the Church, and your Lo?. Your Chiefe is chiefe in this businesse. There is nothing expected here but ciuill warre. There is no meeting of Counfell; the Chanc?. may not with fatisfie attend it, nor any Bishop: the verie name is more odious among old and young than the Devill's. Galloway takes shelter under the Treasurer's wings; he draws him out to knowne dangers, and then makes a shew of protection. Rosse keepes at home still, and keepes vp the Service in his Cathedrall, but I feare shall not be able long. What was told your L.p. of his disclaiming the Booke was most falfe: Dun and he never fpake together. Concerning the other point of your postscript, yt the Booke is a transcript of King Edward's Booke, that is not true neither. I know my Lord of Rosse sent a copie of ours to your L.p., and the other you may have and compare them. They are somewhat like in the Communion, and great need there was to returne to it propter Sacramentarios. But now, when all shall be discharged, Service Booke, Canons, and High Commission, they will not rett there: there is some other deigne in their heads. There are still here 500 Commissioners of the States; they relieue one another by course, as Caflor and Pollux went to hell. They fit daylie and make new lawes; their proteltations, and decrees beginne thus:—"Wee Noblemen, Barrons, Gentlemen, Burgeffis, Minifters and Commons." They depoete Moderators of Presbyteries, and chufe new. M. Matt. Weems subscrib'd on Fryday, preached for the Covenant on Sunday; and discharge the Organ. I have neither more tyme nor paper. God fend this Church peace, preferue yours, and send you better newes next. So wifbeth

Edb. 19th Marche 1638. your L? humble Servant,

DA. Michell.

To the Right Reverend Father in God, my verie honorable good Lord, my Lord Bishop of Raphoe.

XXVIII.

THE EARL OF LOUDOUN TO JOHNSTONE OF WARRISTON.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVI. No. 52.]

RIGHT WORTHIE AND LOVING FREIND,

EFTER I hade closed the win contenied, I relaved yo?S of the 21 of Ap-
and I approve yt cour (which after Rothes and Lindsay's coming) is resolved vpon, in writting vp to the thrie Noblemen; and seeing yt Articles are to be refyned and fert to them, as I doubt nott bott they wilbe expreft in modelt termes, and vpon warrantable groundis, so it wald be wyllie adverted that our defyrs be nott too spairing, nor any thing ommitted to be sought, which is necessity for remedie of the evills present and preventione of future: for altho the demandis be never so moderat, wee may expecl les, bott noe more, then is craved. Bott I knowe thes who ar about the busines are wyse and weil affeeted, and God who hathe direct all their former stapes, I hope will gif his gratious aßistance in this passage also. A letter from Lorne of the 11 of Appryle, is come prefentlie to my hand, showing he came to Court one the Setterday befior, and was called the nixt day to waßt vpon the King: qf he stayed a full ho and a-halfe w' his Ma'tie alone, and (with his Ma'tie permisssion) had vere frie conference w' the King: That he thought that the King wold have bein willing to take a fair cours, if things hade bein done in a right way, or that wee wold followe honest mens advyse. But this part was so generall and ambiguous, that I culd nott knowe his meaning, for he said he wold explain this poynt at meittng. Ther was noe thing determined anent yt busines at the writting of his letter, nor hope yt a Generall Afemblie wilbe granted. Wee ar nott beholding to the Steatif-men's report of yt carriage; and if they offer to joyne and interpone the King's authoritie to further otheris who offeris ther service to the King, they undertake to effectuate all the King wold have done; so that ge write of Huntie and McKaye seemes to trewe; and if wee seeild nott to that which shalbe declared nixt concerneing the King's farder pleasaour, (which I fear will nott be satisafactory) wee may shortlie expet the worst; which is all I can find by what is written to me: Bott I am confident Lorne shal stand fast, and nott be moved w' all yt temptationis; so yt if Rothes knowe of a faiur bearar, or be to send one vp with the letter to the 3 Noblemen, he will doe weill to writt to him apairt, and w' fridome, or heast back this bearar to me; that after I knowe what is concludit, I may writt to him as shalbe thought mos convenient. So trusiing to heir from geow w' expeditio, I refi in heatt,

Lowdown, the 24
day of moft loving freind,

Appryle 1638.

I have written to the Earle of Rothes, acquainting him w't what I learned by Lorne's letter, and defiring to knowe what he will advyse me to writt to him, for till I knowe what is written vp to the 3 Noblemen, and o' demandis,
I can not resolve what to writ to Lorne. Therfor heast back this bearar.

To my Right worthie and loveing Freind, Mr. Archibald Johnstoun of Wearaftoun, Advocat, thes.

(William Dunbar ye schal delyver this to my Lord Balmerino.—A. J.)

XXIX.

LETTER OF SPOTTISWOOD ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS.

[Orig.—Wodrow Mss. Folio, Vol. LXII, No. 6.—This letter has no address or date, but the words, "to your Grace," evidently denote the Marquis of Hamilton, as Lord Commissioner, probably in August 1638.]

My Lord,

There may be reasons very sufficient given for moving his Ma. to the Indicining of a Generall Assembly, as, first,

The disfractionis in the Church, which this is eieemed by many the best and easieft means to remove.

Nixt, the taking order with the exiled and deprived Minifteris in Ireland, that have taken their refuge hither, and are the comon incendiaries of rebellioun, preaching qhat and where they pleafe.

Thirdly, the calling of these Minifteris to an account, that have gone throw the country vfurpand other mens pulpitis, exacted peoples oathes to the Covenant, so called, and miniitred the communioon to them that are not of their flock; besides the fastings and humiliationis, by them indicted, q'of they had no warrant.

Fourthly, the examinioun of the Book of Comon Prayer, if there be any thing in it founding to Poperie and superstitioon.

Fifthly, to trie the Book of Canonis, if there be any Canon therin q'ere is not concluded by Generall Assemblies, or in comon practifte of the Churche.

And the main and laft reafon, is, That it is suppoed the grant heiroff may move thefe men to dissolve their meetingis, and leave the towne of Ed' free for the miniitration of justice. There is no queftion, at 50° G. motioum, and vpon o' humble requests that are Churchmen, his M. will be pleafed graciously to grant an Assembly: But as it [is] in his M. fole power to call an Assembly, the time and place must be left to his appointment.

As to the maner and way of proceeding, it may be at lyfure considerit and advyit; and, in the mean time, 50° G. wold be pleatif to tak some course for represing these seditionous sermonsis and preachers that are daylie preaching in Ed', one q'of this day made we have delyrit my Lord Regifter to report to 50° G. Oywyfe, as we cannot look for any peace hear, we will tak the neereft way to secure o'selfis.
Qhat I wold furder say, I remit to my Lord Registrator, for I love not to trouble 30\textdegree{} Grace, nor to seem too busy, but refuis,

30\textdegree{} G. humble servant,

Santingas.

XXX.

DR. BALCANQUALL’S PROPOSITIONS TO CHARLES THE FIRST.

[Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVI, No. 37. This Paper is indorped in Balcanquall’s hand, “My Propositions to his Majestie, at Oatlands.” He appears to have accompanied the Marquis of Hamilton to England, in August 1638, to represent to the King the State of Affairs in this Country.]

If his Maji shall think it not fitt to chaftifie his subiects of Scotland wth a juift warre, or at leaft not to doe it yett, thefe thingis must be taken as granted: Firft, that it is not to be imagined that they will ever renounce the Covenant: Next, that no aftiffaction can be given them without abrogating the Five Articls of Perth, and granting them a free Parliament, and a free Generall Affemblie; and that they call Free, when there shall be no cautions treated of before hand, either for the matters to be treated of, or their maner of treatie.

Now, for a Parliament, the daunger is not fo great, his Maji having a negatивe voyce, by wch, he then giving them a stoppe, thingis can be no worfe then they are now, but rather better; for they can never be better prepared for force then now they are, and his Maji shall gaine tyme for his defignes: But the inconveniences of a Generall Assemblie are verie great, his Majis theirin having no negative voyce; for.

First, they will vndoubtedlie suffer no Bifhop to be Moderator or President of it; wth is a thing to that order moft diisgracefull.

Secondlie, They will vndoubtedlie, proceed to the accusatien, depriva-tion, and excommunication of some of the present, and those the principall Bishops.

Thirdlie, The mildeft thing that can be expected is, that they will fo limite Bishops for the tyme to come, as that they shalbe oneely titular, and keepe their revennewe, but shal have no jurifdiction, and be made lyable to the cenfure of Generall Assemblies as much as any other minifters: These thinges are certainlie to be expected from the Assemblie; but besides, these thinges are juistly to be feared from it:—

First. That they will repeale all Actis of Generall Assemblies whereby Bishops were erected; wth they may doe, and then they are confident that
all Acts of Parliament erectinge Bischoppes, being only Acts of Ratification of these Acts of Generall Assemblies, are ipso facto void, as being meerlie relative to thins wch they will now make Nonentia; and this poynsonous tenet is put in them, and mainteyned by many lawers, though by others, as good lawers, rejected.

Secondlie, They will enac, that any Bishopp who shal euuer be of the Privie Councill. Session, Exchequer, or any other secular judicature, shal be excommunicated and deprived.

Thirdlie, It is juftifie to be feared, that all the rigid Acts wch now they shal make, shalbe made additionalls to their Covenant, and so accordingly sorne vnto.

Yet their be probable inducementis for his Maietie to grant them a Generall Assemble, notwithstanding the other great daunger:

First, Upon the verie refuall of a Generall Assemble to them, they will immediatlie indict one themselves, (for that they may doe it, after they have petitioned his Maietie for one, and not obteyned it, the lawers have asurred them,) and then all the former inconveniences will follow, and that with farre more violence, they being not refrained by the presence and interlocutions of his Maieties Commissioner.

Secondly, The Lords, and many of the Ministres, in our communications with them, have protefed, that they intend no toall destrucion of the Episкопall Government, but onely restricion of it to the Lawes of the Kingdome.

Thirdly, If notwithstanding, these their promisses, they shoulde goe on to take from Bischoppes those things wch Acts of Parliament have given them, then his Maietis Commissioner's Protestation to the contrarie will save their right, till it be discuined coram judice competente, as well as they conceave their Protestation doth save their right.

Fowtherly, It may be hoped that the care and wisdome of his Maietis Commissioners may take of the edge of many mens forwardnes; for we have feene that the singular dexteritie and wisdome, the infinite patience and industrius of his Maietis present Commissioner, hath gained tyume hitherto, and refrained them beyond all hope, from present violences and outrages.

Fifthly, If in that Assemble, thins goe the worce that may be, his Maietis Commissioner's Protestation will make his Maietis cafe to be no worce than it is now, but rather better, having gained tyume for ripeninge his designes; and their cafe, I am sure, cannot be better then it is now, and the president of their indicting ane Assemble of themselves is of dangerous consequence.

If his Maietie be not pleased to grant them a Generall Assemble, then Barwick muft prefentlie be looked after, els they will take it, and the Non-covenaners, especiallie the Ministres, muft have present and private warninge to provide for their saffitys.
XXXI.

SOME DIRECTIONES SENT TO PRESBYTRIES,
27TH AUGUST 1638.

[Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXII. No. 10.]

1. That everie Presbytrie have ane coppie of the Act made at Dundie the 7th of Mairche, 1597, concerning the number of Commissioners; the tenor q’of followis:

"Because ther hes bein no ordour hitherto anent the number of Commissioners to be directed from everie Presbytrie to the Generall Assemblie, therfor it is statute and ordained, that, in all tyme comming, three of the wyfelest and graivelest of the brethren fall be directed from everie Presbytrie at the moit, as Commissioners to everie Assemblie, and that none presume to come without commissioun; and lykwyfe, that one be directed from everie Presbytrie in the name of the Barrows, and one out of everie Brough except Edinburgh, which fall have power to direct two Commissioners to the Generall Assemblie."

2. That everie Presbyterie have ane coppie of the commissioun to be given to the Commissioners; wherof the tenor followis:—"At the day of the qhilk day, after incalling of the name of God, we the members of the Presbiterie of having diligentlie considered the manifold corruptions, innovations, and diforders, disturbing our peace, and tending to the overthrow of religion, and liberties of the reformed Kirkis within this realme, qhilk hes come to passe, especiallie through want of the necessary remedies of a Generall Assemblie, alsweill ordinar as pro re nata, enjoyed be this Church for manie years, and ratified be Acts of Parliament; and now expecting shortlie, by the mercie of God, the benefit of a free Generall Assemblie, doe, by thir present, &c.

[See the rest of this paper in the Large Declaration, 1639, p. 129, and in other works.]

XXXII.

NOTE OF THE PRIVATE ARTICLES. 27TH AUGT. 1638.

[From the Same.]

1. That, iff anie man offer to enter in procefs with Minifteris erroneus in doctrine, or scandalous in lyff, that they be not choysen Commissioner; and, iff the Presbytrie refuis them proces, that they protef againes that refuifal, and thereafter againes the election of thos Minifteris, and therfor to taik Instrumentis, and to extract the famin.

2. To have a speciall cair that informationes be tymoullie maid againes everie Bischope, with the suir evidences thereof, anent their miscariadges in Synodis, Presbytries, Hie Commision; urgeing Intrantis to subferyve un-warranted Articles, receaving of brybes from intrantis; staying cenfiure
againes Papiistes, giving licence to marie without asking of banns; the prophaneit of their owin lyves, by drinking, whoorong, carding, dyceing, swareing, breaking of the Saboth: the purchais of their Bischoprickes by brebes, their vnhoneit dealing in civill barganes, and abufeing of their vassallis; and thefe and siclyk, commoun to all, or proper to anie, to be gathered and put in ordour by sum in euerie Prefbytrie, to be trusted for that effect, and their diligence to be reportit against the 20th of September, leuit the noyse of all our complaintis againes the Praefbytis evanifch at the Afiemblie.

3. To remember the ministeris to be redde for disputation about such heids as ar lyk to be agitated in the Afiemblie: as, De Episcopatu, de senioribus, de diaconatu, de potestate magistratus in ecclesiasticis, præs. eurumque officiis in civilibus, de rebus adiaphoris et potestate magistratus in illis. de liturgia præscripta, de ritibus ecclesiae seu Liturgia Anglicana, de sacramento, de corruptelis liturgiæ et libri canonum, de quinque articolis Perthensibus, &c.

4. To chuse thrie Commissioners in everie Prefbytrie qhail they can be had weill affected, and to vse all means how fewer may be choisyn in evill disposed Prefbytries: Let weill affected Barrounes and Minifteris nixt adjacent indevoir for this.

5. Consultation would be had by the best affected among themselfis, befir the election, that in the chuseing the voyses be not devydit, but may condlicend togidder on the famin perfounes.

6. To vse all means for eschewing in the election, as far as may be, Chapter-men quho have choyfen Bischopes, thos quho have sitten vpon the High Commissioun, Chappell-men quho have countenanced the Chappell-ceremonies and novationes, all quho have offerid to reid and practis the Service Buik, the Buik of Canounes, and Minifteris quho ar Justices of Peace, altho they have subcrivit the Covenant, unleis they have defisted and acknowledgit the vnlawfullnes of their former doeing; becaus thefe and such lyk will be readye to approve thes corruptiounes in the Afiemblie.

7. That where a prym Nobleman and weill qualified gentleman may be choisyn in sundrie Prefbytries, that he be choisyn in that Prefbytrie where their is gryttest sairitie of abill men.

XXXIII

LETTER OF INSTRUCTIONS SENT TO PRESBYTERIES,
28TH AUGUST 1638.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio Vol. LXII. No. 12.—It is indorsed in Warriston’s hand, “Copye of the Letter to be sent to Presbyteries, 28th August.” It contains, however, the original signatures, as here given.]

REVEREND AND BELOVED BRETHREN,

It is not vnkuawin to yow how the pitiful case of our Kirk lying sick of
many diseases in the want of her ordinarie yeirelie Generall Assemblies, hath called these many yeires bygane vnto vs, her children and servantis, to cry with her for help to our Lord Iesu, her husband, who now of late is riuin vp for vs, (blessed be his holy name). And having led us along throw the course of lawfull meanes fit for her recoverie, doth now call us by manie evidences as vnto a more deip humiliation for our sinnes aparte, so also vnto a Generall Assemblie of the Kirk togidder; for obtaining whereof as we have often made supplication to authoritie, and long waited in all patience, so having removed quhat was objected, or we could conceive to be any hinderance of obteineing our just defyres, we are now at laft in hope and expecation thereof, our eyes in the mean tyme being fixed mainelie on the Lord Iesu, who as he hath a uncontrollable richt of gathering his awin people into Holie Assemblies, and ruineing his awin house and affaires in all the dominiones of the Earth wher it pleaseth him to have a Kirk, so hath he this privilidge in a speciall manner in this land by long poftellion, (vnjuftifie interrupt-ed,) and Actis of Parliament confirmed fo vnto him, as this parte of our service cannot evin befor men be quarrelled ; speciallly now, quhen, for want heirof, his servantis of the Ministerie ar becam strangeris one vnto another, and ar as far from communion of giffes as if they lived in fundrie kingdomes, yea ar begun to be devydit in judgement and affection, ther former peace and vnity turned in schisme and divisioon, the doctrin, once pure amongst us, now corrupted by Arminianisme and Popifh errours, the teachers thereof these fundry yeires bygane rewarded and preferred, quhen the faithful and peaceable pastoris wer cenfured and thurift from their places ; and the Lords people made to doubt of their religioun, not knowing what hand to turne vnto, and almost throwin into the pit of popifh superstitiion and tyrannie, oppined wide in the late Service Buik and Buik of Cannones, which yitt wer bot the beginnings of greater evilles; So that if this remedie be neglectit, we fie no appearance of recoverie or settling of true religion amongst us, bot all must goe to confusion, and our Lord and his people heir be divorced ane from another, quhich would affect us more then the fevering of our lyffis from us. Thes ar therfor to exhort, requite, and to charge yow to confider the lawfulness and necelicitie of vfeing this remedie according to the printed Reafonnes for a Generall Assemblie, and for the better preparation of the Commissioners that they may be in readines vpon the shorter advertisement, when tyme and place fall be appointit, that ye would now in this frait exigent goe about preparation for the Assemblie. And after the 20th day of September, the tyme appointit for the returne of His Ma's Com-missioner, with your beft conveniance, chuse your Commissioners, according to the direction thereof to be delveryed with thefe vnto yow, so that they may repair thereto before Ed of the first of October, or fo soone as may be, to conven with the rest of the Commissioners, and to refeave His Ma's last anfwer from His Ma. Commissioner, fra qm we expecit the present in-dictioun of a fric Generall Assemblie ; and that to als short a tyme as the vrgent necelicitie of this Church requireth, or vpon refufall y't of, (which God forbid), to adyse and resolve vpon such lawfull remedies as may cure our present evilles, and prevent the extreme miferies of the Kirk and State.
threttten y\textsuperscript{t}by, q\textsuperscript{t} we ar perfwadit will be sufficient motives to induce yow
to vfe all lawfull meanes, and to spare no paines that may conduce for so guid
ends. In confidence q\textsuperscript{of}, having given yow this loveing and tymeous warn-
ing, we remain, yo Brethren and fellow fervantis in the Lord,

**The Noblemen, Gentry, Burgessis, and Ministers**

waiting at Edinburgh.

Montrose. Cassillis.
Lindesay.
Yester.

J. Wemyss, S. W. Foulis.
William Hume, Ayton.
J. Chesly of Kerwell.
A. Dunbar of Grange.
Gray, S. F. Hamilton.
A. Swintowne.
Bischoptoun.

J. Smyth, for Ed\textsuperscript{t}.
Thomas Paterstone, for Ed\textsuperscript{t}.
John Osborne, for Ayr.
Ro\textsuperscript{t}. Richardson, for Drumfries.
Ge. Bruce, for Culros.

W. Glendonong, for Kirkcudbry.\textsuperscript{4}

(The following signatures are upon the opposite page of the original.)

Jo. Ker, at Saltprestoun.
M. David Dickson, Irwin.

Mr. Andrew Cant, Pet\textsuperscript{t}ligo.
M. R. Cranstoun, Skunye.
M. Robert Murray, Methven.
M. Alan Ferguson, at Strae-
blain.
M. Rt. Mairstine, at Ettrick.
J. Norwall, at Balphron.
W. Guild, at Abd.\textsuperscript{6}
Mr. Alexr. Makgowne at
Mousfwall.

M. A. Ramsay, Ed\textsuperscript{t}.
M. David Dalgleische, Cupar.
Mr. Andrew Auchinlek, at
Largow.
M. A. Blackhall, Aberladie.
Mr. John Crasingelt, Allo-
way.
M. James Hammiltoun, at
Drumfries.
Mr. William Menyeis, M.
at Canemore.
M. Johnne Moray, M. at
Stramiglo.
XXXIV.

BAILLIE'S COMMISSION TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1638.

[From Baillie's MS. Letters and Journals]

AT IRWIN, the 25th September 1638.—The whilk day, after incalling upon the mean of God, We, the members of the Presbytery of Irwin, having diligently considered the manifold corruptions, innovations, and disorders, disturbing our peace, and tending to the overthrow of religion, and liberties of our reformed Kirk within this realm, which hath come to pass especially through want of a necessary remedy of a General Assembly, as well ordinary as pro re nata, enjoyed by us many years, and ratified by Acts of Parliament; and now expecting shortly, by the mercie of God, the benefit of a General Assembly, which is indicted by his Majestie to be at Glafgow the 21st of November next to come, doe, by thir presents, nominat and appoynt Mr. David Dickson minister at Irwin, Mr. Robert Baylie minister at Kilwinning, Mr. W. Russell minister at Kilburnie, as also John Lord of Lowdown ruling elder of the parochin of Newmynes, in name of the barons, conjointly and severally, our lawfull Commissioners, giving and granting to them, our full power, commissiom, and express charge, to repair to the said Assembly indicted by his Majestie to be holden at Glafgow upon the 21st of November next ensuing, or when and where it shall happen to fitt in any safe and commodious part within this Kingdom, and there with the rest, who shall be authorized with lawfull commissiom, in our name to propose, treat, reason, vote, conclude (according to the word of God and Confession approven by sundry Generall Assemblies, and received throughout the whole Kingdom,) in all Ecclesiasticall matters competent to a free General Assembly, and tending to the advancement of the Kingdom of Christ and good of religion, as they will answer to God and his Church thereupon, and to report to us their diligence therein:

In testification of this our commissiom and charge, We have subscribed thir presents:

Mr. Michael Wallace, Moderator, Mr. J.A. Fullarton, Clerk to the Presbytery, Mr. Jo. Bell, Mr. A. Dunlop, Mr. W. Lindsay, Mr. R. Bell, Mr. H. Eglinton, Mr. H. M'Kail, Lord Montgomerie for Ardrossan, Cunynghamhead for Stevenstoun, J. Cunningham of] Aikett for Dunlop, Blair of Adamtown for Peiritoun, Southook for Long-Drehorn, Mr. R. Barclay for Irwin, T. Niving of Munkriding for Kilwinning.
XXXV.

SIR THOMAS HOPE, LORD ADVOCATE, TO THE EARL OF ROTES.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio Vol. LXVI., No. 56. In printing this letter, the numerous contractions in the original have not been retained.]

PLEASS YOUR LORDSHIP,

This inclofit will gif your Lordship satisfaction of quhat your Lordship commandis, and the berar will cleir any doubt therein. He hes told me of the resolutioun takin for hindering the Subscriptioun; and I find your Lordship's letter inclyne that way, quhilk makis me almost stupefict; for if I had not both conceivit and cleirlie feine it to be the gretest good that ever happenit to Godis Kirke since the Reformation, trewlie I could haif beine loth so quicklie to haif embracit it. But quhen your Lordship, (and utheris quhom God hes blisfit with that honour to be instrumentis to bring his Kirk to this happie eftait wherein it is now, and to the full perfection quhairrof thair is nothing inlaiking but that quhilk, on 2 Merche 1580, wes, be A'cis of Kirk and Parliament, establischit for the government of Godis Kirk in this kingdome) dois feyme to oppugne it, I am brocht to suiche a perplexiti that I know not quhail to fix my mynd; for I dar not deny obedience to my Souerane quhail he commandis that quhilk is laufull, and aggreaibill to Godis word, and quhilk ze both think to be so and hes interpret fo in your particulars expreffit in that quhilk ze haif suorne; and, on the vther part, I can not find in my hart to think or construct ill quhat theis (quhom God hes so mercifully and wonderfully blisfit in the beginning of this work) feymes to inclyne to. But I may and will say, I find ane good warrand for myself to do quhat I did, and prayis to the Lord that thairs may haif als good successe, as in hart I wische, onlie I feir that the course of oppofitioun takin fall not produce to them according to thair pious intentionis; and I can not say that intentionis ar a good warrand ather to refuze quhat is good, or to do that quhilk is contraire. The Lord direct zeow all, and if ze wald eichew the feir of diuifion, chok it in the entrie, be commanding ane abolot vnioun, quhilk is very easie if ze fall gif ordor to alle to subfcryve this, as one in subsance with the other. Pardoun me, my Lord, if I haif exceedit the bounds of my anfuer, for the buffines and the feir of the event of it breckis my hart; but go quhat it will, I truit in God to haif both my lyff and soule for a pray. So committing your Lordship to Godis grace, I reft,

Your Lordship's humbill fervitor,
Craighall, 2d October 1638.

THOMAS HOPE.

To the right nobill Eril, my Lord the Eril of Rotesfe.
XXXVI.

LINDSEY BISHOP OF EDINBURGH TO THE PRESBYTERY.
[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVI. No. 42.]

Right worshipfull and welbeloved Brethren,

I am informed ye yee haue summoned Mr. Dauid Mitchell to come pre to yow, and to be cenfured for certaine points of erroneous doctrine deliuered by hym from pulpit, as is alleaged, and ye yee are to proced against hym after tryall, if he be found guilty, either to suspension or deposition. And because it is ordained in ye Assembly holden at Glasgow in ye monethe of June 1610, and by Act of Parliament, holden at Edinour the 23 October 1612, it is statut as ane inviolable law to be observed in all times coming, ye ye Bishop of ye Diocefe associating to himselfe ye Ministerie of thes bounds where ye delinquent serveth, is to take tryall of ye fact, and upon just cause found, to deprive; and ye like order to be observed in suspension of ministers from ye exercise of ye function; These are ye fore to require yow not to procede to any of ye forsaide cenfurs against ye said Mr. Dauid, vntill ye I, associating to myselfe, yow, ye ministerie of ye bounds, take tryall of ye fact wherepon he is accused; wch I, by these presents, offer myselfe to doe at any convenient tyme and place to be appointed by vs wch common consent. Otherwyse, in my judgment, yee shall doe best to continue this proces, and all other of this kinde till ye General Assembly indicted by his Maties, ye there all things may be handled without prejudice. So hoping yee will take this matter to yo wife consideration, and direct some of your brethren to me wth anwser, ye after conference wth them, both yee and I may aduyse and doe wch shall be found most expedient for ye honor of God, ye peace of ye Church, and ye quietnes of our owne conscience at ye glorious appearance of our Saviour ye Lord Jesu, who fall render to every one according to ye wch he hath done in ye body, whether it be good or euill, to whose grace I commend you, and in him doe rest,

Your very loving Brother,

Halyrudhous, 9th October 1638.

Da. Edene:

To his wellbeloved Brethren, the Brethren of ye Exercise of Edinour, these.

XXXVII.

DR. BALCANQUALL TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.
[Orig.—From the same Volume, No. 33. The letter has no Address, and is much mutilated; but it evidently was addressed to Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, in October 1638.]

Please your Grace,

[By yo]wr G. his letters to my L. Commiioner, dated the 18 of this pre-
sented moneth, your G. seemeth to expect from me, according to my promise, the Reasons why I conceive this present Assembly indited, cannot hold with his Majest honor and satisfaction: my reasons are the same with my L. Commissioner at Oatlands, [represt]ed to his Majest, whairin their resolution, both utterly to abolish Episcopacie and ratifie their owne Covenant, were demonstrated: to which now may be added, the dangerous poynts with they mean to ventillate and establish their with your G. will easilie perceave by their Private Instructions, with I sent to youw G.; as also their daily growing insolent proceedings, which your G. will easilie perceave, by my last from Hamilton, and from Dalkeith yesterday. But whether it will more conuict with his Majest honor, that the Assembly should meet at the day and place affigned, I leave to your G. his mature advisye. The Covenanters hope it shall be either prorogued or dissolved, as will appear to your G. by the packet sent yesterday from Dalkeith.

In the last part of your Grace's letter, you intimate that you have reviewed the Devyns of Aberdeen's last Duplies. with your G. proposithe to have printed with the rest: if they be the same duplies with I sent your G. from Hamilton, then the Commissioner will send to them to divulge their copies, for the Devyns themselfs do earnestly desire it, as my L. Marquis will show your G.: for I confesse I advyfed his L. to make a stay of them till your G. were made acquainted with it. not only because the L.L. Covenanters had in many places said that they hoped the . . . ministers should be drawn by the Aberdeen's men . . . the Covenanters mynd in a poynct for with his . . . would give the Aberdeen's men no thanks: but also because your G. in your letters, had intimate your distress by farther replying, the first vellitations, (as your G. truly affirmed,) being more vigorous, the rest more languishing and verbeil. But your G. having receaved their duplies from Hamilton, in your G. sies letters, wee expect your G. advyse heirin, with shall be accordingly followed.

The inclosed I shewed to my L. Commissioner: it is sent from a man of worth, and a Covenant, to whom I [have been] much beholden for intelligence in their secretest [actings]. The latter part of it since it concerneth a . . . ws, great man, and at this tyme the moit to bee looked [vnto] of any man in this kingdom: and being not willing to . . . e him, yet wuillinge that his Majest should not knowe of him [as much] as I do, I thought good to send with the letter it selfe, humbly beseeching your G. to send it failely back againe; for if the writer shoulde but any way bee discovered, there were no more living for him heer, and wee barred of one of our best intelligencers.

The wther part of the letter concerneth that answered to the last protestation, with I mentioned to your G. in my last from Hamilton, written by the Principall of the Colledge of Glassco. the learned covenanter in Scotland, but so fearfull, that he darre not owne it, and indeed if he should be known, [beside] his danger, we should loose that great wfe which my L. Commissioner maketh of him. My L. Commissioner meaneth presently to
put it to the preffe. One thing I defyre your G. advyfe in, Whether I shall not caufe to be printed after it, their generall and published Instructions to the severall Presbyteries for the election of their Commissioner, as also their private ones, wch they think are not known, that so the ref of the hoodwinked Covenanters may fee how much they have been abused? or shall we referre that private paper to wpbraid them with it in their teeth at the opening of the Assembly. I fend your G. lykwyse their newe In-
structions, fent through the kingdome, by wch your G. may easly fee what tumultuous and violent proceedings they [intend] to wfe, not without force, if they fee cause. If your G. think fitte, this shall be printed too. I hope I shall have it by the nixt returne. God keep your G. is the heartie prayer of

Your G. most obliged and devoted,

[Halyrudho]use, this

1638. \[Wal. Balcanquall\]

XXXVIII.

THE EARL OF LOUDON'S REASONS TO DISSUADE THE KING FROM SWEARING PROTECTION TO THE BISHOPS, 1633.

[From Baillie's MS.—Charles the First was crowned at the Palace of Holyroodhouse, 15th of June 1633. As Sir James Balfour takes no notice of any opposition being offered to that article in the Coronation Oath, confirming to the Bishops, "all Canonical privileges and rights," it is probable that the following Reasons were not publicly tendered; but the Nobleman who ventured on this Remonstrance is known as one of the most faithful, consistent, and zealous supporters of the Presbyterian cause in Scotland. He was for many years Lord High Chancellor of Scotland. In point of date this paper should have been first in this Appendix.]

THE BISHOPS DEMANDS.—THE FOURTH ARTICLE OF THE KING'S OATH AT HIS CORONATION.

"S.R, We also befeech you to grant and to preferve to us of the Clergie, and to the Churches committed to our charges, all Canonicall Privileges; and that ye wold protect and defend us, as everie good King ought in his Kingdome to defend his Bishops, and the Churches under his government."

THE KING'S ANSWER.

"With a willing heart I grant the famen, and promise to maintain you and everie one of you, with all the churches committed to your charges, in their whole rights and privileges according to justice."

1. Let it be considered if it be not most safe for the King not to take this article of the Oath; because it cannot stand with the largenes of the King's

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royall prerogative, to be cut short of his power to dispose of the privileges and possessions of the Prelacy of Scotland, to abrogate, or abridge the same as he fells fit, when it pleases his Majestie; but by taking his Oath his royall liberty is so constrained, as he cannot choose to doe but what he hes sworn, albeit it should be found to his hurt.

2. His Majestie's Father, of royall memory, knowing that the law of Pre-munire had no place in this Kingdom, did keep himself free, and retained this power over the Prelates of Scotland fast in his own hand, for his own especiall reasons concerning himself, and the publick good of this Kingdom; and no reason the King should now be bound, and his Majestie with his succeffors, by this preparative, in worse cafe than his predecessors was.

3. The King being free of the perfonall Oath, may give privileges when he pleases, as well unsworn as sworn, and no reason his free favor should unnecesfarlie be thus bound.

4. It is undoubtedlie more honourable for the King to give to his servants of his own free will, than by necessitie and force of Oath; of his own bounty, than by craving of particulars closely conveyed in one generall, and far more safe to keep his servants in dependence upon himself, than to be afflicted to him by Oath.

5. Neither the Nobilitie, Barons, nor Burrowes requireth any speciall Oath for maintenance of their rights and privileges, and the Kirk and other Kirk men will refit content with the first Article for maintenance of the religion of Christ, now preached and professed within this realm, no reason the Bishops should crave more.

6. Seing the particulars which the Bishops intend to have are not specified in this Oath, but their project involved in the ambiguous generallity of all Canonicall Privileges and whole rights, it were unreasonable to grant what they thus crave, except, first, their present poiffession, which they crave to be preferred, were tried, and then what farther they would have, were declared, and found so equitable in itself, and so convenient to the state of this Kingdom, as it were worthie to be sworn, and never to be changed, left his Majestie's Oath should be subject to misconstruccion hereafter.

7. If search be made for their meaning by Canonicall Privileges, they doe not understand what the Canons of the Scriptures gives them, for that is granted in the Article for maintenance of true religion, and does not content. If they pretend to mean what the Canons of the Kirk of Scotland, with the Caveats of their admission gives them, let them be asked, if they will stand content with what they have thereby: But if they understand by Canonicall Privileges and whole rights, what the clergy had before Reformation; and yet hes, where Poperie prevails, according to the native and originall sense of the word, and of this whole article, yet standing in the Coronation of Kings, as it was of old, whereby the clergy may have ground full to claim their old possessions, and the King forced either to grant all that they crave, or make such interpretations of this oath, as shall not stopp the obloque of the clergy full urging the tenor of the article in the proper and native meaning, it is more nor becomes good subjects to crave; speciallie here in this Kingdom, wherein the Oath of Kings at their Coronation is
reformed, and made far more equitable for King and subjects, if it please his Majesty to compare, as is found approved in Parliament 1567, ratified in anno 1581, and 1592. For which reasons it seems his Majesty should ponder this matter, lest, when their Canonick Privileges shall be explained in particular, the taking of this Oath shall overthrow the King's course about tithes, hinder that he cannot make himself immediate superior to the Bishops and others, though he wold open a door to brangle rights to lands and rents, which the King's subjects doe quietlie possesse, give ground to the Church for exemption from secular obedience, and subjection to imposts and taxations, and make way for many other inconveniencies, which not to have forseen, had been great simplicitie in this Kingdom, and to have concealed from his Majesty, unfaithfulness. \( \Delta \) \( \varepsilon \) \( \tau \) \( \varepsilon \) \( \omega \).

XXXIX.

THE EARL OF ROTES TO LORD BALCARRAS.

[Orig.—Balcarras Papers, Vol. IX. No. 71.—This Letter, from its date, should likewise have had an earlier place in this Appendix.]

My Lord,

When this new Book of Common Prayer was first introduced, and when we first went over to petition against it, advertisements came to us all, be our Ministers, and I did hear, that because they suspected your's, that your Lordship fulld been advertised be another Minister; which being neglected as a dry war, I was deferyed this day to signify to your Lordship a purpose we have to be in Edin. [Edinburgh,] & meet together on Wednesday next, for thinking till on the best and fairest and most submive ways for preventing thir threatened calls. For all the fals fugititions given out be fon. I dar say ther is nothing either yit done or intended, that is not legal & submive, and which can any way be justly accepted att. You may be a witnes to this, & then can justly tell theses reporters. This is mor than I use to do, but it is warrenderable. My servise to your Lady, & all hapines is wished to yow be

Leslie, ij Novembre

Your Lordships cuin & feruand.

1637.

To my honorid good Lord my Lord Balcarras, thes.

XII.

LETTERS IN FAVOUR OF DR. BALCANQUALL.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVI. No. 33. The first letter, which is in Balcanquall’s hand, is without name, date, or address; but was no doubt written by the Marquis of Hamilton in his favour to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The King's letter to the Marquis is subjoined from Bur-
net's Dukes of Hamilton, p. 100. As Balcanquall's name appears so prominently at this time, a few notices of his history may be subjoined:—

WALTER BALCANQUALL, D.D. was a native of Edinburgh, where his father (of the same name) was a minister, and died in August 1616. He was educated at the University of Edinburgh, and took his degree of M.A. 27th July 1609. He then entered at Pembroke-Hall, Cambridge, 18th Sept., 1611, where he was admitted a fellow; and as Bachelor of Divinity, was incorporated at Oxford, 14th July 1618. He was one of the chaplains of King James, who appointed him Master of the Savoy; and to this place, which he had vacated before his attending the Synod of Dort, he was again appointed in 1621. He was installed Dean of Rochester, 12th March 1624; and soon after, as one of George Heriot's executors, he took the management of carrying through the noble foundation of Heriot's Hospital at Edinburgh, the statutes of which were compiled by him in 1627. The following letter shows that he held the living of Adisham in Kent. His application for the valuable Deanery of Durham was successful. His predecessor, Richard Hunt, died on 2d Nov. 1638, and his appointment was probably in December, although not installed until 14th May 1639. The appearance of his work, "The Large Declaration." (vide pp. 140, 175, 208,) about the same time, was the beginning of his misfortunes. On the march of the Scottish army into England, he fled hastily from Durham; and was declared an Incendiary. Having been denounced by the Parliament of Scotland, he presented this petition to the King, in September 1640, apparently without effect:—

"That whereas your Petitioner lyeth under a great scandal for your Majestie's Large Declaration, your Majestie would be graciously pleased to require the Right Honourable the English Lords Commissioners for the Scottish Treaty, to call before them your Petitioner, and to give unto their Lordships a faithful and true account of that service."

Balcanquall was deprived of his office as Master of the Savoy, by an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons 7th June 1645; and, ere long, having found refuge in Chirk Castle, Denbighshire, he died there on 25th Dec. 1645. He was interred in the parish church of Chirk, where a monument was erected to his memory, with an inscription, which is printed in Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, vol. i. p. 255. See also Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, by Bliss, vol. iii. p. 179, Fasti, p. 383."

And nowe I must be a vere importunat suitor to your Grace, in a bufflines in wch I should bee verie forrie to be denied. It is in behalfe of the Dean of Rochester; the Dean of Durham being dead, that he may succede in that Deanry. If your Grace will moove his Matie in it, I doe beleve he will not deny me this favor for him. His Deanry wth is neer worth 200 lb. per annum, will be at his Matiey dispofing, his patronage of Adisham in Kent, of wch your G. is patron, and wth he leteth for 320 lb. per annum, and a little more: the house whairof bee built himselfe from the ground, and wch he hath made the best patronage house in Kent, he will leave to your G. dispofall. This I must say, he hath been a faithfull servant
to his Majesty in this wnutick service. A great servant to your G. in perfwading manie of this Covenanting clergie to beleev wtherwyfe of your G. then . . . they had been made believe . . . . of some use in this bufines and in any troubles wch nowe after the Afiembles are lykely to beginne. I dare be bold to fay, his Majesty hath no chaplain can doe him the lyke service, efpicially in the poynit of intelligence; for he hath gotte a great hand with that part of the Covenanting clergie, whom he hath made refent the tyrannie of some of the refit of the minions, and efpicially of the laitie and lay elders, even to a verie high difcontentment, I hope ere long to ane open breach; by thefe men he cometh to knowe all the secrets of that pairtie, wch is of angular wyfe to his Masters service and me. And theifor, if these troubles hold on, his residence at Durham, or near thefe pairs, wch are near to his intelligencers, will bee verie wifefull. If he should miffe of this, I am affrayed both he himfelfe will be infinitely dis-couraged, as thinking his Majesty and your G. do not regard him; as alfo that the pairtie with whom he hath heir correpondence will beginne to think fo too, and fo will not eair for continewung that correpondence wth him, wch will be prejudicial to his Masters service. I befeech your G. by the moft . . . Masters and your G. welcome anfwere in this particular.

LETTER FROM THE KING TO THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

HAMILTON,

I have heard this day that the Dean of Durham is dead, for the disposing of which place, though I may have many Suiters, and (which is more) though heretofore I have had divers Intentions upon the disposing of that place, for the better accommodating of my Service, the reafon of which is now as forcible as ever; yet I have thought fit not to dispose of it till I might (if your stay be not longer than I expecl) fpeak with you; and to fhew you that I am not unmindful of the daily pains that at this time Balcanqual takes in my Service, I would let you fee the cafe before I dispose of it, and have your Opinion, if he might not stay a little longer for another nearer my eye, and yet not dishearten him, when it may accommodate my Service another way; and fo I reft

Your affured constant Friend,

CHARLES R.

XLI.

LETTERS TO DR. BALCANQUALL, DEAN OF DURHAM.

[The following letters, although written at considerable intervals, are brought together for the sake of connection, and are now printed for the first time. How “Dr. Balcanquall’s Wrytis,” came into the hands of the Scotich Commissioners at London, in 1646, does not appear; but
some notice of them must have been transmitted that year to the General Assembly. The Minutes of the Assembly end abruptly in the middle of the Sederunt of June 15th 1646, but on the 17th of that month, (Index of unprinted Acts,) the Assembly suspended Mr. William Wilkie, and added, a reference to the Commission both concerning his relaxation, and Dr. Balcanquall's Letters. The Commission of the General Assembly, on the 24th of July 1646, having considered the reference of the Assembly concerning Dr. Balcanquall's Letters, &c.—therefore for tryell thereof, appointed the Moderator to write to the Commissioners at London to send down any of Dr. Strang's or Mr. William Wilkie's Letters to Dr. Balcanquall, they have found there, that they may take the same to their consideration. The answer of the Commissioners, dated 29th September 1646, is still preserved, and is here subjoined. It is addressed—"For the Right Reverend Mr. Robert Douglas, Minifter at Edinburgh." From this it appears that nine of Wilkie's letters were sent, but only six are known to be preserved; and one note by Dr. Strang, Principal of the University of Glasgow.

Sir,

The reason for which wee have fo long detained the letters and papers heirwith fent, is, That it was our opinion, and likewise our Brother Mr. Henderson's, while he was here, that they should not be made publick, but referred to keepe the perfonps that wrote them in awe, and as a meane to winne them to a strict and circumfpeft cariage in their callings. And being now required to fend them to the Commiffion of the Generall Assembly, wee have directed them to yow, that yow may make fuch fve of them as yow fhall think fitt, and wee remaine,

29 Sep. 1646.

Your very affectionat Brethren,

LOUDOUN. LAUERDAILL. A. Jhonston. SAMUWL RUTHERFURD. GEO. GILLESPIE. Robert Baillie.

[Mr. William Wilkie, Minister of Govan, was a near relation of Robert Baillie, of whose communications, it will be seen, he availed himself to inform Balcanquall of the various proceedings of the Presbyterian party. Whether Baillie suspected Wilkie as one of Balcanquall's "busy fleas, still creeping among us," (vide supra, p. 174,) may be considered doubtful; but his letters certainly justify Lord Hailes in terming him "a sort of Ecclesiastical Spy," (vide supra, p. 1, note.) The Commission on the 17th of November 1646, having considered the petition of Mr. William Wilkie, and his penitenee for his bygone miscarriages," relaxed him from this sentence of suspension; but three years later, it appears that the General Assembly in 1649, passed an Act of approbation of the sentence of his deposition. (Index of Unprinted Acts.)
The originals of all these Letters are contained in Folio Vol. XXV, of the
Wodrow Manuscripts, which is now preserved among the Archives of the
Church of Scotland; and Vol. XXXI. (No. 2.) contains "The Principal
of Glasgow against the Covenant," being the Treatise referred to in the
above letter from the Commissioners.

No. 1.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

We long to hear if these papers and letters, directed hence to Hamilton,
came safe to your hands, and what you have resolved anent them. No doubt
you have hard what he's been a doing hear this wek. My Lord Boyd and
Loudon came on Tuesday at night, and remained hear til the Friday at
afternoone. Boyd, with a great number, came in to the Prefbiterie, giv-
ing in before them that famous lybel against our Archbishop and his col-
leagues, (the tenor whereof you have feein since it came fra the east) whom
they have styled ther the said Mr. Patrick and his Colleagues; which ex-
pression occasioned a mirrie mistake amongst the ruder fort of people on the
Thursday, when it was red publickely in the Cathedral, before sermon, wher
for Colleagues they tooke it to be the Colledge, and meruellid how they
could challenge the said Mr. Patrike and his Colledge of inceft, adulterie,
drunkenes, &c. for they believed that both the Bishop and we wer frie of
thee; also, they beleived that Bishops onlie should have been removed by
this reformation; bot for the Colledges, they mervellid why they wold re-
move thefe. Bot to leave sport, my hert wes trewlie forie to fee such de-
spightful and infultinge carriage; for they wer not content to give in that
long lybel to the Prefbiterie, and to send him the copy of it with a officer,
which was al the legalitie they could vfe, but set up a wryter boy to reid
it in the Reader's faite in church, by the knowledge of the Magistrats of
the towne, the Lords and gentlemen fitting in one dark, and Mr. D. Dick,
in ane vther, finging the triumph over the Bithop in his pretendit Cathedr.
After sermon, the Lord Loudon came to the Proveist, defyring him to con-
vocat the Towne-Councel: He refusit, bot anwered thus, that if he had
to doe with any of them, he wold come to his chalmer with thofe he wold
requyre. Bot after that, Loudon being enformed that the Church-Session
fate at afternoone, by the expecation of any, he came ther with Boyd and
vthers, requyred accesse, and haveing entred, had a harrangue of ane houre's
length, to the Minifters, Magistrats, and vther honeft men ther, concerning
the iniquitie and daunger of the King's Covenant, conjuringe them, by al
the powers of heaven and hel, that they wold not fubferybe it. The ground
of his fear wes, the hearing of the courfe was taken in fending for fo many
of the printed proclamations, and distributinge of them amongst ther bur-
gesses, of al forts. His demande in the clofe was, that he might have ther
affured promifes not to doe it, which he might report to the Tables, whence
he had his direction. He preffed the Proveist to anfwer, whom if he had
intangled, he knew the rest wold follow. He shumed to make anfweir ther,
it being the Moderator's place, Mr. John Bel: yet fearing lefte that good
old man should yeild too much, he was induced to answer, and that chairpee-
lie enough; the summe of it was, that since it was notar that they had given
my Lord Commissioner his Grace a delaying answer, and had taken it to their
deliberation, the matter not yet being come to a resolution, far les that resolu-
tion being signified to his Grace, he thought it did not become any Noble-
man of the kingdom to requyre of them a simple negative or promife not
to do; but if the Towne, or any in ther name, wold praume to answer so,
it wer a vyld shame; wherfor he could not, nor wold not say more, but that
they wold advyfe anent that he had spoken; so he was dismifed with les con-
tent then he exspced. After this, ther was dealing to have had the day
appointed by the Tables to be our fast daye; but this lykwyse is denied,
and shifted handiomelie, because it falls to be the day of the celebration of
the Communion, so that Wedniday onlie is to be keiped heir. As con-
cerning the Protestation you recommendit to me, I have verie good hopes to
obtaine it; for althoogh I could get nothing done on Wedniday laft, the
Bihop's lybel haveing detained them so long, yit I have assurance of ther
coming heir to towne the morrow anent that matter, when I beleive it
shall have a good begiuing; and as I find occasion, I wil daylie firyve to
draw in thefe, one be one, that you wold glaidlie have. My collagues and
I ar forie that since sundrie of the practive people of the countrie hes
gotten Aberdein's late reply, we shoud be defraudet of it; so if you could
help us to one of them, you wold oblige us al verie far. I wold also glaidlie
know if you expeect to be at Hamilton shortlie or not; fo craveing pardon
for my long and tedious letter, I reft

Your W. Svrant in what I ame able,
Glaigow, 29 Octob. [1638.]

Wil. Wilkie.

The bearer heirof, Mr. Archbald Cambron is the brother of that worthie
*Monfieur Cambro*; he is pitifulie vyed by the Buchanans, and hes them
cited before the Secreit Council. In helping him you doe a grit worke of charitie.

For the Right Worshifful Doctor Walter Balcanqual,
Dean of Rochefter. Thes.

No. 2.

Right Worshifful,

I receaved your letter with the Doctors of Aberdein their duply, for
which I humblie thauke you. All heir ar hartilie glaid of ther intention
to be at this Assemblie. And you may be sure they wil not want lodge-
ing; althoogh my Lord Commissioner his Grace, had not taken such parti-
cular cair to have them provydet, we could caus some of our students quyte
ther chambers and confyne themselfes in les hounds, or they laked. I shew
the Principal what you writ concerning him, and how it was his Ma'tes
wil he shoud owne what he writ; the reaons you referred to meating.
He thoght it firange, mervelling what they could be. Be way of con-
jecture I told him tuo. 1°. That in thir tymes so ful of mifconstruictions
and prejudices, *non quid dictur sed quis dicit*, is looked to. 2°: That it was diſhonorable as I imagined, for his Maſtes caufe to be plead by name-
les men, as impoiting both lake of auitoritie ded to his Maſte to protec,
and lake of courage and loyaltie in the wytry not to profede what he writ
in the defence of his Maſtes juſt cauſe. He conjectured rather that it pro-
ceedit fra fome thing in the writ, or els that this is a courſe his Maſte is not
earnit for; and I find if it wer a matter that his Maſte and the Commissioneer
wer refolved to throughe without being diverteed to any mid courſe be the
Affemblie, it wer caſe to perſuade him to avouch what he does. That
vther poynt you intrusted to my eair I have agented fo weel as I could, per-
fuadeing theſe of the Minifterie to come into the Towne who I trusted wold
be moſt willing; and haveing met privatelie we drew vp this, the eopie
whereof I have heir enelofed. I have got the hands of feiven alredde into
it, whereof the gritter part ar subſcryers of the countrey's Covenant.
We keip it verie secreriet, both becaufe by this means I hope to perſuade
moe of the Prebiterie to goe on, who if it wer divulged might be diverteed.
As lykwyte I find the Principal and vthers of them accompt it full of
hazard, it impoiting their pleading of the nullitie of this praſent Affem-
bie, which how odious it wil be, any may judge. God willing, it fhal be
keipt til the Commissioneer and you come heir; at which tymre if you find
it conducible for the King's serveice, you wil addre courage to their faint
herts. In the mean tymre what evir vie you make of the matter done be a
Prebiterie, yet doe not speifie the place, for reaons above-menioned, til
once you be heir. If the Affemblie wil goe on illegalle in any thing, I hope
the Commissioneer his Grace wil command the King's Advocat to plead his
Maſtes right, who, if he deal fineerlie, will be able to convinee them both in
the matter of Laick elders, and their procedure againſt Epifcopacie, both
whereof ar illegall. So with my beft wishes and prayers that God wold
bifie you, and prosper your labours in this grit busines, I ref".

Glasgow, 6th Novemb. Your W. fervant in what I ame able,

1638. Wil. Wilkie.

If any letters come in the packet at any tymre directed to me, I hope, Sir,
you will give them to fome who wil fend them hither. I gafe some of late,
but could not find that they had receaved theſe of myne which went vp with
Mafter Paine fra Hammitloun.

For the Right Worſhipful DoctoR Balcanqual, Dean of Rochester. Thes.

No. 3.

Right Worſhipful Sir,

I thought to have had the happines of fieing you before you had gone fra
Hammitlon, and came ther on Monday morning, being enformed, by a
Gentleman that came thence, that my L. Commissioneer was not to take jour-
nay till Tueday; but being come ther I fand my enformation falfe, wherat
I was not a little forie. Always having mused that occasion, I doe by these lines present my hertie service and best wishes for your undeserved favours shewn me at your being heir; and whith must make bold to intreat your favour to a poor youth, my Brother, whom you will find before you at Court. He hes had good education both at Cambridge and St. Andrews, and I hope shal prove an able man. He hes written to me that I wold deal with your W. by the intercedion of friends heir in his favours, to be Lecturer at Savoy: if you have not some neiir friend to præfer to that place, it were a worke of charitie thus to respect him who is fo chargeable to his Father, and I ame confident you wold nevir repent it; the young man his gifts being such as wil give contentment, and having had thrie yeir education ther, wil have the language prettie well. I am forie bot his letter had come to my hands before I shed with you, that so I might have known your mynd, and if you have any obligement prior; bot I hope, if you have any tyme, by tuo lynes you wil signifie your mynde heirin, which I wil expecst as the copestone of your former favours. The Articles of Perth wer condemned yesterdie in the Assemble, as being contrair to the National Covenant, and consequentlie abjured for ever out of this Kingdom; and Mr. James Forfythe deposed. I am certanlie enformed, by one that knowes it well, that ther is one Barnes, a merchant of Edi, that hes brought home 6000 muskets of late out of Holland, which ship was stopped by the States, til afterwards, that the King of France his legat did obtaine that it might be sent to a towne in France, for his master's service, and so, by this means, is come home heir. It is strange if his Matie of France, or any Prince, should furder the armeing of subjectes against ther Prince. I pray God give wioldome to al that hes his Maties ear, to direct him aright in thir tymes of fo great difficulties, and that he wold blisse you in al your affaires, which is the wish of,

Your most affectionate and humble servant,

Glasgow, the 11th Decemb. [1638.]

Wil. Wilkie.

To the Right Worshipfull Dr. Walter Balaenqual,
Dean of Rochester, and Master of Savoy, thys.

No. 4.

Right Worshipfull,

I made bold not long since by letter, to tender to you a petition in favours of a Brother I have at Court: if it had been my fortune to know the matter of my sute or we shed, I could have been more confident to have obtained a good success; and yet I will not disdife, but what you may you wil. The youth I hope shal be worthie, at leist was accompted fo heir, and had the offer of a presentation to a church, wherto he was earneftlie defyred be Sir James Carmichael, the Thefauner-depute; but being no peaceable entrie in thir tymes, except he wold run the Countrey's way, he retired to England, to which he had always a mynd, be reason of his education some yeirs at
Cambridge. If your W. wold be pleased to favour him, you wold oblige not a few to be thankful to you in his name; my interest and affection makes me importunat, but I know you have so much goodnes and love as to overlie such venial faults as this.

I believe I neid not wryt occurrencis, you have them of more pryme men then I; yit being alfe neir the fontane as any, with that Perfiian to his Prince, (of whom Eelian) I presant you with a handful of Glaflgow waters. Our Aasemblic, after the ratification of ther Church Register, abrogation of fix former Assemblies, explanation and reconciliaion of the Covenants, abjuration of Epifcopacie and Perth Articles, depravation of all, and excommunication of moft part of the Bihops, indiction and intimation of ane Assemble to be kepied at Ed' in July nixt, appointment for Committes, viilataions, and provincial Synods, with a number of leffer constitutions, tandem aliquando, on Thursday lat, being the 20 of this infant, it came to a final conclusion. The Moderator, I hear, had a speach in the clofe whollie eucharitieke, wherin he gave thankes, and exhorted al to doe so, to God and his Maties, for the Assemble they had gottin, to the Nobles and gentrie for their paines and attendance, to the Towne wherin they had bein so well intertained, and particularlie for ther commodious feaet; yet God knowes these thankes wer dew to his Maties and his Commiffioner, for repect to whom onlie it was buildet. Then after some wthers of the ministerie had spoken, the Moderator, craveing pardon for his forgetfulness, gave thankes to my Lord Argyle, by whois preſence and counsel they had bein so much comfor ted and strengthened: Wheaat my Lord arofe and had a long harangue, firſt intreating all preſent not to micuentrue his too late parting, and kything for them, proteting he was alwayes their way, but had delayed to profeſe it, fo long as he fand this clofe carriage might be advantageous to their cauſ, but now of late matters had come to fuch a choke, that he fand he behoved to adjoyne himſelfe openlie to ther focietie, except he wold have proven a knave, (this was his expreffion, which how hard fo evir, did much endeare him to his auditorie:) then his Lo. went on, and exhorted them al to vnitie, withing al, but especiallie the reuling elders and minifters, to kep a good harmonie; entretale of the ministerie to confider what had brought the Bihops to ruine, viz. pryde and avarice, and therfor willed them to fhun thefe rockes as they wold efchew shipwracke: Lykwyfe both he and the Moderator, in their ſpeaches, preſfid much al to ſpeake favourable of his Maties and his authorite. At laft the fumme of the whole Acts wes red over be the Clerke, and al particularlie did voyce to them in cumulo; wherin ther was ane particular remarkeable, when the Articles of Perth wer voyced fome dayes before the clofe, the whole Assemble had given voyce in theſe termes. Abjured and removed, except onlie one minifter Mr. Robert Baylie, minifter of Kilvining, whois confience fraiter in this particular dyted him to voyce. Removed bot not abjured, to the grit feandal of his stronger breither, fo that the Act was drawen vp, Abjured and removed, be the voyces of all except one. This one knowing that they wer al to be particularlie red and voyced againe, had drawen vp a supplicacions to the Assemble, in the name of conforme men. to mitigate that Act, at leaft that
it might have farther hearing and be disputed; wherof they having gotten intelligence, my Lord London went to the Clerke, when he was resolving the catalogue, and caused him to suppress: that man's name, so he not being cited, and therat a little astonishe, did not yethe, effrayed to be made publici odij victima. Upon the day after, they went al to Edw. almot, wher no doubt you know better what they have being doing then we; the report went they met ther to draw vp a Supplication to his Ma'te to be hard plead the acquitie of ther proceedings; also to draw the strength of their voits together in that center to answer your reasons in the Commissioner's Manifesto concerning the not abjuration of Episcopacie by the Covenant, a peace, which, however they flight, calling it (thofe of them who speak moft favour-able) a prettie courtelie pamphlet; yet al that ar indifferent and frie of prejudice, aetieines these reasons pregnant and peruiative. I have fend you inclosed the minut of the Acts which was givin vnder the Clerke's hand to al the Commissioners. Ther be many thinges of grit importance not mentioned heir which they did, as ther choosing agents for the Church to the Parliament some young noblemen, Montgoromerie, Flem'g, &c. with fundrie of the minifter, who must attend the Parliament in name of the Church, to re-pressent matters that concerns him good, but must not voyce nor ryde in Parliament; as you may s in the Acts: So the Church hes excomunicat itself fra the whole politick bodie, and so pure and spiritual it would be, that it hes communicat its whole policie to the reuling laitie. I find be thofe that knowes the grounds of the Nobilities proceedings, that the pryme reason of the removal of Bishops is the power they had in Parliament; of them being Lords of the Articles, who had the power to choyfe vther 8 of the Nobilitie whom they knew moft addicted to his Ma'te; and these 16 the rest; so that al depende vpon them, and they onli vpon his Ma'te. Amongst ther Acts heir omitted in the Index, there was an Act of reference of divers matters to the Parliament; as how the Bishops rents should be dispone vpon; item of restoring Mr. David Catherwoode to his libertie, &c. Al the tyme of the Assemble ther was grit outcry against the Colledge daylie by some of the Nobilitie, accompling it a high contempt to any incorporation, in the place wher they fate, to have withdrawn their Commissioner, and disallowd their proceedings: The Moderator, Mr. David Dicke, and vthers, wold not suffer summons to be givin out, but choyfed rather to labour in a freind-lie maner; in which privat conferences they wer so shifted fra day to day, til it being come to the laft day, wherin they had no tyme, a Committee was appoynted with ful power to visite the Colledge, and to take order with everie thing they thinke amissie; especiallie to establis Mr. Rutherfort a Professor of Theologie ther, to lay the grounds of Divinitie, more ancient then antiquitie, and yet laiter then Luther: what shal be the event of this visitation you shal afterwards heir; ther is good hopes to get it shifted and delayed, but come when it wil the visitors will get no content, come of it what will. The nixt Lord's day is appoynted, in the moft part of Churches heir, to be a day of thanksgiving for the Assemble; a terrible day of triyal for many Ministers, who is directed to professe joy, when ther is nothing within bot fear and sorrow. To al the preachers I wold advise, for
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that day, this text, Psal. 2. " Rejoice in trembling;" for have of the first what they wil, I am sure they, and the moit part of the countrey that has any understanding, wants not the latter.

I will not weary you any more, expecting the favour of some few lyncs for a answer, which you may direct to Orbeinton; and praying God to blisse you in all your wayes, I reit, Hammiltone, 26 Decemb. [1638.]

Your W. in al dewtiful observance.

wher I chanced to be.

If Abraham, the Father of the Faithful, wer als fe myndeful of you as [some words delete] heir is, you wer sure of a grit freind at the Court of Heavin, and you neidit not be efrayed of any thing in earth, yea evin though Mr. Kers, that infallible Judge Mar-prelat, and his company, wer to give sentence uppon you for your superstitious titles of Dean, &c., and though you wer to dispute the question concerning ruling Elders with Mr. Ramfay ther champion. lifted vp on a foole in the midit of them lyke a cocke, by his croweing to chafe away the lyon. Both paper and vther things bids me leave of to play.

To the right worshipful Dr. Walter Balcanqual Dean of Rochester and Master of Savoy, thes.

[Indorsed by Balcanqual.] Mr. Wil: his letter concerning the breaking up of the Assembly, and my L. Argyle his speech.

No. 5.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

I RECEAVID yours yesterd. to which I resolvid, without delay, to returne this answear, although since my last I have not had the occasion to meet with him fra whom I vse to get best intelligence of particulars. How the gauye goes in general these two papers enclosed, ordained to be spred throw all the shyres, at ther Tables, will soone shew you: the first wherof I doubt not bot long er now the Treasurer and vthers hes brought, the latter possiblie you have not fein becaus its bot just now divulged. If ther former information to England, so smoothlie (as they conceave) contrived to conciliate favour, hes had such bad acceptance at the good subjedts hands ther, as to irritate, and furnished such ample matter to his Ma'tie, in his short praecurforie Declaration, to give them such a lath and such gollie titles and styiles as they doe little glorye of, what a world of good stuffe I pray you shall be fund in these for that larger promeifid Declaration. For my owne part, I was aiatomithed to hear Mr. Dicke preach al those grounds, not haweing then fein this paper, which after came to our hands, as you fe, directing these to be preslid vpun the people by the preachers. Weimen, simple ones, and mad desperat fellowes, liften: bot the gritter number, partlie out of conscience, pairtlic of fear, groanes and grummils at such poyns, not fo Je-
suited by the Covenant as to swallow such pillows, (however incrusted, with the hazard of the preacher's salvation for their treuth, and crufted over with the scrufe of the good caus,) without a whryning squeamishnes, the pure praefage of a sudden randring, voyde of operation. I ame fill of the former mynd, that his Maties praefence, with any tollerable forces, shalll produce a present victorie, and you may consider my reason, and judge whither I be mistaken. I find that which holds the countrie on, in ther hazardous hardines, is pryemelie ther blindnes; they ar pitifullie blindfoldet by falsf enformations and fained letters, diiferid of purpofo fra Ed' vnto al quarters, and borne in upon the people as unquestionable treuths. The King's lake of concurrence fra England, their affurance, although he get affilience, that they wil onlie accompany him to the Bound Rod. but no farder, til they fie a better quarrel; that the trained bands of England, the finews of his power, ar become to his Maties foure ploomes, (this is the exprefion of one of thoef suppoled letters,) yea, some does not stand to avverre, that our nobles receaves letters of encouragement from some councelelors of England, moe then one or tuo of that number. If thoef, and fuch lyke grounds, being preflied by men powerful and popular, might not deceive a poore people for the tymne, and may not, in a short tymne, proveing falsf, deceive themfelfs, through ther being deferted by thefe they have deceived, judge you: Bot now, since his Maties laft declaration. wherein he speaks as a King haveing both power and a mynd to vindicat his honor, (to which they ar in al haiit printing ane anfweir, and wil yit hazard some men in fending them to England,) you wold wonder to fie how they flyde from these former falsf reports, and takes vther grounds of retaineing the people in ther wonted ignorance and humours, by declairing now that al is in hazard, liberties, religion, and what not; that now they have to expect to be a province. the Liturgie, Canons, &c. They wer foole hardie, as you may fie by thefe papers, enclofed before his Maties enformation to England came downe: but now, since they feam more desperatle mad, so that some who wer become cold in the caus, shrinking and redie to reteir, ar now forced, being defitit of leaders and shelters, to kep vp and goe on in fair generals with the currant, til they meet with a contrarie tyde, or some bult in the brae to grip to, fearing not to make ther partie good in this chocke, and fo to be made the first facrifice of ther furie. The Towne of Glafgow (as I lerned of thoef who freamid to know it wel) was of this number, and therfor had givin fuch a limited commifion to these that came fra them to the meiting at Ed't that it did grittie dipleafe the rest of the burrowves, and grittie wer they vpbraided as being Aberdeins fifter, and of a Laodicean temper; ther commifion rejected, and this (the copie wherof I have enclofed which was the ordinarie of a l of the ref) givin to be fent to be figned by ther council: this they thifted whole eight dayes, til at laft a peremtorie direction in grit haiit was fent them, by one who was ther well wither, and saw how matters wold goe, if they shrinked. So at an extraordinarie tyde, after day light wes gone, ther council was convocat; for that divers came not, vthers difsaffented, bot the gritter part ther praefent, agried to give warrand to the towne-clarke to figne it, although they had promifed tuo dayes before not to give it til they had hard the judgment of
ther ministers and colledge; and yet if evir they should be necessitat to grant it, they should put in that claufe, "What may concern the King's honour"; bot what wil not fear doe. The Noblemen keip their resolution verie cloffe; they met al of them that was in towne, after his Ma'th's declaration or en-
formation to England came, and fate fra 2 hours at afternoone till neir 8 at night; yit we can not lerne what they did. They professe a oath of
frecie was taken; theylooke and speake alfe big as evir. *Spem vulto 
simulant premunt altum corde dolorem.* Grit courage in fhow, and yit it
was told me that it made fundrie of them shed tears. Ther was a meiting
appoynted (I know not if it hads [holds] now) at Perth to be the 15th of
this month, whither Argyle and fundrie vtheris shoude goe to speake with
divers of the North. The reafon pretendit is to take order for secureing
the North fra John Dowgaires robberies; bot I hear fundrie whispering (I know not if they have grund for it) that the thing intendit, is to take
some sudden course for Aberdein. Its givin out alfo that Argyle shoule
goe immedialtie fra Perth to Glafgow, ther to remaine a space, and by his
power to kep them right; for they are verie jealous of them, both of ther
towne and prebiterie, the minifters wherof can not be induced to preffe the
takeing of armes. If he goe ther, fundrie wil be in daunger, who bithertil
hes spoken boldlie against thir vncauntoe courfes and Table-direcftions. Its
thought the griteft part ther and therabout wold be more glaid to hear of the
Duke or Marquis his comeing in his Ma'th's name to shelter them. How-
evir, both Caifils and Eglintoun wer drawin in to the laft meiting at Ed';
yit none of them wold condifenc to subberyve the band for the 200,000
merks which W'am. Dicke, the proveit, furnithes. They said they shoule
pay what fel them to pay by juft proportion, but wold not be bund con-
junctionlie and severallie. God knowes what difficulties they wil meet with,
or all be clipped that they have chalked. Eglintoun at that meiting had a
speach to the nobilitie, whollie for peaceable courfes, and repreffented al the
hazards they ran by takeing armes. It was verie weil spoken, if he speake it
alle weil to them as he did refume it to ws; bot withal he told it was re-
pellid, and he behoved to be partaker of ther bad or good fortune; though
for any thing I could lerne by his speach, its much to be hoped he will
shrinke. Thus farr I have hazarded to acquaint you with what I know,
yit I wil not be fo foole hardie as to name him who is your fervant, but
lives you to your conjecture.

11th March [1639.]

If your W. shal doe me the favour as to anfweir me, and acknowledg
the receipt of this, I intreat you onlie mention this of myn in general, for
fear of intercepting, except you be aflured of one who wil deleyver it to the
gentleman the laft was fent to, fra whom I am sure to have it faife. My
freinds ther with you, it teams, hes forgot me, and I dare sciarfelie remem-
ber them, at leaft by naming them in this letter.

For the Right Worshipful Doctor Walter Balcanqual,
Dean of Durehame and Master of Savoy. Thes.

[Indorfed by Balcanquall.] A letter from Mr. W. W.
No. 6.

Right Worshipful Srs,

I am loth that the wryte which ye sent to me be published, and I hope ye will not doe it, vntil ye be better advyfed, and at least have revyfed and corrected it carefullie: yet I have resolved to satifie your defyre, and to send it after the maner ye requyre to Patrick Hamilton, my Lord’s bailie, duelling in Hamilton, vpon Monunday nixt, inclofed in a paper directed to yow. He will delvery it to any beirar whom ye pleis to direct to him to receive it, (for this I think the safest way, and ye wil not want occasion to send to Hamilton to him for it, milkensyng my name.) I can not be answerable for the correct wryting in al points, speciallie concerning the spelling, which ye wil easilie get helped I wil not be content that my name be any way hard in the matter. I lippen to sow more, and sal always remane.

Yors at command to power,

Reid & ryve.

To the Right Worshipfull Dr Balcanquall, Dean of Rochefier.

[Indorfed by Balcanquall] A letter from the Principall of Glasgow.

No. 7.

Right Worshipful,

Being heir occasionallie, at the Abby-gate, and tieing James Hammilton reddie to take horie, I have prefumed, in baies paper, such as I could get, and in a tumulturie way, to present my dew respeCTs. For Scots occurrence I doubt not bot yow have them by better hands: and this day I had trysted your brother, that at grit length we might enforce you of al hes paifed. Alwaysye for the present receive this breif sune of what paifed in the Assembly the frst 10 dayes, it being in my pocket, givin me by one who fate ther. Since that tyme, on Tuesday and Wednesday laft, nothing was done, but the transportation of some Minifters was with grit conteft and folfiation on al hands agitat, and the Towne of Ed’ crofild in their defyres for M. Rutherfurd, and on M. Wam. Bennet of Fyfe, by Rothes and Lindsay, to the grit offence of the Towne. Much jangling and chydeing was on both fydes for thefe and vthers. On Thursday, Fryday, and Satturday, ther was comittees for all the parts of the Kingdome, to revife proceffis of depofed Minifters who fupplicat, (for vthers they ar neglected and ther depofition holden as good:) in which this courie was taken and yeeldit be the Commissioner, that men depofed for vitious lyfe or erreaneous doctrine should be depofed, or rather their depofition ratifed, vthers whois gritteft blemifhes wer not lubcrivyng, and declineing Glasgou Assembly vpon fupplication and repentance be receaved. Bot yit when it came to the poynit I fand that Mr. Fletcher of Ed’s, notwithstanding of a moft humble fupplication and offer of al sort of satisfication imaginable, be them to whom and whois-
ceniture he whollie submitted himself, could not be repented in his place, but onlie declared capable of one, vther; and now this holds good as a general. Let a man nevir be so blameles, if he have not subdieryed, if his whole parishioners doe not petition for him, for all his repentance, he is onlie de-

clared capable of the Minifterie. Latilie, on Sattirday morning ther was a committee appointed, in præcience of the Commissioner and whole Assemblie, for reviving the King's Declaration, to gather out the eçaips and manifest fallhoodes (as they terme them,) of that book, to remonistrat to his Ma't; and yet when I hear indifferent men speake of that, the farthest they can say is, some eçaip in circumstances, bot in the substance of the relation, al trew. Arme yourself with patience and providence; and the God of mercie give you courage and resolution against all thryte. Til farder, Sir, I humblie thanke you for your laft kyndnes at Berwiek; except it be renewid in the countrey way, directid to the Prebiterie, its of no vfe. My Father hes his humble service remembred to yow, and fayes, he can doe no more bot pray for you for your kyndnes to his belt beloved sonne, Mr. James, whom he wold wys to come home (because of the chairges he is to him ther) if he could condícend to matters heir; bot of this I defpair, and therfor renewes my fute for him. Noght els bot craves pardon.

For the right Worshipful Doctor Walter Balcanqual Dean of Durehame.

[Indorfed by Balcanqual,] Mr. Wilkie his Letter.

XLII.

COMMISSION FOR VISITING OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXII., No. 50. A Commission was also appointed for visitation of the University of Glasgow: See Index of the unprinted Acts.]

Act Seff. 25, December [18th] 1638.

The Generall Assemblie having considered, y't it was the continuall præcife of this Kirk, as is evident by the Books of Assemblie, and y't it is now most necæfar, to give commition to some able and wyfe men of the ministers and elders to visit the Colledges & Universities of this Kingdome; and now being prefentlie convened in the citie of Glasgow, by God's providence, and vnabill to goe themselfs for the visitation of the University of Old Aberdeen, Thairfoir nominats & apoints John Earle of Sutherland, the Master of Berridaill, my Lord Frazer, Alexr M'of Forbes, the Laird of Leyis, Robert Innes of y't Ilk, Walter Barclay of Towy, Mr. David Lindsay at Bellhelvies, Doctor Wm Guild at Aberdeen, Mr. Thomas Mitchell at
Turreff, Mr. James Martein at Peterheid, Mr. John Paterioun at Foveraine, Mr. Wm. Forbes at Fraerburgh. Sir Gilbert Ramlay of Balmaine, Mr. Wm. Douglæs, and anie aucht of thame, being fouer Ministers & fouer Elders, a sufficient quorum, giveand & grantand vnto thame the full power & commiiosk of the Assemblie, To meit at Aberdein betwixt the first Mononday or Tuesday of Apryll nixt to cum, to constitute y' Clerk & wy' necessier members to vist the Universities of Old Aberdein, To summond & convenie befoir thame all the members y'of, To try & examine the qualities of the members y'of giff they be correspondant to the order of ye errectionis, To confer how the doctrine is vist be ye Masters & Regents. & if the same be correspondant to the Confession of Faith, & Acts of this Kirk, & how the order is keiped amongst students, how ye rents and liveings ar beitowit, and all wy' things, to try & examine whilk anie Commissioneris from the Assembly had power to try, or whilk the Generall Assemblie itself might have tryed in her Visitation, an efter due tryell of the members and orders theirin, if they be agridable to ye Errectionis, and the Acts of this Church; To remoue all members superfluous, vnqualifie, or corrupt, & to plant ye roumes w't moir sufficient & sound matters; To remeid all difforders, rectifie all abuses, and to doe all wy' things necessarie for the prefervation of Religion & learning, whilk the Generall Assemblie themselfis might haue done, or anie Commissioneris from thame in ye Visitationes haiff done; Lykas the Assemblie grants vnto the Commissioneris forraids, the power of sumounding befoir them all Ministers & Professors w'in the province of Aberdien for to acknowledge the laist Assemblie and the constitutions y'of, & vpon their Refuifall, to cite them to compier befoir the next Generall Assemblie, to be holden at Edinburgh the third Wenzday of Julij, to be cenfoured for ye contempt & disobedience; And this Commiison to indure till the laist day of May nix to cum, & the Commissioneris report ye diligence to the next Generall Assemblie, & be answerable for ye proceedings.

Extracted out of the Books of Assemblie by Mr. Archibald Jhonston clerk to the Assemblie.
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