

familiar way, what he thought now of his Lauderdale, he answered, as May himself told me, that they had objected many damned things that he had done against them, but there was nothing objected that was against his service: such are the notions that many kings drink in, by which they set up an interest for themselves, in opposition to the interest of the people.\* Hume terms the opinion of the king "a sentiment unworthy of a sovereign." It was a sentiment worthy of a captain of banditti.

There are no historical events with which the most cursory reader is more familiar, than the murder of archbishop Sharp, and the battles of Loudon Hill and Bothwell Bridge. The narratives of the atrocious tyranny which led to these events are sufficiently obscure, whether they issue from the persecuted or the persecutors; but they present a sufficiently distinct picture which scarcely requires the colouring of romance to command our interest. That ancient hunter of Covenanters, Captain John Creichton,—who was introduced by Swift to the notice of the world in 1731, as "a very honest and worthy man, but of the old stamp," and who himself laments over "the wonderful change of opinions,"—relates with the extremest glee his various exploits in dispersing conventicles, in apprehending preachers, and in delivering them to the proper authorities to be tortured and hanged. He attempts no sort of excuse for using deceptions, to find out his victims, quite unworthy of the fighting cavalier. He hunts "the rogues" as if he thoroughly enjoyed the chase. He cannot justify his "rashness" in such adventures, except that it manifests his loyalty to his prince, his zeal for the church, and his detestation of all rebellious principles. These narratives of Creichton precede his account of the insurrection of 1679. It was in the western counties that "the booted apostles of prelacy" chiefly exercised their dragoonings. There the Covenanters were most numerous and most persevering. But in the eastern districts there was the same spirit, though less openly displayed. In the county of Fife, a few religious enthusiasts, encouraging each other in their secret prayer meetings, and accepting the stern denunciations of the Hebrew scriptures to smite the wicked as holy impulses to murder the enemies of their own form of worship, resolved upon the sacrifice of the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and of Carmichael, the commissioner of the Council. Ten of this band of fanatics went forth in search of their intended

\* Burnet. Book iii.

victims. John Balfour, known by the name of Burly, and his brother-in-law, Hackston of Rathillet, were the leaders in this design. Carmichael escaped. But they accidentally encountered archbishop Sharp; and at once considered, in their savage enthusiasm, that God had delivered their great enemy into their hands. Dragged from his carriage as he was passing, in company with his daughter, over Magus Muir, near St. Andrew's on the 3rd of May, 1679, he was inhumanly butchered, his unhappy child struggling with the murderers to save her aged father. The leaders fled into the west. Assembling some of the more violent of their own persuasion, their contempt of the civil government was manifested by their extinguishing the bonfires which had been lighted on the 29th of May, in honour of the king's restoration, in the burgh of Rutherglen. They also burnt the Acts of Parliament for restoring prelacy and suppressing conventicles. On the 1st of June, being Sunday, they held a field conventicle at Loudon Hill. John Graham, of Claverhouse, marched out from Glasgow with about a hundred and fifty cavalry, for the suppose of dispersing them. The number of the Covenanters had increased to five or six hundred; armed chiefly with pikes and pitchforks. They had a few horse amongst them. On a marshy ground near the village of Drumclog, Claverhouse charged this irregular force. He was utterly discomfited, and was compelled to retreat to Glasgow. The insurgents followed the fugitives, their ranks receiving constant accessions, not only of the Cameronians who would admit no compromise of the Solemn League and Covenant, but of moderate Presbyterians, who were indignant at the tyranny under which the country groaned. But their camp was divided into rival sects, each despising the other as much as they hated their common oppressor. At Glasgow they were repulsed, in their first attack, by Claverhouse, who had raised barricades within the city; but their numbers becoming more and more formidable, he withdrew his forces towards Edinburgh. What was at first the desperate revolt of a few became a vast tumultuous outbreak, approaching very nearly to a rebellion. The Council in London were in alarm. It was determined to send the Duke of Monmouth to Scotland to take the command of the government troops. There was no want of energy in the movements of Monmouth. He set out from London on the 18th of June. On the 22nd he was at the head of the royal army on Bothwell-moor, a few miles from Hamilton. The insurgents were encamped on the opposite side of the Clyde. They were dispirited and irresolute—

neither prepared to fight nor to yield. A deputation from the more moderate had an audience of the duke; at which they limited their demands to the free exercise of their religion, and would submit all matters of difference to a free Parliament, and a General Assembly of the Church. The duke called upon them to lay down their arms, but refused to treat except after their implicit submission. Roger North has a curious relation of a secret arrangement for the employment of the duke as general of the forces, which appears to him a wonderful proof of the statesmanship of the duke of Lauderdale and of his royal master. Monmouth was first appointed with a latitude of power to fight, or treat, as he thought fit. The majority at the Council board "approved of such a trust in the General; for why, said they, should so much blood, and of these deluded miserables, be spilt, if they are willing to lay down their arms on fit terms?" None spoke to the contrary. "When the king rose from Council, the duke of Lauderdale followed him into the bedchamber, where, having him alone, he asked his Majesty if he intended to follow his father? Why, said the king? Because, sir, said the duke, you have given the General orders to treat; the consequence of which is—encouraging and enlarging the rebellion in Scotland, and raising another, by concert, in England, and then you are lost. Therefore, if you do not change your orders, and send them positive to fight, and not to treat, the mischiefs that befell your father, in like case, will overtake you." These two worthies, according to North, then clandestinely altered the orders which had been approved in Council, and gave directions that they should not be opened but at a Council of War, and in sight of the enemy. "The event," says the sympathising chronicler of this duplicity, "sufficiently applauded this counsel."\* That event was the slaughter at Bothwell Bridge. The Covenanters had exhibited one commendable point of strategy in guarding this passage of the Clyde. But Hackston of Rathillet, who defended the bridge, was not adequately supported. The mass of the insurgents were panic-stricken when they saw the king's troops advancing upon them, whilst the artillery from the opposite bank of the river was breaking their ill-formed ranks. They fled on every side, Claverhouse exhorting his men to avenge their defeat at Loudon Hill. All accounts agree that Monmouth laboured to stop the butchery that this worst of miscalled heroes commanded:—

\* "Examen," p. 81.

"Taking more pains when he beheld them yield,  
To save the fliers than to win the field."\*

From the name of contempt which was bestowed upon the poor Western Covenanters was derived the great party name of *Whig*. The nicknames of opposite factions are necessarily obscure in their origin, and the attempts at their explanation partake of the same party character as the names themselves. The nicknames which will live for ever in English history had each a very humble origin. *Tory*, according to North, came in about a year before *Whig*. In 1679 the discussions on the Exclusion Bill were accompanied with great heats in Parliament, and "without doors, the debates among the populace were more fierce, and agitated with extremity of opposite talk." The use of opprobrious words became common. The anti-exclusionists were first called *Yorkists*. Then *Tantivy* became a bye-word against them. The duke and the Irish were for the most part in agreement; so the duke's supporters were first called *Bogtrotters*; and then "the word *Tory* was entertained, which signified the most despicable savages amongst the wild Irish." North says, that "according to the common laws of scolding," the loyalists now looked out for rival nicknames, "to clear scores." Their adversaries were first called *True Blues*—not satisfied with the plain Protestant blue of the Church; then *Birmingham Protestants*, "alluding to false groats counterfeited at that place. That term was "not fluent enough for the hasty repartee; and, after divers changes, the lot fell upon *Whig*, which was very significative, as well as ready; being vernacular in Scotland, from whence it was borrowed, for corrupt and sour whey."† Defoe accepts this derivation of *Whig*; and says, the use of it began in Scotland "when the western men, called Cameronians, took arms frequently for their religion. . . . It afterwards became a denomination to the poor harassed people of that part of the country."‡

The further we advance in the history of this miserable reign, the more are we perplexed by intrigues and counter-intrigues, indicating the universal political corruption. After the dispersion of the Covenanters, duke of Monmouth is suddenly sent for from Scotland. Sir John Reresby goes to meet him at Doncaster on the 9th of July. "It happened to be understood, that after his victory he was about laying a foundation whereon to succeed in that kingdom,

\* Waller.

† "Examen," p. 32 a.

‡ "Review," quoted in Wilson's "Life of Defoe," vol. 1. p. 73.

and by the industry of his agents making himself popular.\* Charles was ill at Windsor. Monmouth was about his sick bed. "He thought," says Reresby, "he had the king to himself." Suddenly the duke of York, who had travelled from Brussels in disguise, presented himself: The Court was in commotion. The king's brother, and the king's illegitimate son, had come to be considered as rivals for the succession. To preserve some tranquility they were then both sent away—Monmouth to Flanders, James to Scotland, as Lord High Commissioner. At Edinburgh, this Papist prince manifested the sincerity of his desires for general toleration, by superintending with the most anxious vigilance the punishment of the Covenanters. Charles reproached Monmouth for having given the government so much trouble with prisoners after the fight of Bothwell Bridge, and Monmouth answered, that he could not kill men in cold blood. James exhibited a worse trait of Stuart nature by presiding over the examinations of prisoners under torture. Under his administration the Presbyterians were subjected to the grossest violence of a licentious soldiery. The military despots had full power to exercise the privileges of the inquisition in the most summary manner. Do you renounce the Covenant? Do you admit that it was murder to kill the archbishop of St. Andrew's? Will you pray for the king? To hesitate was to incur not only imprisonment but instant death. This violation of every form of law and every principle of justice went on for several years. The story of John Brown, "the Christian carrier," has been honestly told by Scott, in spite of his lurking admiration of Claverhouse.† The poor peasant, who had indeed been out with the insurgents of 1679, was again in his home. He is seized by dragoons as he is going to dig in some peat ground, and by the command of Claverhouse he is shot in the presence of his wife. To her the gallant butcher addressed himself: "What thinkest thou of thy husband now, woman?" She replied, "I thought ever much of him, and now as much as ever." He said, "It were but justice to lay thee beside him." She said, "If ye were permitted, I doubt not but your cruelty would go that length; but how will ye make answer for this morning's work?" He said, "To man I can be answerable; and for God I will take him in my own hand." Such were the scenes that Scotland witnessed in these days of her desolation. Unquestionably the duke of York

\* "Memoirs," p. 229

† Compare "Tales of a Grandfather," chapter lii., with "Old Mortality."

instigated the worst persecutions; and the wretched instruments of tyranny, such as Claverhouse, thought that their atrocities would best exhibit their love and loyalty. Whilst James was doing his congenial work in Scotland, the efforts of the faction opposed to his accession to the crown were conducted with few conscientious scruples. All the prejudices of the people were still stimulated into an unchristian hatred of Roman Catholics. The processions of the 17th of November, were repeated amidst the blaze of a thousand torches, lighting up the hideous representations of nuns, and priests, and cardinals; and the effigy of the pope was burnt at Temple Bar amidst the shouts of an enormous multitude, encouraged by men of rank, who huzzaed from the balcony of the King's Head Tavern. These were known as the King's Head Club; and then as the Green Ribbon Club. The annual pope-burnings were afterwards imitated at Edinburgh. The processions of Guy Fawkes on the 5th of November, and the processions of the pope on queen Elizabeth's coronation-day, kept alive the intolerant spirit towards Roman Catholics long after their original party-objects had passed away. Shaftesbury is represented as the grand contriver of these demonstrations of 1679 and 1680. But the demagogue contrives in vain unless he has popular materials to work with. No doubt he well handled the multitude, which at that period first acquired the name of *mob*. They were the *mobile vulgus* of these exhibitions. Shaftesbury had now been dismissed from the Presidency of the Council; and was the moving spirit of the popular party. On the 28th of November, Monmouth suddenly returned from Holland. The bells of the city welcomed his arrival. The bonfires were again lighted. Charles was angry, or affected to be so, at his son's disobedience. He deprived him of his offices. He ordered him to quit the kingdom, or incur the penalty of exclusion for ever from the royal presence. Monmouth obstinately remained. It was the policy of the king to prevent the Parliament assembling, for he had another scheme in hand to obtain a sum from the king of France, which would enable him to dispense with the advice of his troublesome subjects. The treaty failed; but Charles had boldly prorogued the Parliament on its meeting in October. The Country party now set on foot all the powerful machinery of petitioning. Grand Juries, Common Councils, provincial Corporations, were suddenly moved, as by one impulse, to petition the king that the Parliament should meet at the end of the first short prorogation. Charles became alarmed. He pub-

lished a proclamation, vague and absurd enough, against subscribing petitions against the known laws of the land. What these laws were, the proclamation did not set forth. But there was a reaction. The timid were alarmed; the servile were zealous. Men who stood aloof from parties dreaded the signs of another Civil War. They joined in declarations of *abhorrence* of petitions for assembling of Parliament; and those who supported the king in what they considered his prerogative of calling a Parliament when he pleased, of acting without parliamentary advice, and without reference to public opinion, were denominated *abhorrrers*. The name *abhorrrer* soon became merged in that of *Tory*.

*Tory—Whig*—in a few years forgot that they each owed their birth to “the common laws of scolding.” The Irish savage grew up into a fine gentleman; the sour whey became the richest cream. The names of opprobrium blossomed into names of honour. They flourished in full glory for about a century and a half; and then passed into other distinctive titles, not so “fluent for the hasty repartee.” Whatever may be said for or against party distinctions—and there is a great deal to be said in either view of the question—one thing is clear: the invention of Tory and Whig has been a very pleasant boon for the writers upon politics and history. These once rival nicknames save many circuitous expletives; and, if they do not exactly define political principles, they answer as well as if one large section of public men and their followers had been called red, the other blue—or one big-endians, the other little-endians. The terms of Whig and Tory are vernacular; and we are thankful for their help in the labour that is before us.

## CHAPTER XIII.

Charles the Second's alterations at Windsor.—The Duke of York presented as a Romish Recusant.—Progress of the Duke of Monmouth.—James leaves for Scotland.—Parliament.—The Exclusion Bill.—Trial and execution of Lord Stafford.—The Parliament dissolved.—The Oxford Parliament.—Its sudden dissolution.—The King's Proclamation.—The Whig Vindication.—State Prosecutions.—Stephen College.—Shaftesbury indicted for high treason.—The Ignoramus.—Court manoeuvres for the choice of a sheriff of London.—Shaftesbury flies to Holland.—Persecutions of the Scotch Covenanters.

WINDSOR CASTLE was now the summer residence of Charles II. In August, 1678, Evelyn went with the duke of Norfolk to Windsor, “where was a magnificent Court, it being the first time of his majesty removing thither since it was repaired.” Charles had changed the whole aspect of the Castle. By his command the palatial fortress had been adapted for those state-displays which were to rival the splendours of the Court of the great Bourbon. A new building, forming the most imposing feature of the north front, called the Star-building, had been erected from the plans of Wren; and by the connexion of the suit of rooms thus obtained with the older portion, that splendid series of state apartments was produced which terminated in St. George's Hall. But in these alterations the ancient character of the proud dwelling of the Plantagenets was utterly destroyed. If Wren had not had a violent distaste of Gothic architecture; if his royal employer had not been wholly wanting in that patriotism which would have preserved the main features of the Windsor of Edward III. and of Elizabeth, as associated with the glorious days of the monarchy—his incongruous pile would not have remained for a century and a half a significant monument of the corrupt taste of the latter days of the Stuarts. To Frenchify Windsor Castle was worthy of the king who needed French gold to pay for his buildings and his mistresses; to reward Signor Verrio for seating him enthroned amongst the cardinal virtues, or as the grand arbiter of the destinies of Europe. Catherine of Braganza sits in serene majesty, surrounded by the gods, on one of Verrio's ceilings. Mrs. Eleanor Gwynn had the more solid honour of dwelling within view of the Castle,