

border wars and English and French intrigues were at an end. This more than counterbalanced the loss of the court, a loss which probably favoured the independent development of the nation. For the present no change was made in its constitution, its church, or its laws. The Reformation had continued the work of the War of Independence. Scotland no longer consisted only of the prelates, the nobles, and the landed gentry. The commons, imperfectly represented in parliament by the burghs, not yet wealthy enough to be powerful, had found a voice in the assemblies of the church and leaders in its ministers and elders.

Superstition did not fall with the fall of the church of Rome nor licence with the decline of the nobility. Rather, both took new forms of extreme virulence and threatened to impede the national progress; but both were exposed to the light of public discussion and the growth of public opinion. The contact with the more cultured south was of immense value. Scotland, now beginning to use in the services of the church, in the proceedings of the courts, and in printed books the vulgar tongue, which differed only as a dialect from that of England, was admitted to the freedom of the noblest language and literature in Europe, then in its prime. The arts which increase the convenience and pleasure of daily life spread northward with the increase of wealth. Science, starting on a new method taught by the great English philosopher, was introduced and after a time eagerly prosecuted. Commerce, for which the Scots had a natural aptness, found new fields. And all these benefits were procured without any sacrifice of the independent spirit which had been derived from their forefathers. Even the separate intercourse with the Continent—with France, Germany, Holland, and Scandinavia—from which Scotland had already received so much advantage, though not quite so intimate with France as before, continued. But before the blessings of the union could be fully realized a century was to intervene, which at times seemed to hide if not to bury them,—a century of civil war and religious controversy. At the moment when James ascended the throne and proclaimed the virtues of peace it required no far-sighted observer to discern elements of discord which might at any moment burst in storm. To hold Papal Ireland, Episcopal England, and Presbyterian Scotland united under one sceptre was a task of infinite difficulty, not lessened because in each there was a minority who dissented strongly from the prevailing opinion as to church government and doctrine. The sudden separation from Rome gave birth to every variety of religious opinion, and Scotland became even more than England a land of sects. The constitution of the civil government was a problem not yet solved. In England the Tudor sovereigns had sapped the principles of the parliamentary constitution established in the times of the Plantagenets, and fortunately recorded in writings which could not be forgotten. In Scotland such principles had never yet been practically adopted. Ireland was ruled as a dependency on the principle of subjection.

At this point in the treatment of some historians the history of Scotland ends. Juster views now prevail. Neither the union of crowns nor of parliaments really closes the separate record of a nation which retained separate laws, a separate church, a separate system of education, and a well-marked diversity of character. But a great part of the subsequent history of Scotland is necessarily included in that of Great Britain, and has been treated under ENGLAND (*q.v.*). Considerations of space and proportion make it necessary that what remains should be told even more rapidly than the narrative of what preceded the accession of James to the English throne. James during the first half of his reign as sovereign of Great Britain allowed himself to be mainly guided by Robert

Cecil, Lord Salisbury, the son of Burghley, an hereditary statesman of great ability as an administrator. But on two subjects closely connected with Scotland the king had decided opinions of his own. He desired to see Scotland bound to England, not merely by the union of the crowns, but by a union of the parliaments and laws, and if not an immediate an ultimate union of the churches. He was equally determined that the church in both countries should combine a moderate Protestant doctrine—a *via media* between Rome and Geneva—with Episcopal government. Both desires were founded on prudent policy and might possibly have been accomplished by a stronger and wiser monarch. But the former was opposed by the jealousy of England and the pride of Scotland. The latter could not be accomplished in Scotland without force, so deep were the roots which Presbyterianism had struck. James attempted to carry both measures in a manner calculated to raise rather than to overcome opposition. The union scheme was brought before his first English parliament, and commissioners were appointed to treat with the Scottish commissioners nominated somewhat reluctantly by the parliament of Perth. The commissioners met, but differences at once emerged on the topics of freedom of trade between the two countries, to which the English were averse, and the acceptance of the laws of England, which the Scots objected to. Two important points were carried by a declaration of the law rather than agreement of the commissioners,—that subjects born in either country after the accession (*post nati*) should have the full privileges of subjects and not be deemed aliens, and that those born before should be capable of denization and so of inheriting or acquiring land in England, though not of political rights or offices. The English parliament of 1607, however, refused to sustain the decision of the Exchequer Chamber in favour of the *post nati*, although it consented to abolish the laws which treated Scotland as an enemy's country and made arrangements for the extradition of criminals. The religious or ecclesiastical question was first brought to a point in England at the Hampton Court conference, which met on 14th January 1604, in which trifling concessions were made to the Puritans, chiefly as to the observance of Sunday and the removal of the Apocrypha from the Authorized Version. In Scotland Episcopacy was restored by a series of steps which were gradual only for the purpose of overcoming opposition, not because James hesitated as to the end in view. At length the parliament of 1612 repeated the Act of 1592, so that Episcopacy was now once more established in Scotland by law, but contrary to the wish of the majority of the nation and under circumstances which made it the symbol of absolute government. While thus resolute in favour of Episcopacy, James showed no sign of leaning to the Roman Church, although efforts to convert him had been made at an earlier period in Scotland. The Armada, now followed by the Gunpowder Plot, convinced him that he had nothing to hope for from the Papists but open war or secret conspiracy.

After the death of Cecil James gave way to that influence of favourites to which he had shown himself prone in his younger years; but in the affairs of Scotland, which produced much trouble and little profit, Somerset and Buckingham took no interest and James was his own master. After an absence of fourteen years he visited his native country. He had promised to return every three years, but the business and pleasures of the English court detained him. His main object was to carry out still further the uniformity of the church, in which the bishops had not succeeded in establishing the same service as in England. This object was apparently attained in 1618 by the adoption of the Five Articles of Perth (see vol. xix. p. 682), but at the cost of sowing the seed of religious war. From

Re-establishment of Episcopacy.

this time to James's death little occurred worthy of note in the history of Scotland. A parliament in 1621, held under the marquis of Hamilton as commissioner, confirmed the Five Articles, though by a majority that is narrow when the power of the king in a Scottish parliament is kept in view, and only on an assurance from the commissioner that no further ecclesiastical innovations would be proposed. It also introduced a new mode of electing the Lords of the Articles, which practically gave the whole influence to the bishops, the nominees of the crown. As this body prepared the entire business of a parliament in which there was no power of bringing in Bills by private members, this was a long step in the direction of absolute government. James, in fact, declared in one of his speeches to the English parliament that, according to the Scottish constitution, he was master of its whole proceedings, with the absolute power of initiative as well as of veto. His declaration was an exaggeration, for there were well-known precedents of the estates passing laws without the royal assent; but the Scottish constitution was in a fluid state without the guarantee of written charters or clearly defined rules as to the refusal of supplies, and above all without an independent House of Commons to represent the wishes of the people and demand redress for their grievances. The only part of the policy of James on which it is possible to look back with satisfaction was that which concerned colonization, then called "plantation." This gave an outlet to the increasing population, while it advanced the civilization of the countries to which the settlers went. The earliest of these schemes, the "plantation" of the Hebrides by a number of gentlemen of Fife called "undertakers," had comparatively little effect, but, apart from it, some progress was made in introducing order and law in the Highlands and islands, where the people were still in a semi-barbarous condition. More important was the plantation of Ulster, chiefly by Scottish farmers, whose descendants still retain a Scottish dialect and a Presbyterian church. But as an augury of the future the colonization of Nova Scotia, though attempted in an arbitrary manner, was of the greatest consequence. It was a commencement of the great migration to the New World across the Atlantic and to the other colonial possessions of Great Britain, in which, equally to their own profit and that of the empire, the Scottish nation in the two following centuries was to play so great a part. On 22d March 1625 James died, leaving to his son Charles a burden of government heavier than when he had himself undertaken it. His apparent success in carrying to a further point the absolute and arbitrary principles of the Tudor sovereigns scarcely concealed the real failure. Ireland, with difficulty kept down, was not really subdued. The parliament of England had given unmistakable signs that it was only waiting an opportunity to restore the constitution on the old basis. The religious and political instincts of the Scottish nation, suppressed by force, were gathering strength to reassert themselves if necessary by revolutionary methods. An exhausted exchequer, which James had attempted to fill by monopolies, and by the sale of offices and honours and so-called benevolences, added to the other difficulties of carrying on the government, but was fortunately, as in the time of the Plantagenets, to afford the occasion for maintaining the constitutional struggle.

8. *Period of Civil Wars, Charles I. to Revolution.*—Eight years after his accession Charles I. revisited Scotland (1633). During these he had pursued his father's policy. No Scottish parliament sat, though a nominal one was adjourned annually between 1628 and 1633. No general assembly met, but the restoration of Episcopacy and the uniformity of the churches were steadily prosecuted by royal influence and the exercise of the royal prerogative.

In spite of the opposition of a convention of the estates, 1602-1637 which nearly ended in bloodshed, the king carried out the resumption of tithes for the benefit of the clergy from their lay impropiators. The revocation in 1625 of all grants in prejudice of the crown, whether before or after the Act of Annexation of 1587, was superseded by a new measure, ratified by parliament in 1633, declaring the terms on which the tithes might still be acquired and valued by the heritors. Few measures have been of greater importance in their bearing on Scottish history. The revocation alienated the nobles and landed gentry, who dreaded that when so much had been, still more might be, taken from their profits in the Reformation. The new valuation left the parochial clergy in the position of a poor class, with interests antagonistic to the gentry, whose income was diminished whenever the ministers attempted to raise their scanty stipends. The loyalty for which the Scots had been distinguished had received a shock by the removal of the court, and this was a second and more serious blow. Yet when Charles came to Edinburgh and received the crown at Holyrood (18th June 1633) he was well received. The disaffection still lay beneath the surface. Although the Five Articles of Perth were not rigidly enforced, all the court could do was done to introduce the most obnoxious,—the practice of kneeling at the communion, which Presbyterians deemed a relic of the mass. The question of a liturgy was not allowed to rest. It was brought before the Scottish bishops in 1629; their draft was submitted to Laud, who, detecting in it Low Church doctrine as to baptism and traces of Knox's *Book of Common Order*, refused his approval and advocated the introduction of the English Prayer Book, by which uniformity would be secured. Though this was not yet attempted, Charles took the same view as the zealous and ambitious churchman who was now his guide in ecclesiastical matters. When he came to Scotland Laud was in his suite, and the coronation was conducted with a ritual which "had great fear of inbringing of Popery." Edinburgh was created a bishopric. The parliament over which Charles presided passed thirty-one Acts, "not three of which," says a contemporary, but were most "hurtful to the liberty of the subject." One in particular declared in a large sense the royal prerogative, and by an ill-omened conjunction gave the king power to regulate the apparel of churchmen. It was disputed in parliament whether this Act was carried, but the presence of the king, who took notes of the votes, overawed opposition. About a year after Charles left Scotland the trial of Lord Balmerino, which grew out of the Acts of this parliament, gave the first impulse to the Scottish revolution. That nobleman, who had possessed a copy of a petition protesting against the Acts then carried, was tried under the old Acts against leasing-making or sedition and condemned by a majority of one upon a single charge,—that of not revealing the petition and its author (March 1635). Although Charles respited the capital sentence, the condemnation deeply stirred the people, who saw almost the only mode of constitutional redress, that by petition, declared illegal and an act capable of innocent interpretation treated as a heinous crime. Before the trial the appointment of Spotswood as chancellor, the first ecclesiastic who held the office since the Reformation, and the admission of nine bishops to the privy council, increased the disaffection. In 1636 the *Book of Canons*, ratified by the king the year before, was published at Aberdeen, containing the most distinct assertion of the royal supremacy and a complete Episcopal organization.

At last on Sunday, 23d July 1637, the much-dreaded Introduction of liturgy, the use of which had been enjoined by the *Canons* and announced on the preceding Sunday, was introduced.

Ecclesiastical enactments.

Introduction of liturgy.

1637-1639.

in the service of St Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh. For the most part a transcript of the English Prayer Book, it deviated slightly in the direction of the Roman ritual. Its use provoked an uproar, of which the stool flung at the dean by a woman, Jenny Geddes or Anne Mein, was the symbol, and brought the service to a close.—Lindsay, the bishop, being with difficulty saved from the violence of the mob. A similar riot took place in Greyfriars church, where the bishop of Argyll attempted to use the book. There had been no such tumult since the Reformation. The privy council arrested a few rioters, but suspended the use of the service book until the king's pleasure was known, and when Laud at the king's request wrote that its use should be continued no one dared to read it in Edinburgh or throughout Scotland except in a few cathedrals. Meantime numerous supplications against it and the *Canons*, joined with accusations against the bishops, were sent to Charles. His only answer was the removal of the courts and privy council to Linlithgow and an order to all ministers who signed the supplications to leave Edinburgh. There followed fresh supplications and protests, in which some of the nobility, especially Rothes, Balmerino, Loudon, Montrose, and a prominent lawyer, Johnston of Warriston, joined with the ministers. Hope, the king's advocate, secretly favoured them. Traquair, a leading member of the privy council, went to London to press on Charles and Laud the gravity of the situation; but, though ambiguous concessions were made, the king and his advisers were determined to insist on the service book. In a proclamation issued at Stirling (20th February 1638) the king assumed the responsibility of its introduction; but the opposition was too powerful to be put down by words. Its organization, begun by commissioners headed by Rothes, continued in committees of the nobles, lesser barons, ministers, and burghs, was now called "the Tables" from those in the Parliament House, where they sat sometimes separately, sometimes collectively, and formed a standing assembly which defied the king's council. The Covenant, prepared by Alexander Henderson, leader of the ministers, and Johnston of Warriston, was revised by Rothes, Loudon, and Balmerino, and accepted by upwards of two hundred ministers who had gathered in Edinburgh. It was signed at Greyfriars church on 1st March 1638, first by many of the nobles and gentry, then by three hundred ministers and a great multitude of the people. Copies were at once despatched throughout the country, and with few exceptions, chiefly in St Andrews and Aberdeen, it was accepted by all ranks and classes. Its form was suggested by the bonds for material aid of which Mary's reign had given so many examples, but the new name pointed to a Biblical origin, and the parties were not the nobles and their retainers but God and His people. While nominally professing respect for the royal office, it was entered into, as it anxiously reiterated, for "the defence of the true religion (as reformed from Popery) and the liberties and laws of the kingdom." The spirit in which it was signed was that of a religious revival. Many subscribed with tears on their cheeks, and it was commonly reported that some signed with their blood. Charles could not relish a movement which opposed his deepest convictions as to church government and under the form of respect repudiated his supremacy; but, destitute of power to coerce the Covenanters, he was compelled to temporize. Hamilton as his commissioner offered to withdraw the service book and *Book of Canons*, to give up the Court of High Commission, and to allow the Articles of Perth to remain in abeyance. A new confession called the "negative," framed on that of 1580, and a new covenant called the "king's," on the model of one drawn in 1590, which bound the signers only to stand by the king in suppressing Papists and

The
Covenant.

promoting the true religion, were devised, but failed to satisfy even the least zealous Covenanters.

An assembly at last met in Glasgow, over which Hamilton presided, with faint hope that matters might still be accommodated. Hamilton had orders to dissolve it if it proved to be intractable. The members had been chosen by the influence of the Tables, according to a mode invented in 1597. Three ministers represented each presbytery and an elder the laity of the district. The burghs also sent representatives. The Covenanters had declared their intention of prosecuting the bishops, and a libel laid before the presbytery of Edinburgh was read in the churches. Charles on his side announced that he challenged the mode of election and would not allow the prosecutions. He was already preparing for war. At the first sitting Alexander Henderson was chosen moderator, and Johnston of Warriston clerk. In spite of the commissioner's attempt to raise the question of the validity of elections, the assembly declared itself duly constituted. A letter from the bishops was read declining its jurisdiction, and the commissioner, while offering redress of grievances and that bishops should be responsible to future assemblies of clergy, declared that the present assembly was illegal in respect of the admission of lay representatives. Discussion was useless between a commissioner and an assembly whose power to act he denied. He accordingly dissolved it in the name of the king and left Glasgow; but this only stimulated its members. It annulled the pretended assemblies between 1606 and 1628, condemned the service book, *Book of Canons*, *Book of Ordinances*, and the High Commission Court, deposed the bishops on separate libels which set forth various acts of immorality or crime, many of which were false, declared Episcopacy to have been abjured in 1580, and condemned the Five Articles of Perth. It concluded its month's labours by restoring Presbyterian church government.

The distance from such an assembly to the field of arms was short, and on 7th June 1639 the army of the Covenanters under Alexander Leslie, a general trained in the service of Gustavus Adolphus, met the royal troops led by the king at Dunse Law. Charles, though slightly superior in numbers, had an undisciplined army and no money to maintain it, while Leslie had trained officers and troops animated by religious zeal. Their colours were stamped with the royal arms, and the motto "For Christ's Crown and Covenant" in golden letters. Councils of war as well as religious meetings were held daily, and the militant fervour of the Covenanting troops steadily rose. Charles declined to engage such an army and general, and by the Pacification of Berwick (18th June) both parties agreed to disband, and Charles to issue a declaration that all ecclesiastical matters should be regulated by assemblies, and all civil by parliament and other legal courts. On 1st August a free general assembly was to be held at Edinburgh, and on the 20th a free parliament in which an Act of Oblivion was to be passed. The assembly met as appointed and, without explicitly conforming, re-enacted the principal resolutions of that of Glasgow, and declared that the Covenant should be subscribed by every one in office and authority. Before it separated it condemned the *Large Declaration*, a pamphlet by Balcanquhal, dean of Durham, published in the king's name, which gave an adverse narrative of recent events in Scotland. The parliament effected little legislation, but showed its disposition by abolishing Episcopacy and reforming the election of the Lords of the Articles, of whom eight were henceforth to be chosen by the nobles, lesser barons, and burghs respectively. The predominance of the king and the church was thus removed from the body which initiated all legislation. Charles had beforehand determined not to sanction the abolition of Episcopacy, and the parliament was prematurely adjourned (14th

Assem-
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to arms.

(November) without the royal assent to its Acts. It was evident that the struggle between the king and the Scots would be renewed, and both parties reluctantly had recourse to allies whose choice showed their sense of the crisis. Charles summoned an English parliament; but the three weeks' session of the Short Parliament was spent in a vain attempt to obtain redress for its own grievances. It separated without granting supplies, and the king had to depend on private loans. The Scots negotiated with the French king; but Richelieu prevented the unnatural alliance of the Catholic king and the Covenanters. The Scots took the first step in the war. The army under Leslie crossed the Tweed and, forcing the passage of the Tyne at Newburn, occupied Newcastle. Charles, who had his headquarters at York, paralysed by the want of money and new demands to summon an English parliament, was driven to accept a truce at Ripon (2d September 1640), under which the Scottish army was to receive a subsidy to relieve the northern counties from contributions. Parliament was summoned to Westminster for 3d November; but its first act was the impeachment of Strafford. Until a pledge was given by his death that Charles would recognize the limits of monarchy, the Parliamentary leaders thought it safer that the Scots should hold the north of England. Peace was concluded by the Act immediately following that of Strafford's attainder, by which £300,000 was ordered to be raised as "friendly assistance and relief promised to our brethren in Scotland."

Charles's
conces-
sions to
the Scots.

The king now made up his mind to revisit Scotland, hoping there to find a way out of his English troubles. He had received a letter from Montrose (*q.v.*), urging him to come and gain the Scots by a moderate policy. He came to Edinburgh early in August 1641 and a parliament met under his presidency, when he not only ratified the Acts substituting a Presbyterian for the Episcopal form of church government but sanctioned important reforms. The Lords of the Articles were in future to be elected by each of the three estates separately, the burghs taking the place of the bishops; the Court of High Commission was abolished; arbitrary proclamations were prohibited; the officers of state and the judges were to be chosen with the advice of parliament; and, following an English Bill, parliament was to meet every third year. During his stay in Scotland occurred "the Incident,"—still spoken of as mysterious by historians, some of whom liken it to the English incident of the arrest of the five members. Argyll and Hamilton had led the party which carried all the measures of this parliament. Montrose had been committed to the castle by the estates before the arrival of Charles on a charge of plotting against Argyll by false accusations to the king. From his prison he renewed his charges against both Argyll and Hamilton, whom he accused of treason. Charles about this time unwisely attended parliament with an unusual guard of 500 men, which gave Hamilton and Argyll a pretext for asserting that their lives were in danger and to quit Edinburgh. They soon returned and a favourable committee of investigation let the matter drop. Argyll was now more powerful than ever. In November the king returned to London, which became during the next year the centre of the events which led to the Civil War.

The progress of the Civil War belongs to English history. Here only the part taken by the Scots can be stated. They were now courted by king and Parliament alike. The campaign of 1642-43 under Essex proved indecisive, and the Parliament sent commissioners headed by Sir Henry Vane to Edinburgh in the autumn of 1643, who agreed to the "Solemn League and Covenant," already accepted by the Scottish assembly and parliament, and now ratified by the English parliament and the assembly of divines

at Westminster. This memorable document, whose name showed its descent from the National Covenant, bound the parties to it "to preserve the Reformed Church in Scotland and effect the reformation of that in England and Ireland in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government according to the Word of God and the example of the best Reformed Churches." But the alliance with the Scottish Covenanters did not produce the advantage expected from it. The victory of Marston Moor was due to Cromwell and his Ironsides, who were Puritans and Independents. The Scots, who formed the centre of the Parliamentary army, were repulsed. In the autumn, although the Scots took Newcastle, the king gained ground in the west, where Essex, the general who represented the Presbyterians, narrowly escaped capture. Next year Montrose, in the brilliant campaign on which his military fame rests, made a formidable diversion in the Highlands. With dazzling rapidity, at first supported only by a handful of followers, but gathering numbers with success, he erected the royal standard in Dumfries; then, passing to the Highlands, after the victory of Tippermuir he took Perth, and defeated Lord Lewis Gordon at the Bridge of Dee. Next, after ravaging the county of Argyll, he marched to Inverness, but returned to defeat Argyll at Inverlochy, won further victories at Auldearn near Nairn and Alford on the Don, and by that of Kilsyth appeared to have recovered Scotland for Charles. The fruit of all these victories was lost by his defeat at Philiphaugh (13th September 1644) by Leslie. Meantime Charles had lost the battle of Naseby, and next year was forced to take refuge at Newark with Leslie, whom he had created earl of Leven. As the result of his surrender he ordered Montrose, who was again raising the Royalists in the Highlands, to lay down his arms; and the Scottish army in England, no longer on good terms with the Parliament, returned to Newcastle, that, being nearer home, it might dictate the terms of its services. Here it remained eight months, during which a strenuous attempt was made to force Charles to accept the Covenant. Alexander Henderson argued the matter with him in a singularly temperate correspondence. But the king was bound to Episcopacy by hereditary sentiment and personal conviction. Another negotiation was going on at the same time between the Scottish army and the English Parliament for arrears of pay. On 30th January 1646 they surrendered the king to the English commissioners, the question of pay having been settled by the receipt of £200,000 a few days before and a like sum a few days after that date. There was no express condition which bound the two circumstances together, but their concurrence cannot have been accidental.

In his captivity Charles renewed his negotiations with the Scottish estates, over which Hamilton had now acquired influence, and a compromise was at last agreed to at Newport in the Isle of Wight by which he promised to confirm the League and Covenant by Act of Parliament, to establish Presbyterianism and the Westminster Confession, which as well as the Directory had been adopted by the Scottish parliament for three years. After that period it was to be fixed by the king and parliament what form of church government was most agreeable to the Word of God, and this after consultation with the assembly was to be established. The Scots consented that in the meantime the Covenant should not be enforced on those who had conscientious scruples, and that the king might continue to use the English service. The Covenanters who accepted these terms, and who formed the most moderate section, received the name of Engagers. Relying on the promised support from Scotland, Charles rejected the proposals of the English Parliament. That body had now broken with the army, in which the Independents and Cromwell were

Charles
I.'s nego-
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Scots.

1647-1654. fast acquiring supremacy. Their division afforded an opportunity for renewing the war, and Hamilton invaded England in the following year, but was routed at Preston (17th August 1648) by Cromwell. A party led by Argyll had opposed the compromise with Charles effected by Hamilton. They were chiefly strong in the south-west, and in the autumn of this year a band of them raised by Lord Eglinton marched to Edinburgh and were met by Argyll, who put himself at their head. Their numbers had risen to 6000, a sufficient force to give them supreme influence over the Government. It was from this—the "Whiggamore" raid—that the name of Whigs took its rise. The meeting of estates now resolved to renew the Solemn League and Covenant, and by an Act called the Act of Classes removed from the courts and all places of public trust those who had accepted the "late unlawful engagement." The English Parliament at this point took an exactly opposite course and showed signs of conciliation with the king; but the frustration of its action by the energetic policy of Cromwell was quickly followed by the trial and execution of the king. Hamilton, who had been taken after Preston, soon after shared the same fate.

Charles II.'s acceptance of Covenant.

The death of Charles altered in a moment the relations between England and Scotland. In the former Cromwell became all powerful, while in the latter the moderate Presbyterians attached to the principle of monarchy and the hereditary line at once proclaimed Charles II. Charles II. had been brought up with different views of royalty from those of the Covenanters, and Scotland was not prepared to accept a king except on its own terms. A commission from the estates and from the assembly was at once sent (March 1649) to The Hague, where the young king was. Charles promised to maintain the government of Scotland in church and state as settled by law, and particularly the Covenant, Confession of Faith, and Presbyterian system, but declared that he could not impose the Solemn League and Covenant on England and Ireland without the consent of their parliaments. The commissioners returned dissatisfied with this answer and with the presence at court of Montrose, by whom it had probably been framed. But in October Ormonde's Irish expedition failed, and Cromwell, already master of England, had reduced Ireland by force of arms; both parties felt inclined to renew the treaty. At length it was agreed that Charles should be accepted as king on condition of his subscribing the Covenant, establishing Presbyterian church government and worship, sanctioning the Acts of Parliament passed in his absence, and putting in force the law against Catholics. In return he stipulated for the free exercise of his royal authority, the security of his person, and the aid of a Scottish army. The treaty was closed in these terms on 9th May 1650, and early in June Charles set sail for Scotland. On the voyage he was forced to consent to further conditions which the Scottish parliament ordered the commissioners to impose, in particular to exclude from his court all persons within the first and second classes of the Acts of 1646 and 1649, and to keep the duke of Hamilton, brother of the late duke, and certain other persons out of Scotland. On Sunday, 23d June, at the mouth of the Spey he subscribed the Covenant and landed. Whilst Charles was negotiating with the commissioners, the expedition of Montrose, which he had encouraged but afterwards disowned, had come to an end by the capture of its gallant leader in Caithness. He was executed in Edinburgh a month before Charles reached Scotland.

Alarmed at the prospect of another Scottish invasion, Cromwell with wonderful rapidity transferred his forces from Ireland, and within a month after Charles landed crossed the Tweed and advanced to Edinburgh. Baffled in all attempts against the town by the tactics of David

Leslie, the nephew of Leven, he was forced from want of supplies to retire. His retreat was nearly cut off, but he gained an unexpected victory at Dunbar (3d September 1650) over that able general, who had been induced by the over-confidence of the ministers in his camp to descend from the Doon Hill and attack the English on level ground. So complete was the defeat that the south of Scotland fell into Cromwell's hands. Meantime Charles had attempted to escape from the restraints of the Presbyterian camp by "the Start," as it was called, from Perth to Clova, where he hoped to raise the loyal Highlanders; but, not getting the support expected, he returned. In the beginning of next year, after renewing his subscription to the Covenant and submitting to the imposition of a day of fasting and humiliation on account of the sins of his family, he was crowned at Scone on 1st January 1651. Argyll, still the leader of the Covenanters, placed the crown on his head, a circumstance which he recalled when he lost his own. The invasion of England was now determined on,¹ and Cromwell having been unable to intercept the royal army, it advanced as far as Worcester. Here, after effecting a junction with Fleetwood, Cromwell with a much smaller force routed the king's army on the anniversary of Dunbar. Charles had a hairbreadth escape from capture, and after many adventures crossed from Brighton to France. The last great battle of the Civil War placed England in the hands of the army and its general.

Scotland offered more resistance; but Monk, whom Cromwell had left in command, stormed Dundee and terrified the other towns into submission. Although a nominal union was proclaimed and Scotland was allowed members in the English parliament, it was really governed as a conquered country. In 1653 the general assembly was summarily dissolved by Colonel Cotterel. Next year Monk was sent by the Protector to quell a Royalist rising, which, first under the earl of Glencairn and afterwards under Middleton, a soldier of fortune, began to show head in the Highlands. Monk, as usual, carried out effectually the work he was sent for and, partly by an indemnity which many leading Royalists accepted and partly by the defeat of Middleton at Lochgarry (25th July 1654), reduced the Highlands. He also dispersed the general assembly, which made another attempt to sit. Strong forts were built at Leith, Ayr, Inverness, and Glasgow, and Monk with an army of 10,000 men garrisoned the country. A council of state, containing only two Scottish members, was appointed, but matters of importance were referred to Cromwell and his English council. The administration of justice was committed to four English and three Scottish judges in place of the Court of Session, with the view of introducing English law. The use of Latin in legal writs was abolished. A sequestration court to deal with the forfeited estates sat at Leith. A separate commission was issued for the administration of criminal justice, and theft and highway robbery were stringently inquired into

With the view of procuring forces for the expedition, a reconciliation was effected between the Royalists and the more moderate Covenanters by a resolution to the effect that all persons not excommunicated should be allowed to serve in the army. This new party, now called "Resolutioners," was practically the same as that formerly known as the "Engagers." A minority, on the other hand, became known as the "Protectors" or "Remonstrants" (compare vol. xix. p. 683). This division of the Covenanters into a moderate and an extreme section continued throughout the whole of the 17th century. The Engagers and Resolutioners were the ancestors of the Established Presbyterian Church; the Protectors or Remonstrants of the Seceders or Dissenting churches, each of which maintained with unabated confidence, however small its numbers, that it was the true church of Scotland, the only church really faithful to the Covenant and Christ as the head of the church. Both parties for long regarded Episcopalianism and Romanism alike as "malignants," standing without the pale of the church, with whom no compromise could be made.

and punished. In the church the Presbyterian form of service and the system of presbyteries and synods were allowed to continue, but the stipends of ministers depended on their being approved by a commission appointed by Cromwell. Justices of the peace were introduced for local business. Free trade and an improved postal system between the two countries were established. The universities were visited. In all departments of government there was vigour and the spirit of reform, so that it was admitted even by opponents that the eight years of Cromwell's usurpation were a period of peace and prosperity. There was undoubtedly one exception. The taxation was severe. A land-tax of £10,000 a month, afterwards reduced to £6000, and levied upon the valued rent under a valuation of Charles, far exceeded any subsidy before granted to the crown. Customs and also excise duties, recently introduced from England, were diligently levied; so also were the rents of the crown and bishops' lands. Altogether it was estimated that a revenue of £143,000 was collected in Scotland. But this had to be supplemented by an equal sum from England to meet an expenditure of £286,000. As nearly the whole was spent in Scotland and the burden of taxation fell on the upper classes, the nation generally did not feel it so much as might have been expected. It was a maxim of Cromwell's policy to improve the condition of the commons, and in one of his last speeches he claimed in memorable words to have effected this in Scotland. In this respect the Commonwealth and protectorate continued the political effect of the Reformation. The commonalty for the first time since the War of Independence acquired a consciousness of its existence and hope for the future. Cromwell, like former powerful rulers, aimed at uniting Scotland with England, but his proposals in this direction were premature. To Barebones's Parliament (1653), which met after the dissolution of the Long Parliament, five Scottish members were summoned, there being 134 from England, Wales, and Ireland. By the Instrument of Government and an ordinance following on it, Scotland was granted 30, while England had 400 members; but only 20 Scottish attended the parliament of 1654, and care was taken by Monk that they should be men attached to Cromwell's interest. When in his second parliament in 1656 he tried the experiment of a House of Lords, three Scotsmen were summoned, the quota of members to the Commons remaining as before. Cromwell's idea of a parliament was an assembly to ratify, not to discuss, his measures, and this, like his other parliaments, was speedily dissolved. Had it continued the Scottish representatives would have had little weight. Scotland continued to be governed by the council of state. On the death of the Protector his son Richard was proclaimed his successor in Scotland as well as in England, and 30 members were again returned to the new parliament, which, however, was almost immediately afterwards dissolved. The Restoration soon followed, though in Scotland there was no need of it, for Charles II. was already king. However beneficial the rule of Cromwell may be deemed, it had a fatal defect in the eyes of a people proud of their freedom. It was imposed and maintained by force. His death and the restoration of the ancient line of kings were looked on as a deliverance from oppression.

The hopes of the Scots from Charles II. were doomed to speedy disappointment. So far from being grateful for the support they had given him in adversity, he looked back with disgust, as his grandfather had done, on the time when he was under the yoke of the Presbyterian ministers. Cromwell had shown the possibility of governing Scotland by military force and of raising a considerable revenue from it, and Charles took advantage of both lessons. From this date rather than from the earlier or

later union Scottish history assumes a provincial character. Scotland was governed without regard to its interest or wishes according to the royal pleasure or the advice of the nobles who for the time had the ear of the king. The power of the clergy had been broken by Cromwell's policy and their own divisions. The party of the Resolutioners or moderate Presbyterians, some of whom now leant to Episcopacy, and the party of the Remonstrants were still irreconcilable, and their mutual hatred rendered the task of government easier. The burghs were not yet sufficiently organized to be a power in the state, and the nobles again resumed their old position as leaders with no rivals, for the bishops were shorn of their revenues and dependent on royal favour. For the first two years after the Restoration the government of Scotland was in the hands of Middleton, who had been created an earl. The measures of retaliation were few but signal. Argyll was tried and beheaded on a charge of treason, which could not have been established but for the treachery of Monk, who gave up private letters written to him when they both were supporting the Commonwealth. Guthrie, a leading minister of the Remonstrants, was hanged. Johnston of Warriston, two years later, was brought back from France and executed. No hesitation was shown as to the mode of governing Scotland. Parliament, under the presidency of Middleton, passed the Rescissory Act, annulling the Acts of all parliaments since 1640, declaring the Covenant no longer binding, and imposing an oath on all persons in office, not only of allegiance but of acknowledgment of the royal prerogative restored in all its fulness over all persons and in all causes. In August Lauderdale, who acted as secretary for Scotland in London, wrote to the privy council announcing the royal intention to restore Episcopacy, and, regardless of his oath, Charles sanctioned this by the first Act of the parliament of 1662. James Sharp, minister of Crail, who had been sent on behalf of the Resolutioners to Charles before his return, allowed himself to be easily converted to Episcopacy and was rewarded by his appointment as archbishop of St Andrews; his example was followed by other ministers of the same party. But the majority and all the Remonstrants stood firm; 350 were deprived of their livings, each of which became a centre of disaffection towards the Government, while their attachment to the Covenant was every day strengthened by persecution. The Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant were declared unlawful oaths, and all persons speaking or writing against the royal supremacy in matters ecclesiastical were incapacitated from office. Middleton had the immediate responsibility for these measures, and the condemnation and forfeiture of the new earl of Argyll, whose estates he coveted, under the old law against leasing-making increased the hatred with which he was regarded. His fall was due to an attempt to supplant his rival Lauderdale by the Act of Billeting, under which the Scottish parliament named by ballot twelve persons with Lauderdale at their head as incapable of holding public office. This and other Acts were carried out without the previous consent of Charles; Lauderdale persuaded Charles that his personal authority was in danger, and Middleton was called to court and sent as governor to Tangier, where he soon after died. The earl of Rothes was now appointed commissioner, but the chief influence was in the hands of Lauderdale, who continued to act as Scottish secretary in London.

The change in its rulers brought no relief to Scotland. The declaration that the Covenants were illegal oaths was re-enacted and imposed on all persons in office who had not yet taken it. The old mode of electing the Lords of the Articles, which placed the election in the hands of the bishops, the nominees of the king, was restored. Sharp,

Restoration of Episcopacy.

1664-1681. not warned by the fate of Laud, procured the restoration of the Court of High Commission to enforce the laws against ecclesiastical offenders. Fines were imposed on all who absented themselves from their parish churches or attended the sermons of the deposed ministers. Sir James Turner was sent by the privy council to the western shires to prevent conventicles and field preaching and to enforce the law as to conformity; and his exactions, with the burden of maintaining his soldiers quartered upon all persons suspected of favouring the ousted ministers, led to risings in Galloway, Clydesdale, and Ayr. With their ministers and a few of the gentry at their head the Covenanters marched to Edinburgh, but were defeated at Rullion Green in the Pentlands by Dalziel, a Scottish officer whom Charles had recalled from the service of the czar. The executions which followed, and especially that of Hugh McKail, a young and enthusiastic preacher, sank deeply into the spirit of the people. He was the first martyr of the Covenant as Wishart had been of the Reformation. The use of torture, before this rare, now became frequent, and bonds of law-burrows were wrested from their original use to compel the principal landowners to be sureties for the peace of the whole district. Large fines continued to be extorted from all persons who refused to conform to the ecclesiastical laws. Next year a change in the Scottish administration, the cause of which is not well explained, but which was probably due to the fall of Clarendon and the rise of the Cabal ministry, led to a milder but undecided policy in Scotland. Lauderdale, one of the Cabal, still directed Scottish affairs, but Rothes and Sharp were treated as responsible for the rising in the west and suspended. An indemnity was offered to all who would appear before the council and subscribe bonds to keep the peace. A rash attempt to assassinate Sharp in Edinburgh prevented this policy from being adhered to in 1668; but it was renewed in the following year. An indulgence was granted which allowed the deposed ministers who had lived peaceably to return to their manses and glebes, and to receive such a stipend as the privy council might allow. The grace of this concession was undone by a severe Act against conventicles. It favoured a conciliatory policy that schemes for union were in the air. Leighton, the good bishop of Dunblane, proposed a union of the churches upon the basis that the bishops were no longer to exercise jurisdiction, but to act only as perpetual moderators of presbyteries, subject to censure by the synods, and that ministers should be ordained by the bishops, but with consent of the presbyters. There was a meeting at Holyrood with some of the leading ministers, but they would listen to no compromise. The name of bishop was hateful whatever were his functions. It may be doubted whether Charles and his English advisers would have submitted to a curtailment of the bishop's office and dignity. The subject of the union of the kingdoms was again brought forward in the parliament of 1669, to which Lauderdale was sent as commissioner; and though it was not well received commissioners were appointed in the following year, who went to London in autumn to discuss with English commissioners certain specified points proposed by the king. After several meetings the conference broke up in consequence of a demand by the Scottish members that Scotland should have the same number of members in the united as in its own parliament. The arbitrary government favoured by the want of a settled constitution in Scotland was more to the taste of the king and his advisers. Lauderdale openly boasted, as James VI. had done, that nothing could be proposed in the Scottish parliament except what the king through the Lords of the Articles approved. The "indulgence" entirely failed of the desired effect. The ministers who took advantage of

Policy of indulgence.

it were despised by the people, who continued to attend the conventicles. In 1672 an Act was passed punishing preachers at such conventicles with death and imposing fines, imprisonment, and exile for having children baptized by deposed ministers and for absence for three Sundays from the parish church. In 1675 letters of intercommuning were issued against about a hundred of those who attended the conventicles, both ministers and laymen, forbidding their friends and relations to have any dealings with them under the same penalties as if they had themselves been present at the conventicles. In 1678 Mitchell, a fanatical preacher, who had ten years before attempted the life of Sharp and mortally wounded the bishop of Orkney, was tried and executed. The feeling of the times, and the cruel manner in which a confession had been wrung from him by torture, led to his being regarded as a martyr. Prior to this year 17,000 persons had suffered fines or imprisonment for attending conventicles. A host of 10,000 men, chiefly Highlanders, was quartered in the western shires in order to force the landowners who favoured the Covenanters to enter into bonds of law-burrows.

It appears to have been the design of Lauderdale, who still governed Scotland absolutely through the privy council (no parliament having been summoned since 1674), to force the Scots to rebel. "When I was once saying to him," relates Burnet, "'Was that a time to drive them into a rebellion?'" "Yes," said he, "'would to God they would rebel that he might bring over an army of Irish Papists to cut their throats.'" One part of his wish was speedily fulfilled. In 1679 the rebellion so long smouldering broke out. The murder of Sharp (3d May) by Hackston of Rathillet and a small band of Covenanters was followed by a still more stringent proclamation against field conventicles, which were declared treasonable, and the possession of arms was prohibited. This severity provoked a rising in the west. A small party led by Hamilton, a youth educated by Bishop Burnet at Glasgow, who had joined the Covenanters, burnt at Rutherglen the statutes and acts of privy council on the anniversary of the Restoration, and being allowed to gather numbers defeated Graham of Claverhouse at Loudon Hill (1st June). The duke of Monmouth, the favourite natural son of Charles, sent with troops from England to suppress the rising, gained an easy victory at Bothwell Bridge (22d June). His desire was to follow it up by a policy of clemency, and a new indulgence was issued, but its effect was counteracted by Lauderdale. All officers, ministers, and landowners, as well as those who had taken part in the rising and did not surrender within a short space, were excepted from the indulgence. Several preachers were executed and many persons sent to the colonies, while fines and forfeitures multiplied. A new and fiercer phase of the rebellion was originated by Cargill and Cameron, two preachers who escaped at Bothwell Bridge, and, assembling their followers at Sanguhar, published a declaration renouncing allegiance to Charles as a perjured king. They were soon surprised and Cameron was killed, but Cargill continued to animate his followers, called the "Society Men" or "Cameronians," by his preaching, and at a conventicle at Torwood in Ayrshire excommunicated the king, the duke of York, Lauderdale, and Rothes.

The duke of York, who had become a Roman Catholic during his residence abroad, was now sent to Scotland, partly to avoid the discussion raised by his conversion as to his exclusion from the succession. During a short stay of three months he astonished the Scots by the mildness of his administration, but on his return in the following year he revealed his true character. The privy council renewed its proclamations against conventicles and increased the fines, which were levied by the sheriff or other magistrate under the pain of liability if they were remiss in their

exaction. Military commissions were issued to Claverhouse and other officers in the southern and western shires empowering them to quarter their troops on recusants and administer martial law. Torture was freely resorted to by the privy council and the duke himself took pleasure in witnessing it. A parliament summoned in 1681, after passing a general Act against Popery to lull suspicion, proceeded to declare the succession to be in the ordinary line of blood and unalterable on account of difference of religion by any future law. The Test Act was then carried, not without many attempts to modify it. Its ambiguous and contradictory clauses make it an admirable instrument of tyranny, a shelter for the lax and a terror to the upright conscience. It was at once enforced, and Argyll, who declared he took it only so far as it was consistent with itself and the Protestant religion, was tried and condemned to death for treason, but escaped from prison to Holland. Dalrymple, the president of the Court of Session, and many leading Presbyterian ministers and gentry followed his example, and found a hospitable refuge in the republic which first acknowledged toleration in religion. They there met a similar band of English exiles. The next two years were spent in plots, of which the centre was in Holland, with branches in London and Edinburgh. The failure of the Rye House Plot in 1683 led to the execution of Russell and Sidney and the arrest of Spence, a retainer of Argyll, Carstares, Baillie of Jerviswood, and Campbell of Cessnock. Against Campbell the proof of complicity failed, and Spence and Carstares, though cruelly tortured, revealed nothing of moment. Baillie, however, was condemned and executed upon slender proof. The Cameronians, who kept alive in remote districts the spirit of rebellion, were treated with ruthless cruelty. Although doubt has been cast on the death of Brown the carrier, shot down in cold blood by Claverhouse, and the Wigtown martyrs, two poor women tied to a stake and drowned in the Bay of Luce, the account of Wodrow has, after a keen discussion, been sustained as accurate. The conduct of the Government in Scotland gained for this period the name of the "Killing Times."

The short reign of James VII. is the saddest period in the history of Scotland. He succeeded in the brief space of three years in fanning the revolutionary elements in both England and Scotland into a flame which he was powerless to quench. He declined to take the Scottish coronation oath, which contained a declaration in favour of the church then established. A submissive parliament held (28th April 1685) under the duke of Queensberry as commissioner not only overlooked this but expressed its loyalty in terms acknowledging the king's absolute supremacy. The excise was granted to the crown for ever and the land-tax to James for life. The law against conventicles was even extended to those held in houses, if five persons besides the family attended domestic worship; while, if the meeting was outside the house, at the door or windows, it was to be deemed a field conventicle, punishable by death. The class of persons subject to the test was enlarged. Undeterred or provoked by these terrors of the law, Argyll made a descent upon the western Highlands and tried to raise his clansmen, but, being badly supported by the officers under him, his troops were dispersed and he himself taken prisoner, when he was brought to Edinburgh, condemned, and executed under his former sentence. Next year Perth the lord chancellor, Melfort his brother, and the earl of Moray became converts to the Popish faith. The duke of Queensberry, who did not follow their example, was enabled only by the most servile submission in other points to the royal wishes to save himself and his party in the privy council from dismissal. James sent a letter to parliament offering free trade with England and an indemnity for political offences, in return for which it was required

that the Catholics should be released from the test and the penal laws. But the estates refused to be bribed. Even the Lords of the Articles declined to propose a repeal of the Test Act. The burghs almost for the first time in a Scottish parliament showed their independence. The refractory parliament was at once adjourned and soon after dissolved, and James had recourse in Scotland as in England to the dispensing power. Under a pretended prerogative he issued a proclamation through the privy council, granting a full indulgence to the Romanists, and by another deprived the burghs of the right of electing magistrates. A more limited toleration was granted to Quakers and Presbyterians, by which they were allowed to worship according to their consciences in private houses. This was followed by a second and a third indulgence, which at last gave full liberty of worship to the Presbyterians and was accepted by most of their ministers; but the laws against field conventicles continued to be enforced. In February 1688 Renwick was executed under them at Edinburgh. A band of his followers, including women and children, were marched north and imprisoned with great cruelty in Dunnottar.

Meantime the rapid series of events which led to the Revolution in England had reached its climax in the trial and acquittal of the seven bishops. William of Orange, who had long watched the progress of his father-in-law's tyranny, saw that the moment had come when almost all classes in England as well as Scotland would welcome him as a deliverer. But the Revolution was differently received in each part of the United Kingdom. In England there was practically no opposition; in Catholic Ireland it was established by force. Scotland was divided. The Catholics, chiefly in the Highlands, and the Episcopalians led by their bishops adhered to James and formed the Jacobite party, which kept up for half a century a struggle for the principle of legitimacy. The Presbyterians—probably the most numerous, certainly the most powerful party, especially in the Lowlands and burghs—supported the new settlement, which for the first time gave Scotland a constitutional or limited monarchy. Shortly before his flight James had summoned his Scottish troops to England; but Douglas, brother of the duke of Queensberry, their commander-in-chief, went over to William. Claverhouse, now Viscount Dundee, the second in command, who had the spirit of his kinsman Montrose, after in vain urging James to fight for his crown, returned to Scotland, followed by some thirty horsemen. In Edinburgh the duke of Gordon still held the castle for James, while the convention parliament, presided over by the duke of Hamilton, was debating on what terms the crown should be offered to William. Dundee passed through Edinburgh unmolested, and encouraged Gordon to hold out, while he himself gathered the Highland chiefs round his standard at Lochaber. Mackay, a favourite general of William, sent to oppose him, was defeated at Killiecrankie (29th July 1689), where the spirited leadership of Dundee and the dash of the Highlanders' attack gained the day; but success was turned into defeat by a bullet which killed Dundee almost at the moment of victory. No successor appeared to take his place and keep the chiefs of the clans together. The Cameronians, organized into a regiment under Cleland, repulsed Cannon, the commander of the Highland army, at Dunkeld, and the success of Livingston, who defeated the remnant under Cameron and Buchan at the Haughs of Cromdale on the Spey, ended the short and desultory war. The castle of Edinburgh had been surrendered a month before the battle of Killiecrankie. Three forts, at Fort William, Fort Augustus, and Inverness, sufficed to keep the Highlands from rising for the next two reigns.

Meantime the convention parliament in Edinburgh had

Revolution of William III.

Pacification of the Highlands.