UNIVERSITY of CALIFORNIA
AT
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LIBRARY
THE LETTERS AND JOURNALS

OF

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.
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 Baillie, 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
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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. 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; 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 memorabell 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 Zealind; given to me by my worthy and good friend Dr. James Fall, sometime Principal of Glasgow, now Precentor of York, December 31, 1700. 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.
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for printing the work, dated March 17th 1775, which bear, that "Subscriptions are taken in by William Gray, front of the Exchange, Edinburgh; by Robert Aitken, schoolmaster at Anderson; 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 individual 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 matters; 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 correspondence 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 Members of The Bannatyne Club; a literary Association in Edinburgh, 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 importance 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
PREFACE.

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

(6) 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 republishing 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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**MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.**

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LETTERS AND JOURNALS

OF

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

VOLUME FIRST.—M.DC.XXXVII.—M.DC.XLI.

Your own letters: the best of all with you. May salvation be your guide by your own good wish.

Ecclesmin, Dec. 16, 1659.

Use Christian means to your friend that you and may the hand of the Lord be upon him. I long to see him.
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 comand any copie, by your money or moyen, let me have on[e], and it were but for tuo or thre dayes, with this bearer. I am myndit to caft my ftudies for difposing of my mind to such a courfe as I may be aungfuerable to God for my cariage. Whovever, I am greatly affrayit that this aple of contention have banifhit peic[e] from our poor Church heireftir for ever. In Ingland, to this hour, as fundry Epifcopall books latly printit does teftifie, this fyre is yet reikand, and reddie upon occafion to brek out for the trouble of that Church farder then ever. Ar we fo modest fpirits, and fo towardly handlit in this matter, that ther is aperiance we will imbrace in a clap fuch a maffe of novelties. I find Andreus himfelf, the femigod of the neu fa6lion, preaching befor King James, in a wreit 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. Seve-ral 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.
King Charles by this fam Canterburie, (3) shewing that all Church Laues, that all Canones Ecclesiaflicall, have allways been made in Church Asfemblies, and not elfwher. In Ingland it wes fo ever; the leift ceremonie never appointit but in the Convocation; though Andreus wer silent, the constant practife 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 fuet Prince, to begin a new practife fo late on our poor Church. Had [we] been truly, as onc[ee] we wer falfly aleagit, but a pendicle of the dioces of York, yit more then a mislive lettre would have been ufit to have movit us imbrace a hole book of new Canons, and mor then ane Act of Councell to have mad[e] us recev a new Forme in the whol worship of God, prayer, sacraments, mariag, buriall, preaching and all. For myself, I am resolvit, what I can diges as any wayes tolerable with peic[e] of confcience, not only in deu tyme to receve myfelf, but to difpofe others also, fo far as I can by word and writ, to receve quietly the fame; but what ever be my mind, yit I am affrayit fore that there is a forme raisit which will not calme in my dayes. It's a pitie that we should have none to give our gratious Princ[e] deu in- formation. They ar dear coft honour, which ar the pryce 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 bofome.

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

Thy Brother,


[To Mr. William Spang.]

Dear and Loving Coosing,

Efter long expectacione, and marvelling of your silence, at

(3) The English prelates here alluded to were Dr. Lancelot Andrews, succes- sively Bishop of Ely, Chichester, and Winchester; and Dr. William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury.
laft this 20 of Januarie, I receaved your laft two together, and your Currents to the 53. I muft entreat you to continew, not fo much your old kindneffe to me in wryting, for of this I do not complaine, as your old prudence in directing them; it was above, I think, fix weeks after the coming home of our Glasgow merchants, that your letters promifed with them come to my hands. It is mervellous that in all our countrey we should have no word from over fea, more nor we were in America. Will you be pleased to fend it; possiblie ye let us whiles want, of purpofe, that we may know the better to whom we are indebted. For my self I am fo evill a payer, that yow may refufe to furniſh me any longer in this ware, as a desperate bankrupt; alwayes, to give you fome hope, I minde to pay the principal, even a whole Olympiad of Gazets. I have fent you for annuallrent, half a gallon of our Glasgow water; I will intreat you drink my fervice to your wife, afuring her that I did with her all pro- fperitie, and could be moft glad to doe her pleafure if ever he came to Killwinning; tell her that she may have confidence of a long and vigorous life to her husband, who was born and brought up in fo happie a citie, where fuch livelie waters runnes in everie freit.

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 victorie of the Swedds; glad I am to fee the wickednes of that foolifh prince of Saxone punifhed; 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 alfo glad that the Swedds hes forced Lunburgh to a neutralitie, and Brandeburge (as it feems) either to a confederacie or contribution; also that the diet of Ratifbone is broken up without a conclufion for a King of the Romans, and with a plain refufall (if we will hear it at laft after fo many hunder repetitions of the fame reall anfwver) to restore the Palatinate. Bot moft glad I am that the meeting of Culen is like to evanifh; for I wes and yet am greatly afraid of the French their levitie that they fitt down, being evill breathed men andfoon out of wind, and leave their good friends, both Witinberge, and Trier [Treves], and Parme, and your Eftates, to fee to themselves, let be to conjoyne with our King in any league how neccifare foever at this time to both. Bot if it be true that they yet have courage and means to renew the warr on that fyde, and the Swedds continue on the other, if the Turk would truely come downe
on the south, I hope that the Auatorians, albeit they once againe gatt the Croone, and Bavar also, for all his fone and heir, might be moved to suffer our banished men after so many yares, 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, but 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 ane Act of Council, at the King’s directione, brought home with the Bishop of Ross, (who the last year also brought us down our Canons,) to receive 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 fight of that Book. The reafone, some fayes, is because our Scottifh editione is not yit compleatlie print-ed. I would rather think that some of our Bishops makes delay, as not being at a full point themselfes 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 Bishop of Edinburgh chiefly had obtained that we should be quyte of the Surplice, Croffe, Apocrypha, Saints days, and some other traffe of the Inglifi Liturgie; but since that tyme, they say that Canterburie sent down to our Chancellor a long wret of additions, which, nill 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 his perufed, and fayes, they find no difference betwixt it and the Inglifi Service, fafe in one; to witt, in additioone of fundrie moe Popith rites, which the Inglifi wants: We must croffe in Baptifme, have ring in marriage etc. bot befye, we must confecrate at fett tymes, with fett prayers, holy water to stand 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 Tranfubfiantiation; the Deacon, on his knees, muft, in ane offerterie, present the devotions of the people to the Lord upon his altar or table. For myself, I fufpend my judgement till I see 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, almoft all our nobilitie and gentrie of both sexes, counts that Booke little better then the Maffe, and are farr on a way to se-parate from all who will embrace it. I think verilie, if they knew
[themselves] to be in no greater danger than Papists among us are, they would not faill to abfaine from the publick assemblies, as well as they doe; and their number and qualitie is such, that readilie it may procure from the Prince that libertie which the Papifs hes; and of this, without far더 for the prefent, 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 Assemblie. God grant I may prove a falle prognosticator; I look for the moft pitiful schifm that ever poor Kirk has felt. The affections of both fydes dayly funderers more and more, and both gives to other new occaions of mifinterpretations; the one puts poperie, idolatrie, superflition, in fundrie things which are inno- cent of these faults; they fpeak of the perfones and acflones of men otherways then it becomes; they give appearance that for the changes already made, albeit no far더 were, of their mind to feperate. The other fceemes wilfully to add fewell to their flame; to command upon fole authoritie, without ever craving the advyce of any, (fo farr as we can hear,) if fuch things be expedient; yea, if they be lawfull: bot Prefbytries, Seffiones, Assemblies, muft down; the Bihop and his officia11, the Warden and the clerk, and the Prief of the parifhe muft up; the new formes of Baptifme, Eucharift, Marriage, Buriell, Prayers, Pfalmes, Preaching, muft be received under the paines of de- poftione, excommunicacione and horning; who will not yeild, he is a feditious, factious rebell, not only againft the Kirk and King, but God and his fyfte command: Sundrie of them, in their preaching, difcourfes, and printed books, declareing their minides for many tenets of Poperie and Arminianifme; none of them fhewing any appearance of zeall for reprefling of Papifs or Arminians at home, for redrefling the afflicted flate of Pro- testants abroad; the moft of them openlie hunting for advance- ment, flate offices, penfions; calling the moftlie, painfull lecture, preaching, and fuch other eccleiaftick 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 yeir wes the worft that in this laft age wes feen. The Commiffiar feirs wes ten pound for meill and bear; bot fundrie of our brethren are charg- ing, to the shame 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 Commission. He was thought ane eunuch, and so gives it yit out with the greatest oaths; but I chanced to be at one of his tryells in Glafgow, where so fowll practices were deposed against him, that had he bein my father, I would have subscribed to his depoitione. Mr. David Henderfone of Kilmaurs is suspended, and, as I think, shall shorthlie be deposed for this fame cryme; never a papift preifh accused of moe foule tricks than are deponed against him. We are like to become verie vile. The Bifhope of Argyle wes no sooner dead, then a number lope to their friends for recommendations to Court; yet three only could get themselves leitit. Mr. Henrie Rollock, for whom the Chancellour dealls, and many courtiers: he is your good friend, but hes lost all his reputatione, as it seeemes, moft defervedlie; it were good he wer a Bifhope, 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 Roffe dealls. The third is Dr. Monroe, who for that place is thought meeteft, but hes no hope, because few friends at Court. The Thfaurer, who now guides our Scotts affairs with the moft abolute sovereigntie that any subject among us this fourtie yeares did kyth, is for his old master, Mr. James Fairley; and he is moft redoubted (though not upon the leits) for the greatness of his friend. This increas his college, 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-chrift, and is speaking of dimitting his miniftrie, and retireing to his own lairdshipe; yet they are few years past since moft bafelie he wes begging the Subdeanrie of the Chappell, which yet I think he brooks.

The last year, our Bishops guided all our eftate, and became verie terrible to our whole countrie: they are now a little lower. The first rubb they had wes in the matter of the Abbacie of Lindores. They had weill near gottin that through, as a first preparative to have made all the refi follow, that all our Abbaties 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 so band themselues 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, Roffe(?) thought himselfe sure of that office, and fo did we all; bot the Duke and the Marqueifs, settle out by a number of our Noblemen, did concurr to flirr up Traquair (as he letts out fore against his heart) to make moins 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 despyte of them; and since hes ever been a thorn in their side. Roffe being disappointed of his hope, went to Court to follift the breaking up of the Commiffion, as a thing moft prejudiciall to the Clergie; for indeed it is an annihilation of the teinds for all tyme coming, except that small portion of them which is alloted to the Minifters. This Roffe obtains, and the King's will dichargeing the Commiffione 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 such remonfrances to the King, that he is content to give him a new direction, to be presented to the Councill after the firft, willing the Commiffion to be continued, if fo be after advyfement they fand it expedient for the weill of the countrie. Traquair and Rofs came home together; bot Traquair having the King's posterior warrand for the Commiffion's continuance, and haveing moved the moft part of the Lords of Councill, even of the Bihops themselues; to subfcryve the expedience of that continuinge, he hes obtained from the King a new warrand for the dounfitting of that Commiffione, the 8 of January, which wes up since the 24 of July: This is thought the greatest affront that ever Roffe 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 Biholes themselues to be for him; Brechin, Murray, and whereof moft I marvell, Galloway, evidently are his men; the Chancellor is moft terrifiied by him, for fear of some his own practices, what I know not, that he is not, nor dare not be much oppossed. Glafgow 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 Diocesæ, till he was fullie payed of his fyve thousand pound sterling. Traquair, after long delayes, at laft gave him way, bot, to this day, doe what he can, he frustrates him, and receives himself thos annuities, to Glægcowes infinite malcontentment: yet he hes plaid him a worfe hurt since. After the Bishop had made incredible dinne and busines with our honest Town, when by no means he would be contented, except he were relieved of their Minifters' dipends, and receaue acknowledgement of everie particular holder in the town as the matter of their ground; Patrick, (6) by Traquair, obtains the King's hand to a signature, wherein their holding of the Crowne immediately their patronage of the Blackfriers and Leigh Church, and many moe of their rights, challenged by the Bifhop, are confirmed; this Patrick getts through all the Sealls, and home to Glægcow, by their deir friend the Thesaurer, in spite of all that opposition which the Bishops conjoynd could make. If he doe a third like thiir two to poor Glægcow, I think he will kill him with displeasure. There is a God. We hear the Bishops are confident that Traquair fhall be their arm to force the country, by horrible fynes, to obey all their injunctions: they fay he gave Canterberrie this affurance at his firft advancement; but others doe hope that he will be moved to remonstrate to the King the countrie's grievances at the Bishops proceedings: it is evident that he fetts himself to croffe their generall designs, and almoft profefses to doe particular despite to his antagonift Roffé, also to Glægcow and St. Andrewes.

Mr. Rutherford, of whom you write, was silenced and confined to Aberdeen, for preaching against the Articles of Perth and fuch things. It is true he refued to give the Chancellour or ony of the Bishops their ftyles; they were animat alfo against him for taxing Camerone in his book, and moft for his indiscreet railing at Jackfone; alfo it is long since the Register, dealing to have Mr. Henry Rollocke coadjutor to the blind Bifhop of Galloway, did put in the King's hands a treatife written by Rutherford upon Conventicles, or the extent of private men's libertie in publick praying and exponing of Scripture, to be ane argument of that Bishops negligence. All thir things and fome moe did provoke them, but the alleadged caufe of their cenfure was onlie Conformity. The man is godly and a prettie

(6) This person was evidently Patrick Bell, who had been Provost of Glas- gow in 1634, and again in 1636.
scholar; however I like not well his obscurities in that book, and I mislike also his conclusions and reasonings in a pamphlet of his; going thorth our people, A Relation of a Conference of his with Sincere of Galloway, wherein he will have our kneeling black idolatrie. One of his grounds is a tenet which he imputts to the Bishop, that the Act of Perth does enjoin ye kneeling, for reverence, to the mystical elements; this kneeling I think a Papist would not maintain, so I take it for a calumnie; always I take the man to be among the most learned and best ingynes of our natione. I think he was verie able for some professione in your Colledges of Utreck, Groninge or Rotterdame; for our King's dominions, there is no appearance he will ever gett living into them: if you could quietlie procure him a calling, I think it were a good service to God to relieve 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 an ornament to our natione.

Concerning Duraes (2) business, when ever I hear of the advancement of it, I am refreshed; you need put no question on our fide, for we did ever earneftlie fute it. I marvell of your Hollanders that does oppose it now. The beft of them, Voetius, I am sure, and, as I remember, Rivet and Valle, hes declared in print their judgement for that Unione. I fear the Saxon divines shal now retract their Leipfick Conference. I wish Dure would turn his Hypomnemata into a full storie, like that of Hofpinian, in Re Sacramentaria. His answers 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 Inglis Biholes. I wish you sent to the Colledge some wrytes of that kinde, such as Parci Irenicon, and Croci Affertio Auguflana, with Menzeri Antiercius, and one Christophorus Maffenus, or some other, who writes well on that subject. However, it be now two years since Duree wreit to St. Andrewes of that purpose, yet never did I hear of any such purpose, no, not to this day, but from you, albeit, in such purpofes, I am curious

(2) Thomas Sydserff, Bishop of Galloway.
(2) 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 Durae,) 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 wi(l)de in concealing that from our people, for they would not fail to tak it for a policie of theirs, to bring us on that farr, to yeid first to the Lutherans and then to the Papits; 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 yow had any acquaintance there that would tak paines to buy and fend them to yow. I think I might have them so als soon and als fafe, as any other way. Yow will wreit to me if yow think this coure expedient, also what way I shall fend yow the monies. If yow had any thing to be anwervered here, it wer my greateft care to give money to your Father. For the prefent, I defyre from Amfterdam fome little things; if it might be, I wish they were bound, and that in leather, for I love not your whyte parchment. I defyre then, Acta Remonstrantium, and Ameſi Antisynodalia, Volfii Historia Pelagiana, Uſerii Godeſchalcus, Doffat's Letters compleat; thir books I hope to fee, and withes them of my owne, also Apologia Remonstrantium, and Vorflius de Deo, cum notis completis. I have many other of Vorflius' wreits. I have fein that of the Colledge, bot the notes were not full, being ane evill editione. I wish yow [would] fend to the Colledge fome who refutes his Reafons, and alfo that yow fend to them a Mercurius. I must be in your debt till yow wreit to me the beft way of fending yow money. Hereafter I shall have money at yow; God willing ere I wryte for books. If I wryte feldom, yow feie I am fo long that I fach yow; but what shall I doe, we muft meaure 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 cooing, 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 prefent he has fent me his judgement of Predifination, wherein he is fully with Arni-nius. I am upon my anwver, which if yow pleafe yow fhall fee.

We are in good hopes, that Arundell's return to Court shall doe us much good. It appears that all the King's subjefts are moft willing to give of their goods and perfons what can be craved for the Palatin's restitutione. Only the queftion will be to give the Parliament-men way to complaine of fome pre-tended abufes in Church and State. We hope that no Church-man nor Statesman will be fo divelish as to marr that fweit
harmonie betwixt the King and the Parliament, which now is altogether neceffar for the removeing of that greivous infamie under the quhilke our dominion long hes lyen, to the infinite greif of our fweet Prince. It's our heartie prayer there might be a Parliament in Inglend which might obtain all miforders there redreffed: this would be fome 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 juft hearing when it is called, we are feared for worfe evills then yit we have felt. Our Thefaurer, 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 fonnes widow, Buckingham's daughter, whereto the King cannot get his minde, how facile foever, yet fully wrought, for all her infinite portion. We had hopes he might have obtained one of the Palatine's fifters, but now, if he would look thereaway, fraw the King hes fhewed his will of his matching otherwayes, it might prove his hurt: Poor Prince, God helpe him! Buckingham he his friends hes drawen him down from high hopes, (if it be as the report is;) however, our Thefaurer is a great courteour, bot I feare he cannot fand long; he caries all down that is in his way, with fuch a violent fpait, oft of needlefs passion. They fay he brake up the Counfell the other weeke in fpleene, without conclufion; Glafgow and Galloway, and the Advocate, against his minde, standing to the difsolution of a late Border marriage, wherein an heretrix was feduceed 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 pitifully with his tongue, and hes affrayed him with Sir Lewis Stewart's fucceffion to his place. I pray God fo guide our Statefmen, that they may agree to feek the weell of our fighing land and our Church, more affrayed for a fformne then it was this long tyme. I muft clofe at laift, remembrance my fervice and my maiftres to yow and your maiftres, 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 relict of Charles Lord Herbert, who died in 1635.
your nixt letters may refresh me, and myne yow, more then thir
our last can doe. So I remain your loving coufine,

[R. Baillie.]

Send me also, if ye can have it, Latii Historia Pelagiana, and
fome good Treatifes of Brounifme. I hear Anfwirth hes writ-
ten for their separacion, and Paget or fome other againft it,
which I gladly would have, for I feare to have too much ufe of
fuch peeces. 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 fend all thir 7 sheets back, yow
shall have any other you require.

Jan. 29, 1637.

To My Lord Archbishop of Glasgow.(4)

Please your Lordship, your Lordship's letter of the 7th of
this inft. I receaved the 13th late, wherein I am defired to preach
the laft Wedensday of this inftant before the Affembly, and to
frame my fermon to incite my hearers to the obedience and prac-
tice of the Canons of our Church and Service-Book, published
and eftablished by authoritie. I am much obhdged to your
Lordship's eftimation of my poor giftes, and does humbly thank
your Lordship for intending to honour me with fo great a ser-
vice; but, withall, am forry that my prefent dispositione ne-
cesitats me to decline the charge. I will confede myself to your
Lordship freely, for I have found ever fuch aequitie in your Lord-
ship, and fo favourable a refpect towards me in all my affaires,
that I am imboldened, without all diffimulation, to fpake what
is in my minde; the truth is, that as yit I have not studied the
matters contained in the bookes of our Canons and Common
Prayer; only I have taken a flight view of them, whereby, for
the prefent, my minde is no wayes satished; yea, the little plea-
ure I have in these bookes, and the great displeasure I find the
moft part, both of paftours and people wherever I come, to have
conceaved againft them, hes filled my minde with fuch a mea-
ure of grief, that I am scarce able to preach to my own flock;
but to fpake in another congregation, let be in fo famous a meet-

(4) 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 tyme allutterlie unable. Your Lordship, I put no question, is so æquitable as to take in good part this my ingenuous confession of the true caufe why I am unable to accept that honourable imployment which your Lordship's more then ordinair respect would have laid upon me; so for this and many more favours receaved, farr above my deferving, I pray God to blifie your Lordship, and to continue yow many yeares to be our overseer; for be perfuaded that mony thousands here where I live are gritly a frayit, that whenever your Lordship shall goe, their peace and quietnefs shall goe away with yow. This is

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

R. Baylie.

Kilwinning, August 14, 1637.

To . . . . (5)

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

As I promised to yow, so I have performed. Yesterdays morning I shew to my Lord, that I intended on Sunday to have a Seffion for to send a Commissioneer to supplicat the Councell, as I trusted mony of my neighbours would doe. After he had for a little dilifyked my purpoze, and proposed some impossible ways of his own, at laft he was weill content to approve our Supplicatione, and, if he had health, to back it, or else to write to his freinds. At my departure my Lord Montgomerie lighted; he affured me, that whether his father went or no, he would not faile to goe to Edinburgh for this eirand. Thence I went to Stevenfloune. Mr. John Bell, I left him willing not onlie to caufe his Seffion supplicat, but to goe to Dalry and acquaint Mr. Robert Bell with the purpose, and to wret to Mr. James Fullertoun, Mr. William Ruffell, Mr. Hew Eglintoun, to tend the cheif gentlemen of their paroches with the Supplication. Thence I went to Ardroffane. Mr. Alexander hes promisied to tend a Supplication, and to intreat himself, James Mitchell to carry it. Also to go to Kilbryde this day, and to requeif Mr. George to move his Seffion on Sunday to tend Hunterfloune or

(5) 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.

Waterftoune with their Supplication; he hes promifed to write thence to Mr. Thomas Craig, that it was our defyre he fould be earnest with old Skelmurie to carrie their Supplicatione. In my return, I came be the Kirilaw, where I left Cunninghameheid refolved to carrie the Supplication of Stevenftoune, and to tak Mr. John Bell with him to Edinburgh. He promiefed alfo to goe this day to requief old Blair to accept the Supplication of Dalry, for I thought it expedient that he wer in Edinburgh, efpecially to move his goodfone Blakhall, to informe my Lord Duke of Lennox. I have written to Mr. Michael in such a faffoun as yow would laugh at. I have told him how I under-food of the Supplication to be presented; bot of your dealing or mine, I have told him nought. I have deryred him to fend me a double of his paroche Supplication, that I may conforme mine to it, and intreats him for this courtesie as a great favour; alfo I defyre him to fhaw if they will give their Commiffion to young Rowallane, or to whom else. This I think be all that yow requiefed of me at parting. Every thing hes fecceeded according to our minde. It refis that we pray for a happie event to God, that he would avert the poprie of the one fide, and the fchiffne of the uther, and the bloodie fword of both. It were good that Hefilheid were in Beith on Sunday to accept the Commiffione of his paroche. Cunninghameheid promifed to write to Cap- ringtoune to accept the Commiffione of Dundonald. We ad- verteifed Mr. John Ferguhill that was in Dalry to adverteife his neighbours at his returne. Yow have negle€ed Kyle and Carrick ill: yow have tyme to adverterfe Kyle yet, that out of mony paroches there may go a gentleman. When yow come to Edinburghhe, yow will doe well to impoy Mr. Archbald John- floune rather then they yow named to me, to mak that Toum fupplicat. Neglect not to caufe Angous and Rothus at leaft, if no mo, to speik plaine Scottifh to my Lord Duke of Lennox and the Thesaurer; what may cof them readilie their life and their lands, fall they not use means diligentlie to avert it. Wherever yow goe, impoy the Supplicationes of thefe yow know ules 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 losse of my right hand, yea, of my head, and all that I have, bot my foule alone and my confcience. The Lord be with yow, as happie as yow have been, to procure this good and wise courfe of fupplicating, both now and before. I truft
God shall make you all happy hereafter, if this means prevail not to be his instrument to withdraw people from enraged, fleshly, unchristian, and diabolical courses, whereupon nature does feel too many, and the devil spurs them under the false pretext of religion. Your Brother,

[R. Baillie.]

All that I have done is with so little dinner 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 kinde of our prescriptiones. As you have desired, 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 write, till ye had answered, as sundry times ye promised, to some passages of my last, which did require answer. Ye shall doe well hereafter when ye take leisure to write to me, to have my last before you, that when ye take a blank of it, ye may remember the chief points wherein I crave your answer; but the chief cause of my so long delay, was my hovering expectation till our present commotions had come, if not to some conclusion, yet to some crisis, that from thence I might have advertised you with some certain ground, what was our present state, and what hopes or fears we had for the future; but left this my expectation should occasion in your thoughts of my undutifulness, if it continue any longer, I shall shew you the estate of our affairs as they are, at least as I am informed of them; though as yet, they are hinging without any certain, so much as propensity to settle in any posture, which is known to us, or well imaginable 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 staggering state, if God with his hand hinder not men and devils from their humorous inclinations; for, as yet, I think there be no resolution taken on any hand.

In my last I shew you how that, in the breaking up of the Winter Session, there was a Proclamation, by sound of trumpet,
commanding all subjects, ecclesiastic and civil, to conform themselves to the Liturgie against the next Pash. Till that term there was no din; for the books were not printed till Aprile was past, and a while thereafter. No diligence could obtaine a sight of them; but in May, when letters was obtained by dere of the Bishops, commanding, under the paine of horning, every Minister in their Diocefe to buy, for the use of their paroches, two of these books, there began to be much talking of that businesse; 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 wote 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 Earlftoun, who, by Lorne, and the rest of my Lord Kenmure's curators, was intrusted with the most of that pupill's affairs, for his absence, he fined in 500 merks, and confined his person to Montrose. 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 businesse, he got a reply from the Bishop, which he called a lie, and so raise in high passioun, and yet remainse malcontent for that injurie. For myself, I think the Bishop could not be so impertinent, but that rather that wife nobleman would make use of some rash word, which hee 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 Thesaurer, 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 conferre concerning that crucifix, with the Bishop. For all this, I do not believe it, for I, upon my old respect to the man, made M. R. Hamilton one 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 Rossf himself, in his Cathedral at least, 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 Minifters 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. Glafgow was fick 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 fhew the multitude of the Popifh poynts contained in the book; the groffines of it far beyond the English; the way of the imposing of it, not only without any meeting either of Church or State, but contrare to flandering lawes both of Church and State; in a word, how that it was nought but the Mafs in English, brought in by the craft and violence of fome two or three of the Bishops 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 diffolve the Commiffion for the Tithes, till farder advyfement, procureed, as moft thought, by the Thefaurer, to e difcover 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 fitpend within the parish, which would have annihilate the tacks of many noblemen and gentlemen afoth all Fyfe, fet by my Lord Duke of Lennox; for many paroche were all dilapidat, and the Minifters, 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 tacksmen, and hurt the credite of the houfe of Lennox, who had receaved monies for these tacks, which they could not warrand till expedients could be found. To remead this evil, the Thefaurer gets the Commiffion difsolved. St. Andrewes, whether to prevene this plot, or for what other designde, resolves to Court, and to Winter there. He thought to have used meanes to have been fent for; or, if thefe failed, to have pretended a voyage to the Bathes. Glafgow alfo did protest,
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 five thousand pound sterling, out of the annuities of his Diocefe: for this voyage he had cost his horse. So then, my Lord Arch-Bishops being resolved for Court, they thought meet, ere they went, to doe a piece of acceptable service to the King, that when they came, they might be the more welcome: they will have the Liturgie practised in all the Churches of Edinburgh, without further delay. A letter comes down from the King for this effect: The Bishop and Ministers of Edinburgh are sent for: St. Andrews will hear no reason of shifting, but peremptorily commands them all to intimate, out of a printed paper, the King's command to have the Scotch Liturgie read the Sabboth following in all their churches. The Commission is read out of all the pulpits; only Mr. Andrew Ramsay slights it. The whole body of the Towne murmures and grudges all the week exceedingly; and who can marvel, discourses, declamations, pamphlets, every where against this course; no word of Information, in publick or private, by any to account of, used for the clearing of it. So, on Sunday morning, when the Bishop and his Deane, in the great Church, [and the] Bishop of Argyle in the Grayfriers, began to officiat, as they speake, incontinent the serving maids began such a tumult, as was never heard of since the Reformation in our nation. However, no wound given to any, yet such was the contumelies in words, in clamours, runnings and flinging of stones in the eyes of the Magistrates, and Chancellor himself, that a little opposition would have infallibly moved that enraged people to have rent sundry of the Bishops in pieces. The day thereafter, I had occasion to be in the towne; I fand the people nothing settled; but if that Service had been presented to them againe, resolved to have done some mischief. Some six or seven servants were put in ward; the Towne put under ane Episcopall interdict, which yet continues; no preaching, no prayers on the week dayes, no reading nor prayers on Sunday. The Chancellor wrote up presently the story to the King, with some wype to the Thefaurer; who that foule day was from the towne. The Thefaurer and Counsellors being highly offended, that the Chancellor should wryte in such a busines without their privity, delayed to write or send their post till the Fryday. It was thought the Counsell's letter did extenuate the matter so much, as it might be laid on the raicall mul-
titude, 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 raucall multitude, he committed the tryall and the cenure of the fact to the Council, only did command the ufe of the Service book with all possible diligence. Before this tyme, the moft of the Bishops had raifed letters of horning, to charge all the Minifters in their Dioceffe to buy two books for the ufe of their parishes within fifteen dayes. Glasgow was very diligent in chargeing all his Prefbyteries; and by no intreatie, would delay fo much as to his Assembly in August, but would have us all to the hone 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 Dioceffe. Their ufe was ane overture made to us in Irvine, to supplicat the Council for a suspension of this unreasonable charge; after much advifement and doubts, we concluded to fend Mr. William Castellaw to the Council, with a Commißion to supplicat in the name of us all, for a suspension. We fend over to Aire, to require them to conjoyne; but Mr. William Annan, their moderator, 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 occafion, within two dayes thereafter, to be in Glasgow, did motion the matter to their Minifters, who had gotten prefently letters to be ready againft the Sonday nixt, to read the Service in all their churches. I had not much ado to caufe them call their Prefbytrie, and subfcryve all of them a pitlue Supplication, pened by Mr. John Maxwell, carried by Mr. Robert Wilkie, on Wednesday, to the Council. Upon that Supplication mainly, for 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, becaufc much esteemed by the people, I have fet down;) I fay, Glasgowes supplication, and Mr. Robert Wilkie's diligence, to his infinite praife, 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 Minifters, was alone to buy the Books for their own information, but not for any prefent ufe in their parishes. Many noblemen by letters, many gentlemen in perfon, did solit the Counfellors,
one by one, and gave them all these Informations, which here ye have alfo. All the Council was moft earneft to fatisfy the countrey in holding off the yoke of that black book; only at the Bifhops vehement folutations, for the refounding of the printer's expences, for which they ftood obliedged, there was no fufpenfion given for the buying of two books. Whill anfwer fhould 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 Wedenfday 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 pra6life the Service. I wrote back a flate refufall, fhewing the irreolution of my own minde. For all this, in the Fryday before the Synod I receave new letters, commanding me, upon my canonicall obedience, to preach on Wedenfday before the Synod, committing the matter of my Sermon to my own difcretion. However I had bot two free dayes, yet I choofed rather to obey then to have caft my felf in needlefs contefts with a troublefome 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 Thurſday; bot coming to the town on the Monday, whileas I could not winn till the Tueſday late, the Bifhop agrees with him to take the Wedenſday, and thinks to keep me for the Thurſday, (as he faid idle 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, bot prefled thefe pastorall duties, which would not have pleaed all. So I took it: and the event proved it to be a good providence for me, that I was freed; for Thurſday I peremptorily refufed. 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 fpoke for the defence of it in whole, and fundry moft plaufible 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 one unfit tyme, that which was hinging in fufpenfe betwixt the King and the countrey. Of his fermon among us in the Synod, not a word; bot in the towne among the women,
a great dinner. 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 voyage, 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 sundry in words and looks; but after supper, whilst needlestie he will goe to visit the Bishop, who had taken his leave with him, he is not sooner on the caufey, at nine o'clock, in a mirk night, with three or four Ministers with him, but some hundredths of enraged women, of all qualities, are about him, with neaves, and flaves, and peats, [but] no flones: they beat him fore; his cloake, ruffe, hatt, were rent: however, upon his cries, and candles set 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 best qualitie would have been found guiltie. To-morrow, poor Mr. William was convoyed with the Baillies and sundry Ministers to his horfe; for many women were waiting to afront him more. Always at his onlouping, his horfe unhappily did fall above him, in a very foule myre, in presence of all the company; of which accident was more speech then of any other. I think that Town's commotion does proceed most from Mr. John Bell's vehement dislyke of the Booke, whereto I take him much to be furthered by his good fone, Mr. James, so shamefully abused by the Bishop, as I wrote to you before. Always, I suspect, these tumults will hinder the Bishop, for all his stoutnefs, 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 business should take some crife. The moft of the parishes in the Sheriffdom of Aire, Fyfe, Louthian, Cliddesdaill, Stirlingshire, Stratherne, did send in Supplications with their chief gentlemen, to befeck the Councill to deprecat the King, that he would not urge the heauie burden of the Liturgie. A number of Earles and Lords, whose names ye have, a great number of Barons, sundry burghes Commisioners,(Glaigow I moved, and by God's help, overcame many
difficulties,) went to keep the dyet. My Lord Duke of Lennox coming down post for his mother’s buriall, who had died of a feavor, and was buried the 17 of September in the night without ceremonie; for her husband, mainely by her princely carriage, is more then four hundreth thoufant merks in debt; my Lord Duke, I say, had the carrying of the King’s letter to the Counsell. A copie of it I have sent you. For all the harshnes of it, the Commissioners presented their severall Supplications. There was one common one presented by my Lord Sutherland, the first Earle of thefe who were present, in name of the Nobilitie, Barrones, Ministers, Brughes, there present. Ye have the copie, both as it was presented, and as it was thereafter corrected and mended to be sent up to the King. My Lord Duke was carefully follifted to agent this weighty busines, and his promised to doe his endeavoure. In his passaige, he was magnificently intertained in the Town Houfe of Glafgow,—he hes subferyved, in the Bifhops presence, an ancient band of his house, to maintain that good towne under the King, against all whomsoever to his power. His Grace did avow, that the King was misinformed much about the nature of the busines. 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 last letter of the Councill, which all who were present, even the Bishops them- selves, whose names ye have here, did subferyve, there went up privie informations from the Bifhop of Dumblane to Canterburie, (for the rest promis’d to wryte nothing diluent from the publick letter,) shewing that if the King would goe on, he should finde little difficultie, though some few puritans in the Councill would make it seem otherways. However, the Councill 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 executer 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 abus’d, as to loffe needlefly the hearts of all his subiects. By the King’s peremptory command, the town of Edinburge was forced to receave, the 18 of September, Sir John Hay, Clerk-Regifter, for their Provolt. When they would have joyned with the rest of the burroughs to supplicat, he did hinder.
After the Councill raise, a committee, as ye fee in the Act, was ordained to sit till, for to finde means how the Book should be quietly receaved in Edinburgh without farther delay. The people hearing of it on the Saturday, publickly, before the Bishop, railes on their new Provost. On Monday he calls in the Tolbooth a Councill; the body of the towne keeps 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 goe forth, by the Baillies request, till the Councill had advyfed; but with affurance, they would not goe from the doore till they had concluded to supplicat for the towne to the Committee. The Provost, after he hed drunken all these contumelies, was glad to promisfe a Supplication, and to affure they should 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 send up their Commissioners to Court. What shall be the event, God knows: there was in our Land ever such ane appearance of a stirr; 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 speak 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 maffe in Latine had been presented. The Minifters who has the command of their mind, does disavow 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 crying finns of all estates and professiions, (which no example of our neighbour's calamities would move us to repent,) is going to execute his long denounced threatnings, and to give us over unto madneis, 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 Counciell-day, Mr. Andrew Ramfay, Mr. H. Rolloke, Mr. David Dick, Mr. Alexander Henderson, Mr. J. Ker, and many more did advyse of overtures to calme this storne. One of them drew them up in this forme, which here I send you: the updrawer is averfe from all conformitie, yet modest here as could have been expected. I desiderat one overture, namely, a clear demonstration of their madnefs, who in this or any cause will goe loffe their foule in refifting authority. The moft of thir things I think ye knew before; yet, that ye may fee it is neither unkindnefs nor lazinefs that makes my letters to you fo rare, I thought good ye should hear them altogether from me also. Weele is you, whom the ocean divides from thir evills, but yet grace and nature will not let you be separate from the near fense of them. Your Father this half year hes keeped the house; it were good ye came, and bade him once farewell, and viewed your mother countrie before it be defolat: the hearts of all doe tremble for feare.

I wrote to you for fome books, as ye will fee in my laft letter; fome of them ye have fent, the reft 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 fhall have moneys at yow for all I wrote for, and for my four yearesCurrants. Send me no books unbound: I with all in leather; bot frae it cannot be, it’s better to have them in your parchment, then to be fafted and extortioned with James Sanders in Glafgow. Dear and loving Coufine take all this in good part; commend me heartily to your wife. My heart is for the prefent full 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 againft the common principle of cleare naturall reafon, let be equity or religion, I think both our Bifhops and their oppofers might be eafly 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 bafe to be moved or carried down with the impetuous fpait of a multitude; my judgement cannot be altered by their motion, and fo my perfon and state may be
drowned in their violence: I wish my fears may be disappointed. The Lord be with you.

[R. Baillie.]

October 4, 1637.

My fears in my former went no farther than to ane ecclesiastik separation, but now I am more affrayit for a bloudie Civill warr. My feven thefts of wreits with Mr. Chrichtoune(1) yow will fend with your particular censur well cloist. I have written another since on Predefination: if you pleas I shall fend it you. I wish that some of your letters wer far more particular and large then this long tyme they have been: yow continually forget to fend to the College a Mercurius.

Ther cam a comand to the Counfell, and from thence to all our Borrowes, that no Magifrat should be choses but of men conforme. If that Act wer urgit, we could have in all our Tounes no Magistrates at all, or verie contemptible ones. But impossibilitie here will crave a dispension; yet it shows our Bihopes intention to be heavie urgers of thir traditions on all publick officers as weell as on poor ministers.

A Note of Proceedings since the 5th of December.

The Commissioners came to Edinburgh on Tuesday the 5th December, and were dealt with by the Counsellers, that upon Wednesday, the 6th thereof, we should not go to Linlithgow on the 7th, there to present our supplications to the Counsell there to be holden, upon promife 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 supplicationes.

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 intension to allow any thing contrary to the religion preffently professed, and laudable lawes of this kingdome.

Upon Monday the 11th, Proclamation for fitting of the Counfell and Session at Stirling the 2d of February, and untill that tyme, of the Counsellors fitting at Dalkeith, Tuesday and Thurf-

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

Upon Tuedsay the 12th, the Commisioners coming forth as they were appointed, were afiley, If they would divide their numbers? If they would fend in their supplications by a maiffer or clerke, and not come in themsefes? 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 themsefes otherways than supplicants of all ranks. At length, the heads of their supplications being understood, they were delayed till the morne.

Upon Wednesday the 13th, the Commisioners coming againe, as they were appointed, were dealt with to alter their fubfcryved supplication, in the poynt thereof that concerned the Praofes as their parties; which being found by the whole Commisioners deftructive of the fubfcryved supplication, and without the bounds of their commiffion, was refused; whereupon the Counfell refused to receive it on these termes; and while the Commisioners were about to take instruments of their diligence, and the Counfells refufall, the Counfell brake up abruptlie.

The brethren mett daylie, and likewise the rest of the Commissioners, and by conference, by reaons of fubscriptions, by reaons of not altering any thing in the fubfcryved supplication, by reaons of union, and to conform themselves in unity in the good caufe more and more unanioufie, and to infift for anfwer to their supplication; whereof, when they faw no aperance of anfwer, they resolved upon a protoftation before the Counfell, and a supplication to his Majeflie; and faw a necelity of humbling themsefes and their flocks, in refpect of the prefent diftrefs of our Kirk; bot would not take upon them to indyte a fett universal publlck 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 fefions, shoud humble themselves publlcklie, and acquaint their people with this obtruded Liturgie, how farre contrari to it is to the Confefion of Faith, fwnne and fubfcryved be all ranks in this kingdom.

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

Upon Tuesday the 19th of December, we went to Dalkeith to attend the Counfells answer to our petitions formerly given in, and presented this Bill, the copie whereof followeth. 

For Mr. R. Wilkie.  

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 sent you ane large ufury, 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, condemnes almost all the most fundamentall truths of our profession, of manifest error, if not herefie. I think they are verie few who will be pleased to take paines to try the wreits which the Canterburians hes publihied thir laft nyne years, but they will be forced to justify these who are most forward among us to oppofe, with all their might, what innovations comes from their facred hands. If ye be encouraged, I have all I wish by performance of my promife, which ye did draw from me by your requieft at your laft parting; so I ref my loving and much obleidged.

For Mr. Alexander Cuningham.  

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 must not lyke this the worfe that it is short, for it is now past eleven at night. I marvell upon what ground the report of my scrapings is risen; the truth is, at my going to Edinburgh, foreseeing I would be spaire at my reasons of my dilyke of our book, I cast my thoughts on the new falfe doctrines, which I had read of late in some English treatises, whereto our book in sundry passages was applicable. Of thir I spake in the meeting when I was posèd; my discouerie I was intreated to putt in write, by some of the hearers, as also by some of the brethren of Glasgow, who seemed to lyke the purpofe. At my returne I made a little collection for their satisfaction; this I did shew to some very few, who to my knowledgehes no copie of it at all, and did keep it so sure and close as I could wiftbe, having their faithfull promife to that end; for my Lord Montgomerie, he knew not of it by me leffe or more. Alwayes since ye are defyrous to fee thefe scribblings, I have written to Mr. William Wilkie, to whom I communicat all I have, to shew yow them. I know ye will be secret, 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 pece unanfwerable, hes made me more averfe then I was from these mens doctrines and practifes; bot withall I am glad to joyne with them in oppofing a common enemie; since no other way is left, bot either to swallowing down all that the Canterburians can invent, or else to oppofe them plainly in their lawles practifes. I pray yow study much, and pray much, that ye may be a good man and a schollar, which are not too oft together.

If ye have byfide yow my letter, written the 6th of March 1636 to yow, at the first publifhing 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 resolvd; yea, if ye will read a leffe in Latine, which about this fame day four year I penned, and about that tymc shew to Mr. William Wilkie, who now hes it, ye will finde me altogether the fame man this day which then I was. I moft in-dure by some ignaries to be counted a penitent, as retracting of conscience my differences which, in preaching and wryting, I had with some 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 Principal. (5)

Reverend and Well-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 you 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 byfide your defyre that I should doe so, my earnest defyre that ye should be acquaint with all I knew, made me take that painses to the end, that finding these men who now rules all, so corrupt in the maine points of our doctrine, ye might be moved to help the Church of God at this so needfull a tyme. 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 deal of good to further that univerfall refucall of the Book which followed. Your withholding of your hand from the last complaint, I hear much spoken of, and heavily taken; but what I can I justifie it, at least excuses it to my power. However ye continue to joyne in that complaint or not; yet I with 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 witnes 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 my selfe by my idle presumption to advyse the like of yow in such a matter. I have sent yow my last two conferences with Mr. Creichtone. When ye get leaure, ye will cast them over, and at meeting give me your censure. Mr. John Maxwell was earnest with me for a fight of these papers; if ye thinke it expedient when ye have read them, let him see them; ye may see 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 selfe alone. We are all well, praifed be God, and defyres to hear the lyke of yow all. Our commendations remembred. I rest,

Your Brother,

Kilwinning, January 16 1638.

R. B[aillie.]

(5) Dr. John Strang, Principal of the University of Glasgow.
Stafford and Coofins, and what other books I left with you, I pray you give to my boy: I am much craved for them. Ye will close 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 last two or three meetings, and still I am refreshed when I remember your full content with me in all the points now in question, and your hote zeale against the new doctrines of the English faction. Ye defyred me to draw up these things in write, whereof I did speak to you, and send them to you, that ye might in your sermons, in that eminent place before the scholars, set your self against these new errors as manfullie as the yeares bygone ye had done. In the matter of Antichrift, I have done as ye defyred; receive therefore these my papers: if there be any passage whereof ye doubt, I hope to make it good, for since that wret, I have fallen on other their treatifes 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 must help others, and strengthen others to maintaine the truth of God committed to our custody. When they troubled us bot with ceremonies, the world knowes we went on with them, (whereof we have no caufe to repent,) so far as our duty to God or man could require: bot while they will have us, against standing Lawes, to devoire Arminianifme and Popery, and all they please, shall we not bear them witness of their oppression though we should die for it, and preach the truth of God, wherein we have been brought up, against 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 reasons, to help the Lord against the mighty.—Had I one half dozen so able and stout as ye to goe before me, I would not be afraid to reason the equity of our caufe in the face of an Ecumenick Synod, against all the Canterburyans in Brittaine, though they had on their fyyde all the Bifhops with them, as they have not the halfe. The Lord be with you,

(6) One of the Ministers of Glasgow.
moist 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 wilhed for, bot none ever so wilhed, so welcome as the laft. A moneth before, I was in a great perplexity concerning yow, 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 last 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 Miniftrie of Camphire. His avernefcs, after so manie feas, to accept any charge over fea, made him reje6l the motion without any farther inquirie; bot I concluded, that these men could not be fo impertinent as to fpeak of your charge to another, except they had been affured of the vacancie of it, either by your death or transportacion: this I thought not pojjible, without my privitie. The other therefore I did much feare, and was not fred of manie heavy thoughts till I got your letters; bot 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 pleafure. The flate of our affaires, since ye affure me of your defyre to know them from me, have it fo farr as I am informed.

What had paft to the 20th of September laft, ye have in my former letter. I shall fend 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 miffive to the Counsell, brought dounge by the Bifhope of Roffe, commanding all to conforme themelves to a Liturgie, which the King had feen in write, and approofen. The miffive ye have at the letter (A,) the Act of Counsell 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 fhheets of that booke, which
was given out at the shoppes of Edinburgh, to cover spycce and tobacco, one edition at least was destroyed: but for what cause we cannot learne; whether because some grofs faults was to be amended, or some moe novations was to be eiked to it; both reasons 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 an Act of horning on all minifters, the 13th of June 1637, who will not buy two of thefe books for the use of their parifhes; this Act ye have at the letter (B): what followed on the first practife thereof in Edinburgh, I wrote before. From the 24th of July to the 10th of August, the pofts ran thick betuixt the Court and the Counfell, which fatt every other day, to finde means for peaceable introduction of the Service. Theree wanted not good will in the Magiftrates and Minifters of Edinburgh, for to do his Majeftie service, as ye may fee in the minut of the Counfell acts at (C;) yet all was delayed to the 20th of August; at which tyme the four Supplications (which by the diligence of one man, D.D.(7) upon very small, or no hope of success, was procured from Glafgow, Irvine, Aire, Fyfe,) were prefented, 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 sharpnesse of it I nothing marvell, confidering, befydes the Bishops information, that the Magiftrates of Edinburgh, as they say, in name of the Towne, did wryte to Canterburie, that however some of the base rascall multitude had made dinne for that service, yet that they themselves, and the greatest and best part of the city, was moft willing to obey the King in that or any other commandment he would be pleased to enjove; that they had offered stipends 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 promised, to embrace that charge; and that they would count it ane accumulation of favors, if the King would, by his Grace’s means, refi affured of their obedience. For this offer of fo 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.
moft heartie thanks. What marvell then if the King shoule call all that din and tumult, whereof the Counsell wrote the 24th of August, a needless noise; as we heard it was called alfo before by my Lord Alexander, who went to Court after that Counsell day, and yet there remains, a man very favourable to the Book, and a great reasoner 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 parifhes, all together appearing in the street, at the Counfell-houfe doore, and everywhere in the eye of my Lord Duke of Lennox. The supplications and the Counfell's act ye have before; take now alfo the Counfell's letter to the King, at (D.), wherein they promise to doe their endeavour for the Book; but withall profefled grief for his Majefties hard conftuction of their former diligence. By what means the people of Edinburgh did extort from their Proveft, a supplication to the Committee, which fatt ftil, for finding means to have the Book yet read in their town, ye heard, and fo I closed my laft.

Wee expected not a Counfell day againe before the firft of November, at fooneft; yet St. Andrews did advertise the town of Edinburgh to expect the anſwer of their supplication the 18th of October. We were informed that their supplication was fuppresed, and never sent to Court; only the Proveft wrote to Canterbury, that that confluence of innumerable people the two laft Counfell dayes, had fuggefted fuch things to the poor ignorant people, that had razed the good reſolutions, which, by their continual pains, had been before imprinted in their minde; and however they had afſurred of their ready obedience and obfequiousnes, upon the confident afſurance which from tymes they had taken of the greatest and beft part of their citizens, yet they were forced to fupplicate the Counfell, that they might be continued in the fame eſtate with the reft of the kingdom; promising, that they would not forbear to do their maſter fervice to their power, and would ftryve to reimprint in their people their former good reſolutions, that for the prefent were taken away. To the fame purpoſe they wrote to my Lord Stirling. The appointment of the 18th of October, for the town of Edinburgh, was keepep 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 reſt of the kingdom:
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 keeped, at my Lord Montgomerie’s defyre, and my Lord Rothus intrety 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 present. We expected no Counfell day: we took our advertisement to be a falfe alarne, and our warner, [Mr. Johnstone] befide his cuftome, to have been too rafh: we began to be ahlamed, and feared that meeting of ours fhould 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 himfelf 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 commiffioners of parifhes, above two hundreth, gives in their fupplications to James Primrofe, the clerk, together with a dollar at leift the peece. 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 difented from the Book: all did, both for matter and manner of impofeing it. I was posed somewhat more narrowly, becaufe they fuspected my minde in thefe things. I replyed, with fome peice of blufhing in fuch ane auditory, the like whereof I had never fpoken, That albeit I thought myfelf obleiged, in charitie, to construe all that caufe from authoritie in the beft fenfe that any veritie would permitt, yet I behooved to difapprove the Book, both for matter and manner; upon thefe reafons, which at more length I had to fhew. I was not minded to fpeak any more in publick; yet after I heard tyme fpent by many in their poor and foone anfuuered obje6tions, I was the more content to yield to the importunitie of fundrie, who drew me with their hands forward, to fpeak fome of my rea6ons. I had thought on a way of oppofeing 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 bookmakers, by testimonies of thefe books which Canterburie of late had printed. A number of thir paffages I had perquire; fo I was heard with very great applaufe, and ere even was too
famous a man in all the toune, and intreated that what I had said, 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 excepts from the Bifhops, if ever they gett up their heads againe, manie fbroakes: readily I fhall fend yow a double of it. It is after the order of Vedelii Specimen, et Socini Remonftrantifmus.

While we were thus occupied, fome of our number, who had been abroad, comes in and fhowes us, that by found of trumpett we were all discharged the toune within 24 houres: the tenor of the Proclamation ye have, and the King’s letter, whereupon it was founded, at the letter (E). A little thereafter, the fame day, by another Proclamation, as I remember, the Seffion and Counfell was indicted at Lithgow, the firt of November, for the firt Seffion, and thereafter at Dundie. All thir things were feared and foretold by fome of the Bifhops. The beft policy that could be used to break the combination of the land, was to delay them, that, being wearied with tyme, they might fall off. The Proveift’s information, that their people’s good resolutions was altered by the confluence of strangers to the Counfell, did, as seems, procure their discharge to remaine longer in toune; and it was thought that the Counfell and Seffion was that toune’s god, fo that the fearing to want thefe, would draw that people any where. To counterpofe this policy, the other party, after a little aſtonishment and rage, resolved, in the fhort tyme was given them to fly, to draw up a formal complaint againft the Bifhops, as authors of the Book and all the troubles that had and was like to follow on it. This is done very fecretlie; to the gentry and minifterie is letten fall only a small generall. We are all defyred by the nobilitie, to fly till they fent to us to communicat their resolution to-morrow. In the mean tyme, they commit the penning of that complaint to Mr. Alexander Henderfon 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 fleep much. To-morrow two formes were prefented to the Nobles. Our weftland one was receaved, and incontinent fubferyved by fome 24 Earles and Lords, fome two three hundred gentlemen of quality: all did flee upon it without much advyfement. It was done very shortly and fecretly; for tyme ftraited. About four afternoone it came to the minifters roume. At that tyme I was abroad: when I came in it was going faft
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 doe: some hard paflages were in it; it had neither been reafoned nor voted, but only read, and after all the nobles and gentries subfcritions, prefented to our hands. If I had refused my hand to it, I had been as infamous that day, for marring, by my example, a good caufe, as yesterdaiy I was famous for furthering it with my discourfe. After a little silence and adyfement, I got my minde extended to subscription, 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 Englishmen's late commentares, fuch feedes truely were fowen. 2. That who subfcryved a complaint upon the narrative of many wrongs, it was enough to bide by the conclusion, and fo many of the premifes as truelie did juftifie it. It was declared by the penners and chief hands in that write, that they intended no farther then to obleige all the subfcryvers to complaine againft the Bifhops, who had been the authors of a Booke fo many wayes faultie; but not that every subfcryver should 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 subscription; for after tryal, and much study, I thinke there is no word into it but 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 rigor-ous, fo harpe, that they minded to prefent to fo many thousand stomacks of diverse temper. Had they been to require the hands of none bot men who were of their faith of Bifhops and ceremonies, they had not been rash; but their strength confifting in the union of a multitude, the greatest part whereof was farre otherwayes, and ftille are, of ceremonies and fundry things in that Booke, then they are, they shou'd 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 moft, and moft confiderable of all the Cleary of Scotland. For this their ventorous rashness, 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 advise, who in some things were otherwise minded then they. However, the goodness of God has covered their infirmity, as still I take it. Of men who are opposit to the Book, I know very few at all, yea none of any consideration, who has renfured 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 cause, have yet refused to subferyve upon their own reafones; but they are not thought of in so great a number. There are at it now above 38 nobles, gentlemen without number. I heare [of] none away but Craigie, and Pollok Maxwell, and the Conftable of Dundie. All the townes have subferyved, except Aberdeen, whom they fufpect.

While this write is in subferyveing, the burgaffes of Edinburgh are putt in a high rage. They finde their supplication had never been prefented to the King: they fee the Counfell and Seftion removed, the greateft evil that they did feare execute upon them: they understand, by the former letters, that promises were made to work them to the embracing of the Booke: they feared that the nobles and gentry were put off the town, that they, being left alone, might, by threats and allurements, be brought by their Proveft wherehe he would. Thir reafones make the multitude in a high moode to flock to the Counfell-houfe, where their magiftrates did fitt, and sent in to require that the Proveft and Counfell would appoint Commissioners for to joyne in supplications and complaints, with the rest of the countrey; also to affure them of their minifters and readers refititution to their places; with denuntiation, real and intelligible enough, that except all were presently granted, they needed not to expec to come out of that house with their lives. Upon these fears all was granted. James Cochrane, John Smith, and a third of their old bailiffs, in whom they had moft confidence, were cho'en for Commissioners; 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 Bifhop of Galloway comes up the streets towards the Tolbuith, for the examination of some witnesses, 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 so affrayes him that he cryes to the gentlemen for helpe; who, prefently, with their swords and good words, holds the peo-
ple off him, and carries him to the Laigh Counfel-house. It was not much from one dangerous uproare; but the diligence of the gentry, whom the people did respect, and the obtaining of all their defyres, held all in: yet durst not the Proveft or the Bifhop either stirr out of doores till the Thesaurer and Wigton came to them, and convoyed them through the street. In the afternoon a Proclamation is made, declareing this tumult to be barbarous, inolent, and all the evills you can call it, and commanding that none of the inhabitants should, under the highest paines, be seen on the streets, but for their neceffary affaires: so it seems they informed his Majeftie of that hour's work, as ye will hear in the sequel. The Proveft and Bifhop were so evill feared, (as I thinke indeed they had reafon, for, it feems, a little matter would have made them be pulled in small pieces,) that they durft no more compear in the toune. The Bifhop held him about the Thesaurer. The Proveft went off the toun in a rage, as was thought, to poft to Court with his complaints: bot, after sleeping, he flayed in Leith and about the toune for some dayes, till the calmeing of the people's minde.

That afternoone the Nobilitie did ufe all diligence to have a Counfell for preffenting 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 license to flay in the toune for terme affaires, withal intreating to receave the Supplication, which was inclofed in a paper by it felfe. The Counfell gave them leave to flay 24 hours farther; and to all who would come and show the neceffity of their particular affaires, they promised license to flay longer: but as for their new Supplication they would not read [it,] because they were simiple discharged to meddle with any thing [that] concerned the Church in that dyett; however affuring their willingnes, when their hands were lowfed, as they trusted they should be shortlie, to receave it, and give it ane convenient anfwer. The Bifhop and Proveft, in this conference with the Noblemen at the Counfell, were so farr from giving them thanks for refugeing 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 these tumults fell not out bot when they were in toune. The other made much vantage of that calumnie, making this their speech a ground of their nixt famous meeting the 15th of November, for to choose
Commissioners to wait in small numbers on the Counsell, according to the Bishop's and Provest's motion. This was the pretence; but the truth was, that night after supper in Balmerinoch's lodging, where the whole nobilitie, I think, supped, some Commissioners from the gentrie, townes, and ministers mett, where I was, quoth the dogge, among the rest. There it was resolved to meet again, the 15th of November, in as great a number as possibly could be had, to wait upon the answer of their prior supplication, and to get their complaint once tabled and receaved, and to doe farther pro re nata; for, to this house, I cannot learne that any plott or designe has been laid by one or more, but only a resolution taken to make the best use that wisdom and diligence could, of every occasion, as it presented itself, for their maine end to free us of the Bookes. In this meeting, Loudon and Balmerinoch were Moderators; both of them, but especially Balmerinoch, drew me to admiration: I thought them the best spoken men that ever I heard open a mouth. The harmony, mutual love among all, zeal and gravity, was greater, in my minde, than was in a meeting of very churchmen this fourty year. With prayer, Mr. Andrew Ramfay began and ended. Mr. Thomas Abernethie spake exceeding well in the farewell to the Nobles, for the reformation of their perfones, and ufeing the exercise of piety in their families; which all took weel, and promised fair.

The fame of that 15th day spread at once farr and broad, even to the King's care, and all were in great fufpence what it might produce. To counterpoſe all finifter accidents, the Thesaurer indiciated a Counsell at Lithgow the 14th of November. We thought all that the King's minde was come doune with my Lord Thesaurer depit, 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 advertised Sir James of the inconvenience of this report, whether true or falf. Sir James, highly commoved with Mr. William's rafheffe, affuring the utter falfet 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 thofe diverfities, and was displeased
with them, showing, he had no intention that our Booke should be any thing worse 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 keepe in order and quietnes, they did it by privie conference. The Thesaurer, Lauderdale, and Lorne, as the three wyfelt and moft gracious of the Counsell, wrote to the roume where the Noblemen mett, and shew the informalitic and danger of that their meeting. After much reaoning, it was agreed, that their meeting was legall and necessarie to expect the King's answere to their heavy greevances; that because this was like to take some tyme, they had mett, in a good number, to choyfe some few Comissioners, some two gentlemen out of each shyre, and two or one ministers of a presbytery, who hereafter ought to attend, without so great confluence; and, for this time, they had so divided themselves in severall companies, and keepe within doors, that their numbers were not disorderly. The Counsellors were content of their chooing Comissioners, whom they undertooke, by some few, who were to wait in the towne, to advertifie tymoufly of the King's answere, which they trusted should come shortly; for they heard of a Comission, given by the King to the Earl of Roxburgh, who was then in his way. Such matters as thir passe that night. To-morrow, when the noblemen had advyfed, they went down some foure of them, with some others of the gentry, tounes, and minitery, to the rowme where the Counsellors were mett, so many as were in the towne; albeit these oft protestted they were not a Counsell. Here Rothus spake for the Supplicants, and Traquare replyed, with great admiration to some, of his wifdome and facultie of speche. It was required, firft, That they might choyfe their Comissioners from all shyres, as well absente as present, who had, or were to give in their supplications, to attend his Majesties answere; which, if it was not satisfactory, 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, resolued, that they might meet
in law to choose Commissioners to Parliament, to Conventions of Estates, or any publick business. 2. It was required, That order might be taken with some Bishops and Minifters, who, in privie difcourſes and fermenſons, had flandered them as mutinous, fe- ditious, and rebellious. When the Trefaurer had flighted theſe men’s paffionate words; it was thirdly required, That the people of Edinburgh, who in words and clamours had past bound, bot done no harme, might likewife be past; upon which condition, they would pafs from the former farr greater and more confider- able injury done to them. In this, it was faid, nought could be done in the Proveſſ of Edinburgh’s abſence; for he, of purpofe, with the clerk and fome of his faction, had gone off the towne to behold the event of that meeting. It was fourthly required, That the Minifters of Edinburgh might be restored to their places. To this the Bifhop protefted his willingneſs; bot be- hooved to deal with the Chancellor and King, that they might be replaced, fo as might be moft for the content of themſelves and all others. Fifthly, it was required, That the Bifhops and others might furceafe the urgeing or praetife of the Book till the King’s minde were knowne; and that fo much the more, as the Bailie of Brechin did report to the Counfell of their Bifhop D. Wal- ter’s impoſtunity to take inſtruments in God, the King, and in his own name, being a counfellor, that he discharged their choofing a Commiſſioner to fupplicat againſt that Booke, which now he was minded to read. This the Counfellors promifed they would advife the Bifhops; and, as it is thought, both the Trefaurer and the Chancellor advertized D. Walter [Whitefur], that he ſhould forbeare the Book for a tyme:—Bot he being resolved to ferve 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 piffloles, his fervants, and, as the report goes, his wife, with weapons. He entered earlie when they were few people, he closed the dooſes, and read his service: bot when he had done, he could scarce gett to his houſe; all flocked about him, and had he not fled, he might have been killed: since, he durft 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 rest; for at their commiſſioners motion to the noblemen, it was refolved, that their caufe ſhould be defended as common, fo far as law could ſuſtaine, and then it was thought ſuſtainable;
that the matter which the Bishops called so barbarous a tumult, was nought but a very modest keeping of their possession, when these, against all law, would have intruded the corruption of their Religion; so whatever faith had followed on that intrusion, the usurers, not the defenders, must be charged with it, according to King James maxime of the Powder treason, "That in the danger of the Prince, or of the Religion, every one, without 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 advyfed and contant order by Commissioners, countenanced by the Counfell; that we may purfue and defend our caufe against the Bishops no more by a tumultuary confluence, but by the stayed resolution of a great number of the choyceft heads in the Kingdome. The Noble-men meets all; of the Miniftry, one from every prebytrie; of the Gentry, two from every fhyre; and one or two from every burgh: the forme and tenor of the Commission is at the letter (H.) The diligence and policy the Gentry resolvd on for to advertise one another, to the remoteft parts of the Kingdome, that all in a truce might be conveened, fee at the letter (I.)

At this dyett I was present against my mynd; for I love no travell; but the Prebytrie 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 Bishops of St. Andrewes and Edinburgh together; of Glafgow, Galloway, and Argyle together; and the rest in a third roume. There was a Committee of all thir, some eight or nine, by themselues, the rest had nought to doe bot give our prefence; for, in effect, all was done by the wit 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 kepted for lacke of purpose. I was putt oft to speake of my collections, which I did with greater contentment, as it seemed, to others then myfelfe, they were so oft rechanted.

Wee are not well at home, till we hear of my Lord Roxburgh's arryvall, of his letter to the Thesaurer to keep a Counfell at Linlithgow the 7th of December, of the Thesaurer's advertising hereof our legers at Edinburgh, who prefently, by post, acquaints all their colleagues in the countrey. All [the] Commissioners came to Edinburgh on the 5th of December. They were earnestly dealt with not to goe to Linlithgow, upon assure-
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 truft 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 trumpet; 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 phraze to fett down the Session in the Palace of Linlithgow; but finding that house out of order, and all the subjects grieved to fee Edinburgh deserted for the common caufe, 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 feaft. The King's declaration was heartily receav-ed, as moft gracious in it self, and moft advantagious to our caufe; for if it be not made cleare, that the Bishops preffing of this Booke is contrare to the declaration of the Prince, the undertakers to prove it in their complaint are moft 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 flopped for ever all mouths that would have muted against the Booke or them, as, in the laft Parliament of England, the King's declaration of his minde in Religion was the flopp of all proceffe against thefe who were like to be cenfur'd for innovating there-in; and that our takeing of our selves to accuse the Bishops as our party, before that declaration, was a preventing and countermineing of that plott; but my bluntnefs pierces no thus deep. Roxburgh's Commission, ye see, is generall: it was thought he had many private infructions, and some of them hard. The word went, that some letters he sent back cloed as they were, knowing the impoffibility or inexpediency of their execution. Some fuspected it might be the apprehending of some of the moft fearing nobility; for it is alleadged, that some Minifters about the Bishops, from [whom] many of our Canterbury affertions defends 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 sayes, 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 aslay all possible means of divideing these who were fo straitly combined, and that in a way legale, which none could reprove. The Thefauuer at that tyme was much, as is thought, threatened by the King: and it is no marvell; for, befbye other misinformations, Sir Thomas Thomson, [the] Regifter's good-brother, had written to Canterburie of him exceeding maliciously; which letter he gott, and challenged on his calumnies, bot imputed them mainly to [the] Regifter, with whom he bears almoft professed 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 most opprobrious words, as a base villain and pultron, whom he threatened to flick, but was holden off him.

In the Counfell-dayes following at Dalkeith, there was much ado; the Thefauuer, Roxburgh, and Lorne, dealing with all their might to caufe the Petitioners, for efchewing the appearance of multitude, to divide their supplications, and appear, the nobles, gentry, townes, miniftrey, severally, and that according to shires and presbyteries; these, that they would not deal with the Bishops as parties, but seek the Books to be away, and their matters helped without taking to any man's persons; at least not to take them to the Archbishops and Bishops without exception, bot to fo many of them as they coulde finde faulty. These poynets were fo preffed, that Rothus and Loudon both was in yielding; but after aduyfing, all concluded, that they neither could, by vertue of their commiffion, nor would, for many seen reafons; see thir at (N.); as also reafons to subscryve the complaint putt abroad and penned by the author of the complaint, especially the loffing of the subscripitiones and hands which were at the complaint as it stood, and the division of the body, which so would infallibly ruine. For thir and the like caufes they all peremptorly resolved, that one letter of that wreit they would not alter, and in no case divide. They were content, at the Counfell's pleafure, that in the moft of their dealings there forth the Counfell, there should appear bot twelve chouen from the whole Commiffioners; Rothus, Loudon, Montrofe, Lindefay, thir four nobles; Cunninghamhead, Keir, Auldbarr, as I remem-
ber, from the gentry; James Cochran, John Smith, and the Provost of Culros; Mr. James Cuminghame minister at Cumnock, and Mr. Thomas Ramfay at Dumfreis. The Thesaurer was so earnest in agenting these matters, which they, after advysement, esteemed the losse of their cause, that sundry concluded him to be a most dangerous peice, and one in whom they might not truft. I thinkke indeed that man holds the wolfe by the ears, 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 Kingdom, and a moft true, and faithfull, and moft happie servant to the King. St. Andrewes fatt a dyett or two in Dalkeith, and held off the Counfell to receave 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 Counfell, which drew near, at the Zule vacant, they fett two or three noblemen at the foore doore, with two notars and their protestation; [and] as many at the back doore, alyke furnifhed, resolute to proteft without farther delay. The Counsellors feeing there was no better, for feare of this protestation, which ye have at the letter (O.), did grant them affurance to hear fully what they had to fay. So on Tuesday the 20th of December, the Petitioners gives in their bill, and the Counfell gives out their anfwer in a written subfcrived act, for leffe would not content after fo many shiftings; the doubles of thir ye have at the letter (P.)

The firft 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 faiyling, and St. Andrewes forefeeing the necelity to yield to the fupplicants importunity, he gave over any more to come to Counfell, and all the Bishops with him: for all the Petitioners complaints ran mainly to have the Bishops declyned, and fo raised from the Counfell-table; they thought meet therefore themselves to præveene, left if they had been forced to it, it shou'd have fooreftalled their caufe. So then the laft Counfell-day, Thursday the 22d of December, was act[ed] the laft part of our fcheme [fcene]. The twelve Petitioners came in name of all the Commiffioners. My Lord Loudon delivered this speech, fee the letter (R.) and with it gave in the two old fupplicationes, thefe of the 20th of September and 18th of October, which had
lyen in the Clerk's hand, not acknowledged by the Counsell, becaufe discharged then to medle therein; albeit privately they were looked on, and sent up also to the King underhand: also with thefe two old pieces was given in a new bill and a declinator, which ye have at the letter (S.); and upon the delyverie of thefe foure wreits, my Lord took instruments by a double peece in a notar's hand. Thereafter the two minifters fpake. Mr. James Cunninghame had this short fppeach, at (T.), which moved all the Counsellors, and drew tears from fundry of them: the poftscript is right quick; fo much the more as it could not be forethought. To all thir wreits and fppeaches was given, after ane interlocutor, this Act in anfwre, at the letter (U.)

The nixt queftion [was.] How all this shoude be signified to his Majeftie? All agreed, it was no way safe, nor sufficient, to committ the busines to packet; that it was necelfarie altogether for some of the Counfellors to goe up to Court. Both Traquair and Roxburgh feemed willing to accept the charge, if it had been laid on them; yea, to be æmulous of it. Some inclyned to the impoying of the one, some to the other, moft to both; at laft, all the Counfell resolved to wryte of the necelfity of his Majeftie's information by some of his fervants, the choyce of the men they remitted to his own discretion. With this the vacants came; all went home, bot some few Commissionners, appointed by turne to lye flill in Edinburg for all occurrients. When the countrey wes away, the Profeft fell a freth to his policies, deales mightily to make the towne supplicate apart to feek the King's favour, and pardon for their tumults; gives them full affurance, will they bot ufe these formalities, the King hall freely pardon them, hall 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 difcourfes from the beginning, he envied againft the Booke as much as any; also, that Counfell and Session shoule prefently be restored to them, and their privilidges much augmented. It feems the man had undertaken to make that towne come in the King's will; and fo, for the effeetuuing of his promife, did give affurance of many things which neither he could nor would be any ways careful to have performed. By this dealling, he had prevailed with a great number of the Counfell; but the Commissionners that were in the towne finding it going fo, remonfrated to the Towne Counsell by James Cochrane and John Smith, (very good instruements in all this matter,) That their supplicating apart might be the betraying of
the whole Kingdom; their craveing pardone for any thing some bafe people in the toune, 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 Kingdom who had opposed the Booke, within the compass of law, and the courteours mercy; also, that the crafts and commons would be inflamed to violent them all, if they would aflay to conclude any fuch things, as it is faid they were indeed ready to doe. Upon thir remonftrances, the Proveft's dealings evanifhed, and all the Counfell resolved to stick by the rest of the Kingdom, to defend their just cause by the law, and fuffer all inconveniences ere they, as they had done too oft before, fhould be ane evil preparative to the rest of the Kingdom. In the meantime, the President flippes 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 almost a profefled enemie to them, and an agent for the Bifhops, that the King's first information might be by thefe of the Counfell whom they expected shortly the King himself 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 (') dimifion of the Chancellary, and composition 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 some 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 misreports, 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 Theflaurer, 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 fhew 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 stay for his onely fon's marriage with Arroll's

(') 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 ane Information, which Balmerinnoch and Mr. Archibald Johnston (the only advocate who in this cause is trusted,) had penned, to present 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 Orbiston, (7) whom he keeps by all means to hold the Marques faft. By the way he was almost drowned; he come out of a water, they say, hinging by his horse taile. His porter being dismissed for evill service, set upon his Lady, in the garden of Dalkeith, with a drawn sword; and had not other two servants gone betuixt, who both are hurt, the villain had certainly killed her. They say, that Stirling is like to be disgraced; that the King being malecontent he was not more tyrannously informed of all their matters, the Thesaurer shewed, that though they were discharget publicly to send any word of that business, yet they had acquainted ever privately the Secretar, (8) that he might advertise. This the Secretar granted; but shewed that he was hindered by Canterbury to present the King some pieces. Canterbury denied this, hoping to bring Stirling off another way, though in this he succumbed: but all this is but 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 use of the wreits of these who had chief hand in all the matter, both of the Nobility, and of the Gentry, and Munificie: for your satisfaction I was the more curious; what will be the end, no living can guesse. If God be pleased to bring upon us the year of our visitation, the devill could never invented so pregnant a meanes, and have ruined this Isle, 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 present, horrible, in a clap:

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

(8) 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 Com-
miffion is done, when the Articles of Perth are made free, when the Bifhops authority is hemmed in with never fo manie
laws; this makes us not secure from their future danger: fo
whatever the Prince grants, I feare we prefle more then he can
grant; and when we are fully fatifified, it is likely England will
begin where we have left off, to crave order of the greater and
more intollerable abufes of their Clergy; fo that it is not pro-
bable our dangers can be foon easily evaded; to prevent thir, the
courfe we ufe is humiliations in privat and publack, which indeed
hes gone through oft the moft of our congregations. If God be
pleased to be gracious, we know he hes wifdome to turne this
affaire, which may wracke all, to the redrefling of all, to purge
the Church of all that heaven and tyrannie of the English
Bifhops whereunder it long hes groaned, to give to our Laws
and Parliament the old and full [authority] and liberty and
truth, to joyn the heart of the King and his subiects fafter in
love then ever, and remove the jealousies and griefes whereof
the minds of both this tyme byegone has been replentifhed, to
enable us to help the Churches abroad, and to contribute all our
forces of witt, learning, and armes, againft the Antichriftian
faction. Thir are our prayers and fllenier hopes in the midft of
our desperat fears.

This farr I had written long agoe, but now many things are
fallen out. The Thesaurer came backe from Court the 19th of
February. About eight dayes before, his man had come doune
with a peremptorie command, by found of trumpett, to caufe
the Members of the Seflion to be at Stirling, for their office.
The Lords obeyed; bot the Advocates of any note would not
go thither. The Thesaurer, when he mett with the Nobles,
affured them, with oathes and great afleverationes, that he had
no direction from the King concerning their Supplications. In
this Roxburgh did joyne with him; bot from friends at Court,
they were informed of the contrare, and shortly, by privie in-
ligence at home, gott a double of the King's injunctions, which
was a proclamation to be made at Stirling February 20th; where-
in the King took the Books on himself, and didcharged the
Bifhops of all fault, condemned all the supplications and sub-
scriptions, commiffions and all meetings hitherto for that end;
bot did pardon bygones, discharging all such meetings in tyme to come, under higheft 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 aghort the whole countrey, with this information, written by Mr. Archibald Johnston, for to him the prior informations, both from Court and otherwayes, oft after midnight, are communicat. This information the Bishops caft on the Thesaurer, and so it is thought; yet Mr. Archibald assured me it came from none of his.

This alarme being given, all did make haste. The Thesaurer finding his purpose revealed, intended to have the proclamation precipitat. He had before persuaued the Nobility that onlie two should goe to Stirling, where he assured no prejudice should be done to their caufe: bot it was found he intended to keep these two, Rothus and Lindefay, prisoners in the Castle of Stirling; therefor the Nobility resolued to goe together. To prevent this, the Thesaurer 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 master was that earlie on horse for Stirling. His companion was not long in advertising his master; who at once wakened others of the nobility: so Lindefay and Hoome took poft, and outrode the Thesaurer; the rest followed at leasure. The Thesaurer not finding a number for a quorum, without Counfell did make the proclamation early in the morning. Hoome and Lindefay flood in the croffe with the Lyon herauld, and made a profeftation. The Counfell 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, Southeik, Lauderdale, and Wigton should be put off Counfell; bot we see it was not so. Angus and Neper hath showed their repentance for their rafhefes. 'The Advocat comeing the morn, would by no meanes subferyve the act of approbation of that proclamation, for this reafon especially, that the King's direction in it was tranfsgreffed; for the King's warrant bare bot the lieft paine, bot the proclamation did bare the paine of treafon. Thir things hath much alienated the minds of the Nobility from the Thesaurer, both that he shoult have deceaved them with his oathes, and also extended his com- miffion, to the uttermoft bounds, if not beyond, to the ruine of their caufe and perfons. Yet it is said 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, furnifhed by the President
againft him; wherein he gave the King reasonable answers, withal
that he gave the King a full information of all the wryts and
deeds had paft, that he had brought the King to a tollerable
mood, till letters come from the Chancellour, affuring, that as
the Noblemen who were banded for the slaughter of David
Rizzio did disband 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 discharging them
hereafter under thefe paines, all this combination would evanifi,
and the King would fo come by his intent. Thir letters altered
the King's minde, and put him to take the course which may
prove wonderfull unhappie: peremptorily he commands the
Thesaurer to execute it, and for his fidelity and secrecy put
him to his oath. This he undertook, yet leaving under his hand
his contrare opinion and advife. Howsoever, the Thesaurer,
who indeed hath been an happie instrument in this buffines,
is like to losse both the King and the Countrey, which will feeme
sweetnes to the Bifhops in the midst of their ruines. The charge
was to remove from the towne within fix houres. The Nobles-
men who came in frequency againft the afternoone, flayed all
that night, and for no request would remove; for they alleadged
their protestation did warrand them. Yet when the Chancellor
and Thesaurer had yoaked their coatches to depart, professing
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 admission of my Lord Doune to their number, Arthure
Erkine and Poomefe thronging in with the multitude, after the
ufhing of the house, did present the declinator, and tooke in-
struments thereupon. My Lord Doune subfcryved preffently
the supplication, to the great discontentment, as they say, of
Murray his father. The Bihop of Galloway was like to have
receaved injury in Stirling; but the Magiftrates faw to him. In
his retourn at Falkirk, the wives railed, and fhor'd him with flones,
and were fome of them punifhed; alfo at Dalkeith, upon Sunday,
the wives fo railed upon him, that the Thesaurer put two of them
in prifon. The Bhope is in great fear and danger, and fhowes
little of his old defyre of martyrdom 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 Johnfloune, at the fame tyme and place, to pro-
claime their protestation. In the meane tyme, the countrey

gathers faft to the toune. The Noblemen, Gentry, Cities, and

Minifters, meets in feveral roomes. The Noblemen, with Mr.

Alexander Henderfone and Mr. D. D[ickfon,] resolves the

renewing of the old Covenant for religion. A little inclining

d of this is given out at firft to the rest. Mr. D. D. is implored

in the Colledge church to preach, where, in a great congregation

before noone, he shews the expediency of renewing the Co-

venant. Mr. H. Rollock secondes that motion, with amplification,

in the afternoon. In the Grayfriars, Mr. John Adamfone

frykes on the fame ftring before noone. Mr. Andrew Ramfay,

in the afternoon, for sparing, was misliked. The two other

kirks are not regarded. Mr. Henrie's (4) plainness made me

fufpeét their intention, in this new Covenant, to make us for-

fwear Bifhops and Ceremonies in our meeting. I had discover-

ded the fame minde in fome, alledging over and over, that the

Achan of our land was the breach of our Covenant, in admitt-

ing, againft the oath of our nation, the government of Bifhops

and Articles of Perth. To this I gave fo sharpe and fo modest

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 inevitablv open a gape, and

make a present division in the Miniftry, which was the earneft

defyre and true victory of the Bifhops. This I caufed remon-

ftrate to the Noblemen whilk they took well, and made Loudon

threw me and Mr. George Young, whom I had fent to Loudon
to declare my fears, their write, which was scrolled, professing

their minde to give us all contentment, and rather to deftr oy

it, then that thereby any rent fhould be made amongst us.

The write had three parts; Firft, the old Covenant, word by word,
as ye have it in the Harmony of Confessions, after our Confession
of Faith; the next part confifts of Aeks of Parliament, whilk all
are for our Confession againft Poperie; the Third hes one applica-
tion to the prefent Cafe: in this was all the difficulty; for there
was indeed claufes in it requiring the fuspension of our practife,

(4) 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 Bishops and Ceremonies. After rea-
soning, it was yielded to me, to change this clause, to forbear
practice. I shew it was ever my minde, since I was a minister;
but not to approve in judgment, it was impossible till I was other-
wise informed. So they required bot my disallowance of the
corruption of the Bishops 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 cafe; for the grounds I had learned from Mon-
fleur Cameron (5) I had not yet leasure to try; fo, for the present,
I could subferyve nothing whilk was against my minde. These
were also changed; fo that no word, I hope, remains in this
write, whilk, in any congruitie, can be drawne against the Prince;
but many sentences are expresly to the contrare: fo in thir two
poyncts 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 fatiffie others who were of my judgement, whereof
there was a great number; as alfo for the regard to my selfe, to
whom they professe some respect for my paines in this caufe,
not only in my first write of Queries, bot alfo of my second of
the Parallell, whereby they esteemed their caufe somewhat fur-
thered; befide that they expected, that I being fatiffied, would
be an instrument to give others contentment, as since they have
found.

My Lord Caffills had my scruple anent the Defence with armes.
He sent for me; bot I efchewed to confirme him in that whilk
he professed he had from Monfieur Cameron. He gott in a
clause in the write whilk contented his minde. Thus we being
contented, they ventured yesterdav to prefent it to our meeting.
Rothus, Loudon, Aldibarr, and others came downe. They read
it firft in private to a number of us who were Commiffioners for
Presbytries, and thereafter to all. The objections which were
moved by some few were soon fatiffied: all being interrogate,
man be man, gave their hearty afent; only some three or four
brother of Angus, who had fware 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

(5) 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 supposition, whilk mischance was much feared; and, indeed, great occasion had the imprudency and rigidity of the first formers of that write given of these feares. 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 in-justice of the Bishops, with ane earnest defyre to have our Prince informed in the truth of this cause, be way of the moft humble Supplication. To-morrow, in Stirling, is expected a frequent Counfell, where there is hope that the Counfell will lay the wyte of all thir evills upon the B[iショップ] back. What will be next, the Lord knows! we are to humble our selves in fasting and prayer. It becomes yow weill there, and all the Reformed churches over fea, to commend our caufe heartily to God, as we have oft done for yow in the like cafe. We have no assurance yet or warrand that any one line of the Booke shall be remitted, bot hopes are made of withdrawing both Liturgie, and Canons, and Commifion, and all, if we would let the Bishops alone; bot the moft part is peremptorily resolved not to endure any longer their lawleffe tyrannie.

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

The Lords of Secret Councell having receaved from the Supplicants their petitions, complaints, bill, and declinator of Bishops, at Dalkeith, the 21st December, promifeing to represent thefamen to his Majefties royall consideration, as concerning matters of that confequence wherein they could not determine by themselves; their Lordships were then press'd earnestly by the Supplicants, not only to recommend thefe, but to intreat my Lords Theasauer and Privie Seall to carry the fupplications, &c. and informe his Majeftie in thefe matters; which did well befitt their places, being the greatest affaires that ever had fallen within the compafs of their confequences; becaufe a dumb Information, though never fo exact, was not capable of replies, nor could it anticipat fuch doubts as his Majeftie might propone. This defyre was often repeated in privat to my Lords Theasauer and Privie Seall, by diverse of the Supplicants, with a demonstration
of these evills 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 Thesauner his returne from England; and upon advertisement that he was expected about the 12th or 14th of February, many of the Supplicants reported 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 Thesauner and Privie Seall taxing the petitioners for impatience in waiting his Majestie 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 express’d such displeasure at the corruption of his true worship, or introducing any seed of superstition or idolatry, which was always informed of these things they petitioned against; that they are confident they would have obtained ane speedier redresse from so good and religious a prince, if his Majestie had been truly informed, or not prevented by such suggestions as excused, or covered the unfoundness 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 resolution; but this matter might excuse importunity in them, and required expedition from his Majestie. They finding my Lord Thesauner fpare 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 dispensing with
the nobility and gentry for their bygone meetings; and a discharge of all the meetings hereafter, under the paine of treason. Whereupon four or five of the supplicants 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 supplication, he seemed unwilling to speak any thing thereof, professing he had no commission, and knew nothing of that business. 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 deliver to the Counsell only; and keeping all very close, seemed to press the necessitie of inhibiting meetings, and that by proclamation. It was answered, 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 advyse anent supplicating and consulting about the best wayes for preventing evills; and as the end was lawfull, so had they never fallen in disorder at their meetings neither in word nor action, but had always concurred in electing the best and humblest motions, restraining these that were rude; which would have appeared and given offence, if ilk fyre had petitioned apart; and if they should stay at home, what could they doe, but everyone endure what soever was imposed, and so the Church and State to suffer.

These returning to the rest of their number, they all resolved to send four or five to Stirling, to give information to the Counsellors concerning the proclamation, as after follows. First, That the Supplicants had been from tyme to tyme put in good hope of a gracious answer, especially by the Act of Counsell in August last, declareing, that the buying of the Service Book, and not the using of it, was only intended, and by his Majesties declaration in December last; but by this proclamation, their former hopes would be turned into fear. Secondly, That the proclaiming of a dispensation to the Supplicants, for that which they were assured they were doing in duty both to God and his Majestie, would either make his mercy misregarded, or force them to condemn their own doings, so justifiable 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 caffen all into the hands of the adveraries, and cast 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 censure; 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 heretie, superflition 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 superflition; which must make the subjects either receive what their consciences doe condemn, or directly oppose themselves against his Majesties proclamation. Sixthly, Since that many worthie Counsellers hath regrated the passing of the first Act in favours of the Service Book, and hath made many excuses for the same, the Supplicants are confident, that having a new occaion of more mature deliberation, they would rather give counsell to his Majestie to choose a course that may give satisfaction to the desire of his good people, than by confirming so summar a conclusion, grieve many, wound their own hearts, and work further disturbance in the church and countrey.

The Thesaurer and Privie Seall hearing, that some were to be directed to Stirling, sent for three or four of the Supplicants; and understanding their resolution, pleased to difwade the same: but these showes the necessity they conceived thereof, and that for preventing the inconvenience of the proclamation, which would prove so 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 criminal purfute might be intended against Edinburgh, did shew a resolution in the whole Supplicants, to intend a criminal purfute against the Bis hops and their followers, as foone as the other should be wakened, and that for scolding of so many of the faithfull subjects to be mutinous and rebellious for opposing innovations brought in religion by them against the lawes, and their exercising of the judicatories not established by Parliament, to the heavy oppression of the lieges; for the which faults, as in law, their lives could not escape, so these of Edinburgh did not fall within compass of law for life or fyne, considering how little they did,
how great evills were inforced upon them, and what was their Magistrates dealing towards them. The Supplicants, upon better advyfement, found a necellity of ufeing a declinator at Stirling, left there the Bifhops Should fitt in judgement, and give out any Act in that buffineffe, wherein they were declared parties, and ought to be declyned; resolving to propon the faid declinator only by two of their number. They were advertifed upon Sunday in the morning, that fome of the Bifhops followers had faid, that the proclamation would inhibit any of the Supplicants to appear where the Counfell fatt; that if they fhould preffent the declinator, they fhould be put fatt; which made the Supplicants to determine to goe together to Stirling, and to be preffent in the towne at the proponing thereof; thinking, that being together, they were more able to give the Counfell information and sattisfaction, then by fo few, which might be dazaled with difficulties of new propositions and actions not expected. And few hours after this resolution, fome of the Supplicants, by permiffion of the reft, declared the fame to my Lords Thefauuer and Privie Seall for preventing of mistake; who immediately sent for foure of the Supplicants, wiſhing them to change their resolution of going to Stirling, and expotulating with them for the way of carrying their buffinefs, alleadged, If the Supplicants had folowed their advyfe in supplicating 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 reft of their grievances, after once hearing and proveing fully their firft complaints; that, by appearance, the King would never hear them fo long as they complained upon Bifhops; and affured, that the Supplicants did now fee their own error in not following their former advyfe. It was anſwered, That being a publck buffinefs, which concernes the whole kingdome, and the matters of fuch confequence, it could not be carried in fo private a way as your Lordships propos'd; the matter being fuch as religion and policy were extremely wronged, the fubjects thereof grieved, behooved to have recourfe to their Prince, for commanding redrefle by the ordinar courfe of law, which hath been alwayes cuftomable to fubjects in the lyke cafe; and if the whole Supplicants had been fo truſfull in a matter fo great and univerfull, as if it had been any of their own particulars, their Lordships could not engaged life, fortouns and honour, for a good fucceffe to follow their advyfe; and though their supplications being restrained, as your Lordships defyred, might gett
audience, yet if, after supplicating against these other evills which are the root that hath produced such fruits, his Majeflie fhould then refufe to hear any further, would it not grieved them to fee the subjefts suffer by the relying upon unpaumned truft, and the whole envy transffeered from the Bifhops upon their own heads? They asking them, What courfe the Supplicants would take? were answered, They would propone their declinator at Stirling for the reafons forfaids. They faying, It will be refufed, were answered, The Supplicants would then proteft for one inmediat courfe to his Majeflie, upon their denyall of justice, and prefent their supplications to his Majefties felf. They doubting his Majeflie will accept the famen, were anfwered, The Supplicants would doe their duty, and committ the event to God Almighty, who is sufficiently able to proteft his own caufe, and their juft proceedings.

Thus parting, and returning to the reft of the Supplicants, they appointed foure or five of their number to goe very tymely to Stirling, for preventing the Thefaurer and Privie Seall their accustomed diligence, in omitting no meanes 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 be two o’clock, and in Stirling be eight in the morning on Monday the 19th; but were outridden be fome of the Supplicants, whose being before them made them expect the coming of the reft, and fo convened 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 proteftation. 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 fight of the proclamation, that they might advyfe with the fame; who denied any fight thereof till it should 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 revolveing to leave no lawfull meanes unaffayed, fent one of their number to the Clerk of Counfell, requiring only a sight 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 Suppliants; who being asked, What they were minded to do? They hewed them they would use a declinator, and, in case that were refused, a protestation, as they told them at Edinburgh. They renewing their often repeated motions of division without success, were earnest, that the Suppliants should remove all out of the toune, seeing they were to doe no more in that hussines. The Suppliants objected the ratifying of the proclamation in Counfell, which as yet wanted that warrand; they affured them of the contrarie very firmly, as also gave assurance that no prejudice should be offered to these who presented the declinator or protestation. Whereupon they undertook to deal with the rest of the Suppliants; who being convened in the Kirk, filled the same; and with very great difficultie, obtained their consent to remove after dinner toward Edinburgh, upon the relation of the assurance they had gotten the proclamation should not be ratified in Counfell; and having appointed some few of their number to stay, and propose the declinator and protestation forsaide. After dinner, as they were going to Edinburgh, two or three of the Suppliants went to the Thesaurer and Privie Seall, having some other Counfellors with them, and defyred their stay 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 refusall, thereby to be informed what it rejoyned; and although it had no legall strength, yet conceiving 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 cause they had in hand, they were resolved to part. When the noblemen were gone, the Counfellors went to Counfell in the Castl of Stirling at foure a'clock, where two of the Suppliants gave in the declinator; which being refused, contrarie to the Act of Counfell at Dalkeith, they protestted, 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 refused; 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 relished religion, and best know the Service Book; who being informed, fand themfelves inflamed by their confent, and was heavily grieved.

The proclamation was made at Linlithgow upon Wednedafday the 21ft of February, where protefHon 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, barrons, minifters, and others, fupplicants, standing within and about the Croffe, after the proclamation was read, the protefHon was alfo read publickly, and instruments taken in the hands of notars.

On Fryday the 23d, the number of the noblemen and others being increafed, at their meeting they treated [traced] the fuggefHon to fundry of the Supplicants labouring divided Supplications, which was generally dilyked, and ane new dealing with the Counfell by way of fupplication, reftrained 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 these prime ftatefmen, principall fuggelors of fuch motions: and although the Thefaurer and Privie Seall, both for the greatnefs of their fortouns and hereditarie conditions, were confiderable with the chiefeft of this land, as deeply interest in the good of this ftate, which, with their approved understanding, might induce the expectation of all need-full care and faithfull carriage befoming their place, interest, and knowledge; and although they feemed extremly grieved for their prefent evills, and, by frequent information, fully perceaved the root whence they flow, yet the prefervation of their places and credit with his Majeftie, by appearance hath made them forbear to doe or informe fully about thefe who they thought was fo acceptable to his Majeftie; and many of the Bifhaps being the yoke fellows with them in burden of the ftate, 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 felonitations from perfones of power in their own favours to the faid ftatefmen, hes made them all this while to labour rather the quenching of the paine, then the curing of the difafe, and to make a diversion from the root of evills by a fair addreff to thefe Supplicants, for the prefent pruning of the branches. All their proceedings in this buflinefs being fully confidered, was found to intend this end, fuch complying being fitter for the fervants of a perfon, then of ane ftate. 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 endeavour reconciliation betwixt Protestants and Papists, which is neither thanks nor trust from either, as our own late experience proveth. Bishops had their Commissioners.

To Mr. William Spang.

April 5th [1638.]

Cousine,

Thir are in such haste, that they cannot be satisfactory. I sent yow by William Cuninghame, with one Gibson of Leith, two double pieces and a five merk piece: before we be miserable, I wish my debts were paid. Also I sent yow two quarts of Rose Solis, that once yet ere we die ye may drink my good health. Your letters are more unfrequent to me than ordinary; ye know the cause. The doubles of the King's proclamation, and the country's protestation, with the newly subscriyved Covenant, I would have sent to yow, according to my promise in my last, had not Mr. William Wilkie afluired me that he would have them at yow before this. The great business among us since that tyme hes been, to have that Confession subscriyved be all hands; and through all hands almost hes it gone. Of Noblemen at home, who are not counsellors or papists, unto which it was not offered, I think they be within foure or five who hes not subscriyved. All the Shyres have subscriyved, by their Commissioners; and all the Tounes 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 ane uplifted hand, man and woman, sworn it. Mr. William Anan himself hes thus farre proceeded, to all our admiration; our marvell is increafed, when he is said to repent it, and to fay, he was constrained to doe what he did: the man is so resolute, and the oathes of this wryte are so frequent, clear, and deep, that who hes 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, hes gone to Glafgow and Edinburgh; to what purpose I cannot yet fay. I suspect the town of Air's motion to him to content to receave a helper, which they would name, and
provide him, without any diminution to his stipend, his 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 Dumbar their old minister, or such a man who will bear down Mr. William, and so kill him when he hes left the Bishops his old freinds. This peremptory and unexpect-ed motion, I fear, is the cause of his perplexity and change, if he doe make any.

The greatest opposites in the West to this subscription are our friends in Glagow: 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 passionately for it, albeit half derided by the other as simple fools: it is like to fall out evill among them. The body of the Burgesles hes subscryved. My Lord Boyd, old Blair, Keir, Mr. David Dick, Mr. Michael Wallace, and I, went in, as Commisioners from the meeting of Edinburgh, to deal with the Colledge and Ministers to joyne with the rest: but I foresaw it was in vaine; for no reasoning could move any of them to passe from the smallet of their scruples, which yet they multiplied. We left them resolved to celebrate the Communion on Pafche day, in the High Church, kneeling; bot Mr. Robert Wilkie and Mr. John Bell are resolved to passe that day, and the next Sabbath to celebrate, fitting, in the Laigh Kirke. After our departure with small contentment, they did agree to delay 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 Pafche day, and no longer, Mr. John Maxwell and young Mr. John Bell thinking their credit interested in ceeding this farre, made intimation to the people at the evening prayers on Saturday, to come the morn to the Communion in the High Church; some few base people did come, and filled some four or fvyve tables, who were serv’d by the Principall, and Mr. John Maxwell. The nixt Saturday, Mr. David Dickfome had the preparation sermon in the Laigh Church, and Mr. John Maxwell in the High: to the one’s sermon, all flocked who could throng in; to the other’s much fewer. This, I fear, be a proclamation of redde warre among the clergy of that towne; bot the pley I thinke shall be shortly reedde.
To Aberdeen the burrows sent Mr. Robert Barclay profeft of Irvine, and the Clerk of Dundee, in commission; bot thir people, by the Marqueffe of Huntley's instigation, and the Northland Bishops, were fo preoccupied, that willfully, without allegation of reafon, they refused. Their Doctors for the moft part are favourers of the Books; and how farr our folks of Glafgow, or any non-fubscriyers, are oppofit to the Books, I cannot fpeak much for the prefent. D[octo]r Baron hes given out fomething in write for the Booke, whereof I am forrie; not for the write it felf, for if the piece I faw be it, it is a very poor one, that will never hurt our caufe, bot becaufe I tender that man's estimation as one who was half defigned to our Theologick profeffion in Glafgow, which he can never attain to with any tolerable contentment of our country, were he ane angell, if once he have fyled paper in maintainance of the Booke. Edinburgh continues contant. 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 fome few boyes with them,) have fubscrived and fwearne. The Miniflers of Stirling, before the Lords of Seffion, are in-weighing dayly againft our Bis hops. St. Andrews itfelf, we hear, for the moft part, hes fubscrived. What fhall be the end, God knows!

The Counfell fent to court my Lord Orbiftone with thir interventions, here inclofed. The Noblemen fent Mr. John Livingstone before him, with what interventions I know not; bot it was fore againft my minde that he fhould be imploied at this tyme, being a Book man, a preacher rigide and passionate, and, which was worft, standing under the Sentence of excommunication of the Irish Church. He was not at Court four hours 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 moft, lurking at London. It is thought that Orbiftone, who overtook him by the way and outrode him, behooved to be the informer; which will impair much of that truft which Orbiftone hitherto did in-joy amongft us. The noblemen drew up a common letter, to be prefented by the Earle of Haddington to the Duke, Marques, and Morton, conjunctly, intreating them, if they thought to undertake the prefentment of their fupplications 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. Orbiftone 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 these instructions which Orbiftone carryed up, and did nothing please the country; for we thought them bot only complements, and inclining to cenfure our meetings of unlawfullnes. However, we are informed, that the best lawers, both Hope, Nicofone, and Stewart, being consulted by the King, does declare all our bypast proceedings to be legall. The three Councillors(6) are all to Court; we are full of feas; the Thesaurer has lost all his truft with us; Privie Seall never had any; we tremble for Lorne, that the King either persuade him to goe his way, or finde him eirands at Court, for a long tyme. Brechin and Rofle are both to Court, the two most unhappy of all the Bishopps. It is saied, that Rofle, before he went from home, was affrighted with the boyes who burnt the Service Book where he was; this made him slippe away defaguyped over the mounts. It seems, according to Orbifton'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 poynt of breaking loufe; our lawes this twelve moneth hes been filent; diverfe misregards their creditors; our Highlands are making ready their armes, and some begun to murder their neighbours. Dowglas, Abercorne, and Semple, are openly arming among us; readily after their example other Noblemen will provide preffently their houfes with musquet, picks, powder and lead. We hope, that since the Palatine is gone to Germany, and the King has sent to Hambrugh to renew the league with Sweden, since the prentises of London, as we heare, does force the delyverance of Canterburie's prisones, and sundry there intends a legall proceffe against the Bishopps ufurpations, we hope that a peaceable decision may come from Court; yet we feare God let us not go fo soon out of the snare, to small hitherto hes been our repentance; the violence also, which we fee breathed out of the Bishopps and their fol-

(6) The three Councillors here named, were the Earl of Traquair, Treasurer, the Earl of Roxburghe, 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 undifembled rage against them, as the only authors and contrivers of all this danger, I fear it end not smoothly. Mr. Robert Hamilton, and Mr. John Lindsay, he's been very ill used in Lanerick, by the women, as I doubt not Mr. William Wilkie will informe yow. Mr. Robert Hamilton is fully resolved to be revenged for his wounds; and for this end, wrote sharply to the Thefaurer and Chancellour, yet all lyes over; this fame may further the mischief.

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, faile not to purchase them fair and lately printed, for we have old Sarum; also Josepheus Vicecomes de Ritibus Baptifmi, etc.; take my assurance, that for these 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 most acceptable; that ye thought not good to conferr with me by write, I likewayes 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 fo I had conceaved any hope to doe yow pleasure; but it was another, and not your selfe, who required me to come to Glafgow that day, when I could not well winn; and the laft voyage I made to that place, for the like end, was allutterly fruitlefs, for there I fand my self allutterly unable to fatisfie any of these brethren, in any the leift of their objections against our late Confession; but I thank God that ye are come much nearer, by these 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 step which remains; and, if it might be the will of God, from my heart I wish, fo soon as is possoble, 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 Bifhope 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 necessarie at this tyme. Our hopes, under God, which we have, to crooke the undermyners of our whole religion and civill liberties also, is in the univerfall harmonie and conjunction of all brethren. Your hand I took ever to be of especiall 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 joyned: I think it is one of the greatest occasions that ever ye had in your life, or shall have to your death, to doe God, our Church, our Country, a peace of good service. The declaration of your minde before all the world, let be these yow name, in the poynts ye expresse, readily will be granted; but a band in write in the termes ye fett downe, I fear be not yielded: so farr as I know, the like was not craved of any. The first part of it, That yow did subferyve so farr as that Confession was not prejudiciall 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 farr as we are bound to withfand all innovations in the worship of God, contrare to his written word, and the Confession 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 expresse termes, or by any good conquence, could infringe the contradiction of any of these things ye name, ye might not in any termes, on any expostition or limitation, offer to subferyve it. I doe not only believe that there is no word into it that makes against the King's full authority, so farr as either religion or reason can extend it, or against the office of Bishops, or any power they have by any lawfull Assemble or Parliament; or that by this write we are oblidged to opposte any novation, or any thing at all which is not contrare to God's word: not only I believe this, but hes proffesed so much before the whole meeting at Edinburgh, oft both in word and write, without the least appearance of contradiction of any to this tyme. 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 one expresse granting in write, to be registrete to the world's end, that they thought there was just occasion given to suspect that, in that write, there was something which truely did opposte the King's authoritie, etc. If any prefently, 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 witnesses; but the chief ground of my satisfaction in this cause is, that I can make it evident before the world, that the write has no such errors, else would I never have subscribed it. So, Brother, in my poor judgement, the first part of your desire is not meet to be fought; as for the other, that requires the admitting of a Protestation to practife conformitie, in cause of deprivation. Though the fear of the Books be not removed, however I think, in that cause, 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 the prime of the Nobility, to take that your subscription, with an express declaration, albeit, no written protestation which they should subscribe, that ye should be permitted, in cause of a danger, which your confidence thought real and true, of present deprivation, to doe in Perth Articles as ye thought expedient, without any note of infamy or perjury. For my own part I was not minded, on any hazard whatsoever, to practife kneeling, fo long as the danger or feare of thir 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 subscribeers to be oblivion to abstinence from kneeling, &c., on whatsoever hazard, till that terme at leaft be past, and my selfe I finde oblivion to abstinence 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 anywys be removed by the discharge of the books by proclamation, yea readily not by Assemblies or Parliament. However, I take all subscribeers, 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 practife of these Articles even before either Assembly or Parliament: this freedome, I think, your subscription takes not away, being taken with that limitation proposed; 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 witnesling by word of so many
and so famous men as ye could require: this I take to be the only thing whereon ye stand, which I think may be obtained to you most readily. As for formalities ye wont not to be careful: I am hopeful, when the practice of Conformity is put in your will, ye will not be flout for it, if ye see that the urging 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 points of popery, in print, with applause and advancement for that only cause; if ye see that, I know ye have a tender heart and will not for your life, let be places, doe any thing which may truely further so wicked a plott. That it is no leff then popery in groffe which the Canterburian faction is now aiming at, I stryve to shew in thir Queries which here I send you; I doe it farther in another little write of Paralell of our Service with the Maffe and Breviarie, which I shall send yow if ye like this. However, doe what ye will, subservy or not subservy, be assured of my high estimation of yow, and affection to yow, and confidence of your zeall and orthodoxie; trusting that when the subservers of this Covenant are made away, either banished, or made foulie to recant, which I feare shortly, (if God avert not,) that ye and sundry other of your brethren shall begin where we have left, and be ready with your blood to seall the truth of God as fervently as the forwardest of us. Only let me intreat you most earnestly, as ye would refresh my heart singularly, subservy this write so shortly as ye can with any condition ye can obtain from your Commissioners: there is no hand now in Scotland which I doe so much desire at it as yours.

Thir in great haste and confusion as your pressing bearer can shew. The Lord be with you, dear and loving Brother, and help us; for, except he concur with his extraordinary mercy, I take the religion, libertie, and peace of our land, houghed and clean overthrown for our dayes. So I rest,

Your loving Brother.

[To Mr. William Spang.]

Revellend and Well-Beloved Brother,

I writt to you my laft with James Brown of Salteots; after a quarter of a yeeres expectation, I receaved your laft; I was not content of your so long delay. You see in so dangerous a tyme you want not mine of the hieft purpofes; I feare I muft now
leave off to write, least 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 peremptory to obey. There followed the Chancellour, President, Regifter, Roiffe, Brechin, Galloway; the Marques shortly after called up for Orbeftoun. We were all long in suspense for newes: at last we heard of the violent and wicked counsell of Roiffe and Chancellour, shewing, that a partie might easelie be made within the countrie; that Huntlie, and Aberdein, Seaftor, M'Kay, Grant, and the Northland Clanes, which had not subscryved, might easily overfway all the subscryvers, with the concurrence of Hamiltoun, Dowglas, Nidfdale, &c., if so the King would impoy
a little of his force, and lay by Lorne. For the preveening of this, diligence was used to send some lawers to the uttermost North, who obteened the hands of all these Clanes to the Covenant of the countrie, with the most of the name of Hamiltoun, Dowglas, Gordoun, and all the Campbells without exception. No a Burgefle of St. Andrewes or Dundie refused; and in Aberdein there will be as few recuants as in Glafsow. This word being sent to Court, made the King miflyke Roiffe's adyce. Great hes bee the accusations of our Bishops against 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 miscarriages and imprudencies, had mifcooke all the matter. The courfe they resolved upon, after many toe's and froe's, was to send downe the Marques of Hamiltoun, with a commiffion to treat with Mortoun, Haddingtoun, Thesaurer, Privie Seale as affeffours. The offers they are to make are secret: We heare they are such as will give no kynde of contentment; albeit the Bishops are confident they are fo reasonable, as will give content to many, and fo be able to make a division amont the subscryvers, which to them is a won field. For to preveene this, the Noblemen and Commissioners drew up these things which they wer minded to crave, and without the which they could not be content, which they sent ahort the countrie, and to Court also, for the Marques' fight: 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 desires 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 commissiion wherein he had no full power to give the country some reasonable contentment. However it be, the commissiion is put on him: his letters are come to all his friends to meet him at Hadingtoun, the fifth of June. The Thesaurer and Lorne are returned, and have holden a counsell at Dalkeith; he has written for all the Counsellors, none of the Bishops are forgott, to meet at Dalkeith, the ext of June in Counsell, with the Marques of Hammiltoun, the King's Commissiioner. The Commissiioners here at Edinburgh has advertised all the countrey to be in Edinburgh some dayes before. What will be the event of this great day, God knowes! We can not heare that the Marques of Hammiltoun is to offer farther than the recalling of the Books, and limitation of the High Commissiion; and that upon the condition, or rather command, that we surrender all our subscryved Covenants, and ly under the old danger of Perth Articles and the Bishops' unlimited tyrannie. If this be not accepted, as there is no appearance it will ever be, we are threatened with a bloodie onfett by the Navie on the East Coast, by an Irish Armie on the West, by all the power three Marquestes in Scotland and the Popifh partie can make, with the help of the North of England. We have indyted a generall Faft 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 heare that your Confervatour has written to the King, that some munition is coming to us from Camptheir; be affuured, if it be true, he could not do us an office we would take in worfe part. Some are muttering that you are in your church-service practifing some part of our books. I think you are not mad at thyr tymes needelely 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 depositions; and if the Burrowes be overthrown, that they cannot remove you, be affuured 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 hes 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 mafs 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 inche: he is borne, it feemes, for his own and our destruccion; yet there is a God. When our Noblemen were on the point of departure from Court, the Bilhop of Roffe prefented some sheets of paper, penned by Bre-
chin, against the Thesaurer; thir stayed their journey some dayes. Galloway fyded heere with the Thesaurer; but Brechin, with a marvellous ingratitude, became a traitour to him, revealing all his secrets 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 Commissiioners, Lord Arundell, Lord Newport, Sir Harie Vaine, Secretarie Cooke, are deputed to prepare by sea and land. Pennintoun is to be fent over to the north with the ships. Many flatt-bottomed boats are to be made. Ane hun-
dereth smiths are conveened for iron work, and carpenters to make carriages for eighty field pieces; twenty-five thousand fwords to be prepared; many picks and mufquets to be put in cafes and fent to the north; sadlers appointed to make numbers of great fadles. Lord Antrum hes hyred a Scotifh ship, loadned and furnished with powder and munition of warre for Ireland. Weems, the canon-maker, hes conditione to hyre a shipp, and to loaden her with light cannons 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 aiked Sir John Seaton if he would serve the King: He anſwered, he would, but not againſt his own countrie, where he had his life. Both Kirkcudbright and Loch-
ryan are aimed at, beside some other places upon the Watf sea, for landing of flatt-bottomed boats from Ireland: also there are flatt-bottomed boats prepared for landing either in Fyfe or Louthian fyle, or both. Letters are directed to every shyre to have the trained bands in readines the 4th of July. The Com-
missioners 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 buffines of Scotland; for if they take arms, the north of England will joyn with them, and therefore it were best to use 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 oftymes before I have felt, and does hereafter certainly expect of the length and frequency of your writings, forces me to continue my courfe of showing to yow how all goes with us, fo oft as I can have occaion 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 these he sent for to his Court, and of the Bishops who come up unfent for, it is thought that for some days he was perplexed, tossed here and there with diversitie of resolutions. The bloodie counfell of St. Andrewes and Roffe, upon affurance of ane sufficient party in the countrey, was past from, not only by our Noblemen's contrare assurance of the vanity of that expectation, evidenced by the catalogue of the subferyvers, especially of the Northland men, of whom the chief hopes were made; but these bloody conclusions were left alfo, by the advye of the English counfellers, who freely are said to have spoken of the injustice of such a courfe, and the danger which it was like to bring to the state of England, as things went, their deep mal-contentments lying for many years, bot overplaiifted, without any folde cure. The plainmefliche of Lorne is much talked of; nothing he is faid to have disfembled of all he knew of our countrie's greevances, of his own full miilke of the Books, of the Articles of Perth, of the Bishops' misgovernment, of his re- solution to leave the kingdom rather then to consent to the pressing of any other, let be of himfelf or his fervants, with thefe burdens, which were against confidence. He put in the Mar-
ques’ hands a double of the late English proclamation, decyding the famous controversy 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 incroach ing upon his prerogative, and did chyde with Canterburie for it before the Marques; a quarrell which evidently made the Archbishops look down on Lorne, who did publickly avow, in the write, contempt of his malice.

Thefe counfellors of force being laid by for the tyme, with the increase of defeat of the authors, our Bishops, little leffe in England then at home; a conclusion paffes of one amicable treatise for the countrey’s contentment. Long it was ere a perfon could be found of parts requifite for fuch a service. Morton, Roxburgh, let be Haddington or Stirling, were not of fufficient shoulders. The Thesaurer was once lyke to have been employed; bot the Bishops, to preveene the employment of their mortal enemie, did of freth, when no fuch matter was expected, give in fome fheets of vehement accusations againft him, of all things they could corrafe,(7) penned by Brechin,(8) bot subfeyvd by St. Andrewes and Rosse also: they did not require Galloway’s hand to this challenge, knowing his interest in the accused. The poynts were thought for the moft part bot light: the King would not take tyme to difcufe them; fo they were caft by as contemned, or laid up as one band above the accused’s head, to be applied in tyme to his fydes. However, the Bishops’ poynt was won: the Thesaurer misfled the commiffion. He made no formal recrimination to his partie; albeit, it is faid, he fpake either to the King or prime courteous, 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 ecclesiaflick. Much is spoken of their wyne and feasting, of their abfence from all divine service on the Sunday. When the Thesaurer was decourted, the eyes of all was on the Marqueis (9) for the commiffion. The sharpenes 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 fuch fuffe as a Commiffioner for fuch busineses required; befyde that diverfe does now speak of his

inclination to poperie. The Marquess, to the uttermost of his power, declyned this charge, as a service wherein his feare was greater to lose allutterly at least implacably to offend thes whom left he would; either his bountifull and gracious master, or his mother-countrie, wherein, after the King, his hopes was justly greatest, then any expectation to bring this intricit busines's to the wished end. Yet there was no remeied; yield he must to his Master's peremptor command, who laid upon his back the commiiffion, with a strange Memento, that he was informed, (as indeed our Clergy, President, 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 imploy 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 Commissioneer his Grace, would not flirr from the King, till he saw all our countreymen, which the Court any way might spare, fent home before him, to doe for the King's service all the good offices they were able, at least to doe him no evill offices with his prince, by their misinformations in his abfence. The Thesaurer, Lorne, and Galloway, were the firft who came home together in coatch as good friends. This made the people to begin to fpeak better of Galloway: bot it feemes his fear of the people's furie does flill remaine; for he comes not in publick, fave in the Thesaurer's company: in his family does he live, and that privately enough; he keeps his old wife plain-nffe, for herownnes not that he avowed to the King his necelcity to leave Scotland for feare of his life, for the want of the word, which he could not hear delivered anywhere without sentences of rebellion, and sacraments which he could not participate there without profanation. So soone as thir came doune, a Counfell was called at Dalkeith, a commiiffion was formed for the Marques by the Advocate, the double ye have at (A.), letters were directed throughout all the kindome to all the counfellors, none of the Bifhops excepted, straitly chargeing all to be prefent at the next Counfell-day in Dalkeith the fixth of June.

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

(1) Sir Robert Spottswood, 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 said, that himself and his children will be in sixteen or seventeen score of thousands merks in burden: the world wonders by what means. His estate of Bishopsrick, Priorie, Chancellor, will be better than fourty thousand pound a-year. His traine and house has been ever naughtie exceedinglie. It is said 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 purfe; for now bishopsricks and abbacies are desperat. It is very scandalous that clergymen shoule be avowed dyvors, and troublers of the countrey beside. He of Leith (4) is a malicious raileer 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 busil- nes and difmiffed our Statefmen, of continuall outrages of our people against minifters, for their love to his service; amongst the rest, the townes 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 trueth is, that Ogfton, minifter at Collingstone, made his people, who would obey him, anfwer his examination before the communion on their knees, as the priets doe in their fhryving; this, and other things, (for he was brought from the North (6) to that place by Bishop Forbes,) made him infamous; fo, in his addition to the exercife in Edin- burgh, fpeaking somewhat, I fuppofe, of the Virgin Mary, he was conceaved of the people, but wrongouilly, to fpeake error; whereupon, after fermon, at the out-coming of the church, a number of women waits on, and did fhoare him with fbroakes; but Mr. A. Ramfay, and Mr. H. Rollocke, did get him fafe to the effion house, and thereafter convoyed him to his horfe. Mr. Hanna has ever been in hott watter with his people fince his entrie; fo the Sunday after his people had fubfcryved againft his command, they fett on him in the church, ryses his gowne, gives him dry cufles, and fo without farther harme difmiffes 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 Ogston was Professor of Moral Philofophy in Marischal College, Aberdeen.
This is much regrated by us all, and the ministers in Edinburgh inveighs much against thir finfull uproares; and since there has been no more of them.

With the Presidet come word of my L. Alexander's (?) death. I have into it a loffe of a near coofin and familiar friend: The King did profeffe his loffe of a servant of great hopes. Ye know, beside the gallantnes of his perfone, he was both wife, learned, and verie well fpoken; the Countrey makes not much doole for him, for they took him for ane advancer of the episco-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-tremely hated of all the countrie for his allledged brierie, ur-geing of the Pfalmes, and the Books for them, overwhelming us with his Black money. His Sonne is bot ane infant (8); his brother Sir Anthonie, and Robert also 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 in-tended his Father's overthrow, were withholden for reffpect to him. In a three or four days feaver, beside all mens expecfation, he expired. I think, indeed, that God is just: among a number of his excellent parts, I knew him to have been very licentious in his pleafures before his marriage.

There waited on our Bifhops at Court, one D. Carffe, (9) whom I know not, and Mr. Levilton, who both are bitter againft us; also Mr. Laudian, the Marqueis' chaplane, who hes written somewhat against our courfes, at leaft, for kneeling, againft Rutherford. They fay he is dead alfo; I much regrate it: he was an excellent philofophe, found and orthodoxe, oppofite to Canterburie's way, albeit too conforme: I counfelled oft Gla-fgow to have him for their Divinitie Lecturer.

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

(8) 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.

(9) In a letter, in the Editor's possession, written by this Dr. Carse, to Max-well, Bishop of Ross, dated London, Jan. 10th [1636], he signs himself "your Lordship's most faithfull servant and cosen, John Carse." He speaks of his "Curate at Brixton;" and in reference to some expected preference, 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 Scottifh Lords, which were sent down, Morton, Lithgow, Kellie, Marr, Kinnoull, Haddington, Belhaven, Amont, and many more, made us thinke, 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 fought leave to goe to the Bath, to passe tyme so till they saw the Commissioner's succeffe: yet it was not fo; for at once St. Andrewes came. Roffe also and Brechin came to Berwick; but to come any farther, for all their boldnesse, they durft not yet venture. It is faid 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 folemn Serf over all our Kingdom, where tymous advertisement could be given. Some of our non-subferyvers refufed to joyne. In Edinburgh,(1) Mr. Alexander, D. Elliot, Mr. Mitchell, etc. being required to joyne, took them to be advyfed with their Bifhop. At the firft he was content; bot, thereafter, having written over to Dalkeith to Galloway, who newly was come home, repented, and on the Sunday morning fent a discharge to the minifters to intimate; which they obeyed: bot Mr. H. and Mr. A. (2) did intimate it in their churches, and I alfo 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 Minifters alfo keeps their turne, and preaches to their Commifioners in the Colledge-hall. On Mononday, the Minifters of Edinburgh would have been at the intimating of the Serf in their week fermons, notwithstanding of the Bifhop's discharge; bot the Commifioners, mainly on Mr. Andrew's motion, (for I was witnes to it, and did much reafon against it,) did fend some of the Town Counfell to Mr. Alexander, to discharge him, and the rest to joyne in the Serf, except they would joyne in the maine caufes, to pray for a blessing 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 Wedenfday, Mr. Alexander, with many teares, in the midit of his fermon, fhow his willingnes to joyne in the Fast, if he had not been discharged: his teares pur-
chased him little pitie. 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 fasting Son-
day, with the Doctor's good lyking; they had agreed to put me in the forenoon, Mr. Henrie in the morning, the Doctor afternoow; for in the fasting churches they had three fermons. Yet before Sonday the Doctor is discharged to preach in that church at all, unles he would subferyve, left he should marr the devotion of his hearers by his eull 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 feen 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 Bis hops and hoghes the Cer-
emonies; yet in this he goes little beyond Mr. Henrie. As for Bis hops and Ceremonies, I melled not with them; bot of the Service book, I fpak fome more then my hearers had been ac-
quainted with from any other: by this I did pleafe them.

On the Monday great reaoning there was for meeting of the Commissiioner. His Grace had written almoost to the whole nobility, and gentry of note, to meet him on the Tucfday 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 deareft friends and vaflalls should goe; only my Lords Loudon and Lindefay, and fome two three Barrons, should 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 poft to Court in malcontentment; bot Rothes, haveing communed fome two three hours with him in Dalkeith, did appeafe and remove his miftaking.

Some days before, ane accident fell forth which well near had occafioned great mifintelligence among all. It had been refolved at Court, upon the Bis hops complaint that the King's houfes were unfurnifhed, when the Noblemen had provided fo large
munition for all theirs, that the Thesaurer should furnish the Castle of Edinburgh with powder and lead, and other necessaries, whereof it stood in great need. The Thesaurer gives this charge to Patrick Wood; who layes in, either out of the Tower of London, or by his moneys, privately into a ship of Leith, three score and odds great barrel's of powder, some hundreds of picks, some kists full of musquets and matches. When thir came to the roade, the Thesaurer being advertised, come into the towne. After supper, according to his directions, his man Dack and Patrick Wood, that night, causes in haste, and all the privacy they could use, carry all that munition to Dalkeith. To-morrow the whole towne and country is full of no other discourse. Patrick Wood is much detested by all for his readiness in such employment; he is called to the Commissioners' table after then once, and strictly examined: his answers at first were somewhat proud; but at once his courage cooled, when his bands began to be posted to the registers, many in one day; much he did quickly pay; the Covenant without delay he did subscribe; 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 tyme, his numerous creditors. On the Thesaurer lighted more indignation, that he should have secretly caused convoy, in the night, to the place of meeting, such provision, for what end else bot to blow us all up? He came in, and to Rothes, Lorne, and Loudon, purged himself of such wickednes; confessed the necessity laid upon him to provide for the Castle of Edinburgh, but being forewarned by some noblemen and gentlemen, subscribe, of their resolution to fease on that provision if it were carried towards the Castle, he thought it meeter quietly to carry it to Dalkeith, the nearest of the King's houses, then to tempt them to fall in a riot, which might make matters desperate of reconciliation. However, it was thought the Marques took not this service well of the Thesaurer; for albeit to Lindefay, who was sent 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 since in his discourse he hes striven to facilitate his treatie, by threatening us with the readiness of the King's navie to fett upon us, with ten thousand landouldiers well trained. Three dayes after, we forced him to give over communing; 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 since have been mustered:
Also he spake of the readiness of a Spanish army 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 disfavour, 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 imployment 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 think, that he would be so mad as in any thing to disoblige the Marqueis, to whom this twelve moneth he has stuck so close, and whom, if he should irritate at this tyme, when so 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 eagerness then ever. The inequity to meet with the Marqueis at Dalkeith fo provided, laid a necessity on the Marqueis to come and treat in the towne, or else in the fields; for this provision was one just reason of our distrust; and which was most, not only a watch of some hundred 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 caried from Dalkeith thereto, as the Thefaurer said it would, and much more, which was coming in moe ships.

This Castle-watch was much spoken of, as the first of our illegal actions. But it was replied, That since one 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, approven by diverse standing 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 lawfull; of the whilk, the keeping of that Castle in the present case, and praeventing the putting of it in such a state, wherein it may easily, 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 justifiable to all equitable men. If our deigne had been to have made any invasion, nothing more easie, than by three dayes hunger, or fix hours assault, to have taken that Caffle and all the others also the King has among us; bot our folks are far from such acts of hoffilitie, if they be not forced to them. The Commissioner would not grant to come to the Abbey, unlefs he were feomnly met, and that watch were removed. Of the first we made no queffion; to the other, after much debate, we agreed, on condition, that Haddington, Southesk, Lorne, the intercomuners, sould ingadge their honour, fo far as was possible, that in the mean tyme there should no munition at all, neither any victuables more than for daily ufe, be put in that house. This was yielded to by them: fo the watch was discharged. Bot the Commissioner would not fland to that comming, and took it for a diftrust of his honestie, when any more was enraged 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 discharge it fifply without any condition, and in this was obeyed, for the Commissioners' contentment: only a privie watch was ordained, and yet is kept; yea, all wi*hes there had been no other from the beginning, for it is thought sufficient for their end.

The COUNSELL 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 Protestant. We sent Mr. Andrew Ramsay, Mr. James Boner, Mr. Thomas Aber- nethie, and a fourth, ahort the Counfellors, to follift them for their favour, in these words ye have at (C.), pennd by Mr. David Dick. All gave good anfwers, and Huntley shew, that he had found our caufe since he come South, more equitable then in the North he was informe of it: for the Books, he sould be glad to be inftructed by any they would fend to him, what evil could be found in them. The man is of a good difcourfe, bot neither trufled by king nor countrey; his power alfo is contemptible in this caufe: many of his name hes subffrived; himfelf and fundry of them are over burdensed with debt. Forbefes, Frafers, Grants, M'Kenzie, M'Cayes, Macintolhes, M'Laines,
M'Donalds, Irwines, Innices, let be all the Campbells to a man, are zealous subfcriyers; and a fift 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 feales, 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 preffence. Our noblemen subfcriyers will not fo much as fpeak to him, and scarce look on him; and that according to a conclufion paft at their Table, that in the dependance of this caufe againft the Bifhops our only partie, no subfcriver fhould any wayes countenance any of them. This, I fear, be bot a preface to their proceflie of excommunication, or inditement upon their head of high treafon: diverse thinks the King will not be much againft this, if fo that in the ruine of thir mens persons, he could find a meane to preffeve his own honour, and their Epifcopall eftate. Nothing at all was done in the Counfell: the Commiffioner was not pleasefd 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 fatisfaftion: bot it feems, that the manie miffives pofted daily to him from Court since that tyme, hes reftreigned 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, feft themselves in his way. Nobles, gentry of all flyres, 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-side in the links, our alone for his fight. We had appointed Mr. William Livingftone, the ftrongeft in voyce and auffterefl 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, (2) (who is come down to wait on his Grace as almoft a chaplaine, upon hopes, if all goe well, quickly to obtaine ane Archbifhopricke, he is for nocht laigher,) that in the harangue were inveftives againft the Bifhops; which was nothing fo, for ye may read the speech at (D.): Upon this information, the Commiffioner excufed himfelf to our Nobles, and, in pafling, to Mr. William himfelf, faid that

(2) Dr. Walter Balcanquhal, 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 spokesman, 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 purpose, all being resolute to give answers to what should be propounded in a public way, after advyfement with all the brethren. Our friend, for his rashness to informe, I did much chyde. The Marques, in the way, was much moved with pitie, even to tears; he professt thereafter his defyres to have King Charles present at that fight of the whole countrey, so earnestly and humbly crying for the safety of their liberties and religion. His Grace's countenance and carriage was so courteous, and his private speeches so faire, that we were in good hopes for some days to obtaine all our defyres: yet at last, when we heard, that all the power he had was to caufe read at the Croffe a proclamation of the King's pleasure, without any farther commifion, our hopes became well near desesperate. What was in the proclamation we could not learn; only there was much speaking of a command to surrender, and give in our fubferyved Covenants, upon promife to ratifie by Parliament, all or the most part of the matters contained therein. This was a motion infinitely displeasing to all; and to put the Commissioner from all hope of obtaining any such proposition, Reafons were given out, I think, by Mr. Alexander Henderfone, which ye have here in print, why upon no terms, it was possibile for us to passe from any poynct, lefse or more, which we had sworne and subscribed. This refolution was firmly keeped by all. Mr. W. Cochran, A sharpe and busie man, was like to have incurred great difgrace, and public cenfure, at the gentries table, for holding privie conferrence with the Thesfaurer, and letting fome overtures fall that favoured of alterIng, upon good conditions, fome claufes of the Covenant. This our tricknes flopped the proponing of a surrender, or alterIng of any thing in the write; only the Commissioner fhw, that he was minded to proclaime the King's pleasure. Our commiffioners, fome two three of the Nobles, Barrons, Burrows, and Ministers, fhw their refolution to protest if it were not fatiffactory. This the Commissioner, and all he could make, laboured to diswade with might and maine, with many promifes, with great threats;

(1) Probably Mr. William Cochran of Cowden, who was afterwards knighted, and raised to the Peereage, 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 prefently upon the back of the proclama-
tion, our posterior meetings would be illegal and subjeft to cen-
sure: the Reasons that were given out for the neceffity of protest-
ing, ye have here at (F.) All thefe would not put the Commissi-
ioner 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 proteft, he would denounce them all rebels. The
Thefaurer comes up the way on the Thursday before noon,
calls for the lion-heraulds, makes foupe the Crofs for the hang-
ings. All our people converns, fome thofand gentlemen with
their fwords loofe in their armes, about the Crofs; a scaffold is
made for Cafills, Durie younger, Mr. William Livingftone, and
John Smith, to proteft for the Four Eftates. When this dan-
grous reolution was perceaved, the lion-heraulds were advertifed
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 courfe was taken for to have protefters provided
in every burgh where the proclamation was like to be fent.

This our firme conftancy made the Commissioner paft from
motioning any more his proclamation. It feemed to many, that
his instructions were of fo many parts, that he had warrand to
paffe every piece to the outmoft, and then to paffe from it, if
no better might be, to the next. This feemed to fome of us the
holders, bot little policie; we thought it had been more ex-
pedient for our divifion, 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 fecond offers after the reolute rejec-
tion of the firft. This did bind us all the fatter, made us the
more bold in pressing our full defyres, upon hopes, that an am-
bulatorie and pafting commiffion was not yet paffed on the halfe
of its way, let be to be near the last end.

On Fryday we did prefent to his Grace a common Supplica-
tion, which ye have at (G.) To make way for a ready anfwer
thereto, there was fome nine Propositiones fpread abroad of
purpofe, that they might come to the courteours hands, con-
taining articles to be advyfed, upon fuppofition that delays,
crafts or force, fhould be used againft us; ye may read them
at (H.) This half boafe did make the Commissioner receave
our supplication in the better part. On the Saturnday he pro-
mifed, after his returne from Kineil on the Tuesday, ane answer 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 see a reason why he should have given such an occasion to the Bishops censure, whom he knew to be ready enough, upon every shadow, to calumniate him to the King as ane incliner to the puritan side. He was indeed offended with some of our preachers: Mr. Andrew Cant, ane superexcellent preacher, as all report, Mr. Rutherford, Mr. William Livingstone, Mr. Robert Douglas, Mr. A. Blackhall, and divers other, had pressed the extirpation of Epifcopacie. Every day in that week there was a preaching in four or five divers places, except the Saturday: what was said by any, all incontinent was delate to his Grace in no better termes, be assured, then was delivered. Mr. Alexander Henderfon had been sparing, and Mr. David Dick much more; so that he was cenfured of too much prudence, and behoved to help it by his scourging of the Bishops in posterior sermons. Upon request of some counsellers who loved our cause, the Bishops, by some, in sermons, were dealt with more soberly then before; but nothing at all was remitted by others.

On Tuesday our Commissioners went to his Grace for ane answer to their Supplication according to promise. The answer was, That their demands of ane Assemblie and Parliament should be granted; but first some scruples anent the write behooved to be satisfied. Thir were to be proponed by the three former intercomurers; with these were appointed to treat for us other three, Rothes, Montrofe, Loudon: they agreed their conference should be by write. The scruple proponed was this; His Majestie may conceive, that the Confession is so general in the clause of mutual defence, that it may not only containe a defence for religion and his Majesties person and authority, liberties and lawes of this kingdome, but also a combination for defending of delinquent against authority and law, even in other clauses than these forfaid. Our communers took it to their advyfement with their companie, if therefore it were neceffarie to draw up a humble remonfrance, to explaine our dutifull intention concerning the clause above written. The Tables both of nobles and gentry fand, after long disput, that such remonfrances were dangerous; likely nought bot delayes and snares were fought for. Yet it was granted, that in a re-newed supplication, that clause should be sufficiently cleared, if
so that they were not needlessly inombered with more interrogatories. The supplication is drawn up by the Nobles, but mifflyked by the Gentry and Miniftrie; for what caufe I know not, for yet I have not feen that pece. The Commiffioner also would have them agree to a declaration of this claufe of his forming; but this all did refuge: yet at laft all did agree upon a Supplication, in thir terms, which ye have at (J.) Against this the Commiffioner did not fay much; only fhev, that what he had in his Instrucfions concerning ane Affembly 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 deperate; he would post to his matter, and fee if by himfelf he might give better informations than he could by his miffive letters; he trufted shortly to returne with satisfactory inftructions. This necefflare overturc we could not refuge; but we intreated his Grace for the earneft 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 occafioned by the Bifhops continued madness. 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 master's honour, that by their words and deeds they make the world fuppofe that the King hes no intention to keep his word: Un-happie fervants to fo good a matter! Galloway's man affured Mr. James Blair, that the book might well be corrected in our affembly, bot it behooved to goe through. The Bifhop of Edinburgh avowed to Mr. James Lang, that in the book there was no evil; that it was much better then that of England; that for all our prefent uproares, that book would goe through, whoever would fay the contrare. The Bifhop of Dumblane came to the Commiffioner, fhowing that he was to read fervice in the chappell, and required his Grace's countenance to it. The Commiffioner bade him "Doe fo," bot to be prefent 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 fhew the Commiffioner, he behooved, for fear of his life, to let alone his reading. His Grace's answer was nocht bot as before, "Doe fo." For all this, they go out, St. Andrewes to Rosfelin, and in that chappell read the fervice: this conftant report is now questioned. In this I marvell much of their wifdom. St. Andrewes ftil 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 reason, to have [him] excommunicat, and readily thereafter execut. It feems he is so desperate, 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 satisfaction of their wicked passions.

What we speak of the interruption of our trade, is occasioned by that arraignment of the States of our merchands armes, at the instance of the King's Agent,(5) and your Confervator(6) also, as we hear, upon a most false 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 Confervator; yet he should fear, if not God, the avenger of liers and hurters of their country, yet the King, to whom he does dangerous wrong through our sides. Who ever stieares the flame betwixt the King and his subjects, at this time, feemes to be most mortall enemies that the King ever had, either to his person, or crowne, or pestiferitie; and that arraignment will not be a small coal to that fire. Ye have oft showed to me of that man's facultie of lying and wicked humors many ways; if ye, after the knowledge of it, take you 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 anfwer, 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 perfcute 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 shoulde. I pray yow come over, if ye defyre to keep your old estimation; but come over resolute to subfcryve, as now all among us inclynes to doe. At our townsment'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.

(5) Sir William Boswell, King's Resident at the States in Holland.
(6) 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 tear by all that people, the oath was made; Proveis, Baillies, Counsell, 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 subscrive; Mr. William Wilkie I know will; the Forfuithes [Forlyths] hes subscriyved, and almost all who refused before; some they will not have their hands, but mindes to proceede them. Mr. Crichton, (?) my couin, is ordained to be summoned for his corrupt doctrine and practices, before their prebytrie; and two associates out of the foure next adjacent prebytries. I think I could move [him] to make a publick recantation for bygones, and give all possible affurances for tyme to come; but it fears me all this keep him not in his place. Mr. James Forfuith has been so idle in his written protestations read out of his pulpit against our Covenant, the antichriftianisme, jesuitisme of it, and what not; also in some passages against our Noblemen in his sermons, and some other mifcarriages, that it fears me his censure shall be deep; so much the more as he is not likie to carry himself with any cannynes in tyme coming. Mr. William Anan, (8) presentley after his subscription, went to Edinburgh, where he hes remained since above a quarter of a year: he is in great confusion and perplexity. With his owne confent, Mr. Robert Blair was admitted his seconde: all his company is with the Deane, and Bishops. The brethren sent out to him commissioners oft to join with them in their meeting, but still he would not: the town of Aire dealt much with him; but in vaine: so they at last gave in a complaint of his miscarriages, with a resolution never more to receive him within their pulpit. I think there is no ten Minifters in the kingdome so much oblied to their people's gratuitie, as he alone was, and still would have been, if he might have been pleased to have done any tolerable duty. The prebytrie is ordained, with the affectio of some neighbours, to cite him, and to goe on with him in proceed for faults to be lybelled: it is lyke he hes no minde to returne. The Bishop of Dune (9) hes written over to him, and Mr. David

(7) 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 procceed 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 mens soules, bodies, and goods, is so pitifull, that it is marvellous if God come not down to plead the cause of the poor innocents. The late uproares of the Innes of Court, we hear, shall be bot the proeme to the infequent tragedie, if Canterburie will be pleased to remitt nocht of his accustomed stiffnes. 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 designes. Alace! for the pitifull slaughter of our countrymen at Antwerpe: this muft be your Prince great want of providence, who advanced such a handfull of farr in the enemies bounds, without either spies before them, or a back armie or fort for retreat: a unhappiness in a Generall is to be pitied; but such a neglect of conduct is intollerable, and curfed. Alaways unhappie we, who in such interprifes are commonly sure of the strokes.

Ye have here alfo some Reafons against the Service in print. Our preffe at Edinburgh is now patent: we hope not to trouble you so much there as we were wont. I took the author to be Mr. Henderfon; 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, maugre St. Andrewes baird, by the prefbytrie. This fame youth is now given out alfo, by thefe that should know, for the author of the English Popish Ceremonies:(') 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 feem to be farre above fuch ane age: bot if that book be truely of his making, I admire the man, though I mislyke much of his matter; yea, I think, he may prove amongst the beft witts of this Ifle.

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

(') 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 Commissionier's returne from Court; yet numbers flock'd to the Crosfe put themselves in readines to protest; bot they superceded, finding the Proclamation, byfide 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 fough't nor thought upon by any at that tyme, was receaved bot with small acknowledgement; so much the more as the maine narrative ranne upon the incommodities which the Lords did suffer by their fitting 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 subberyed, yet in that sermon, as in all the rest of his carriage thir divers years, he was more cold and wife, than zealous and fliout to speake one word for the good cause. We thought that the Commissionier had been thus far on his way; yet to-morrow, as if he had receaved new Instruotions from the poff, he returnes; and on Wednes-
day, 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 Commissionier could think to give satiffaction to any living foul by fuch a declaration; which yet oft he profefied with confidence of that piece before it was heard: there muft be here fome miflere 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 Confeffion: bot of our Confeffion is no syllable; yea this hes been by appearance drawn up here very lately by the Bifhops and Statefmen who are trusted, with the conflent, as it feems, of the Commissionier; for the date of it is bot fix or feven days, at Greenwich, before it was proclaimed in Edinburgh. There was on a scaffold amen the Crosfe, simuli et semel, read by Mr. Archibald Johnstonie, a protetfion, which ye have at (M.), avowed by Caffils, young Durie, Provost of Dundie, and Mr. John Kerr of Pannes, in name of the nobles, barrons, burgiffes, and minifters. Some out of fliotts cryed rebels on the readers; the people in a fury would have been up to fearch: it was feared Mr. Robert Ral-
kine, 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 hindered the search, so there was no hurt done to any. The Nobles, at dinner, are informed, that the Commissiioner was about to gett the Counsell to approve the declaration as fatiffactory; whereupon they presently fell a writing these Reasons which ye have at (N.); and after dinner went to his Grace, Rothes, Montrose, Loudon, with doubles of these Reasons for staying the Counsellors from making any approbatorie act. There past between them some high words: Loudon told his Grace roundly, they knew no other bands between a king and his subjects, bot of religion and laws; if these were broken, men's lives were not dear to them; boasted they would not be, such feares were past with them. Notwithstanding, the Commissiioner prevailed so far with the Counsellors, that they all, except Lorne and Southesk, did, in their chamber, not publickly at their Counsell table, set their hand to this act, which ye may read with admiration at (O.) When it was heard, there was conceaved so high offence by us all, at these men, whom we were assured were ready to subscribe with us the Covenant, that our grief was unutterable: Yett all came about for the good of our cause; the unreasonableenes of their grievous injurie being remonstrate to them, they fell presently to repent; and for our fatification, did not rest till they had gotten back that subscribe'd act, and rent it in small pieces. We hope that our sweet Prince, and all neighbour nations, will judge the declaration, not so much approven by our Counsell, in their privat, and too much hasted subscriptiones, if not stolen from them by vehement solicitation, as disfavoured, yea detested 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 protest against it as not fatiffactory.

This manner of dealing has made us speak out that which was before bot in the mindes of some very few, our right from God, which the Prince may not in law or reason take from us, to keep a Generall Assemblie. The Reasons of this conclusion ye have at (Q.), in print, done by the aduye of three or foure of the best witts. This is the highest string yet our necessities has drawn us to strike on. At my first hearing of it, I was much amazed: I was allutterly averie from thinking of any such proposition; but after some study, I find my mood allayed. I
intreat yow 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; also direct me to all the wryters ye are able for my help of information. I am feared that this baft of our right, only in policie, as yet they say, be indeed put in practice: the events I groan to imagine.

Lorne shew the Commissioneer, he was informed from Court, of Antrim's undertaking to come over upon his lands. He knew not any of his own merits to procure such acts of hostitie, but if such oppreffion were offered, he would see to his defences. We hear of some fix or nine of the King's ships coming to our North seas: some fays they are going only for the protection of your Bufhes, for the tenth barrell of their fishing, lately granted by your States to the King. They speake also of Arundell's coming down to Berwick. All thir things putts us in flolcht. The Commissioneer went away on the Monday early, after he had given some good words to our Nobles. He intended to dyne with the King on Fryday. He took the 12th of August for his return. In the meantime we have, on the 22d and 29th of July, a univerfall faft. It is lyke, at the Counfell-table in England, our affair may gett some fatall froke one of these dayes. Mr. David Dick and Mr. Alexander Henderfome are convoyd by my Lord Montrofe, and others, north, to draw in, if they can, these who yet lyes out in the sheriffdome and town of Aberdeen. If God blefs that labour, all our countrey, now to count of, is as one man in this busines, 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 Isle be terribly shaken, if not made defolate, before this fforme calm: Our trust is in God. There appears not yet from men any likelyhood of peace, or any possibility of it, as matters goes on both fides. The Bishops may be at once excommunicat, and all their wilfull followers: if for them our nobles blood be shed, the Isle 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 yett among us. The Nobles gave in to the Commissioneer, ere he departed, ane accusation of brybery and other crymes against the President and Regifter. He defyred them superceid their perfuit till his re-
turne: so these two fitts yet still in the Sesslion. If they gett reafon, it is thought they are both undone; and none among us will pitie their ruine. My Lord Commissioner hes so caryed himſelf from his coming to his going, that he hes made us all fupend our judgment of his inclination, whether it be towards us or our oppofits: yet the warriest and moft obscure breasts will be opened by tyme. We have had all this year liſtherto moft feaſonable weather, great appearance of increafe on the ground, for the relief of our heavily diftraffed land by the bygons fearcity. We are not yet troubled, whereof we marvell, with any of our adverſaries wreitings, either from England or at home; readily we will be overwhelmed with a fpeit of them at once. Some little things of D. Barron, Forbes, and Panter, are ftrong nought, and very unworthie the authors. What ye wrote ye faw of mine, it is apparently a fheitt which off hand was given to the extemporarie objectiones made at the beginning againſt the Covenant; if it be poore, no marvell. Bot I have written two larger pieces, apologizing for our proceedings, which I have offered to the tryeſt of our oppofits; yet without a reply: thir, when I can get doubled, ye shall have, fuch as they are. We are grieved for the floning of D. Monroe, when he came from Edinburgh, where he had much company with the Bifhops, and was thought to be a fpye to them of the actions and proceedings of the Noblemen. The women at Kinghorne, at diverſe parts of the towne, in great multitudes, were fett for him. Some gentlemen in company defended to their power, and gott him on a great horfe, whereby he escaped death, but not wounds and blood. Thir unhappie and ungodly violencees hurts our good caufe: they are lamented by us; but there will be no remead 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 has appointed for their cafe; or by violence they will make a way for themſelves, which nature, reafon, law, let be God, does not approve.

Wryte ye to me fo rarely, fo shortly, as ye pleafe; ye fee I ftryve to move yow to change that caufe. The Lord be with you, and your f̄poufe, and all ye love there. If we knew not of a reft in heaven, where there is no fray, our life on earth would whyles be comfortles.

Your Coofin.

July 22.

Receave at (R.) the laft Supplication given to the Marques;
ye fie it is pickeand; it obtained the poyn 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 should be fo furiouslie unjust. I hope God hes raifed him to mak our Ifle once quyt of Bifhops, for all. St. Andrewes is to Court. Mr. Chrichton’s estate fee at (T). This day twelve moneth, the ferving-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 felf; but I fent to Mr. John Bell of Stevenfton for a loan of that double himfelf made: he hes fent yow both. Ye muft not faill 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 Christian’s ficknefs, and of her defyre to fee me; fo of necefity I muft to Glasgow to-morrow; the week following I muft preach on Wednesday, and celebrate the Communion on Sunday, God willing, fo that I will not gett yow then feen; and thereafter is the meeting of Edinburgh. It is fore againll my heart, that I winn not both to conferre with my Lord Lowdon and yow, but fince fo neceffare occaffions diverts me, I muft take the hinderance from God’s providence. I am fo full of doubts about our Generall Asfembly, if the King diſcharge it, or which is equivalent, yield not to it, when it is fo earnestly fought, that my heart hinders me to be a Member of it. This I am forry for, for many reafones; and winches that I might be refolved cheerfully to goe on in this with my brethren, as I have done in all other things; but the more I aflay, my minde is the more averfe. My Lord Lowdon is the man from whom I expecSedatifiafaction; and for this end had fundry purpofes to goe to his Lordfhip, both in Edinburgh and here.

My maine doubts are, 1st, That I finde no example of a Naotionall Asfembly meeting againll 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.
giftRate 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 alleged for the necessity of it, considering our late Covenant so mighty a barre against error, and the discipline of Presbytries doing with evil ministers or professors what we will, are not so pregnant, but they may admit of a delay. 4thly, The reason from the law, or nature, from scripture, or antiquity, infers bot a permission, 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 Reason, a Parliament seems to be avowed no lesse necessitare; which, to think upon without a King, seems to me a horrible fountain of all mischiefs. I trust thir my thoughts ye will keep them very close: I communicat them to yow, that ye, as if they were your own, may get satisfaction about them. I pray yow, frae I cannot come to yow, doe me the good (I speak not now of compliments) pleaure or favour to come to me, and it were bot for an hour or two, if ye may not stay one night, before Tuesday the 25th of this moneth, the day appointed for chooing our commisioners; for I will then be in a strait. I know I will be choosen for one, and, as I am now set, of necessity I must refuse, which will be exceeding evil taken; however, I pray yow, after your conference with Loudon, let me see 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 largeness also in answers gave me full satisfaction. Ye shall 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 acquaint what some malicious or mistaken people did report. I hear that ye and the Conseratator 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 sent yow; but the is not so defyrous to have it to the presse as before; so ye shall super-
feid till advertisement. As for our great affair, have here all what I know into it since my last.

Our Brethren who went to Aberdeen was bot coldly welcomed in that town. Fryday, the first night they came, their Doctors sent to them a number of enfraining Demands, hoping by disputts and janglings to make their journey fruitlefs. Thir Demands much studied, yea, put in print, and scattered ahort as far as the Court of England, were answered by our brethren against to-morrow, and at night given to the Doctors. For all this, the Doctors refued to lend us any of their pulpits; yea, the voud church was made faft, and the keys kepted by the Magistrate. Howsoever, in my Lord Marshell's clofe, there were three sermons heard by a hudge confluence of people. Mr. David Dickfon in the morning at eight hours began; and after sermon answered shortly, and popularly, to all the Doctors demands. At twelve hours Mr. Alexander Hendenone did preach, and Mr. Cant at four, to no leffe a multitude then at the first dyet: they wysely did choyse the tymes when there was no publick services in the churches. After all, at a table in the clofe, some four or fuye hundred, at leaft a good number, whereof fundry were of the beft qualitie, did subscryve. On Mononday, they went out to the Sheriffdome, where, with much labour, they persuaded many. My Lord Marqueis of Huntley, and the Clergy of the towne, had preoccupyed the hearts of all that people with great prejudices against our caufe; yet, by God's help, of the large half of the dioceffe was obtained to the number of forty-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 Anfwer at once, and so returned home. Since, the Doctors hes been on a Triply, which yet is not come out. Howsoever our brethren had great disadvantage 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 thefe men, who are the learned, without question, of our opposites, hes gotten the occasion to print and reprint what their beft engynes is able to say against our proceedings, with anfwers, which we trust shall in the end prove satiffactory to all, as already they have done to D. Guild and Mr. David Lindsay, moderator of Aberdeen presbytrie, and divers others, who at the first were much withelden from coming to us by thefe Demands. Our Bishops were not permitted to come to
Court: St. Andrewes, it is said, was countermanded in his way; so he lay in Morpetch a number of dayes in the common poll-master’s; yet at last all three, Brechin, Rossè, and he, went to Newcastle, and there lives as they may in one common Innes. The Thesaurer sent them some hundredth dollars, and the Commissioner, in his way, some more money, for their entertainment. Rossè posted to Court, gott some two hours of the King, and without seeing of Canterbury, in haste was sent back. Diverse of our clergy hes visitied them. D. Panter hes returned from them; and since lurks: D. Wishart, and Mr. Lemont of Libberton, stayed behind him. The rest of St. Andrewes Doctors, Howie, Bruce, Martine, Baron, hes all subservyed: D. Monroe, since his strokes, is among the foremost 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, but are supplied by the prebbyterie. I thinke D. Panter for doctrine, and Arch-deane [Gladitanes] for drunkennesse, are under pra- ceffe. Mr. Creichton did appeal from the Prebbyterie; so did Mr. James Forfyth: to the one they lay a number of errors, proven by many witnesfes; to the other they lay preaching the convieniency of bowing at the name of Jesus, simonie, and a number of leffer matters: The one offers in diferent termes all contentment for bygones and tyme to come; but is not trusted: The other is full of will and paflion, and, which I much marvell, is inclined to Canterbury in omnibus, as it seemes, which in him is a late and great change. Both are suspended, and went to the Bishops: 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 Commissioner, whom he met; and the Bishops put him in hope that the King shortly would be upon us with an army.

The Commissioner came back before his day, D. Balkanquall with him: He keepe himself more referred than before; his Mother(2) he would not see; Crowner Alexander he did dis- countenance; Mr. Eleezer Borthwick he met not with; after four or fwayne dayes parleying, no man could gett his minde. The reafon of this carriage, they say, was his defyre to remove all

(2) The Mother of James Marquis of Hamilton was Lady Anne Cunningham, daughter of James Seventh Earl of Glencairn. 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 brother, Lord William's patent for the Earldom of Dumbar(4) came in his hand, he tare it, for despite, as he professed, of her. Crowner Alexander openly did give countenance and allowance to our Nobles meetings; Mr. Eleazer was the man by whom his Grace, before his commissioun, did encourage us to proceed with our supplications: from all thir now his Grace's countenance was somewhat withdrawn. While we began to fear delayes, behold a Eleven demands are required of us, to be performed 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 answers; which, if it had been given, we might have yielded to sundry of these things: bot his Grace said, he was at a nonplus, 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 discord among oursevles; 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 stopped; alluding, that this answer did import the ordinar fitting of laick Elders, not only in Sessions, but also in Presbyteries, their voting there in the election of Ministers to bear commissioun: this they took to be a novation, and of great and dangerous consequences. For myself, it was my good luck to have studied somewhat in that question; I was satified in my minde, of the lawfulness and expediency of our old practise 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 din; and all required the changeing of the answer to more general words, which might give the power of that election to those who had the custom or law in tyme bygone for choosing; this did not hinder Elders to obtaine all their right or defyre, only it held off the present determination of a question

(4) 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. 110) and was created Earl of Lanark, 31st of March 1639.
very important. This our correction of that clause made such a flutter at all the Tables, both of nobles, barrons, burgesses, that they all resolved to quit us in the cause, if presently they obtained not that point. Some from them all comes to us: After a little reasoning, there was no remedie; we all yielded, though some fore against their stomack: bot of all evills, division to us now is incomparable the worst. The clause of our Elders therefore behooved to stand as ye see it: yet that question is like to make us trouble; for fundry of the brether are very jealous of the gentrie's usurpation over them.

This forme being past, we finding that all or most of the Marquises demands tended to the pralimitation of our Assembly, and so did incroach on the freedome thereof, there were Reasons drawn up for to fore-arme us against the proposition of any such pralimitating; which, if I can gett, ye shall see at (B.)

For two or three dayes we were in great perplexity, none knowing what well to doe: the Commissioner had no more to say; we were inclined some to wait on, moe without farther patience prefently to give order for our Assembly by ourselves: a Committee is chosen, of all our Tables, to consult privatelie on this matter. This was the only question wherewith, from the beginning of this matter, my minde was tormented; and if I were through it, I doe not foresee any other whereupon I would so much flick: my minde was so full of doubts at that tyme, that if I had been posied, I would have dissented from meeting in an Assembly without the King's permission. Always the matter, for fear of opposition and division, was never mentioned in publick, and so I said nocht; for I had resolved before, in my field-coming, to be silent through all this dyett, so far as I was able; to fight, and pray, and take heed, but no further.

After the Commissioner fand us on thir consultations, he sent to entreat for a delay of conclusions before yet once he might post to Court, to represent, bot not to deale for the King's acceptation of our Answers to his late demands: for to promise to move the King to be content with them, he would not, himself esteeming our answers unreasonable. This his proposition was rejected of all, and all delay refuted upon so naked a narrative. Thereafter his Grace came near us, shewing by Lorne and Southcok, that he found out, upon farther information, that our answers was according to our lawes, which before he knew not; bot now having found it, he was hopefull so to represent it to the King, that he might obtain, by ane other voyage, the indemtion of ane
Affemblie as free as we could with. This new motion was so well proposed to us all in a common meeting by Lorne, ane excellent spokeman, 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 Minifters was flatly against it; who, by discourse, found worlds of dangers, if this meeting should difsolve without taking of prefent order for the Affemblie, and many moe things. My heart was fore grieved to fee the unreasonable stiffnefs of many, which, for feare of miſtike, I durft not mint to reaſon againſt in publik: yet at laſt God made reaſon and equitie cary it againſt the hearts of fundry of the chief minifters, albeit we had all reſolved, for feare of divifion, to have yielded to theſe of our brether who were moſt wilfull, if no better might have been; but the authority of Lorne and Rothes, who were here earneſt agents, did cary the matter. When I faw the unеxpected conclusion, I rejoیced in God, and, by this experience of his watchfull Providence over this great cauſe, made hopefull he would not suffer it be spoiled by the imprudencie of mony uncannie hands which are about it.

So foonę as the Marqueis 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 Affemblie 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 fame Saturday afternoon he went away towards Court, hoping on Thursday to fee the King. One of the cauſes that made some of our number to deale the more peremptorie 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; but ſpoke of us contumeliouſly, as ye may fee in the double of theſe letters at (C.); yea, not fo only, but for no words would he be put from printing of a Declaration of the truth in these calummiies, as he faid, which we in our Anſwers did put on him. For myſelfe, I marveled in the tyme, that the Commissioner should have made that demand about our mutuall band in tearmes fo advantagious for us, and should have profefTed his fatiſfaction in our anſwers to that maine impediment of our Affemblie: but haueing done ſo, I thought he would never have recalled it, or put it more in queſtion; yet it feems his unfriends lies made ſuch informations of that his un-
advysednfs, that in all hazards he must retreat it: he was made assured, that the whole Tables would teftifie 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) alledgeance to lye upon him, without his publick disclaiming of it. I hope to fend yow with the demands, ansuers, 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 incourage us with Father Abernethie the Jefuite’s converfion. On the Thursday there after Mr. Andrew Ramsay’s sermon made for the purpose, in a large half houres space, he made a very sweet discourse(1) 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 subfcryved our Covenant, and fpake much to the commendation of it. After all our diligence to try, we can finde no apearance of hypocrifie in the man. He showes us many things, which I hope to fend yow with Mr. Andrew’s sermon in print: among the reft he told, that there is eighteen priests at leaft ever in Scotland; he gave their names and abode: he tells, that in England there will be above fix thousand: that at London there will be above three hundred maffes fung every Sabbath; that he knew, on a fix years since, when he was laft at Rome, a conclufion paft in the congregation De Propaganda Fide, for to ufe means to draw the Church of England to that of Rome, but to mel no farther with our Scotifh Church than ane afociation with England, upon hopes, by this conformitie alone, to gaine us fullie by tyme. There went out in his name reports of Canterburies intercourse of letters with the Pope, of the contrying of our Scotifh Liturgie at Rome; bot when I pofed him on thefe, he denyed his knowledge of any fuch matters, albeit he confessed to me someflate-paflages, which might have been prejudiciall enough to him if they had gone abroad.

So soon as the Marqueis went away, the Tables advysed on instructions for the Generall Assembleie to be execute preffently after the 20th of September, the longeft terme which the Com-

(1) This discourse was printed at the same time as Ramsay’s Sermon, “at the receiving of Mr. Thomas Abernethie, sometime Jesuite, 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 penitent Sinner, &c. in the Gray-frier Church, the 24. of August 638.” 4to.
mifioner had craved for his return. The common letter sent to the Presbytries ye have at (D.); the instructions at (E.); some notes sent with them, drawn out of the Book of Discipline and General Assemblies, for the contentment of those who had scruples amant the voyces of Elders in choyfeing of commifioners for the Assembly, at (F.); also some private articles sent to these ministers whom most they trusted, at (G.) According to thir, a very solemn and generall fast was kept every where the 16th of September; and thereafter all sessions did choose their elders to goe to the Presbytries after the 20th day, there to vote for the choyfe of three ministers and one elder to take commifion for the expected General Assembly. Among us in the Weft there was a commifion drawn up, by Mr. David [Dickfon,] to be the common forme of all sessions, at (H.): this I much dilyked, as containing the feifd of new, idle, and dangerous quefions; this, when I faw, I caufed alter into the forme ye fee at (I.), at leeft for my owne fession and some others.

All this tyme my minde was afflicted with doubts: I thought the King would never indict such an Assembly as we could accept; I faw all was resolved to have one according to their minde, though the King fould 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 ftrait, I fought much my God; and he now hes delivered me out of thir thornes. I reafoned with the befte of thofe that was againft an Assembly without the King: their reafons I thought not prefling; my reafons 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 fatisfaccion; at laft I went to my Lord Lowdon's house, and conferred two nights with him: I returned reafonable well fatifieed, and well near resolved to countenance the Assembly, forbid it who would. While I am in thir thoughts, behold a proclamation indicting the Assembly at Glafgou the 21st of November; this put me out of all quefion.

At this time also the Commifioner 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 worfe then a flatt refufeall; that place was extremely incommodious for old grave men to travel to in such 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 otherwayes. The King's will at (K.) was exceedingly gracious in the moft of our defyres; the unhappie Books, the Commiffion also fimpily difcharged; Perth articles made free; Minifters entry as we could with; Bifhops fubfected to the Affemblie; the Affemblie and Parliament indicted at the tyme and places wee could have defyred: only one thing frayes us, the fubfcription of ane other Covenant. This, and the convoy of it, makes us tremble for fear of division; alfo the continua; rumors of the King's preparation for warre; two hundred thoufand pound fterling taken up of the cuftoms; one hundred and fifty 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 mak's us fray. At fome prior meetings, to fundry I did regrait, who might, as I think, fhew it to the Commiffioner, for they had his eare, that they gave us our de-
fyres by bitts, and with boafts; that in likelihood the beft meanes for calming of our mindes were to grant us all at once, what by tyme they would suffer themselves to be driven to by any violence. This tourne 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; bot the reafon why we are malecon-
tent yet full, fie in our profeflation, at (L.), as alfo in the common letter which was fent atherth the country with the pro-
feftation, at (M.): tyme will decypher much.

Our Prefbyterie, with one consent, on the 25th day, choofe my Lord Lowdon for our elder of the fhyre, Mr. Robert Barclay for the towne of Irwine, Mr. David Dickfon 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. Michaell [Wallace] was cleane mifregarded; whereof I am forrie for many reafons; bot 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. Pafley did choofe Mr. William Bribane, his fon Mr. Matthew, and Mr. John Hamilton, and [John Bribane of] Bithoptoun; Mr. John Hay, abler much then any of them, was paft by for his too much countenancing of Mr. John Creichton, and other reafons not inconsiderable. Glafgow had appointed Tuesday for their elecition: we all thought it expedient they should choofe my Lord of Eglinton for their elder: This I fhew by write to fome of
the prebytrie; whereupon they sent James Stewart of Chryft-
wall with a letter subscryved 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 pressyng words.
Upon this he goes, very evill in health, for we all did prfey him.
Yesternight he wrytes, that his coming there was in vaine;
the Prebytric would choose none that day, had delayed the
election till the 10th of October; had written a complementing
letter to the Commissioneer for the benefite and honour of the
Asfemblie 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 unhappe. This is the third tyme, when their
mifcarriage will grieve the whole countrey: the example by
taking a courfe by themelves is now moft pernicious to us all;
it will be the first open doore to division: their laft difive
motion had well near raifed a mutiny amongft 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 Asfemblie.
There goes ahoft a Speech, in the name of the Duke of Len-
nox, difwading the King from warre with us: ye have it at (O.)
The speech at firft was thought to be truely fpoken at the
Counfell-table by the alleadged author; bot now we hear it is
bot fuppositious. However, they fay Canterburie is become our
great friend, and by all means a perfuader of the King to peace,
though with the ruine of all the perffons of our Bifhops. Their
proceffes are fast forming: Brechin, they fay, is undone; adultery
is like to be proven; the whore, and the child goes up and down
the streets proclaiming it; bot befyde, other probations are clear
to make it unquestionable: St. Andrewes, I fear, be made infa-
mous: No kinde of cryme which can be gotten proven of a
Bifhop will now be concealed.

When I was on the point of going to Edinburgh, I receaved
advertifement of a countermand from the meeting there, which
had thought meet, for the Marqueis contentment, to hinder the
convention of Commiffioners, once appointed; for his Grace was
offended, that before the Asfemblie fuch a great convocation of
the members of the Asfemblie fhould meet: also the meeting
feailled, to the end that all gentlemen might be at home at the
Michaelmas courts; where, by the afts of Parliament, the Shyres
are ordaind yearly to choofe commiffioners 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 hither by Orbiston, who rode with it on the Sunday for haste; yet the Town Commissioner had preveened him; for on Sunday advertisemem 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 protesting; the ministry standing in the Crofle, with a number of notcovenanters, joying 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 promised over much to him: I fand them peremptor for the equity of subferying the King's Covenant, and iniquity of our counter-protestation; also very aferve from choying commissioners according to our minde. I could doe no more but sorrow, and be afraid with the Principall, Mr. Robert Wilkie, Mr. Archibald Fleiming, Mr. William Wilkie, and mainly with Patrick [Bell], whom the Marqueis had caused the Bishop name Proveft, I think, by Mr. William Wilkie's information to Doctor Bakanquall; and Patrick caufed my brother,(6) Matthew Hamilton, William Neilson, be made baillies, Walter Stirling deane of gild, men all simple, and at his own dispoifion. I fhoued, fra all our brethren in the Covenant had protested, that this new subscription would be one of the moft dangerous divisifive motions that yet was used; if they would begin, at the Commissioner's defyre, to subfcryve, that the whole countrey could not bot take them for traitors, and these men-fworne, the authors of all their ruine. However, they were refolved of the expedienie to subfcryve; yet I knew that their wisdome could not permitt them to practife their resolution, as indeed hitherto they have abfeeneed. As for the choying of their commissioners, I likewise fhoued them all my minde. I was grieved to fee their minde fo farr from our course; 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, baillies; &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 presbytries already had chosen their commissioners, 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 choosing of Elders for commissioners. It was so caryed, that election was made of old Mr. John Bell, Mr. Zacharie [Boyd], and Mr. James Sharpe, and my Lord Eglinton, or, in his absence, my Lord Fleeming. Mr. John Maxwell gave in a protestation, which no other would subscribe. The Marqueis came in himself to receive their subscription, 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 advysement. So he went away with small contentment, and to my heart was brought great joy for the constancy of that Town which we have reason to love best.

We thought this subscription a very deep and dangerous plott, and so opposed it every where what we could. The Marqueis and Counsellors as yet has come no speed in obtaining hands to it. After ten dayes, Mr. [Sir William] Elphinstone, Justice-General, and Belhaven who now hes Sir George's (7) estate and house, buffle agents for his Grace, required the Counsell to subscribe. George Porterfield, incontinent, at the table, used a protestation; but the Provost required a delay yet of eight dayes: we hope this delay shall draw on to the Assembly, which is all we crave. Receive here the proclamations and counsell acts in print; never so many acts in one day, and of matters of so great moment: Had that one clause of subscribing any other Covenant been away, we had blessed the Marqueis for his notable service at this tyme. At the table arose a great question about a clause of the Proclamation; the Regifter had penned, "The subscription of the King's Covenant, according to the tenor of it," Lorne, Advocat, [and] Wigton, defyred it might be put in "According to the date of the [15]81 yeare, and as then the religion was profeessed;" mynding by this clause the exclusion of Bishops, 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. Receive 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 Marquis's declaration going before, and our answers, with the Tables reply to the Marquis's demands, spoken of at (A.) Aberdeen's triply is come to the Marquis in print: he does suppresse 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;(8) 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 Marquis of Huntley, to his face the protestation was read, Forbes, Frazer, and others, encouraging the citizens.

It was required once and ofter by the Noblemen, that his Grace would give a warrant for to summond the Bishops; but after this demand was shifted, ane other 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 General Assembly against Mr. Patrick Lindsay, minister at such a kirk, pretended Archbishop of Glasgow, and his Collegues, for crymes enoough; 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 General Assembly. The extract of this act, with the libell, was sent to the Bishop, and put in his hand by the church-bed dall, before two witnesses: this, being indorsed, is thought a sufficient summons. On the morne, 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 Anderstone, the clerk's servant, the whole libell is read in audience of the people. [In the] afternoon, the Noble-

(8) Baillie, in the margin of the Original MS. has subsequetly added the words, "This is not so."
men and others goes to the Seffion, and entreats, that the town would by no means subferyve any other Covenant before the Afsamble: the Proveyf would make no promife; which his anfwer, by Mr. David Dick's benign interpretation, was taken in good part. On that fame laft Wedensday, the Prefbytrie of Edinburgh did pronounce the fentence of fuppenfion against Mr. David Mitchell, notwithstanding of the Marqueis not only requift, but at laft charge by a meffer, to the contrare. This misregard did highly commove his Grace; bot his wrath tomorow was increafed by the women's great infolency; who, finding that D. Eliot went to pulpitt, when they expected Mr. Henrie [Rollock] after bernon fell upon him and Mr. Fletcher with many fad froakes: the caufe and manner we know not yet clearly, bot are all grieved at the heart for it, and wishes that the actors were exemplarelie punished. The Marqueis hes called ane frequent Counfell againft the 28th of this month. It is much feared, that he go to Court, and leave us the ruleing of the Afsamble as we pleafe; bot if he shoule doe fo, we are resolvled to keep the dyett, and excepts God to be with us, when we ufe our right in fo needfull a tyme. Great rumors of hudge preparation for horfe and foot in England, of hudge munition from Holland to them; yet our people is no whitt afraid: we fie what we doe be juft and neceflar: as for the hazards, we leave them to the provifion of God, who is our only patron.

I receaved, yefterday, your letters, of the date of September 17th. I am forrie ye take thefie foolifh calunmiyes fo deeply; ye have fpent three large letters, for the moft part in their re- futation. What I heare was not much, and from hands little confiderable; never trouble yourfelf any more with fuch foolerries. I hope ere now long all be evanifhed: a little tyme, with cafe, does ever clear honest men. For your subferyving of the Coven- ant, 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 defyred: fundrie of the Advocats was fpared. If the Burghs, by any confiderable commiffioner, doe require it of yow, ye may then 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 Glafsow, as my cuffome alwayes is, I went and faw your Mother, where I fand that your Father was fitted; and not only by bir, but fundrie of my freinds, I was affuured of his moft christiane 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 crostle this year with our friends; that Force and Chastilion should beene so flamefullie raiied from St. Omer, and your Prince from Gelder, and Grave Morice from Los Santos; that Conde shoule have been so flated at Fontarabie; Vercelli also taken by the Spanish; and D. Bernard should have been looking this half-year on the walls of Briflak; and the Palatine triffling tyme about Meppen: for the Swedds, I fee not what their eirand is now in Germany, bot to shed protestant blood. It is like they may come over to Britaine, if Asfembles end not our quarrells. I marvell ye try no more your divines' judgements of our matters; Voetius, and Rivett, Walaus, and others of note: we would be refreshed by their incouragement. I put no question bot they are informed from many hands how matters goes. If, against the Synods, ye can furnith me with any farder 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 Asfembleie. 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 ryle.

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 brewhouse, is unattentivly near the caldron full of feething 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 sett 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 golhed out upon the babe, and yet, so that his whole face is safe; only on his hindhead, neck, craig, and one huppe he is scalded. My heart had been overmartered with grief, if so unworthy my prettie child had either been deformed or killed; bot now I, and all that loves me, are oblished to rejoynce in God's gracious providence, who can present a most fearfull danger, and make it go over with a little twitch: there is grief in the want of children, and as much in having of them; bot in none of these things is our miferie or happinees.

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 comppear: It is thought he is ane Arminian, and all what any of the faction mainaine. Mr. Browne comppear, and offered to clear himself of all could be laid to his charge: bot his processe 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 horle which our cowpers had bought at Maton fair, were arreisted, many of them by the Mayor of Newcallle; 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 arreiflement might be loofed; when he made some delay, they told him, that they quickly would goe and fetch them, or twyfe as many in their roome; whereupon the Marqueis prefently wrote to Newcallle; who dismiffed our horle; and since, our borderers has suffered the dryvers to goe through. The King's ships also on our coaft a while troubled us; bot after they had entered sundry of our shippes, without any harm, and fhev that their commiffion was no farder than to search what they caryed, that fear paft. It is thought their maine design was to have catched Generall Lefslie by the way, bot he, for fear of them, come over in a small bark. He hes caufd a great number of our commandere in Germany subfferye 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 Houfe men, of whom Canterburie stands in great doubt.

The laft meeting in Edinburgh concluded the articles ye have at (S.) The Sabbath following is the first fasting day for the Assemblie. If God be with us, we hope to have our Church and State put in a better cafe then it hes been thefe threttie years bygone; bot if he defect us, we cannot avoid preffently to fall into great danger to be a field of blood, and, thereafter a poor flayed province, at the devotion, both in religion and lawes, of a faction which to us is extremally suspefct 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 compassionating your evills and dan-
gers, if, at this tyme, ye joyne not in hearty prayers; for other help we have gotten little from any of the Reformed churches, which to us is marvellous. All forraigne divines hitherto has been silent: they care not for our woes; though popery should swell on Brittaine, it seems they regard it not; however, the lefle comfort we have from men, we will lean the more to God. I with my nixt letter may not be forrowfull; for I minde to write no more to yow till our Assemblie be cloased. Our commendations to yow and your wife; the Lord be with you.

I ref, November first,

Your Coolin.

Laiking ane carrier for some dayes, I broke up my letters to shew yow farder, that the second of November the Commisioner went to the Tolbooth, and moved the Lords of Session, who wer present, to subferyve the King's Covenant: yet Durie, Craighall, Scotifibett, and Emmerteill did peremptorilie refufe. Thereafter, in the Counfell, he was very prefling to have a declaration paffe their hands of a resolution, or command, or approbation of the King's will to have Epifcopacie standing with some caveats, and this not to be questionable in the enfuing Assemblie. To this fundrie of the Counfell was inclining; but after the Advocat's (\(^\text{3}\)) stout opposition, it was gotten croffed for that tyme: for this contradiction the Advocat was perfumed, by the Commisioner, with many unkind words. The noblemen gave in to the Counsellers, by way of supplication, some reasons to hinder their affenting to any such declarations. We are glad of the motion; for the croffing 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 fast praying. We are resolvled to keep the twenty-one [day of November] in Glafgow, and to goe on by God's grace, as we shall be afwerable to God, oppofe who will. It is like there fall be opposition: Roffe is at Court, and expected daylie by the Commisioner, with the King's laft commandments: We expect no grace from his hands; for it was his hолie fingers who carried 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 (\(^\text{1}\)) for the peace

(\(^\text{3}\)) Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, Lord Advocate for Scotland.

(\(^\text{1}\)) These words, here used ironically, in the printed edition are altered to "an unmeek, uncalm, and unhappy instrument for, &c."
of this poore Church. The rest of his brethren, the Bishops, are come to Edinburgh. Preparations in England for warre goes on; magazines of victuall, 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 current, to the 8th of Januar; the laft was broken up, and Mr. Robertfon's also, wherein myne was inclofed, bot it was fo written, that, apparently of purpofe, ye have putt it in these hands which ye did fufpect of violent curiositie. 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 needle's 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 flout against your imperious feffion. I hope hereafter ye will be resolute, and they alfo, to let Zuill preachings alone, according to the Act of our Aflèmblie. 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 fttude. 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 eafily convinced of foull 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 state 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 has 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 leaft figne 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 said or written,
they are bot waiting when the sword of our sweit Prince shall
make them way to force us receive all their most extravagant
dictats, or else suffer. I should be glad to see what ye have
written De Jure Patronatus. Our old discipline is for you:
To move this question yet, is not seafonable: our greatest diffi-
cultie will be with the King; for the moft of all our patronages
are in his hand. That Wounded Beast,\(^{(2)}\) is a beastlie peice;
we all miflyke it. We doe not know the author of it; I wish
it were Mr. Can\(^{(3)}\) of Amfterdam; he should then be bot a
poore, rafhe, and foolifhe spirit, whereof I would be glad; for I
am affrayed for that man and his complices. They fend over,
a little before our Assemble, a pamphlet, "The Guyde to Sion,"
not yet much eyed, yea, difavowed 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 wiff might hold in their fnell brafen shott from
these places of our towres that are moft weake. I pray yow
help me with some pieces of Brounifme; we will have need
of fuch weapons presently, both offensive and defensive. We are
put in hopes to gaine thefe men, if we be dexterous; bot I am
more feared they gaine some of us; for, so farr as yett I fee,
according to the grounds of too many among us, the Brounif's
arguments are unanfwerable: it is in vain to abhorre the con-
clusion, where the antecedent is loved; fuch hatred is either
not fincere, or cannot be constant.

Long ere now I had given to yow ane large account of our
Assemble's proceedings, had I not this five weekes 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
yeare that the Bishops had their downefall 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 fusccep: 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 commentare. In the mean [tyme,] receive some of my Assembie labours, my speech of Arminianisme, 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 has put in print, and long agoe dispersed afoart all England, if not farder, all that could be invented to make us and our Assembie detestable.

My Lord Commissioner his Grace seemed to us one of the ablest and best-spoken statesmen the King hes; a great lover both of the King and his countrey: as he left nothing unaffrayed among us to gett the King his will, fo 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 wisdome, could have commanded him, yet we take all in good part, remembering the place that was putt on him: so much the more also, that the Supplication of the Assembie, 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 affairs, 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 Counfell of Warre fitts daily; that againf the Pasche or before, his Majestie, at York, is to visite his army of 6000 horse, 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 befyde the doer's intention, to the hinderance somewhat of the King's designes. The subscryveing of the King's Covenant by the Counfell was so cunningly turned, by flight of hand, that it became the foveraigne ingyne to overturne Epif-
copacic, for whose establishment it was onlie requyred by the King. The turning of this canon on the King, lay heavilie upon the back of the Marqueis wisdome: to be unfortunate is a crime great enough in a monarch's court; bot fick was either the strengt of the Marqueis declaration, (which with the next ye shall have in print, and the anfwer of it, also), or rather the benignity of our juf Prince, that for all his fear, yet he was moft graciously receaved; and for a token of favour, hes gotten to his brother (6) already the Privie Purfe, and a place of the Bed-chamber; whence the Earle of Ancreum is removed; whether for the zele 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 perfon, upon Louthian and Edinburg, 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 West some little armie. We are conscioius to ourfelfe of no cryme againft the lawes of our Church or State. We hope God shall look on the equitie of our caufe; the little oppofition we dow make is making readie. I was latelie in the minde, that, in no imaginable cafe, any prince might have beene oppofed; I inclyne now to think otherways. In all our queftions I confefle no change bot in this only; whereto I was brought, not by Paraeus, or Buchanan, or Junius Brutus, for their reaons and conclufions I yet fcareer at; bot mainly by Bilfone de Subje{tione, where he defends the pra{tife of all Europe, Spaine, France, Germany, England, Flanders, Scotland, Denmark, Swan [Sweden] who at diverfe tymes, for fundry caufes, hes oppofed their princes. I am somewhat confirmed by the laft duplie of Aberdeen, which, though wysely for a tyme was fuppreffed by our Commissioner, yet, being fighted and approved by my Lord of Canterburie, is now come abroad among us: They will have us to believe, that our whole eftate, were they to be all killed in a day, or to be led to Turciffe, to be fpoiled of all liberty, goods, life, religion, all, yet the ymay make no kind of refiftance; the conclusion is fo horrible, and their proofs fo weak, for all their diligence and learning, that I lyke it much worfe then I did. I fee the reformers of our Scottifh Church all to the contrare; Luther, Melanchton, Bucer, Martyr, Beza, Abbotts, Whittakers, also gives leave to subiects, in

(6) Lord William Hamilton, vide supra, p. 98.
come cafes, to defend themselves, where the Prince is abolut: from subjection to any man, but not abolute from tye to the lawes of Church and State, whereto he is sworne, which is the cafe of all Christien Kings now, and ever also since the fall of the Roman Empire: A pitie that in thir most dangerous times Canterburie shoulde 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 afcryve to them, let be to be abfolved from the tye of laws, that nomothetick power, yea no that power to impofe taxations, fo farre as yet we have heard, was never assumed by any of our Princes to this hour; bot all our civill lawes hes ever been made, and the lefft taxation ever impofed by the King and his States in parliament or convention. This new faction, as it would destroy our religion, fo it lays down grounds for the overthow of the kingdome, and that under the fair pretext of advancing both. I am yet in study of this question; I pray yow help me what they ye can upon it in your nixt letter. Rivett is much caft up against us; bot so far as I find in his “Jefuita Vapulans,” or in that pfaume, 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 practife. 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 poterity for ever, is our present 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 shoulde divide, and one part yeild, or joyne with the King’s army, belyde 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 Constantineople, let be of Rome, Vien, or Madrid, in his service, the reft would be fo weakened and discouraged, that no help for many years 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, but also a fearfull danger, when England is fo full of malecontents, to whom there appears no possibility of giving satisfaction, 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 strength, that
we cannot be in readiness, in a short warning, to flee to our sweet Prince's back, storms is likely to arise, in that flat ayre of England, which long has been glooming, that all the skill of the Archbishops braine will have ado to calm, before a thunderbolt break out on his own pate. But for state-matters, we will meddle no further, then to pray for our dear father King Charles, and our poor mother the Church and Kingdom of Scotland: If they discord, it will cost us their children many tears and much blood: God, who is a father to both, send them good greance, and confound these who is the true cause of their variance, that shame being poured upon them, they may repent, and convert their wit 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 see it. Ye promisde me some of the Mercuries Francoes, and Gallo-Belgicus; let me have them. All that passes here ye shall have from me foone, or fyne: let me know what I am in your debt, for now I am in wealth, but at once I may be spoyled of all, and I shall be loath needlefle to be in any man's debt before the tyme. Remembering my heartie service to yourself and your wife, I rest Your old freind,

Feb. 12, 1639. [Robert Baillie.]

To Mr. William Spang.

History of the General Assembly at Glasgow in 1638.

Coosin,

As ye earnestlie defyred, and I did also promisde, receive now the proceedings of our Assembly, as my memorie, necessarie now short, after ane half year's tyme, with the help of some little notes, can furnith. I will poyn at the things which I conceive to be most materiall, passing sundrie matters which the Diaries gathered in the tyme, by the hands of many wrytters, does inlist upon.

Notwithstanding of the indictment, our hopes were bot slender ever to see the downfitting of our passionatelif defyred Assembly with the Commissioner's consent; for daily he found himself more and more disappointed in his expectation to obtain these things

(6) In the Original MS. Baillie entitles the following communication, "Story of the Assembly of Glasgow, to Spange."
which, it seems, he put the King in hope might be gotten. Episcopacie to be put in place of safety, above the reach of the Assembly’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 subscribed the King’s Covenant, as it was expos’d at the first in the 1581 year: his declaration, that Episcopacie was then in our Church, and will, that the Assembly should be discharged to meddle in the tryal of this matter, could not be gotten concluded in ane Counsell act: fundrie Lords of Session being required to subscribe the Covenant in that his sense, refused; with a protestation, that the expostion of these parts, which might make for or against Episcopacie, should be referred to the determination of the ensuing Assembly. Noblemen and Ministers chosen commissi’ners, did not diﬁemble their minds in their discourse of the unlawfullness, at least the inexpedience, of this office in our Church, and so their designe by any means to have it presently putt doun. This put his Grace in great perplexitie; for he did conceive, as some said, by the words and wrytes of fundrie of our nobles of chief respec’t, that the Assembly might have been gotten perswaded to estab’lish, at least to permit, or paffe by untouched, that office: when the contrare appeared, he was at a nonplus; for his instructions had made the place of Bishops a Noli me tangere; bot their perfones was permitted to the doome of the severest mouth among us, where their miscarri’age had required cen’sure. His next disappointment was in the matter of the Covenant: he hoped to have gotten the King’s Covenant univer’ally subscribed, and ratified hereafter in the Assembly; so that the other, which had been subscribed by us before, might be quietly, without any infamous condemning of it, suppre’d and buried: bot far above and against all his thoughts, that Covenant univer’ally was refused; and, among these few who put their hands to it, divers avowed their minde to be in all things the fame with these who had sworn the ﬁrst. The mis’ling of this intention increased also much his Grace’s malecontentment. In two other designes also, he found himself close deceived: he thought, an act for the freedome of the practice of Perth articles, might have contented us; and without condemning the matters themselves, before the Parliament by sup’lication had been brought to the cussing of the standing law: bot ane univerfall inclination appeared in all to have the things themselves tryed without delay; and acts presently formed anent them, as their nature was found to require. Sicelyke his in-
ftructions carriyed him to the removall of the High Commiffion, books of Canons, Ordination, [and] Service, bot no to reafon or condemn any thing contained in any of them, which might refleæt against any public order, or any thing practifed 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 thefe Books; their matter now being the avowed doctrine of many in our Church; and since we did finde the articles of Arminius, with many poyns of the groffeæt poperie, in the books, in the preachings, and in the diffcources of our bif hops and minifters, we were resolved to have thefe doctrines cenfured as they did deferve, without any fparing for refpeæt to any perfon who did maintain them.

The Commiffioner, finding himself mistaken in all thir, and many moe of his deignes, was feared to labour the discharging of the Affemble before it began, or at leaæt to marr it fo, if it fatt doun, that it should doe no good. We referred to this intention his diligence to obtain fubferyvers to profefiations againft the Affemble; 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 lawfulness of their deed: some twenty hands at moft were at the Bif hops declinator, all opposit to our Covenant; some few others, fpecially eight of the Prefbytrie of Glaægow, (who, to the Commiffioner's great difcontent, refused to adhere,) made forms of profefiations by themselves; bot to no purpoæe. From this fame intention, we alleaged, did flow the putting to the horne, some days before our fitting, all thefe Commiffioners of the nobles, gentry, minifters, who, for any civill caufe or pretence could be gotten denounced, that fo the Synod should be deprived of many members: This practife was fo new, and fo frong reaæons given in, why this kinde of horror should hinder none from voyceing in a fynod, as ye may fie at (A.), that no ufe was made or durft be made of any fuch exception; only the Thefaurer his good will, by the invention, was collected to be bot small towards our caufe. A proclamation alfo was made, that none should come to the place of the Affemble but fuch as were members, and that in a peaceable manner: We profef ted all might come who had entres of partie, witnes, voters, affeffors, complainers, or what ever way; and that every man might come with fuch a retinue and equipment as the Lords of Counfell should give example.
Thir, and many moe occurrences, put us in a continuall fear of the Assemblie’s discharge: Yet the King’s word was ingaged so deeply; proclamations, public fastings, at the King’s command, had already past; and mainly the King’s thought, that the inserting 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 diftingadge his promise of ane Assemblie, though nothing more should be acted: thir and fuch consideratons made the Assemblie fitt down, contrarie to all our fearas, and a fair face to be made for a while by the Commissioner, as if he intendeid nothing else, and did confidently expect his fittint still, 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 defyrred, came to Glaigow; our noblemen, specially Eglington, backed with great numbers of friends and vaffalls. We were informed, that the Commissioner and Counfellors were to take up the Toun with great numbers of their followers; fo the nearest noblemen and gentlemen were defyrred 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 excefive pryces; bot the diligence of the Magiftrates, and the vacancie of manie rooms, did quicklie moderate that exceffe. 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 easily at once, both Counfell, Seflion, Parliament, and Generall Assemblie, when ever it shall be required.

On Saturday the moft of our Eaftland noblemen, barones, and minifters, came in. In the afternoon my Lord Commissioner’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 fpeech was among them; we protefting that we would crave nothing but what clear fcripture, reafon, and law would evince: his Grace affureing, nothing reafonable should be denied. On Sunday afternoon, some of the wyfeft of the minifterie confulted upon the ordering of affairs. For my felf, I refolved 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 refolved to read and write, and fudie fo hardlie as I could all incident questions.

On Monday the Minifterie met in three diverfe places; for no
one private place could contain us. Out of every meeting three
was chozen, 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 Summer-
vaill, aue old half blind man, for againft his heart, to preach on
Tuesday, to-morrow: he did prettie well; at length he inftifted on
the extirpation of all Bifhops, little to the contentment of some,
but greatlie to the minde of the moft. Our privie confultation
was about the Clerk and the Moderator. We were somewhat in
fuspenfe about Mr. A. Henderfone; he was incomparablie the
ableft man of us all, for all things: we doubted if the Moderator
might be a disputer; we expected then much dispute with the
Bifhops and Aberdeen’s Docters: 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 prefent Moderation, (for in Messrs. Ramfay, Dick,
Adamfon, Rollock, Cant, Livingftoun, Boner, Cunningham,
there was some things evidentlie wanting,) we revolved, Mr.
Henderfone of necceftitie behooved to be taken. Mr. Johnefton
to us all, was a nonfuch for a Clerk.

In the afternoon, Rothes, with some commiffioners, went to
the Commiffioner’s Grace, showing the cuftome of our Church
was to begin her Assemblies with folemn fastaing; also that in
the abfence of the former moderator, the eldeft minifter of
the bounds, or moderator of the place, used to preach, and
moderat the action till another be chozen; that old Mr. John
Bell, for the reverence of his perfon, let be other confiderations,
were meet to begin fo great an affair. To the fast his Grace did
prefently agree: to the other motion he flew, 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
fhould think upon it: So after an hour he fent D. Balquanquhall to
Mr. John, defyreing him to preach on the Wedneftday, and mo-
derat till another were chozen.

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: howfo-
ever, Mr. John Maxwell refused to lend his pulpitt to any fo
long as the Commiffioner flayed; 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 fashon, nothing to the matter in hand, so ambiguoullie, that himself knew bett to what fyde he inclined. I moved in our meeting, that in our advyfements at left, we might follow the course of Dort, the commissioners from one prebeytric should have their ordinary meetings to advyfe together of every matter of importance; for we were from every prebeytric fyve, three ministers, one from the flyre, 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 association could not be gotten keepe. We intended to have had sermon 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 presentlie after sermon in the morning, we, the members of the Synod, thought meet to begin our busines.

1. On Wednesfday, the 21st of November, with much adoe could we throng into our places, one evil which troubled us much the first fourteen dayes of our fitting. The Magiftrates, with their toun guard, the noblemen, with the affifrance 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 be common to all nations, at all publique confluences, or it be proper to the rudenes of our nation alone, or whether in thir late tymes, the love and admiration of this new reformation, have at all publique meetings steeard up a greater then ordinarie zeal in the multitude to be present for hearing and seeing, or what is the speciall caufe of this irremediable evil, I doe not know; only I know my speciall offence for it, and wishes it remeedit 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 Canterburie, yea, from the Pope, from the Turks, or Pagans, modeftie and manners; at leaft their deep reverence in the house they call God's ceases not till it have led them to the adoration of the timber and stones of the place. We are here fo farr the other way, that our rascals, without shame, in great numbers, maks fuch dinn and clamour in the house 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 fett doun; the Commissiioner's Grace in his chair of state; at his feet, before and on both fydes, the chief of the Counsell, the Thesau rer, Privie-Seall, Argyle, Marre, Morray; Angus, Lauderdale, Wigton, Glencairne, Perth, Tillibardine, Galloway, Haddingtoune, Kinghorne, Register, Thesau rer-Deput, Justice-Generall, Amont, Justice-Clerk, Southelk, Linlithgow, Dalzell, Drumfries, Queenf berrie, Belheaven, and moe; at a long table in the floor, our noblemen and barons, elders of parishes, commissioners from prebytries, Rothes, Montrofe, Eglintoun, Caffills, Lothian, Weemes, Lowdon, Sinclair, Balmerinoch, Burghley, Lindefay, Zefter, Hume, Johnston, Keir, Auldbar, Sir William Dougla s of Cavers, Durie younger, Lammington, Sir John McKenzie, George Gordon, Philor th, Towie, Newtown. Few barons in Scotland of note, bot were either voters or affieffors; from every burgh, the chief burgesf; from Edinburgh, James Coch rane and Thomas Paterfon; from all the sixty-three prebytries three commissioners, except a verie few; from all the four Universit i es also; sitting on good commodious roomes, ryng up fyve or six degrees, going round about the low long table. A little table was fett in the midst, fore anent the Commissi oner, for the Moderator and Clerk. At the end a high roome prepared chieflie for young noblemen, Montgomery, Fleeming, Boyd, Erkine, Linton, Crichton, Livingftone, Rofe, 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 sermon, 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 doun to the little table, began the Synod with heartie prayer; which I did second with affectionate tears, and manie moe, I truft, with me. My Lord did give in his commi on to Mr. Thomas Sandilands, as deputt by his father Mr. J. Sandilands, commiflar of Aberdeen, clerk to the last Generall Assembly: his Grace did harrang none at all; as we did expect he shoul d: we found him oft thereafter as able to have spoken well what he pleased as any in the houfe. I take the man to be of a sharpe, ready, solid, clear witt, of a brave and matterlyke expreffion; loud, dif tinct, flow, full, yet concise, modeft, courtlie, yet simple and natural
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language: if the King have manie such men, he is a well serv'd Prince. My thoughts of the man, before that tyme, were hard and base; but a day or two's audience did worke my minde to a great change towards him, which yet remaines, and ever will, till his deeds be notoriouslie evill. His commiission was in Latine, after a common, legale, and demibarbarous style; ample enough for settling all our misorders, had not a clause concerning In- structions made it too reftict and fervill. [B.] The copy I have not yet gotten. After this, our commiisions was given in to the Moderator and Clerk for the tyme, almost every one in the same tenor and words, containing a power from the Presbytrie to the three Minifters, and one Elder, to reafon, vote, and conclude, in their name, in all things to be proponed, according to the word of God and the Confefion of Faith of the Church of Scotland, as we shall be anfwerable to God and the Church. A double of my commiision, fee at (C). The Presbytries, Burghs, and Univerfities, were called after the order of fome roll of the old Affembles, not of the later. This was the labor of the firft day.

2. On Thursday, the next dyett, we had no feant of protesta- 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 Commiioner a lite, wherupon voices might paffe for the election of a new Moderator. Here did arife the teuchefl dispuft we had in all the Affembie. His Grace, the Thesaurer, 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,) reafoning and preffing with great eagernefs, that in the firft place, before any Synodical action, the Commissions might be difcussed, left any fhould voice as commiioners, whose commiion was null, at leeft not tryed to be valid; this was a ready way to turne the Affembie upside down, to put us in a labyrinth inextricable; for, before the conftitution of the Synod, the Commiioner fhould have fo drawn in the deepest queftions, fuch as the power of Elders, the state of Minifters cenfured by Bihops, and many moe, which himfelf alone behooved to determine, no Affembie being conftitute for the difcuftion of any queftion. Againft this motion therefore, as rooting up all poffibilitie ever to settle any Affembie, bot at the Commiioner's fimple discretion, Rothes, Lowdon, (Balmerinoth through all the Affembie resolv'd to be weell near mute,) Dickfon, Livingftone, Henderfone, reafoned,
that custome, equitie, necessitie did enforce the choying of a Moderator and Clerk before the commisions be discuszed, or any thing else done. After much subtile, accurat, and passionat pleading, for both fydes had prepared themselves, it seems, for this plea, the Commissioner crave leave to retire with the Counsell for aduysement: after a long stay in the chapter-house, returning, he was content to permitt voycing for the Moderator; with protestation, That this voycing shoul not import his approba-
tion of the commisions of any voycer against whom he was to propone any just exception in due tyme, or his acknowledgement of any voycer for a lawfull member of this Assemblie: His Grace required instruments, also, of ane other protestation, That the nomination of a Moderator shoul no wayes be prejudiciall to the Lords of the Clergie, their office, dignitie, or any priviledge, which law or custome had given to them. Against both thir, Rothes took instrumens, in name of the Commissioners from presbyteries and burghs, protestings, That his Grace's protesta-
tions shoul in nothing prejudice the lawfulness of any commis-
fion against which no just and true nullitie shoul be objected in the tyme of tryall of the commisions: also, that his Grace's second protestation shoul not hinder the discussing the nature of the office, and the alleadged priviledges of the pretended Bishops in this present Assemblie. My Lord Montgomerie, in name of the perfeuers of the complaint against the Bishops, did protest, That his Grace's protestations shoul not be prejudicial to the discussing, in this present Assemblie, of their complaints against the persons, titles, dignities, and priviledges of the pretended Bishops. Mr. John Bell urged the voyceing for the Moderator; but his Grace shew, that there was presented to him a paper, in name of the Bishops, which he required then to be read. Here also was some sharp reasoning; diverfe alleadged, that no bill, supplication, protestation, or whatever, could be read to the Assemblie, before it were an Assemblie; but immediately after the Assemblie's constitution, it should be in his Grace's option to cause read that paper of the Bishops, or any other, to which the Assemblie's anfwer shoul be returned. After reasonings, and requesting, his Grace did use his authoritie to require the reading 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 Commissioner, and the moft of us all. Silence being gotten, his Grace did protest, That the refuall of hearing that paper was unjust. Rothes also required acts of his pro-
testation, in name of the commissioners, That the refuflall was juft
and neceliar. All being wearied with the multiplication of pro-
estations, bot the clerk, who with every one receave a piece
of gold, his Grace, whether in earneft or scorn, did yet proteft
of our injurie in calling the Lord Bifhops pretended, whom yet
the Acts of Parliament did authorize. Rothes, in our name, did
proteft, That they behooved to be taken for pretended, till this
Assemblie had tryed the challenges which was given in againft
all their alleadged prerogatives. How needless foever manie of
his Grace's protestations seemed to be, yet I was glad for his way
of proceeding; it gave me some hopes of his continuance among
us. I thought that this way of protestling had been resolvled
wyfelie in Counfell, whereby the Commissioner might fitt till
till the end, and yet, by his preffence, import no farder approba-
tion to any of our conclusions, than he fand expedient. By
appearance this course had been much better than that abrupt
departure, which his pofterior intructions, to all our griefs, and
the great marring of the King's deligne, 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, Thesaurer, 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 publickly read, that this his Majeftie's defyre fhould be con-
defended unto before any farder proceeding. It was replyed,
with all respect to the worthie Nobles named, that my Lord
Marqueis in the produced commiffion, was appointed sole Com-
miffioner; that affeffors were only for counfell, and not for multi-
plication 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 manie, as in fome unallowable afsem-
blies it had been, but to fo manie as by pluralitie might overwaie
all. Againft this refuflall, his Grace did proteft, with fome grief;
and we alfo, defyring that our reafons might be infert with our
protestation. At laft, we were permitted to choyce the Moder-
tor: Mr. John Kerr, Mr. John Row, Mr. J. Boner, Mr. William
Livingstone, [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 withdrawing
of votes, were helden 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 permission, then to say any thing that might import his direct assent; for it seems he resolved to keep himself in all his words and deeds so free, that he might, when he would, disavow all that was done, or to be done, in that Assemblie. Mr. Henderson being chosen with so full an accord, made a prettie harrassing, whether off-hand or præmeditated, I know not. There was a conclusion taken that night, after some reasonling to the contrare, to have bot one Seffion in the day, to fitt from ten or eleven to four or fuye [afternoon]: so wee were all relieved of the expenes of a dinner; ane earlie breakfast putt us all off to supper, 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 exercised, without fagging, to the laft day of our meeting.

3. In our third Seffion, on Fryday November 23d, the Moderator preffented a lite to be voyced for choying of the Clerk. Here a longer disputt then needed fell in, betuixt the Commiffioner and the Moderator, whom Rothes, bot especially Lowdon, did second. The Commiffioner, whether of true intent to have a base Clerk, of whose submiffnefs to injuncions they might be hopefull, or to fhow his pitie and equitie to fee every one keepe in their right, where he had place, though he proffeffed small obligation to the young man, who for no intretie would be pleased to fhow him any blenk of the Assemblie-books; yet pressf much that this young man Mr. Thomas Sandilands might serve here, as his father Mr. James Sandilands commiffar of Aberdeen his deput, since his father's deceafe could not fpoill him of ane advantageous office, whereto he was provyded ad vitam. Yet it was carried, that since his father was not provided to that office bot by Mr. Thomas Nicholfon's dimiffion, and ane corrupt Assemblie's content, without any mention of deputation; as also since he was fo infirme as he was unable to attend the service, and unwilling to refide at Edinburgh, where the Registers of the Church behooved to lie: for thir, and many other reafons, the Clerk's place was found to vaike. Consideration was promised to be had of Mr. Thomas Sandiland's interefl, which he did submit to the Assemblie's difcretion. In the late, Mr. Thomas was firt, eft John Nicoll, and Alexander Blair, and Mr. Archibald Johneftoun. The Commiffioner would not voyce to any of them, because he saw no
no lawfull dimiision 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 affefors' voyce might be craveid in the Clerk's election: The Moderator thought it unfit to troublle their Lordfhips to voyce about a Clerk, fince they did not voyce to the chooseing of the Moderator, a fuperior officer. Many words here were fpent, till at laft reafons in wryte were produced, why my Lord Commissioneer and his affefors fhould have bot one voyce. I thought, in the tyme, thefe Reafons [D.] were of ane high straine, and fome of them did ftryke deeper on authoritie than I could have wished. Tra- quaif craved ane double of them, and promifed ane anfwew; bot the fubfleuent affaires, or fomewhate elfe, hindered that anfwew yet to appear. This high, yea highest queffion, (for in all the Affemblie we had nothing elfe that concerned authoritie,) was closed by the renewing of yefternight's protestations, on both fydes.

The lite put to voyceing, Mr. Archibald Johnefloun by all lave one, was elected: being deeply fworne, he was admitted to all the rights, profites, priviledges, which any in former tyme by that place had injured. To him Mr. Thomas Sandilands, in face of the Affemblie, did delyver two Regifters, which contained the Acts of the Kirk since the year 1590, teftifying that his Father had never any more in his cuftodie. The Moderator required all earneftlie to procure the production of any the Church-Regifters could be had; for the loffe of fuch a trefure as the Church's evidents was pitifull. His Grace protefted his willingnefs to doe his endeaver 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 warraid to Mr. Thomas Nicolfone late clerk, to deliver to the Bishop of St. Andrewes the Regifters of the Church. After much regrateing the irreparable loffe 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 ftubf cryved, and margined with the known hands of ane Gray and Ritchie, clerkes to the Generall Affemblie, 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 Bishop Adamfone had riven out: thir one Winrham, deput to Mr. Thomas Nicolfone, had left to ane Alexander Blair,
his successor in office, of whom Mr. Archibald [Johnstone] had
gotten them: the fift was ane extract by way of compend from
the [15]60 to the [15]90, whereby in a good part Bihop Adam-
foné’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
affeffors to undertake such employment, since they were refufed
voyce in the Asfèmbie; but he was content that a committee of
the members of the Synod should be named, for to try if thefè
books were authentick and full regifters. So Mr. A. Ramfay,
Mr. John Adamfone, James Boner, John Row, William Living-
ftone, Robert Murray, with young Durie, the Clerk of Dundie,
and Mr. Alexander Peirfon advocate, were appointed, to give
their report and reafones fo foon as they could.

The Moderator then did require, that for the Asfèmbie’s full
confitution, the Commiffions might be put to tryall. Bot the
Commissioner caufed Dr. Hamilton firft to be called, and prefent
his paper to be read. His Grace did urge much, that fince the
former objections were removed, of the want of a Moderator
and a Clerk, the paper now might be read. It was replyed,
over and over, that it could not be, till by the defcufion of the
commiffions the Asfèmbie were confitute. Traquair prefed,
That the paper poffible had exceptions againft the lawfullnefs
of the election of the commiffioners, which were impertinent to
alleadge, if once the commiffions were approven. The Com-
miffioner affurred, he knew not what was within these papers;
but prefuppofoing they were formed for the opening of the eyes
of thefe who were to voyce, anent the members of the Asfèm-
bie, it was the onlie tyme to read them before the voycing.
Rothes replyed, That exception againft particular commiffioners
might not be proponed unftill the tryall of their commiffions;
and exceptions againft the whole Asfèmbie could not be heard
till it were ane Asfèmbie. The Moderator eiked, That if in
that paper there were any light to open their eyes, they fhould
fhortlie profefle their repentance of their error in not reading it
when it was required. His Grace profefled, That this no read-
ing before the tryall of the commiffions, fhould import no pre-
judice to the Lords of the clerge, and their adherents; and of
this proteftation, he required ane act from the new clerk’s hand.
The Clerk faid, he could wryte no act without the Asfèmbie’s
warrant, and it could give no warrant till once it were in being.
The Commissioner then required inftuments in my Lord Regif-
ter’s hands, of his protestation, since the clerk refused. The Clerk shew his willingness, at the Moderator’s directions, to wryte his Grace’s protestation; but might give no extracts till the Assemblie were constitute. 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 Commissioner 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 Johnstone, and think him the better advocat then clerk; but the youth’s tryed sufficiency in both the arts proves my mistaking, or at least that this inlaid in the first enrie to his office was bot occasionall, and meerlie accidentall. In the progress of this difput his Grace shew the needesitie that was laid on him, in this passage, to be punctuallie circumjunct; for howbeit he was a great Commissioner, yet he was but a poor subjeet and servant, lyable to account for all his service. Much reafoning was that the Bishops exceptions against the judges should be heard before they were acknowledged and constitute for judges: when Traquair and Lowdon had harped upon this trash a while, Argyle lends in his word, That a partie does give in their exceptions against all affife before it be sworne, so why might not the Bishops give in their exceptions against the Assemblie, which now was like an affife called and conveened, but not yet sworne. The Moderator cuttitlie, (as the man naturallie hath a litle choler, not yet quite extinguished,) anfwered, That the Commissioner his Grace was of great sufficiency himself; that he only should speak there; that they could not anfwer to all the exceptions that a number of wittie noblemen could propone; that these who were not commissioners would doe well 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 jeft, that my Lord Argyle’s inftance was good, if the Bishops had once compeired as pannelled men before ane affife. This wearisome 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 reason of this delay was not so much his breakfast, which was indeed daylie magnificick and very fumptuous, for fo did the King allow that his Commissioner, in all his voyages, shoule 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 dispatcht 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 intretie 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 advertis'd, 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 ufe of what I had prepared 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 shoulde all be repeited to his Grace at his entrie. The Commissioner replyed, that he was sent there by his Majestie to attend this busines alone; so it behooved him to be ane eye and ear witness of all [that] past, that his account might be the more faithfull. The Commissions fell next to be examined; they were given in to the number of ane hundred and twelve, from presbytries, burghs, universitiees. The Moderator required, for expedition, that all in the order of the catalogue shoulde be read; that the commission against which any exception should be taken, might be laid aside for posterior tryall; that these against which nought was by any objected, shoulde be taken by that silence to be approven. The Commissioner protestted, That his silence should not be taken for ane approbation of any man's commission, for he had objections against many commissions which as yet he was not fullie instructed to propone, but in due tyme shoulde doe it. Amongst all the commissions none was controverted but threttein. Peebles was protestted against by Mr. Robert Alliot, as if it had been procured by my Lord Thesauuer his indirect dealing: Here arose a plea, which continued two or three days thereafter. The Thesauuer justified his proceedings in many words, inveighed sharplye against the person of that minifter, required that his Grace would see justice done upon him for lybelling in such a place against a prime officer of state. The Commissioner promis'd him reason. The Moderator admonished the Thesauuer to speake of the man in no other termes then were due to a minifter of Jesus Christ. Rothes and others took the Assemblie for judge of whatever wrong was done
by that protestation. So myld and humble was my Lord Thefaurer, that he offered to submitt 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 appointed for that end, the commission was approven; the fault of the protest-ing minister was thought to deserve no sharper censure then by a few words. Bot the moft part of that day was spent in a hotter controverfic about the commission of Brechin. The Presbytrie had chosen firft 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 commission being sent to be advyfed by the Table of Edinburgh, was returned, with the reaons of their approbation written on the back, and subfcryved with the hands of Montrofe, and divers others of that table. The clerk, I think unadvisedlie, read in publick not only the commif-sion, but also the Table's subfcryved approbation on the back. His Grace prefentlie caught the advantage, required a double under the clerk's hand of that commission as it was read, back and fore, that he might be thereby the better instructed for objecting against it and other commissions. This, after long dif-putt, was refuved to him; because the back of the commission was both written and read accidentlie, and fo extracts 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 profesed 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 refuved to him. The tryall of thir two commissions was given to a privie committee; who, after some days debate, fand both to be rejected. Against the commission of Rothfay, we of Irvine did object, That the Ille of Bute was a part of our prefbytrie. In the tryall it was found meet to reject the commission; and thereafter that Rothfay, hav-ing bot three kirks, should be annexed to the prefbytrie of Dun-oune, to be erected of new in Cowell; for in prior Assemblies the whole dioceffe of Argyle was not divided in severall prefbyteries, nor the Illes, nor Orknay; bot we took courfe in this Assemblie for that confusion. The commission both of the Prefbytrie and Colledge of Glafgow were laid aside; of the Colledge, becaufe there was put in foure names, Mr. John Maxwell among the ref, a non-covenanter. In this we misfled the Principall's wifdome, or rather fand his too great witt: no Univerfitie had ever offered, fo farr as we know, to fend moe commisioners
nor one; they thought, that their Univerfitie might have the privilege of ane presbytrie, to send four, unlees a law could be produced that did restric to one. In the tryall, many checks fell on the Principall, especiallie from Mr. John Adamfone, who did somewhat petulantlie reproach him, when he touched the novelty of the stile of the Univerfitie of Edinburgh: Bot the chief reafon why many mouths were readie to carp [at] all Dr. Strang said, and to daule him at every occasion, was, beside the many passages of his former carriage since the beginning of this matter, a late very much misliked dealing: At their presbytrie's election of their commissioners, he had much objected, yet Mr. John Maxwell alone had used a formall protestation against the voyceing of ruleing Elders in that election; but some fourtene dayes or twentie before the Asflemblie, the Principall and Mr. John Maxwell did draw up a protestation (E.), to thewhich they got the hands of other six of their presbytrie, Mr. R. Wilkie, and Mr. John Bell younger, Mr. John and Mr. G[avin] Forfyth, Mr. A. Forbes, and Mr. James Hutchefon, ftryking against the election of Elders, and, by consequence the constitution of our Asflemblie; all the members whereof were choften after the same manner. This wryte was put in the Principall's hand for cuftodie, not to be given in without the consent of all; yet, as it seemes, by Mr. W. Wilkie's procurement, it was delivered without the knowledge of the ref to the Marqueis, who made use of their example to move others to doe the lyke. It was caried so clofeli, that we did never fufeect any fuch thing till the Fryday, the third day of our Asflemblie: Upon the firft ayre of it we refled not till we found it out: we took it all for a dangerous and undermynding plott, at leaff for a designe, fo far as lay in them, to have overthrown our Asflemblie and divided us all: the invention we ascryved to the Principall and Mr. William Wilkie. On the Monday we convened the Principall and others in my Lord Lowdon's chamber: Mr. D. Dickfon, [the] Moderator, Mr. Rutherfurd, and I, reafoned and interted the Principall to paffe from that wryte; we were at laft plain with him, that if he would fland to it, it behooved 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 displeased then he had been pleased with the gift. Our reafons and boasls had perfuaded all the ref to almost of his partie to repent their rashnes; yea, the moft 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 Assemblie; and in such a way that did not satifie; 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 Glasgou: yet in the tryall that com-
miffion was approven: For the proteffion 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, since it was not heartlie and
fullie recalled. The Universitie's commiffion was annulled; but
they were defyred to convene and renew their commiffion to
fome one: This they did not; for since they had fo involved
themselves that they could not, nor would not, nor durft not
fyde with either of the parties, they resolved to be afbent. This
courfe moved manie, speciallie 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 declynner of the Assemblie;
but by the procurement of the Moderator, Mr. D. Dickfon, and
fome other of us, we got their indignation eluded; onlie there
was appointed a committee from the Assemblie, the conveneener
whereof was my Lord Argyle, to visit the Colledge, wherein we
intended not to have deposed any of their members, as they
feared we would, and had occafion fo to doe, but onlie to ef-
ablifie, with their own confent, 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 seems to applaud; but the multitude of
great affairs has hindered the meeting of that visitation to
this day, and now it is well near forgotten.

5. On Monday, the 26th of November, was our fifth Seffion.
The reft of the Commiffions were read, and thofe few, which had
been objected againft, were put to tryall. His Grace protefted
to have libertie to obje6t in his own tyme. Rothes preffed the
predent tyme to be moft fitt for obje6ting; yet we gave to his
Grace his choyce of what tyme he would. There was three or
four commiffions of the North tinkled upon. The Universitie
of Aberdeen fend their humanift, one Lundie, to have their
foundation reftified; this man had voyce among us, and a com-
mittee was appointed for the toun of Aberdeen to visit their
Colledge. The Prefbytrie of Aberdeen fend two commiffions,
one with their moderator, Mr. David Lindefay parfon of Bel-
helvie, a stirring and a pragmatick bold man, and Dr. Guyld;
another, with one Harvie, for himself and Dr. Baron, and, as I
thinke, Dr. Sibbald: in the tryall we found Belhelvie's com-
miffion to be approven, and the other rejected; yet heartlie
did we with the coming of Dr. Baron and his colleagues. For
a tyme we were put in confidence of their presence, and of
fome of the Bifhops. Rofs, Brechim, and Galloway, were in
the caflle of Glafgow, as I remember, that day, and fundrie dayes
thereafter in the palace of Hamilton; bot it hes been their reso-
lution, taken in common with the Commiffioner, not to compear,
knowing the Commiffioner's determination to desert and leave
us, as shortlie he did. One Mr. Thomas M'Kenzie came with
a commiffion from the Chanrie of Rosfe; it was rejected, when
we had considered the protettation of Sir John Mackenzie of
Tarbett, Seafort's uncle, againft it. Mr. Thomas being rejected,
gave in a protettation againft ruling Elders, with odious accuca-
tions against the Tables of Edinburgh. Rothes and the Marqueis
both craved instruments of the production of that protettation;
bout the man at once went off the towne: we fand him thereafter
a subferyver of the Bifhops declinator, and a moft vitious fellow,
and fo deposed him from his miniftrie. Now at laft we fand the
Affemblie, to our great joy, fullie confitute, and fo we went on
to our bufinefs. The first matter was the tryall of the Church
Register. The Committee for that end was defyred againft to-
morrow to give in their perfect reports. When Mr. M'Kenzie's
protettation against Elders voyceing in Affemblies was read, Mr.
Andrew Ramsay got up in a forme, and with great confidence
undertook to prove, from Scriptures, Fathers, confent of Re-
formed churches, our own church practice, and Affemblie acts,
that ruling Elders were lawfull and necefaffe members of Af-
semblies. The Commiffioner, profefling his own insufficiencie,
promifed to produce fome who should prove the contrare. Bal-
quanquall gybed in privat at Mr. Andrew's bragg, likening him
to the English champion, who provokes all the court to fight him
in the King's prefence, in the quarrell of the King's crowne: yet
I thinke Mr. Andrew would have made his word good againft
any of his Grace's difputters, if they durft have come forward.

6. On Tuesday, the 27th, was our fith Seflion. The Com-
miffion gave in their report of the fyte booke of Affemblie, and
their reasons why they took them for good and authentick Re-
gifters, as ye may fee them in print in our Affemblie-acts. The
Commiffioner being resolved, as it feems, to be a conferter to
nothing, though he profefled many of his scruples loofed by these
reasons, yet did not approve of these as of authentick registres. The Moderator, for the weight of the matter, delayed the voyeceing till the morrow, defyereing all to be readie then to object or to approve. The Moderator then did propon the nameing of afferors to himself, and of a privie conference. Mr. D. Dogliiffe [Dalgleith] remembering the Episcopep abuse of the privie conference to enervat and subvert the Assembly, made all unwilling to hear of any more privie conferences: Afferors by any publick act were thought needlefs; but it was permitted to the Moderator to nominat whom he would to convene with him in private ane hour before the publick meeting, for ordering of matters to be treated that day. His Grace protested that such nomination should not be prejudiciall to the right he heard his Matter was in possession of, to order the matters to be proposed in the Assembly as he thought meet. Rothes affirmed the proponing and ordering of things to be proposed was the Moderator's due. The Moderator thought his Grace's protestation needlefs, since all that was to be proponed shoulde be in his Grace's audience, and with his own content. For his privie assistance he named, of the ministres, Mr. Henrie Rollock, Mr. John Adamfone, Mr. D. Dickfon, Mr. D. Dogliiffe; of the nobilitie, Rothes, Montrofe, Lindefay, Lowdon, Balmerinoch; of the gentrie, Cavers, Keir, Waughtone; of the burrowes, James Cochrane, James Fletcher, Mr. Robert Barclay. For the bills, the Assembly nominat Meffrs. D. Lindefay, James Boner, William Livingston, Dr. Strang, Dr. Guild, Meffrs. Andrew Affleck, and Robert Dowglafs, William Colvin, (1) George Haliburton; of the nobilitie, Caffills and Burghley; of the gentrie, Dundas and Auldbar of the burrowes, John Semple and Mr. Robert Cunnigham. At this time came in the long urged declinature and protestation of the Bishops. So soon as it was read out by the clerk, my Lords Montgomery, Fleming, Elcho, Boyd, [and] young Durie, took instruments, in name of the complainers, against the Bishops, of their acknowledging of their citation, of their compereance by their proctor, of their wilfull absence in person, that sentence may be given against them as present; as ye may see in the instrument. Against all the poynets of this protestation,

(1) 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 subscribed by the Deane of Edinburgh, Mr. David Mitchell, Mr. A. Thomföne, Mr. James Forfyth, and others, to the number of twentie hands, bearing the name of a supplication, but ending in a protestation against the Assembly, if Elders, or commiffioners chosen by them, should have voyce; another to the like purpose, subscribed by the minifters of Dundie, and fome few there; a third, by the eight named of the prefbytrie of Glafsow. This was hardlie gotten suppressed 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 protesters wherewith we were oft boaffe, and which in all the kingdom carefullie were fought out, was now found to be fo small, and of fo little consideration; deferfe publicklie at once recanting their fubscriptions; the refte to this day are favourers of the books, and allowers of the course which obtruded them. Againft thefe protestations the Moderator caufed read fome papers for Elders places in fynods, I think of Mr. D. Catherwod's (*) penning, who lived all the tyme of the Assembly privilie befide the Moderator's chamber, and furdered what he could by his iftudes all our proceedings.

7. On Wednesday, before we entered, we heard a secret bruit of the Commiffioner's purpose to leave the Assembly that day, and to break it up fo far as he could; which was to all our grief, and somewhat befide our expectation; for howfoever we had bot small hopes of the Assembly's fitting down with the Commiffioner's content, yet since it was fett, and protestations only used againft the things which he misliked, we thought this course of profeting might have continued, and the Assembly not broken up, at leaft not fo soon; fo much the more as the Commiffioner had oft vented among us, not only his great defyre, but also his hopes and confidence, to fitt till matters were brought to fome tolerable conclusion: but 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 preffed 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 raising of the Assembly was resolved to be commanded as it was, before it fell down.

The business came first to hand was the Assembly books: the Moderator required oft, If any had reasons to propon why they should not be taken for authentick Registers of our Church, which hereafter might make faith in judgement. The Commissioner, with great affection, testified his earnest defyre of seeing the Church restored to her Registers; yet necessity laid upon him against his heart, to protest against the acknowledging of these books to be true and sufficient Registers; and that neither his Master, nor the Lords of the clergie, should suffer prejudice, by any act in any of these books, which had not been delivered by the late Clerk's son. Notwithstanding of this protestation, all the Assembly, in one voice, accepted of the books as the true and authentick Registers of our Church. It is one of the notable passages of God's providence towards our Church, that these books were not destroyed, or put in hands whence we should never have drawn them: this fourtie years bygone so great a defyre being in the heart of the Prince and Prelates for covering in perpetuall darkness of our old Assemblies, which crossed their intentions; so great negligence on our parts to keep these monuments, that no man among us, so farr as I could ever hear, knew what was become of these books, but all took it for granted that they were in St. Andrewes possession, who would be loath ever to let them go, or any true double of them; yet God hies brought them out, and sett them up now at the doore of our Church, to be the rule, after scripture, of this Assembly and all other their proceedings. In reaoning 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 thepreface of the Harmonie of Confessions. Our nixt purpose that day was the Bishops declinature. Two anfwers in write was framed to it, and both read by the Clerk: they were confessed to be raw and rude, but promisef to be perfected with the first conveniencie; as indeed, some dayes thereafter, I saw two papers, one of the Clerk's forming, possible with Mr. Catherwood's help, another of Mr. Andrew Ramfay's, more short; both which contained solid anfwers to all that was material in the Bishops invective yet was thought meet to be cast in another third better mould; which ye fee in print, the Anfuer to the Prelates declinature. The Moderator, finding
that many of the Bishops exceptions against our Synod were
used by the Remonstrants against the Synod of Dort, did read
and expone the anfuer of the British divines in that Synod,
against the Remonstrants declinature. 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 seems
not to be of any profound soliditie. He, in many words, shew
that the caufe of that Synod, in judgeing of the Remonstrants
and their caufe, was different from the caufe of this Synod, in
judgeing of the Bishops and their caufe, in two respects:
1. The errors of the Remonstrants were in poynnts fundamentall,
wherein their opposits could not be declyned as judges; for in
fuch things there can be no neutralitie, but at the rising of fuch
ersors, there must be a prefent fyding and opposition: bot the
errors alleaged upon the Bishops were in matters of discip-
line, which the Articles of our Church makes alterable, and fo
no necessitie there is to be on either fide of fuch controverfies:
Again, the Church of Holland had not bound themfelfe by
oath and subscription to the other fyde, as we have done.
This replie was vitiouf in many things; yea, in my judge-
ment, found or pertinent in no part of it. Much tyme was
fpent by the Moderator in anfuer to the firft part, fo that the
fecond was neglected. I thought the Moderator took too much
libertie to difcourfe (of that he profeffed had been his late studie)
of poynpts fundamentall and preter-fundamentall: as the Doctor
was rafh to make all the articles of Arminiue's errors fundamen-
tall; fo I thought the Moderator als incircumfpect to absole
all the Arminian errors, without a di fimction of the cryme of
herefie. Mr. D. Dogilhfe, after much speech of others, in few
words replied, pertinentlie, that the Ancient Synods, in the
queftions of Donatus and Novatus, though they had oppofed
the schimmaticks in matters preter-fundamentall, yet wes no more
caffen from being judges, then thefe Synods were, which mett
for condemnning 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 wifelie brought the Doctor off fa-
brosities, whence all his witts could not have delivered him with
his credit. Yet since, I fee the Doctor hes ufed a noble trick
to clear himfelf of all; he has made the King, who was fome
hundreth myles from hearing thefe fpeeches, bear witnes, that
the Doctor fpake to a clean contrare purpofe then fome thou-
funds of us heard him; especiallie that he never neither thought nor spake that any of the Arminians errors were fundamentall. We have been much miftaken with that man: we esteemed him ever a Dordracenift, and oppofed to Canterburie in that caufe; but now we fee he hes made the King in his Manifefto, print as much for the Arminians as the heart of Canterburie could with. Shall even deannies, let be biphopricks, have the facultie, in fo short a tyme, to metamorphoe the minds of men?

The Moderator required next the Assemblie might voyce, If they fand themselves the Bifhops judges, notwithstanding of their declinature? The Commiffioner, finding that the tyme to execute the King's laft commandments, flew the contrarietie of his ftearing affectiions, joy and greiff: joy that he faw the day wherein he might make good before the world, all that his Master had promifed by him; greiff, that he could not bring this toylome bufines to fuch ane end as he heartifie wifhed. The King's will, subscryved and signed, he made the clerk read, and defyred to be regifterate in the Assemblies booke: ye fee it in print in the Proclamation; fundrie things thereby was granted to our defire; bot yet nothing that gave us a tolerable securitie of any thing. We were not permitted to treat any thing, bot to take that write for our full and faticfactorie conclusions in all things: to handle any poyn of the doctrines that were contained in the Service-book; to examine the right or wrong of Epifcopacie, Perth Articles, or any part of discipline, how unjuft or tyrannick foever, that was in the books of our Canons and Ordination; to try if the articles of Arminius, or a number of the groffeft poyns of the Romifhe heresies and idolatries, which our Bifhops from that prædominating court-faction does yet maintaine, without recalling one of them, we were not permitted: Generall Assemblies were put in the fimple arbitrement of the Prince, who, fo far [as] we know, was not to indirect them bot at the good pleasure of our ingracious Bifhops, as the cuftome hes been thir thirty-fix years bygone. For all this the Moderator, in a very grave, digest, and learned speech, gave thanks for the King's great favors contained in that paper; shew at length how much we counted ourfelves obliged in conscience to give to the King, even in Church matters, an inspec-

(3) This refers to the well-known work written by Dr. Balcanquall, (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 fanction, by way of law, a compelling by force churchmen to their duties, a calling of counsells, a chief place in them, a great respect to their voyce, and so much more, as the Commissioner professed, he spake as it became a good christian and dutifull subject. Yet when the Moderator pressèd the voyceing, If we were the Bishops judges? there fell a sad, grave, and sorrowfull discourse: The wryters of the Diaries hes it almoft word be word, but as I cannot repeit any man's words, so I am impatient to double formall discourses. This was the Commissioner's laft paflage; 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 doing. Much was said of his sincere endeavours to serve God, the King, and countrey; of his grief, yet neceffitie to depart: the caufe he alleadged, was the fpoyling of the Affemblie, which he had obtained moft free, by our moft partiall directions from our Tables at Edinburgh, two wrytes whereof he produced and caused read; also the precipitat intrusion of laick Elders to have voyce in Affemblies, which they might readilie have obtained by the King's good lykeing in this Affemblie; for he would take the voyce of fo many noble and gentlemen conducive for his service, if so they could have had patience to have the right of their interrupted poffe®ion restored to them by order. This at length, by Rothes, Lowdon, and others, was answered, That the papers produced were fuppositious, and never came from them: their true instructions they produced, and offered to jus®tie; for they were only advyses to proceed wyfelie in the election of Commissioner, bot in nothing against either law or reanon: for the que®tion 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 fullie with that difficultie before the obtaining of the Affemblie: if the Bishops, by their whisperings since, hes moved the King to recall the Affemblie on this pretext, the caufe of the posterior evils must lie upon them, as well as of all the former. After many words hither and yonder, the Marques shewing, that he had commissi®on to punish faultie Bishops, tore®ifie all their abufe, to limitat that office, so that it should not be able to wrong the Church, and to doe many moe things then he would expressë; bot now, he behooved to renew all his protestations in his Master's name, and in the name of the Lords of the clergie, That no Act there shoule import his consent, and that
nought done by the voyces of the present members was lawfull; alfo that he discharged them to proceed any farder. While he was going, my Lord Rothes gave to the Clerk a protestation in write, prepared for such ane 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-fighted, and dyves not deep in the mysteries of state, that his Grace’s flye some days longer had been in nothing prejudicial to his Mafter’s service; yea very conducable 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 Bihops, which his Grace took for the occasion of his ryfeing, was brought on by his urgent preffing of reading their declinature; alfo a little intreatie, as I fuppofe, might have gotten that question delayed fo long as his Grace had pleaed; at least it would have given much reall fatisfaction, if, with his Grace’s conent, we would have gotten acts formed according to the truth, about the Books and other things where-in we did truelie agree; and in the acts about Epifcopacie, if he had brought his divines to dispute, and upholden their courage by his countenance, readilie the moft part might have been moved to ufe a greater temper than ever thereafter can be hoped for; or if in this his hopes had mifcarred, he might have protefted, or rifen, when that occasion had been offered: bot from the beginning God hes permitted, for his own high ends, to this day, the Bihops and their opposites fo to carry the King and the Countrie, that there can no be possible agreeance, bot by yielding all to the one fylde. For my own part, I thought that the standing of Epifcopacie, in any the leaft degree, could not be yielded; yet the way of the removeall of it, had my advife been followed, would possiblie have been leffle irritative of the King, and no leffle fure for their everlafting exclusion out of our Church: bot it is eafe for any man wantonlie to discouer on the faults of deeds paft, who yet being employed, could no wayes have amended them in the pafting. No one man I know was more willing: It kythed by his extraordinary grief at their mifcarriage: many dayes thereafter he forgat to eat his bread, and through grief fell in ficknes: My heart pitied the man: befyde other evills, the mifhappines 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 fidelity, but 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 she produced so unluckie a child: If in this also he prove unfortunate with fortune, that favour of his Master, which to him hes been over dear, will take the wings, and leave him alone in the feas of discomfort; wherein he is like to get small pitie from the breast of any man, except from that one of Christ, who ufe 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 shewed, That the King had commanded him to attend that Assembly; 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 Assembly, and honest countreymen; that, at the King's command, he had subscribed, with the rest of the Counfell, the Covenant, and in that same fenfe as it was extant in that [15]80 year, when first 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 most necessarie the Assembly should pronounce of the fenfe of that Covenant, since it was subscribed by sundrie with diverse fenfes: some takeing it to stand not only with Episcopacie 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 Commissioner promized 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 kingdome, should be understood.

When the Commissioner and Counfellers had turned their back upon us, the Moderator wyfelie did harangue 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-
milfioner's departure, and remaine till to the end, till all things needfull were concluded, or not? All did heartlie promise to abide on all hazards, except some three or four Angus men, who, with the laird of Aithie, departed, alleading their commiision had an express claufe of the King's countenanceing of the Assemblie. Dr. John Baron, commiisioner for the Univerfitie of St. Andrewes, I think, was away before, on the pretence of ficknes : he had subfcrvyed the Covenant; but what farder he meanted 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 flippem away. The Marqueis preffed our advyfement to-morrow, and clofeing with prayer at his departure; bot in this plot, as in many other, we difappointed his wifdome: yea, here it was especiallie where the fruit of the wife election of the members of the Assemblie did kyth. Had not the moft refolute noblemen and barrons of the kingdome been there as commiisioners, or had not the minifterie been verie well wailed for the purpofe, very reedilie, at this poynit of tyme, we might have played the part of the Assemblie of Aberdeen, or at leaft, fuch an fenfible divifion might have rifen among us, as had marred all the fruit of our meeting. Our laft queftion that day was, If we fand ourselves judges to the Bifhops declinature? and all did voyce affirmative. While we were in fome piece of perplexitie, we were singularlie comforted, that in the very infant of the Marqueis departure, a very noble youth of great expecation, my Lord Erkine, craving audience of us, did profefts, with tears, his great greiff, that againft the inborn light of his minde, he had withhelden his hand from our Covenant, and perfon from our meetings, befought to pray to Chrifl for him that this sin might be forgiven him, and entreated humblelie we would now admitt him to our Covenant and focietie. We all embraced him gladlie, and admired the timeoufnets 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. Thurfday, the 29th of November, we keepep our eighth Seflion. 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 entreps he had in the Church, he would be pleafeed to countenance our meetings, and bear witnefs of the righteousnes of all our proceedings; this, to all our great joy, he promifed to doe, and did truelie performe his
promife. No one thing did confirme [us] so much as Argyle’s preffence; not only the man was the far moft powerfull subjefft in our kingdom, bot alfo at this tyme being in good grace with the King and the Commiffioner, we could not conceave bot his stay with us was with the allowance of both, permitting him to be amongst us to keep matters into fome temper, and hold us from deeper extrems: as indeed he was carefull that no word did paffe from any mouth prejudiciall to the perfon or authoritie of the King. After a sermon of Mr. Gillefsie, wherein the youth very learnedlie and judiciouslie, as they fay, 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 feconded, and we all religiouslie oberved, fo long as the Assem- blie lafted; yet afterward we found, that nothing was more againft the fhowack both of the Commiffioner and King than Argyle’s fay. The letters that paft betuixt Argyle and the King showes, that this fay was the greateft ground of all the wrath his Majeftie fince has kythed towards him, whom before he did singularlie refpeft: alfo betuixt the Commiffioner and Argyle there paft words of high enough diflayne, little from threats and personal challenges. It hes been the equitie of our caufe, which hes been the only motive to make that man, in that neceffarie tyme, to the extreame hazard of his head, and all he poffeffes, to encourage us openlie by his affiftance; alfo it was, I think, his performance of promife to Rothes and Low- don, who had a great guiding of him, and had gotten fome affurance, as they fay, of his joyning with us when it fhould be needfull. He produced to us a letter that day from the Earle of Wigton, and the next day from the Earles of King- horne and Galloway, three counfellers, showing, that they had fubferyved the Confeflion as it was profefTed in the [15]80 year, even as Argyle had fubferyved. Montrofe likewife de- clared, that he had commiffion to fhow us as much in the name of Marre and Napier, other two counfellors; and it was de- clared to us, that Almond and Blackhall, two counfellors, alfo defyred to be understand by us to have fubferyved in the fame fene. Thir eight counfellors refused to fubferyve the act, which, in the night before, was drawn up in the Commiffioner’s cham- ber, and proclaimed this day at the Croffe, difchargeing the Assemblic under the payne of treafon. This divifion of the Counfell, the beft part of these who were prefent evidentlie
fyding with the Affemblie, did not a little increafe his Grace's greif, and our joy.

Because the Bifhops, in their declinatour, had alledged, that fundrie members of our Affemblie were lying under the cenfure of the Church of Ireland, or our own Church, the Moderator defyred the parties interest in this calumnie to clear themfelves: [viz.] Mr. Blair minifter of Ayr, Mr. Hamilton of Dumfreis, Mr. Levingstone of Stranrawer, Mr. Macleland of Kirkcudbright. Sundrie of us could have withed, that for the flopping of the mouth of our partie, thefe had not been chosen commiffioners; yet the excellent gifts of the men would not permitt the electors to paffe them by. Mr. Blair, in name of the reft, in a brave extemporall harangue, fhwed 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, but all moft unjuftlie inflicted: he gave us all full fatisfaction. Thefe 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 Commissioun had done to them was not only for righteoufnefs, but that their fentences was evidentlie null, according to the Bifhops unlawes.

This day were eftablifhed three or four Committees for preparing in private the chief and moft weightie matters the Affemblie had to treat of. At Argyle's motion, the first thing taken to confideration was the Confeflion of Faith, how farr it did exclude or admit the posterior novations of our Church. Upon this committee were put of the miniftrie men not among the fitteft; Mr. D. Lindfay, Mr. A. Cant, Mr. Henry Rollock, Mr. Thomas Mitchell, Mr. Walter Buchanan, Mr. Thomas Wilkie, Mr. Robert Henderfone, Mr. D. Dick, Mr. James Martine: I with Mr. Andrew Ramsfay, Mr. John Adamfone, and myfelf, 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 goe 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 modeft earneftnefs to the next Generall Affemblie, if the tyme be peaceable, 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 Dundie. My Lord Argyle was defyred to wait on this committee; which he did affiduoufli. Another committee was appointed
for consideration of the corruptions of the bookes of Service, Canons, Ordination, and High Commision. On this was putt some of us who had written against these pieces, Mr. A. Ramfay, Mr. J. Adamfone, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, Mr. Edward Wright, Mr. Alexander Peter [Petrie], Mr. William Menzies, myself, and some others. When we mett, the multitude of men and speech put us in miforder; though we divided our selfe in two companies, yet I thought we could doe more every man apart then all together: for myself, I could doe nothing in company; only in a night or two, out of my former wryts, I drew that little extraction I lent you, which I read in the face of the Assemblie, when our committee was asked of their diligence, with the good lyking of all. My Lord Montgomery prefled that his complaint against the Bishops might be heard. Upon his motion, the Bishop of Galloway's lybell was read: A long and tedious work; for it had not only all the generall lybell, but diverse proper articles of his corrupt doctrine, and slipps in his life, foull Sabbath breaking, and other things lybelled at length. For the shortening and clearing of this, and all other their proceffes, there was a committee appointed befides thefe of the bills before named; one minifter out of each diocefe; and of elders, the Earles of Eglintoun and Weemes, Johnftoune, Wedderburne, Lawers, Tarbett, Kinhilt, Robert Baylie profeft 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 readines for the particular crymes they had lybelled against the Bishops lives; fo that committee proceeded the more flowlie.

9. Fryday, the 30th of November, was our ninth Session. This day was fpent in trying of the late corrupt Assemblies, the inbringers of our novations, and caufers of our divifion and now incumbant evils. Every man fpake what he knew and pleased of the Assemblie of Perth, St. Andrewes, Glafgow, Lithgow, and Aberdeen; bot for the putting of their Nullities in a formall act, a committee was ordained to revife the register, whereof Mr. Johne Robertfone of St. Johnftoun was the chief. In all our meetings I marvell that our tounfman, Mr. Joseph Lawrie, hes never appeird: he was putt out by St. Andrewes and the High Commiffion from Stirling: I took him long since for an excellent preacher; he now serves at St. Johnftoun: I heard he preaches againft the bookes; yet did I never fee him in any of our conventions for thir matters. We ended the sooner that the
committees might have the more tyme for their diligence: such small privie meetings are most necellare; for otherwayes affaires cannot be exceed: yet I see not how the inconvenients for which we abolished privie conferences shall not arye in thir committees; only the name feemes to be changed.

10. Saturday, the 1st of December, was our tenth Seffion. Mr. D. Lindefay presented to us (for he had the chief charge of the bills; yea, the man’s dexterite and diligence in this kinde of employment was such, that to the end of the Assemblie such business lay upon him almoft alone,) three clofed proceflfs before the prebytries. 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 poynets of Poperie, proved by fundrie witneffes, befyte his decyling of the Assemblie, which alone, according to the acts of our Church, imports defopition. He came to Glafgow, at leaft remained some dayes in Hamilton with the Bifhop of Rof: no man could have keept such a one in our Church without feries repentance for his manifold avowed errors. The nixt was Dr. Panter, profeffor of St. Andrewes: I never saw the man; but his Walaidos (1) makes me love him as one of the beft poets I know now living: the man hes a bonny spirit; somethings in all sciences; but St. Andrewes was far in the wrong to advance him to a divinity profeffion before he had well learned the grounds of that science. He was never diligent; but he had not sooner fertted himself in his chair while he began to recommend the English method of studie to our youth, to begin with the Popish schoolmen and Fathers, and to clofe with Protestant neotericks; a moft unhappe and dangerous order. I hear, in his publiff notes, he hes deboirded to the Popish jutfification, and, in his difcourfes, to the groffeft Pelagianifme in originall fin, let be in other points of Arminianifme. Did not the heavens cry for a vengeance againft our Bifhops, though we had been dumb, who did hear and fee our Church undermined with fuch infruments, of their own making and maintaining? The third was Archdeane Gladfanes, a monster of drunkennefs, and atheiflick profanitie: Rome Pagan could not have suffered such a beastlie man to have remained a prieft even to Bacchus. I hear that the man once had a very great appearance of many

(1) A Latin poen in hexameter verse, dedicated to King Charles, entitiled.—“Valliados libri tres, opus inchoatum: Auctore Patricio Pantero ad Fanum Andreae Theologo.” Edinb. 1633, sm. 8vo.
good parts; they say he was a trim personage of a man, had a prettie estate, was a schollar in all faculties; right eloquent, wyfe and discrete, and free of all scandalous vyces; in favour with the King, court, and countrey: bot long since, having cast away the fear of God, all these gifts of body, estate, minde, lies evidentlie left him. These proccedyes were read and considerd, but sentences delayed. Because their errors ran much on Arminianifme, it was thought meet to appoynt some to speak at our next meeting against these errors. Mr. D. Dickfon and I were nomi-
nat: very evill will had I of that taske; my diligence upon the Books was not yet delivered off my hand: Arminianifme is a deep, and large, and intricat subject; our tyme was the next meeting; whatever I doe, I would doe it in earnest; so without tyme I can doe nothing. Alwayes there was no reemead; that night and to-morrow at night I did what ye saw, and what the Assembleie was pleased [with] on that subject.

11. Monday, 3d of December, we kepted our eleventh Seffion. The fyrst action was the appointment of preachers for that week; for every day of the week, except Saturday, there was in the morning sermon for the people in two churches, albeit the committee for that end fell whyles upon men whose sermons were bot scarce satiffactorie: yet by many good sermons 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 these errors in a new way of his own, as some years agoe he had conceaved it in a number of sermons on the new covenant. I was not called upon that day, so I was glad that my taske was forgot; yet at night I studied the article of free will, which before I had no tyme to consider. Mr. David's discours was much, as all his things, extemporall; so he could give no double of it, and his labor went away with his speech. Mr. David Mitchell was depoed that day with the content of all. The Toun of Edinburgh gave in their greivances against the rest of their minifters, the Deane and his colleagues, Mr. Alexander Thomson, Mr. Fletcher, and Dr. Eliot; the fyrst three as de-
clyners of the Assembleie, and practifiers of the Service-book; the laft as obstruded on them by Sir John Hay's authoritie, and as tooe weak for that miniftrie; also as one who had read the Liturgie in a diocefan Assembleie. To make the Assembleie the shorter, there was the day following a committee named to sitt
in Januar at Edinburgh, with the power of the Generall Assembly, to cognosce on the caufes of the miniftrie there, and what other caufe shoulde by the Assembly be recommended to their cognition. The love I had to poore Dr. Eliot, who had not indeed declyned the Assembly, made me both plead my self, and flir up Mr. R. Meldrum and Mr. Eliezer Borthwick, his friends, to deal with Rothes and others, that the committee of Edinburgh should have power at fartheft but to fulpend and transport him, without deposition. That day the Bishop of Orknay presented a letter to us by the hand of his fon, showing, that old age, and fickness, and length of the journey, were the only caufes of his not compearance; and withall, that he submitted himself to our cenfure. 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 pennisance we had enjowyed, returned to their old minifterie, 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 bluffered papers that which I sent you of Arminianifme. I got thanks for it, and was fafched many dayes in provyding copies of it to fundrie. Complaints were given in against Mr. William Maxwell of Dunbar, and Mr. George Sydferfe of Cobrinfaith, for very corrupt doctrine, and tyrannous behaviour to force their parishioners to conformitie. It is marvellous, how impudent all the familiars of the Bishops of Roffe and Galloway were grown, in avowing pertly Arminianifme, and much Poperie. Thir two was referred to the committee of Edin- burgh, and depoied by it: they were both declyners of the Assembly, and their own prefbytrie, and appeallers to the King. Upon the complaint of the provost of Dundie and gentlemen of Angus, there was a committee nominat for the minifters of Dundie and Angus; fundrie there had declyned the Assembly, and were ill minded towards all our proceedings: I knew none of the men. The Town of St. Andrewes complained, that their minifter Dr. Withart had deferted them above eight moneths: they seemed content enough with the man’s life and doctrine, if he would returne, and acknowledge the Assembly: howbeit malicious defertions fo long a tyme be sufficient for deposition, yet we referred the cafe to fardeuer confideration. We depoied Dr. Gladftanes with one mouth. Mr. John Robertfone gave a good and diligent
count of the tafke committed to him; many good reafons why
the Sixe laft Asfemblies were null from the beginning: Ye may
fee them printed in the acts. Upon this we voyced with one
confent, the Nullitie of all thefe Asfemblies. In the voycing it
fell alwayes Mr. Alexander Carfe to be firft; very oft the man
delyvered his voyce in a quick merry taill, fo that he became to
us almoft a Pleafant. I was moft glad of that day's act: I
thought the nullifying of thefe Asfemblies did clearlie quyte us
of Bifhops and Perth Articles, without the neceflitie of any fur-
der fcrupulous and divifive difputes: but some that thinks no
ftein band fufficient to bind their tenets on the confcences of
others, refcft not with this vantage, bot 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 Asfemblies, the freedome of all from the oathes of
conformitie taken by the Bifhops; of the reftitution of prefly-
teries and afsemblies to their rights, which never were null, but,
for a tyme, fuppreffed by the injuflice and violence of the Bifhops;
the validitie of the admiffions and depofitions of minifters past
latelie by preflytries without the confent of bishops. Thir, and
other fuch confequences, were not only deduced, but fett down
by way of acts, as ye fee in print. That day, Dr. Robert Hamil-
ton of Gleffurd, procurator of the bifhops, his procefs was read:
befyde his open affronting of the Asfemblie, he was found to
have been abfent at Court, and at Edinburgh oft twelve, fifteen,
eighteen weeks together from his church, upon no reafon 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] tred his fteps of vain lavifhnesf
and dilapidation of what he had, to feek what he did not deferve.
He was found to be, according to the English fafition, a proflfer
of the Sabbath, provoking and countenancing his parifhioners at
dancing and playing at the foot-ball on that day: he was, as we
call it, an ordinair fwearer; for thefaction delighted, as I have
heard fundrie of them, to adore their fpeeches with the proverbs,
Before God, I profefs to God, By my confcience, On my foul,
and higher afleverations, by thir phrafes to clear themselves of
puritanifme: he was a violent perfecuter, even to excommunication,
and denying of marriage and baptism of thofe who would
not communicat with him kneeling. Many fuch things were
lybelled against him. He wreit a letter to the Moderator, as to Mr. Alexander Henderson minister at Leuchars, shewing, that he might not compair before ane Assemblie discharged 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 presbytrie, let be called before a Generall Assemblie. Some dayes thereafter, when his witnessees had beene sworn before all the Assemblie, and their deposition taken by the committee of the Bills, which was our constant courfe in all proceffes, he was depoied by unanimous consent of us all. Yet he would re- maine still, by violence, some few weeks at his church; bot at laft the fear of excommunication, or rather of the countrie ryfeing there higher in crubing such as he was, he fled to England, with many moe; where we heard he was presented to the Bifhoprick of Caithnefs, to all our indignation at the per-verfnefs of Canterburie, who would not yet ceafe to provoke us, by conferring bishopricks on fuch infamous and unworthy men. St. Andrewes lybell was read, and some parts of it con- sidered; yet we did nothing of moment because of Argyle's abfence 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 content- ment, she died.

14. Thursday, the 6th of December, was our fourteenth Seffion. That day, many large and tedious treatifes against the Books were read: We got all thanks for our labours. A refo- lution was taken to put us all in print; but the multitude of our publick 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 foever at the first reading they pleaed men unacquaint with that kinde of studie. Alwayes we cleared the mindes of all about the nature of the Books and High Commiffion, 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 Commiffion. Thefe pieces are fo vile, that none of our parties to this day hes ever minted to defend them, except by thefe parenthefes which they make the King in his Proclamations caft in for their commendation. I took it ever for one of our partie's greatest crymes, that they caft all burdens on the back of our sweet Prince yet, and themselves hes never endeavoured to
fatifie 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 Bishop of Dunkeld (?) sent us in write his simple submission. Many spake for him, That he did not approve the late course of the Bishops; that he had admitted fundrie ministers without the band of conformitie; that he did not deserve the censure of those who declyned the Assemble. My Lord Lindefay that day urged vehementlie the deposition of Mr. G. Halyburton minister of Craill; yet when we perceaved that the maine thing alledged against him was bot medling 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, against my Lord Lindefay’s will, the patron of it, we would not gratifie any man’s humorous spleen, but referred the tryall of that processe 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 so odiouslie exaggerated with the name of sacriledge as it was. Alfo a grievous libell of Arminianisme was given in on Mr. James Affleck, in the prebytrie of Dundee. The man cleared himself to us of all, bot sone quirks in the second article; the gentlemen, who understood not well, thought every thing here capitall hereafter. The man seemed capricious; in some things too simple, in other too flie: at last, after much privie conference, and publick agitation, he gave, as I think, satifaction to all.

Hereafter the Bishops cenfures came thick upon us: we were fahed to goe through with them all, the breach of all the Caveats. Galloway (?) was the first: bedefy common faults, he was proven to have preached Arminianisme; to have had in his chamber a crucifix, and spoken for the comfortable use he found into it; to have indicted two annieverie safts in his diocefe, and acted in his fynod a communion for his ministers at all his posterior fynods: he was found to have depofed ministers, fyned and confyned gentlemen, for unconformitie, embraced excommunicate papists, and professed more love to them than puritans; to have contemned exercife of prayer in his familie; to have prophaned the Sabbath-day by buying hufe, doing any of his civill affairs openlie on it. Before the voyceing there was some reasoning about the nature of fummars excommunication. The


(?) Thomas Sydeserf, Bishop of Galloway. He was the only Bishop who usrived to see the restoration of Episcopacy under Charles the Second.
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Moderator, Mr. David Dickson, Mr. David Doglith, and Mr. Andrew Cant, were for the lawfulness of it; Mr. Andrew Ramfay 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 obfination, the formall cause of it, required admonition, and some delay of tyme after the clofure of the process, that I voyced him to be depofed, but not prefentlie excommunicat. In this I was followed by fome fyeve or fix, but the reft went on to prefent excommunication. St. Andrewes (?) lybell was, he was proven guilty, befide his common faults, of ordinare profaning of the Sabbath, carding and dyceing in tyme of divine service, ryding through the countrey the whole day, tipfling and drinking in taverns till midnight, falfifieing with his hand the acts of Aberdeen Asfemblie, lyeing and fclandering our old Asfemblies and Covenant in his wicked book: It was undertaken to prove, before a committee, near to the place where the witnesfs was lived, his adultery, incest, faeriledge and frequent simonie. He was depofed, and decreed prefentlie to be excommunicat. The Bishop of Brecltin (?) followed: he was proven guilty of fundrie acts of moft vile drunkennefs; also a woman and child brought before us, that made his adultery very probable; also his ufeing of maffie crucifixes in his chamber. The man was repute to be universally unfamous for many crymes; yet fuch was his impudence, that, it was faid, he was readie to have compeared before us for his jufification; but was stayed by the Marqueis, leift his compereance should have been taken for an acknowledgement of the judicatorie. I remained that night in my negative voyce, that no Bishop 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 declination, I faw it an obflinat avowing of extrem contempt; and fo to-morrow I profefled of my recalling of my yesterday’s voyce, and went with the reft in a prefent excommunicating of all the declining Bishops.

16. Saturday, the 8th of December, our prime noblemen, Argyle, Rothes, and fome other, fawd it needfull to poff in to Edinburgh; for the Commiffioner, with the counfellors of his fyte, 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 protested against; also the Toun of Edinburgh stood in need to be supported with the preface of some of our chief nobles, against the continuall terrors and allurements whereby their minds, yet weak, were oft assaulted by his Grace's emillaries. Before their departure, they were defyrous to see that whereupon manie daves they had spent privie labours, to be ended by the Assembly in publik. That which was moft spoken of, as the talk and intention of Argyle's committee before named, was the agreeing and making one of the two Covenants that was subfcryved by us, and the other by the Counfell. I had some hopes that it had been their mynd to have found out some expedients to have made a reconciliation somewhat agreeable to both parties: but as the Marqueis, by the longfome labours of Balquaquall and others, rann to the one extreame of his declaration of the King's understanding of his Covenant, shewing that none might subfcryve, but with ane expres intention of maintaining Epifcopacie, as a part of our church policie, establisht by our lawes, and warranted by our Covenant; fo our Committee, by the toyfome labours of the Clerk, Catherwood, and others, was induced to pronounce, that all kinde of Epifcopacie to be fo farr opposed to that Covenant, that the subfcription of the one wes ever the reall abjuration of the other. How farr my poore fould hes been perplexed with these two irreconciliable extremes, my breaf is conscions; manie a forrowfull day I have had fince, and am like to have moe. In the mean tame, I knew little what either of the two was hatching: had I been on their fecrets, I would have offered the extreame diligence of my poor indeavoures, for the withdrawing of both from that rigour whence there can be no return for either without violence or disgrace; and standing to their peremptorie conclusions, all agreeance in that poynt is made desperat.

That morning, a little after eight, my Lord Rothes sent for me to his lodging. I fand there Mr. A. Ramsay sent for likeways: From us two wes expected moft oppofition to the future conclusion. My Lord, and the Moderator with him, flew us, that the quefion of Epifcopacie that day was to be handled. According to my fashion, I was plain, that I thought that office necelfarlie to be removed out of our Church for ever; for great inconveniences it had ever brought to our Church, and ftil was moft like, limitate as men could beft: but withall, I did heartilie wishe, 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 unlawful in itself, which the whole Reformed churches this day, and, so far as I know, all the famous and claffick divines that ever put pen to paper, either of old or late, did absolve of unlawfulnes. The Moderator, in his answer, seemed not to deny what I alleaged of the judgement of churches and divines, but said, that possiblie our Church had obliedged herself to reject Episcopalie more straitlie then any other. The tyme straited us, we might not enter in reasoning: my Lord and the Moderator feared not carefull about any thing, but the firme removall of that state from our Church; as for the fashioning of the question and act, they defyred us to forme it as we thought meet. Mr. Andrew was fullie in my minde: as they directed, he sett down prefentlie into wryte his minde sharply enough against the office itself, as a thing which for manie caufes was necessarie to be removed, but being to preach to-morrow, did not [that] day compear, to my grief; onlie sent his paper to the Moderator, which was publicklie read as his voyce.

So soon as we were set in synod, my Lord Weemes shew us, that our Bifhop of Glasgow\(^{(9)}\) had sent for him, on old acquaintance, and intreated him to deal for favour towards him; telling, that he was pressed against his heart, by the Commissioner and Bifhop of Roffe, to subferyve the declinature. Upon this we sent to him fundrie to move him to paffe from the declinature by write, and submit himself simplier to the Assembly's determination. He seemed oft not farre from this course; yet as his promised pension of fyve thousand pound sterling had moved him to run so forwardlie on any ungracious actions for keeping court-favour, so the hope of keeping his rent durring life, and fear of present povertie, made him to be obftinate in his fault and heartles refufeall to submit, and patient to undergo that sentence of excommunication, which for some dayes he seemed to abhorre with much feare and trembling. Since that tyme, he hes lived verie privatlie, miskent by all, and putt well near to Adamfone's miserie: had not peace shorlzie come, his wants had been extreame; and without pitie from manie, or great relief from any hand we know.

After Weemes's motion, Argyle made the nixt proposition, of the great expediencie to clear the doubts, which were now grown

\(^{(9)}\) Patrick Lindesay, Archbishop 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 subscribed, at the King's command, the covenant, for doctrine and discipline, as they were understood in the [15]80 year, at the covenant's first updrawing; that some did adhere Episcopacie was a part of our discipline then avowed, others that then it was disavowed; that the Assembly, the fittest judge of that controversy, would doe well to put away these doubts by giving out the true meaning of the Covenant in that questioned point. This motion was thought reasonable: so for clearing the minds of all, the Clerk brought forth a large scroll, as the labour of the committee for the Covenant, consisting of three parts: 1. Of reasons showing the necessity to clear the sense of the Covenant in the [15]80 year; Next, a number of passages of our General Assemblies from the [15]76 to the [15]96, and of our booke of Discipline condemning Episcopacie; Thirdly, an answer to some objections. After the reading of all thir at leasure, the question was formed about the abjuration of all kind of Episcopacie, in such terms, as I professe I did not well, in the tyme, understand, and thought them so cunninglie intricat, that hardlie could I give any answer, either ita or non. To make any publick disputation I thought it not safe, being myself alone, and fearing, above all evills, to be the occasion of any division, which was our certain wrack. The farthest I aimed at was, in voyceing, to declare shortlie my minde: fo when all men were called to propose what doubts they had, before the voyceing, I, with all the rest, was as dumb as a fish: When it came to my name, manie eyes were fixed on me, expecting some opposition; but all I said was, That according to the express word of the Assembly 1580, 1581, Episcopacie was to be distinguished: Episcopacie as used and taken in the Church of Scotland, I thought to be removed; yea, that it was a Popish error, against scripture and antiquitie, and so then abjured; but Episcopacie simpliciter, such as was in the ancient church, and in our church dureing Knox's days, in the perfon of the Superintendents, it was, for manie reasons, to be removed, but not abjured in our Confession of Faith. This Argyle, and Lowdon, and many, took out of my mouth, as not ill said, and nothing against their minde, who spake not of Episcopacie simpliciter, but in our own Church, whether or not it had been condemned at the tyme of the Covenant's first subscription. I replied no more; but if I had considered the Moderator's stating of the question, as now it stands in print, I would have said, without any
hesitation, as my voyce, that it did seeme to me to be Πολυερμος, consisting at least of three much different questions, all which required diverse anfwers. But now I will not enter in that discourse: ye see, in my treatise, my minde anent Epifcopacie to the full, whereto yet I fland. In voyceing, many to the number of fiftie and above, as some who curiouslie remarked, did avow removed Epifcopacie, bot faid nought of their abjuration: yea fundrie of pryme men there yet will avow that they never thought all Epifcopacie abjured in our Church, notwithstanding all was taken for abjurers and removers by the Clerke; and that very jufllie, 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 abjuring come over againe, as it did twyce thereafter, would be plaine; but all was content bot poor I, to be counted abjurers. If any man, for any repect, did difsemble his judgment, his own heart knows, I will judge no man. That day was clofed with heartie thanksgiving for so great an harmonie in a matter of high confequence, where no fmall discrepance was feared.

17. Mononday, the 10th of December, was our seventeenth Seffion. Here at once was I putt in new troubles: the Articles of Perth were put on foot: a large paper read againft them all, proving them to be againft our old Covenant, and fo abjured. The fubfance of this paper, as alfo that other of Epifcopacie, 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 anfwered when ever challenged. I pitied much to fee men take advantage of the tyme to caft their own conclusions in Assemble acts, though with the extream difgrace or danger of manie their brethren. The queftion 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 profefled, that they were to burthen no man's confeience, to pronounce these things idolatrous or superflitious, as fome esteemed them, neither did he touch the praftife 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 Moderator put in the queftion " to be removed, by the Confeflion of Faith," I presentlie faw the fnare; and however I was reolved to difpute none, yet before the voyceing, I did openlie complaine of the queftion's flateing, that to ask, 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 speir, If they were truelie abjured before, and all who had defended them since, 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 accurtlie, showing I might draw the question so strait as I pleased, yet he had not stated it so: however give my voyce. When it came to me, I said no more; but at once I was found no mistaker; for Mr. Alexander Carse, and after him almost all, answered the question, Abjured, and removed; and so, fra mae was voyced than proponed, the conclusion by the Moderator was jufflie made Abjured, and removed; to whom no man was noted opposite but myself: for here I saw no place for distinction as before in Episcopacie; and so, without any hesitation, I voyced to be Removed now, but never before abjured. I was verie loath to make any jarr in the Synod's sweet harmonie, yet I behooved to follow the freedome of my minde; whereof I have not yet repented, and for the which I have yet been taxed of none, but my ingenuitie by the chief opposites more commended than the diffimulation of some others, who by their privie discourses oft since gives occasion to think that the papers they then had read, had not drawn their mindes so fullie from their old perfwafions, publicklie verie oft preached, as to confesse 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 abuses and corruptions, so it were good to make positive conclusions for good order and discipline in tyme coming. Presentlie there was a committee ordained to sitt in my Lord Balmerinoch's chamber, for receaving overtures of all kinds from all who were pleased 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 see at (G.) Manie gave in both by word and write; but withall the committee took a very good course: they searched in our old Assemblies, if any acts had been made for these things we did now require; they fand, that for the most part good provisions had been made; so that it was needfuls to make any of new: thir old acts were, after some dayes, publicklie read, and for the most approven to be infert in this Assembly, as renewed to their

(1) James Lyon of Auldbar, in Forfarshire.
old lyfe and strength, whereof oblivion and defueteude had long spoiled them. Thir ye see standing in print, for very good uses, 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 preffer of all the late novations, a urger of the liturgie, a refuser to admitt any to the ministrifie who would not first take the order of a preaching deacon, a bower to the altar, a weaver of the rochett, a confecrator of churches, a domineirer of presbytries, a licenser of marriages without bands to the great hurt of fundrie, a countenancer of corrupt doctrine preached in Edinburgh, an elevater of the elements at confecration, a defender of ubiquitie in his book, (3) page 142. He hes there, ye may fee, somewhat favouring that way; which I marveled oft was not remarked by his opposites; for these pages flood twentie years untouched by any that I heard off, till I poynted at them to our presbytrie about a year agoe. The man was conceaved to be very worldlie of late. A little before our uproares for the liturgie, I had occasion to see him, and to be witnes, to his ordination in the chappell of a presbyter: I liked much the worfe ever thereafter both of him and that service: I did never see a more graceles order, than he from his book, and these minifters about him, who could act these plays best, did use. I saw the man ydlie bitter, and made no bones of swearing and curfeing; he professe his negleect of lecture; and in that I found him above all expectation poore: my estimation of that man before fight was great, but after, jutf nought. We pronounced him to be deposed and excommunicat. It hes proven true of him, which I heard long agoe of his house, that it hes a fate to spew out the owners of it; so it did Gawrie, Lithgow, Airth, and others before him. The next that came to be sentenced was Aberdeen (4). His proper faults were great sclanders 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 deposed and excommunicated.

(3) Bishop Lyndesay's "True Narration of all the Passages of the proceedings in the Generall Assembly, &c. held 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(5) to Aberdeen, as one who did not favour well enough Canterbury’s new wayes, yet he had been found [as forward] as any to professe the Canons and Liturgie; that he suspended ministers for fasting on Sundays; that he inacted in his synods, without voyceing, publick fastings to be keept on Wednesday onlie; consecrat the chappell of ane infamous woman, the Ladie Wardhous; stayed at his pleasure proceffes against papists and incestuous persons. He had not subfervyed the declinature, as was thought, for lacke of no good will, but 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 difcouerfe of his singularlie malicious apostacie; that he had been a man, by appearance, bot too zealous aginst bishops, and all their course, so that his vehemencie, beyond the grounds of any reason, he knew did offend his wife and learned neighbor Mr. Patrick Simpson. We decreed him to be excommunicat. My Lord of Rosset(6) did follow: his proceffe was no wayes perfect; the long legend of his erroneous doctrines was cleane omitted. It was committed to Durie(7) to search for witnesses 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 house and cathedrall of the English liturgie; that he was a bower at the altar, a weare of the cope and rochett, a depofer of godly ministers, ane admitter of fornicators, a companier with papists, ane ufuall carder on Sonday: yea, instead of going to thanksgiving on a communion-day, that he called for cards to play at The beast; had often given absolution, consecrat deacons, robbed his vasflalls of above fourtie thousand merks, keepe fafts ilk Fryday, journeyed ufuallie on Sonday, had been a chief declynor of the Assembly, 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:

(5) 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.

(6) 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.

(7) Alexander Gibson, younger of Durie, afterwards knighted, and one of the Senators of the College of Justice.
his bill caried fundrie foule like faults, whereof they say he might have cleared himself for the most part; but it was his humor to be a declynie of the Assemblie, 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 lawfulnes of the bowing at the name of Jesus; that our Covenant was seditious, treasonable, jesuitick; that who kneeled not got no good at the communion; he gave monies at his entrie for his place; he strocke a beggar on the Sabbath-day: a number of such things was lybelled, and urged hotlie against him. The Moderator, and others, for his fitter's fake, had a great minde to have delayed him; but no man speaking for him, he was deposed. I repented of my silence; but the reason of it was, both my loathnes to be heard after in one day to contradict the whole synod, as also my fear and suspicion of farther ills in the youth than yet was spoken of: for latele having been at his house, with other his most respectfull friends, to give him our best advyce, not only with high disdaine did he reject all our counsell, 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 slighted as much as any I ever spake with: this sudden change in the youth, who, for all his love to the quyfes 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 assured 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 fraternity, and, as I thought, the far most modest among them, makes me the lesse grieved for my silence; for that man, having gotten latele to Ireland, hes print- ed a moft poor and short, bot one of the moft venemous and bitter pamphlets (5) against us all, that could come from the hand of our most furious and inraged enemie.

18. On Tuesday, the 11th of December, was our eighteenth Seffion. Orkny's (6) proceff came first before us: he was a

(5) "The Ungirding of the Scottish Armour, &c." Dublin, 1639, 4to.
(6) 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 fetter of tacks to his fones and goodfones, for the prejudice of the church; he over- saw adulterie, flighted charming, negleeted preaching, and doing of any good there; held portions of minifters flipends for building his cathedrall: yet for his miflyke of thir late novations, and letter of submiffion to the fynod, he was only defeped, and or- dained, under the paine of excommunication, to give tokens of repentance againft fuch a day. Murray(1) had all the ordinar faults of a bifhop; befbye his boldnefs to be the firtl who put on his fleeves in Edinburgh, did make manie urge his excom- munication; bot becaufe he was not formallie fummoned, the Moderator, with some piece of violence, keepe him from that fentence; and when some objected publicklie his partialtie, he affuured he had no reafon, for of all the Bifhops he had been to him moft injurious. I affented the more willinglie to the Moderator's lenitie in this, hoping to have obtained to poor Glaſgow the lyke favour; which he inftantlie 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 house, and of women going barefooted in pilgrimage not far from his dwelling. Glaſgow's(2) dittie was, befbye common faults, inaeting at his own hands, in his provinciall fynods, the praetife of the book of Canons; the urgeing, under paine of horning, the praetife of the Service-books; the exe- ctling from all the minifterie of his dioceffe twenty fhillings off the chalder of victuall for his charges at Court; the denying to the minifterie of Glasgows own faires, and dwang them in their flipends; the felling of commiffariots; that he was a grievous oppreffor of his vaffals, difcharged all expeetants to preach till they hadصعبفید idle oaths of his own inven- tion. 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 Lindesay, Archbifhop of Glasgow, was a cadet of the family of Edzell, in Angus. He had previously been Bifhop of Ross; and after his de- position he retired to England, and died at Newcastle, in 1641.
except he preveened the sentence by satisfaction. Argyle (2) came next to hand: he seemed as worthy of censure as any: in his small tyme he had shewn good will to goe the worst wayes of the faction, far contrare to the opinion that all men had of his orthodoxie and honestie: he was one urger of the wicked oath on intrants, one obtruder of the Liturgie upon them, one oppressor of his vassalls, a preacher of Arminianisme, a prophaner of the Sabbath, and beginner to doe all that Canterbury could have wilhed. If a bishoprick be so unhappie ane enchantment, 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 present, and excommunication against such a day, without tokens of repentance.

There was joyned for convoy that day to the Bishops some ministirs: our old commerad Mr. John Makmath receaved a part of the fruit of his too great societie with Mefirs. Sincerffe, Maxwell, and Monteith. His proceffe before the presbytrie was produced; where it was proven he had taught all Arminianisme; also of prayer for the dead, invocation of saints, Christ's locall descent to hell, damnation of children without baptisme, regeneration ex opere operato by baptisme, his obligation to say mass if King Charles commanded, his disdayne to come near the presbytrie. For thir and the lyke, the presbytrie'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 carding on the Sunday, his marrying without proclamation our Bishop's son with Blantyre's daughter, was referred to the committee of Edinburgh; who, I think, did depose him. A proceffe of adulterie against Mr. Francis Knoalls (5), was referred to the presbytrie. Bot of all our monstrous fellows, Mr. Thomas Forreffer at Melros, was the first, compoed ofcontraries, superstitition, and profanitie: he was accused of avowing, that faid service was better than preaching, that preaching was no part of God's essentiall worship, that all prayers should be read off books; he made his altar and rayles himself, flood within and reached the elements to these who kneeld without; he

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

(5) Mr. Christopher Knowes, in the Presbytery of Chirnside. (MS. Diary.)
avowed Christ's presence there, but whether sacramentallie, or by way of confubstantiation or transubstantiation, he wift not, but thought it a curiositie to disputt 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 caufed lead his corns on it; that our Confeflion of Faith was faithles, onlie ane aburation of manie things better than thefe we fwores to; he kepted no thankflying 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 monfter was juftifie depofed. We were brought to this poynt, that a man might have done what he would, without poffibilitie of refrant, if he had been fullie Epifcopall: bot the Lord be blefled, that hes looked on our oppreffion, and hes made the Bifhops wickednes a reemid for itself, and a potion to bring a clear purgation of our whole Church.

19. December the 12th, on Wednesday, was our nineteenth Seffion. Here we ended our toyfome labours of the Bifhops proceffes: the laft two were Dunkell (6) and Caithnefs. (7) Both had fimplicie submitted themfelyes to the fynod, and requifited to be continued in the office of the minifterie: this their submiffion did obtain them favour; otherways there was truelie alleged 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 fpeculations, which I did not undertand, of the necelfitie to depofe every man simpliciter 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 promifed fatiffaction, was continued in his minifterie at Semidores [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 Epifcopacy, 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 Caithnefs. Keith seems not to have been aware, that Dr. Robert Hamilton, although never confeffed, was preferred to the See of Caithnefs, upon Abernethy's renunciation. Vide supra, p. 153.
James Cunninghame, wearie of his patron my Lord Drumfreife his injuries, and not able to undergo his wonted labours in his spacious parochen, 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 disguft him, and these to have no great feast of him. The fame was the imprudence of another right wife brother, Mr. D. Doglishe: his seeking of the Asfemblie's libertie to transport, hes laid on him yet a necellitie to byde still greater then he had before; for Paflcy, and other places whereat he aimed, tried in the Asfemblie some qualities, mixt with the man's learning, and excellent facultie both of preaching and reafoning off band, for which they are altogether unwilling to have him their minifter; fo true it is in all fuiters, \textit{Sequentem fugimus, fugientem sequimus}. This laft I was like to have found, had not God given me some good from my former bitternes. I was like, fore againft my stomack, to have been drawn to Edinburgh, and my noble patron's credit was not able to felter 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 some 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 still my present happiness, that a man who cannot affent to the churches chief actes, may not be put in an eminent place. I live now by favour and mercy in private: my toleration in a more publick view were dangerous for the publick safety; ye fie, \textit{Aliquique malo fuit usus in illo}.

The fears we had of the Marquesi victualling of Edinburgh Caffle, made us defyre to see the Asfemblie at ane short end; fo, without farther delay, we decreed to pronounce the fentence of the Bihops deposition and excommunication to-morrow after fermon by the Moderator, in the fame church. Evill will had he to undertake preaching on fo short advertisement: yet there was no remeid; all laid it upon him.

20. Thursday, the 13th of December, was our twentieth Sefion. 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, fitt thou at my right hand till I make thine enemies thy footstool.” Thereafter, in a very dreadful 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, suddenlie, by a means allutterlie unexpected, who will fin against him proudlie with a uplifted hand; and withall, I heartilie pitied these 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 pafs over our lyffe in obscuritie, that so we may eschew many snares of the devill, and occasiones of shamefull ruine.

I did forgett Dumblane’s (1) proceffe: though he did not subferyve 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 mischiefs, having corrupted with Arminianifme diverfe with his discourses and lectures in St. Andrewes; whose errors and perverfnes kyles this day in all the nooks of the kingdome, haveing been a speciall penner, practifer, urger of our books, and all novations: a man fett in the Chappell to be a hand to Canterburie in all his intentions. What drunkennes, 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; but prophaneness, and a resolut opposition to all things he counted puritanifme, did spoyle all. His dittie was, That in a common head, De invocatione sanctorum, he had maintained saints dayes; 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 deposed. It is strange to fee that man’s unhappiness: he subferyved our Covenant; his people, and we all, had he been contant, were ready to have done him much pleasure. After his retracting, he befell so benumed, that he hes ever since, so farr as I can hear, been near to ane irrefolute fa-

(1) James Wedderburn, Professor of Divinity at St. Andrews, was preferred in 1636 to the See of Dumblane, 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 Ross, was also deposed for many foull crymes. Dr. Scrymgour, my old commerad, had beene suspendted by the prebytrie for reading of service, preffing conformitie, preaching too grosfie neceffitie of baptifme, fornication fince his ministrie, drunkennefs, playing at cards on Sunday. He gave in a humble confefion and fupplication to the Asfemblie: we did all pitie him, and the Moderator, his neighbour, was his fingular friend; yet Newton, (?) Rothes's uncle, was exceeding peremptory to have him deposed; for he faw no other poffibilitie to be quyte of him; for without a prefent terminus ad quem, the fynod gave no acutall transportatyon; and fo a man who fand not a prefent place, behooved to be deposed, for we would hear of no minifter without a place: yet at laft Newton was contented to referr his deposition to the Prebytrie. Dr. Hamilton's proceffle was closed that day, and he deposed with one voyce.

21. Fryday, the 14th of December, was spent on things more private. A new commiffioner from Caithnefs was receaved: upon his regrate for layk of expenfes in fo farre ane way, ane act was made for supplying the commiffioner's charges. Wigton, according to his promife to Montrofe, compeared, and fhowed his minde in fubferying the Covenant in the Counfell, and promised confittancie in the prefent doctrine and difcipline. One Shepherd, a minifter about Dundie, came in that day, as the other one Rollock minifter at Dunce, confefling their fault and ignornce in fubferying 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 protefted, that this favour might be no preparative for their minifters. St. Andrewes complaint against Dr. Withart, who had deferted them for manie moneths, was heard: their fupplication alfo, that they might have Mr. A. Henderfone for their minifter. Here Edinburgh protefted, that he was their elected minifter. The conteft betwixt Edinburgh and St. Andrewes was great for two or three dayes: the man himfelf was verie unwilling to remove anywhere, yet fra there was no poffibilitie of flaying where he was, he inclyned much rather to St. Andrewes then Edinburgh; at laft, after much conteft, fome few more voyces carried him to Edinburgh. Mr. R.

(?) 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 proceffe of Lismahagoe was produced by their presbytrie, and his answpers to it, wherein he answered fatifactorilie almoft to all: bot Mr. W. Livington's spleen againft him was great; and he had it not for nought. The Asfemble defyre to hear him: He came within a day or two. They putting [him] to paffing from the declinature, and fubscryving the Covenant, I was fett to confer with him: he feemed to draw near us; yet ere he would come clean over, he would fee the event. He fpake fo to the Asfemble, that they gave him tyme to advyfe till the Committee. When that came, he did, I fufpeft, compair: however, they depofed him: yet fuch was his headinefs, that he would misregard their fentence, 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 Lindsey of Carluke, being over fhot in debt, had long agoe fled to Ireland, and fo deferted his flock: his place was declared vacand; Mr. Nere's alfo of Carmichael, for he was overtaken with ane incurable phrenifie. Mr. John Lindsey of Carfaiers was deposed in our next Synodall asfemble at Glafgow: 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 Provinciall synods; the perfonps and tymes named for the Committees of Edinburgh, St. Andrewes, Dundie, Irvine, Jedburgh, Forrefts, and Kirkcudbright. Dr. Panter's proceffe referred to the committee of St. Andrewes: the provifion of his place, as of all places of the King's prefentation, the Asfemble [not] to meddle into it till afterwards. Mr. John Lundie, professor of Humanity, gave in a fupplication for a visitation of the Old Colledge of Aberdeen; that while as the Parliament 1597, and Asfemble preceeding, had granted them power to rectifie their old foundation, yet their Bifhop had destroyed that new rectification, and urged on them, for confuming of their rents, chantries, prebendries, profeflions of the Canon law, according to their old Pofh foundation, by vertue of his place of Chancellour. My Lord Balmerinoch protefted, for his enteres, that Bifhop Elphinftone's first foundation fould not be altered: when Lundie, the Univerfitie's commiffioner, replied, That they required no other alteration than of Pofh offices oppofed to the Reformed religion, which their Bifhop of new had pofed on them. Both Balmerinoch and all did content to that
visitation petitioned. Some contenfs 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 longfome Assemblie, no day pass'd without dispatch of manie businesse. I was drawn out, at the beginning of the assemblie, by Mr. Robert Wilkie, to conferr with Lifmalhagoe: 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 affent to them as they flould. If I had been within, I could not bot have repeated my contradiction to the acts of Epifcopacie and Perth articles, to no purpofe, bot my own trouble. Also the good old acts were read, as the committee of the [Overtures] had putt them in forme, and approv'd; bot the pitie is, that our feares and affaires since hes been foe manie, that we have had no lesure to think of their execution. The town of Dundee gave in a supplication for the perfon of Belhelvie to be their minister; and Mr. John Bell elder, for the tranfportation of Mr. David Dickfon to be his helper. The town of Edinburgh protefted, That their priviledge to choose of all the miniftrie whom they would, fhould not by fuch supplications be infringed. The matter of Mr. David was much tofted; we had gotten in all this affair much fathery by the town of Glafgow’s backwardnes: the main caufe of this was afcryved to the disposition of their clergy; the beft, yea, the only remedie we knew off, was the placing Mr. David among them: though no place did vaike, yet there was privat well-willers who did obleidge themselves for a flipend to him till a place should vaike. My Lord of Eglinton was exceeding averse from his tranfportation: I, for our Presbytrie, who was not acquaint with the motion, did fpeak againft it, and prepared the Reafons ye fee at (H.) to give in to the Assemblie; but there was a committee ordained to hear the parties, Argyle, Montrofe, and others, to whom, by tongue, I delivered the fubftance of these reafons. My Lord of Eglinton alfo fhow’d, with paffion, his fenfe of his own damage in that man’s tranfportation. By this means the motion was crufted: yet the great appearance that Edinburgh hes to fpoyl us of him, and the great need Glafgow and that part of the countrey hes of his labour, hes made both him and us somewhat more inclynable to his tranfportation to Glafgow, 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 sublimerying that which we affirmed, and he denied, to be a protestation against elders, and so our Assembly, consisting of them, and ministers elected by their voyces; also his defering 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 commissiion: 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 visitation of the Colledge, by Argyle, Eglinton, Montrose, Lowdon, Blair, Keir, Provost of Glafgow, Stirling, Irvine, Mr. Ja. Boner, Mr. R. Blair, Mr. David Dick, Mr. James Sharp, Mr. George Young, my self, and some others, to the which we would have all matters concerning that Universitie referred: this visitation to be keeped at my Lord Argyle's advertisment. This long was a terrible wand above their head, diverfe of them feared deposition; but the moft 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 require them to doe dutie; albeit we had power to goe far harder; and withall, by their own content, to have established a Professor of Divinitie among them, for now they had meanes enough for one; Rutherford was named; but they and we both intended Mr. D. Dick-fone: yet other great affaires hes taken all their tyme, and thir thoughts are caft by till our estate be settled. There was a lift taken up of ministers depoed for conformitie, and expeactants holden out for that cause, that of these regard might be had in the first place; also a roll was made of all able expeactants, that we might know who were to be had for the multitude of places that shortlie were like to vaine.

Tuesday the 18th of December, the places was appointed for receiving Bishops who should be penitent. There was much advyfement about order taking with Papifs excommuniciat; yet apprehension of them for prison, as law provided, was at this tyme not thought expedient, left it shoulde give occasion to their desperat banding. Other printed overtures were agreed on. That frequent grievance of Edinburgh and Glafgow's mercatt on Mononday, to the unavoydable profanation of the Sabboth, was drawne near a good poynit; for, as I thought, Edinburgh com-
missioner faid, that they obtained the King's leave to change that mercat-day, which flhortlie they were minded to doe: yet it is not done. Doctor Guild was commended for his paynes in helping much to putt down the Sondayes fishynge 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 Assembly acts, had found out ane old act of the Assembly at Halyrudhouse, 1602, for abolishing simple of all fishynge 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 Arminianisme, gave us in his minde in written Theses, which made him more suspicieux then ever: When we posd him, if he would subferyve the acts of the Synod of Dort, he faid he had never seen them: We referred him to the committee of Dundee, ordaining him to subferyve the Synod of Dort's acts in these questions, or to be depofed; yet he offered willinglie to subferyve our Covenant, with the Affembly's declaration. The Marqueis declaration having come some dayes before to the Assembly's hand, there was a committee appointed for consideration of it, which prefented this day their labours to us, fhowing the imposibility to agree the Affembly's declaration with the Commissioner's; for indeed they stood in terms extreamelie opposite; the one declaring, that by the Covenant Epifcopacie and Perth articles were fworn to be defended, the other, that by that Covenant both were abjured: the paper ye have at (I).

25. Wednesdaiy, the 19th of December, was our penult feffion. In it a number of supplications for ministers to transport, and of people to have ministers transported to them; but not one of these who required transportation. Mr. Andrew Cant was too easlie (we thought) induced to be transported from Pitsligo to Newbottle, as also Mr. James Sharpe and Mr. John Hamilton to fhew their obedience, at the parochiners defyre to the Assemblie, to be sett in Paisley, after Mr. Robert Dowglaifs, Mr. James Hamilton, and I, peremptorilie had refused. I forgote my cousin the minister of Paisley's proceffe: he was the firt minister we depofed: a number of uglie doctrines laid to his charge. I held off 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 Assemblie for all tyme to come, on condition he might brook his place; but when no affureance could
be made of his continuance in Paisley, in regard of the parochiners great, and univerfall, and most just dilyke, he did not compeir at all: so sentence went against him in all was allledged. Since, he hes lurked, and carried himself far more cannilie then any of that fyde; yet without any remorse for any error, as if in any doctrine he had truelie sinned. There fell, in this day, a most pitifull contest: the toun of St. Andrewes supplicat for Mr. Robert Blair to be their minister; the toun of Aire, with tears, deprecated that oppressio : Mr. Robert himself most earneftlie opossed it; for befide the great burden would fall on him in that toun, and the fatal unhappines of that ministrie, he was as farr engaged in affection with Aire, by the success of his ministrie, and the largenes of their charities, as any minister 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 against the proveft John Stewart's teares, and Mr. Robert's prayers: It was referred to a committee that night in my chamber, Caifsills, Lindefay, the Moderator, and a number of other noblemen and ministers. However, my heart pitied much the cafe, (and if it went through, it was a most dangerous preparative to rent any man from the flock his foul was bound to, and others to him, to be fraftened 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 Assembleie, the man's tranportation. It went hardlie; for the pitifull complaints of John Stewart, craving at leift a delay till Aire might be acquainted with this motion, and prepared to give in their reafons againit it, did move manie, yet not the half; fo the fame Assembleie pleased and greived exceedinglie that toun by taking from them at once two ministers: yet they have keeped till Mr. Blair, almoft by force; else, how unwilling foever, he had gone away, for he makes conscience to obey the Assembleie in all their commandements.

That day, after some reafoning, an act was made, which ye see in print, against the civill power of churchmen, and of their incapacity of any place in Parliament; to which I heartilie, without any scruple, did condefcend: yet we appointed a number of ministers and young noblemen and barrons, not commissioners for Parliament, to wait on the next Parliament, as the Assem-
blie’s agents, to petition in the name of the Church, a number of things, wherein I wish them good speed. A draught of a supplication from the Assemblie to the King, was presented and approved, and to-morrow one act made for the perfection, and presenting of it. The thing that among others did offend the King, as was said, in that excellentlie well-penned supplication, was the subscryving 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 mis-taking in our Prince; for our Assemblie acts are subscryved by no moe hands: and these two alone are better than a thousand others; for all others are bot for themselves, but yond two represents all in law and reason.

26. This was our last day, Thursday, 20th of December; a blyseen day to all, onlie to me in one thing sorrowfull. Haveing foreseen yester-day that this day the naill would be called to the head, a ground would be laid of great difputt and needlefs trouble by one ordinance to subscryve needlelie the one part of our long difputts; to wit, that all Episcopalie 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 these evils preveened, which then I thought I fore-faw. The night before the Committee mett in my chamber, I could that night get none studied; 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 tymie to confider; onlie, I think, for my motion’s caufe, my Lord Lowdon, in the act of subscryveing the Covenant with the Assemblie’s declaration, caufed put in expresslie, that these onlie should be required to subscryve of new, who had not before subscryved: yet this was to me bot a cold comfort, to goe free myself, and others to be oppreßed who were in my minde. In voyceing of this act, whereunto all did yeild, I was readie to have diffented; which, for my good allanerlie, left I alone should so oft be found contradicting the synod, my Lord Lowdon pre-veened, by moveing the Clerk passe by my name in calling the catalogue. This passagie, some parts of it, came to Balquann-quall’s eares, by some of his buffie fleas, who were still creeping among us; which presentlie he related to the King, disguifed

(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 thankfull to his late patron, my Lord of Canterburie, for his last 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, (2) a number of fillie fables, invented for our disgrace; which, I think, long ere now his Majestie knows to be much otherwayes, and will see to his honour, in taking order with thefe 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.

Diverse 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 infpe6ion alone of fuch treatifes as concerns the church regifters: howfoever, some words of the act founds farder; yet I thinke the youth understand no more; and if he did take ane univerfall superintendencie of our prefies, it would foone be remedied. We choo3e our Clerk to be Advocat for the Church, and Mr. William Doglishe [Dalgleifli] to be our Agent. We appointed our nixt Afsamble to be at Edinburgh. In the end, the Moderator acknowledged the great goodnes of God and of the King; thanked much the town of Glafgow, and gave them a fair commendation for care and paynes to give the Afsamble all contentment; also my Lord of Argyle, for the comfort of his affiftance from the beginning to the end. Mr. John Row took up the 133d Pfalme, and the bleffing being faid, we all departed with great comfort; with humble joy caft- ing 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 promise, if fo be thir papers come to your hands. Difpenfe with the evill wryte; readilie ye may like better my own evill hand than the better hand of another. Thir are for yourself alone; for the putting of them abroad might work me prejudice; but I doubt nought of your discretion, else I would be loath fo oft to truft yow with my greateft secreits.

Yours,

[Robert Baillie.]
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 your my meditation this morning. Ye, among many, have been witnesses 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 Episcopacie, 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 conceived in such terms, and grounded on such reasons, which could not be subfcryved 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 otherwayes fallen forth; the lawfulnes of Episcopacie, and of these unhappie Articles, were, in the voteing of these acts, expresslie denied to be called in question; for all that, the voyces of the house did inferre that conclusion, and, as I thought, somewhat more, the Abjuration of all thefe by our Church, and that of old by the verie Confession of Faith. I thought enough for me, in my publik voyceing, to declare my minde; to make any long reasoning it was not expedient: I was alone in this opposition; my reasons were not prepared, for I did not expect the agitation of these questions; I was put in hope, that in the framings of the Acts, ere they were booked, a temper might be used for the satisfaction of these scrupulous minde, as mine was; and, however, while the common enemie was greedilie gaping for all occasions of discord among us, I resolved, for my part, to contend for nothing, bot in all modestie to tell my minde where I differed, without disputacion; especially being put in full hope, that thir synodick conclusions should never be prested on our confections; that our subscription to them, under the great paines of deposition and excommunication, should never be required. But 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 doe I cannot tell! Who ever in any tyme hereafter will refuse to subscribe the Confession of Faith, as it is now sett down, will be lyable to the hyest paines the Church can inflict. No man can subscribe a write simplicie without limitation, as every Confession must be subscribed, 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 but that of Saint Paul's, and all the five Articles of Perth, what shall become of us who are persuaded in our mindes, for all that we have yet heard, that some Episcopal diversely from that of St. Paul's, to witt, that of the constant 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 used and taken, be condemned, as having no warrant in the word of God, and Episcopal, as this day used and taken in the Church of Scotland and England, and defended in our Prelates late declination, yea, in the Commissioner his Grace's declaration, be to be condemned as popish, and contrary 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 divers churches, and ours among the rest, as a policie inexpedient for them. It is one thing to palle by a policie as inexpedient, and another to abjure it as contrarie to some article of the Confession of Faith. This same we think of Perth Articles: the reasons of our judgement ye have no tyme to take now, nor we to give them. Onlie I humblie 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 subscription of the Confession of Faith with the abjuration of Episcopal 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 unhappy disputations on foot in our Church for ever, which we hoped might have for ever hereafter been buried; ye lay on yourselfe a necessity of perfecuting 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 fearles, God
grant I may be found idle and foolish: however, I give yow a
 tymous warning, with assurance to carrie my self, doe what ye will,
 so quietlie as ye can withe any man in the world of my judgement.
 I reft your Brother.

TO MR. DAVID DICKSON.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER, 21st of July, 1639.

I doe not keep this dayes tryft;\(^2\) thinking that my Lord Boyd
will be eafť, as I fee the letter to the Noblemen prefes all to be,
if he be there, I wifh ye confirme him in the great equitie of pay-
ing all his teynds there to the publick, without seeking any tack:
his teinds, and almoft the reft, is undervalued the full half; the
viccarage, which might well pay a thousand pound, is putt to
nothing: if he require two or three chalders in tack, and the reft
doe fo proportionallie, there will be no good gotten there; if he
will for God’s caufe let that fimall commoditie fall, the reft 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, fo all would goe
well; for Kilmarnock, might be establisht ten chalders vietuall,
for his helper fyve, for his schoolmafter one, for the new kirk
seven, for the schooll of it one, for the hospitall the four hundred
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 Montgomerie tells me, that
Glafgow was earnet with his father and him for your removeall;
after I proponed to him some confiderations, I made him half to
confent 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 commiiffion againft that privie article, which, I conceive, was framed for me alone; for no other of all the old commiiffioners needed to be changed for no subfcrivye of the Asfemblie’s declaration, but I only. I know I have furthered in the laft Asfemblie, and evir before, since my entrie in the miniftrie to this day, the good of our Church to my power: I am confeous 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 Inftuctions did fo command, and ye were fo willing, and the voyces of our meeting did fo think meet: only I befeech yow be conffant in your promife, which ye have repeited to me oft in the name of God, (not for respect to me, or any other, but for the justice ye profesfe ye fand in my propofition,) the ferial agenting in the next Generall Asfemblie of two Acfts; One of obli-
vion of all hes paft in our controversies of discipline to this day; fo that all honest brethren, who are moft willing in praftife to live according to the prefent discipline, without any endeavour fo long as they live to make the leift change therein, may incurre no trouble for their thoughts and tenets of the lawfullnefs of fome Epifcopacie and the Articles of Perth, which they are perfuaded not to be un-
lawfull, not to be againft God’s word, or abjured by our church, or any church; Nixt, an act, that intrants in their oath, or rather an advertance that in the oath of intrants, (if the Asfemblie make any,) there be no clagg to trouble their confeience about their judgement in thefe controversies of discipline. If God blefs yow in thefe endeavours, I will take yow for a bleffed and happie in-
strument 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 difcouragement; ftilf expecting that thefe who gives now commandments to hold off the Asfemblie thofe who will not subfcrive the late Asfemblie’s declaration, and commands to putt all to this fubfcription, will not faill to put me one day, and fome 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 needlefs difquiet; which eafilie may be avoyded, if ye fett your heart quicklie, as ye promife, to obtain in your nixt Asfemblie, thefe your happie Overtures. This much, by purpofe, hes dropped from my pen, for the eafe of my somewhat perplexed minde. I am more afraid for our inward divifion, from the feed caft in that Declaration, than for the King’s fword, and the utter-
moist of our inraged 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 yow 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 impeshed your Lordship with any of my motions at this tyme, of trait and full of great affaires, had not your Lordship’s more nor ordinar facilitie in hearing me, at all tymes, invited, and the perplexitie of my burthened minde forced me, to speak out my preffent 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 hastle, from any other instrument. My knowledge of the deep foreight, of the great equitie, and, where need is, compassionatenefe of your Lordship’s minde; alfo of that well deferved authoritie which your Lordship hes this day in our kirk, and singular dexteritie, by wisdome and diligence, to obtaine in our Assemblie all your juft defyres, though never fo great difficulties should cast themselves 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 reft of my confidence is alone in the God of truth and justice, who ufeth to hear the sighs of thofe who are cauleslefie oppriffed, that he, in due tyme, will not faill to remeid thofe evills, which, it feares me, too foone the unjust rigour of fome, and carelesf inadvertence 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 thofe clauſes in it that feemes to import the abfolute condemnation of Perth Articles, and the office it felf of Bifhops. All then required was, the reference of thofe things to a free generall Assemblie; any deſigne 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 unseasonable, to set on foot then the removeall of any thing established by law, while we did pursuie 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 profefion of the lawfulness of Perth Articles and of some Epifcopacie; yea, the meeting of the brethren did authorize me to publish, in wryte, the compatibilitie of the Covenant as then it flowed, 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 fyde manie of the brethren, who otherwise were verie like to have flarted farr away.

Notwithstanding, when it came to the Assemblie, it was not onlie concluded of Epifcopacie as used and taken in the Kirk of Scotland, but absolutelie of all Epifcopacie whatsoever, different from the pastor 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, bot 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 should be in this fene; and that, expreslie 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 subfcriyved; nevertheless against that express exception, directions hes been latelie given, and punctuallie oberved in Lothian, Perth, Fyffe, Galloway, and manie other shires, for requireing a new subfcription, with that full declaration; so that manie who before did subfcriyve were forced to it againe, and some for the refufall of that declaration alone hes been depofed from their miniftrie, and yet stands so, as I am informed: So that no man now remains secure, bot that against both the words and the minde of that Assemblie act he may, when his neighbours will, be put to a new subfcription, and that, as it seemes with verie good and inevitable reafon: for if that declaration be trulie such a materiall part of the Covenant that none can be admitted hereafter to subfcriye the one without the other, what can we say for our refufall of it, which, in equitie, may not be rejected with didaine? how can we require of others that which our self, without trouble of minde, cannot gett performed?

Here then, it is, where we find ourselvses pitifullie enfnared, and
wishes that our snare were broken by some happy hand. We will not dispute the truth of the Assembly’s conclusion; albeit we must profess, that we have seen to this day no reason inclining our mind to think that our Kirk in the 1580 year did abjure the Articles of Perth, and all kinds of Episcopacie, even that of the ancient kirk, and of our own superintendents, as contrary to any article of her Confession of Faith: but this now being concluded, we defy not againe it should be called in question; onlie suppose us here to err, yet it would be considered if this our error be truely before God of such a weight, that for it alone, and for no other challenge at all, a number of pure ministers, who, to their knowledge, heserved God faithfullie in their calling, deViews to be cast out of their places; yea that sundrie, perhaps, of the nobilitie and gentrie, let be burgesses and commons, who, without diffimilation, in the fear of God, may be forced to speak out their minde one day, somewhat contrary to that declaration; that even these, for this onlie cause, ought to be cast out of the Kirk, and excommunicate as enemies, not onlie to some acts of our Assembly, but unto the very Confession of Faith, and Covenant of our kirk with God.

This rigorous severitie is fallen out farr by the expectation of my weak and blind minde; I did never fear, when I had concurred to the uttermost 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 cause my soul, my life, my meane estate, as farr as any; yet because I did differ from my brother in one onlie argument which infers our conclusion, agreeing fullie with them in the conclusion itself; for I remove as firmlie as any, and that upon arguments anew, all these things out of our Church for ever, albeit I be not yet satisfied of our Church’s old abjuration; I did never expect, that for this sole and onlie cause, an Act should be fett 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 just and reasonable, that numbers of us onlie, because we cannot believe that Perth Articles, and all kinds of Episcopacie, was abjured by our kirk at the first forming of her short Confession of Faith, bot are most willing to binde oursevles by any oath, or any other band that can be invented to oppose, to our dying day, the bringing back in our kirk any of Perth Articles, or any imaginable kinde of Episcopacie; consider, I say, if above the heads of men so disposed, there ought to stand Acts which makes us cenurable, when any of our evill-willers pleaseth, by
all the paines whereunto anti-covenanters are now lyable, or may hereafter be made subject.

By what way any securitie can be made for our securitie, so long as the fore-named Act of the late Assembly stands in force, I doe not fee. Notwithstanding, the shortnes of my fight lets me not tyne hope; bot that your Lordship's piercing eye may at once fall upon some expedient, for the invention whereof manie of us shal bless your Lordship, as the most happie instrument of the quietnes both of our mindes and estates: yet, if it fall out so, that no reall means can be found out to put us in safetie, we resolve to rest in the Providence of God: If hereafter, manie a faithful minister, with his wife and children, be undone; if question 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 answer 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 pleased to think on the finding out of some Overture for putting manie of our mindes to rest: readilie the act I have here subjouynd, or one like it in substance and purpose, might help all; bot this I remitt to your Lordship's wyldome, and, however it goe, finds myself much obliged to remaine, for manie former favours, a supplicant to God my master for your Lordship's wellfare.

[Robert Baillie.]

[To Mr. William Spang.]

Coosin,

[September 28th, 1639.]

Ye have here the rest of my papers concerning the Assembly of Glagow: also 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 seven moneths bygone, hes been verie manie, and verie strange: I doubt if the providence of God sheltering a poor Church from imminent ruine, with a power, wyldome, goodnes, clearlie divine, hes ever in any land shyned so brightlie as in ours these dayes: the hand of our God hes now well near led us all down from the stage of extremke danger, that we may all go about, in our old securitie, everie one his own neglectted affaires, with a mutuall amitie, and a most univerfall joy. Our Prince is brought off so well as may be, and much more ho-
nourable than any could have dreamed, from the pursuernce the revenge of enraged churchmen, who would neither endure to amend their crimes, nor suffer the cenfure of their obstinacie. Our State is securc from the wrath of our misinformed Prince, from the armes of our neighbour kingdomes, and a strong faction among ourselve. Our Church has gotten a full purgation, and hee caft forth freele all the corruptions that did infect either doctrine or discipline. We are put in possession of Generall Assemblies and Parliaments according to our minde; the soveraigne medicines against the sudden return of such mortal diseases amongst us. The Canterbury faction in our land, which, with full failes, was hayling us all away to Rome for our religion, to Constantinople for our policie; who was not carefull much to cover their intention to have our Church presentlie popish, and our State flavish, alone that they themselfes might have their defyred honour, wealth, pleasure, whatever di displeasure thereby could come to God, or difcourage to their prince, or ruine to their countrey; that faction is now broken, lying in the pitt of shame and poivertie in a strange land, pitied by none, helped by verie few, and that bot in such a measure, as to their proud and prodigall stomachs, brings rather ane increafe of byting and tormenting distlaine, than any sweetnefs of a present relief, or ground to expect a redres to their miferies in any following tyme. We, by the favour of our God, and grace of our King, are put in such a condition, that thefe of our neighbours who in all Europe were beholding the theatre of our Ile thir bygone years, with the eye of compassionat pitie, and ane heart afraid, not with the farr prognostiifications, but the imminent appearances of our woeful calamities, or else, according to their contrarie interesse, were gazing with ane eye kindled with ane overjoying hope to see the long-envyed prosperitie of our happie Ilands change to thefe confusions that might open a fair port to carry in the chariot of their great goddefle on earth, the Pope, and catholick King, to reign in our Church and State, and, by this new accresse of impire, be much furthered in erecting that fift Monarchie, which the Jesuits hes been long hatching for their darling the Spanish King, had not the puritanick Calvinists, especiallie in Britain, laid hitherto some straes in their way; thefe our neighbours, I fay, will now reap the fruit of their former affections, either, by their sweet congratulations, to partake in our present rejoicinge in our God, and humble thanksgivings to our King, or else, by turning their back and hydeing 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 ane inch enlarged; yea, to be amazed with feares, leif the evenishing of their best devysed plotts here into wind and reik, be a divine preage of the downfall of all their cunning contrivements over fea, and of the redemption of the churches abroad from that oppression 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 correspondant to the extraordinarie exigents of the tymes, I with ye had them well descryved: they could serve our friend for verie good purpose, to be materials for his Latine storie,(7) wherein I hope he will go on; not onlie because that Declaration will be a full apologie to stop the mouth of all his calumniators, and a certain meane to procure to him the readie patrocinie of the best in this land, to answer ever for him, and that hotelie, against all who would hereafter, for any bygone mistakes, move their tongue against his fame; but speciallie, because the continuance of that discourse would be a good office towards his native countrey, to which he is tyed, both because he hes begun, and is well approven for his labour, and is tollerable well furnished with all parts needfull for that take. I shall be glad for my part to fend to yow, for his use, 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 winns 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 publick view, I perswade my self, will give great contentment to all minds who are inclined towards a laudable curioistie to underland and behold all the stringes of that muntoire; that seeing the motion go on by the counter-passing of so manie small wheels, everie one running on their own axle, he may be ravished with the strength of the first mover, and delighted with the sight of the skill of the great engyner, whose hand hes framed the first great wheel, and hes fet all together with such 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 these precise lynes

(7) Notwithstanding the mode in which Baillie speaks of "our friend," he evidently refers to Spang himself; and his "Latine Storie," might be the work entitled "Rerum nuper in Regno Scotiae gestarum Historia," &c. Dantis, 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 such tymes to be pointed at: Bot, in the meantyme, the world of common witts, who are contented to behold the outvide, without deeper inquirie, careing 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 searce into the caufes of the motion, and wayes how publick affaires hes been carryed through; the moft of the world consisting of fuch fimple and blunt spirits, muft not be disappointed. Bot while our noble agents gett leaure from the importunitie of their laborious actions, which yet is not ended, to give a fight of their wryttings(5), wherein to fuch noble mindes as their own, they may be pleaeed 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 ftrangers over fea, behold that face of matters, which the blindeft among us hes seen this while bygone, and much admired. For his service and better furtherance, I fhall goe on where I left with thefe paffages, which now comes to my minde. Ye fhall have them in that fhape that they were prefented to the eye of us, the common people, and in that order wherein they fland in a very weak memorie, fome moneths after their paffing by.

The Supplication which we decreed in the Asfemble of Glaflgow to be fent to the King, could hardlie be gotten prefented. Howfoever, manie would have ventured to have gone with it, though their head should have gone therefore; yet, understanding the increafe of the King's wrath, and the danger there was, even in peaceable tymes, for any fubje<ref>ct</ref> 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 poynits of State; also 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 busines; it was resolved, that none of note or parts, fhould go up, without greater affurance for their returne; than could for that tyme be

(5) 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 affairs 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 1830. 4to.
expected; and withall a gentleman of the Marquis of Hamilton's acquaintance, Mr. George Winrham, undertook, on all hazards, to deliver to the Marquis the supplication; and upon his refusal, to give it to the King himself. He was no worse than his word; as, indeed, some of our fair-undertaking statesmen thereafter did prove. He went to Court, shew to the Marques his errand; his Grace acquainted the King; who was pleased that the supplication should be receiv'd; so his Grace took it, and on his knee did read it to his Majesty in the Council. The best answer then it got was, the Scottifh proverb, "When they have broken my head, they will put on my coule." However, the gentleman stayed many weeks for an answer, but receiv'd none. He did us good offices there; though his letters, which were like to be frighted, were full of great feares and English braggs, yet diverfe of his more secret ones shew, so long as he remained there, the true estate of the Court, which was not very terrible.

We in the mean time went on with our affaires, held the committee appointed by the Assemblie: many ministers, who remained obstinate in scandalles, were depofed at Edinburgh, St. Andrewes, Dundie, Irvine, and elsewhere; how justly, the reports of these Committees diligence to the late Generall Assemblie at Edinburgh, did declare; where, before the King's commissioneer, all the depofed ministers who pleas'd were heard to plead, and all of them who kythed penitent for their misdemeanour were receiv'd.

The Councell of England, after long aduytement, permitted the King, I would have said, consented to the King's defyre, to enter in a course of warr against us. The first assurance we had of this conclusion, was the oath exacted of our nation at Court, of renouncing the Assemblie and our band, promising also the King their full affittance, 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 standard at York against the first of Apryle, where he was to goe to the border to oppose the Scotts there, who were to invade England; and the third was the commiision, which the Marquis of Hamilton's man caried to the north, for the Marquis of Huntley to be lieutenant to the King in these parts, with great authoritie.

Thir alarmes put us out of all doubt of our enemies intention quicklie to sett upon us. Our first care, was to send in a true Information to England of all our purposes: we had some 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, especiallie of that
vile calumnie of our intention to invade England, or to cast off our
dutifull obedience to our Prince. This piece, as was thought old
Durie's hand chiefflie, did us good service; for it fatifified fo fullie
the hearts of that nation, that our adverfaries, being extreamlie
galled with our successe, moved the King to make that pitifull
Declaration (B.) of the 27th of Februay; where we are, contrare
to all reaon and law, declared, in all the churches of England,
the fouleft traitors and rebells that ever breathed. Bot at once
we loft nought by that moft injurious dealing; for our innocencie
was fo well remonfrat in print, by thefe three or four moft daintie
sheets of Mr. Henderfon's, that we, over all England, began to be
much more pitied then before, and our inraged partie, the bithops,
to be the more detested.

Our nixt care was, to have all our mindes cleared of the law-
fullnes of our defence. No man doubted more of this than my
self; yea, at my subferyving of the Covenant, I did not difsemble
my contrare resolution; for I had drunken in, without examination,
from my master Cameron, in my youth, that flavifh tenet,
that all reftantce to the Supreame Magiftrate, in anie cafe, was
simpie unlawfull: bot fetting my selfe to diligent reading, and
prayer for light in that queftion, which the tymes required peremp-
torlie to be determined, without delay, I fand many doubts loofed,
especiallie by Bilfon, Grotius, Rivett, and the Doctors of Aber-
deen, who were alleagd to be moft oppofed to that tenet.
Being fullie cleared in my own minde, as my fashioned, I held not
long in my resolution. At our meeting in Edinburgh, being fo
defyred, I gave out that sheet or two, which I gave yow, for which
I got manie thanks, of the lawfullnes of our Defence by armes.
My Lord of Caflilis, who had drunken of the fame fountain with
me, by his obftinat refufeall to joyn in anie course tending to a
forcible reffittance, did give great offence to verie manie: nothing
was more hinderfull to us, than that gracious man's example, with-
drawing from the refi on mere confience. When he was given
over of all as desperate, 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
countrie, as any of his neighbours. Diverfe papers went then
abroad upon this queftion, some whereof was not voyd of scandall;
especiallie one of a prettie schollar, Mr. G[illifpie], 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 cuftome is; so it was not so satisfactory as his other wryts: for this cause, though read out of many pulpits, yet he would not let it go to the preffe: but one of our deposed miniffers would eafe him of that expenfe. Mr. Corbett, to whom I had obtained favour in our committee at Irvine, and had moved him, under his hand, to passe from his declinature of the Generall Assemblie and joyne in our Covenant in all things so far as I went myfelf; yet, upon fome splene, as it feemes, or rather rashnes in fome of his brethren of the Prefbytie of Dumbritane, he is put to the fubferyving of the Assemblie’s declaration, farr befyde our minde; which not being willing to doe, he flies away to Ireland; and there, to fliow 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 matter, and fo much fpytefull venome, as no man would ever have conceaved to have been lurking in his heart againft 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 defperat doctrine of abolute submifion to princes; that notwithstanding of all our laws, yet our whole eftate 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 juft and lawfull overaignitie, 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 fought from strangers? The fardeft that was resolved, was to fend over one Colvime, (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 Colvine or Colville. Lord Hailes published a letter from Colville 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 intreatie, 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 negleécted; not so much as a manife
to was ever divulged to strangers by us; wherein we were great fools,
for it was much to our prejudice. Our partie failed not in all lan-
guages to poyn*t us out as desperat rebels; and so farr, by their
calumnies, preposstified the minds of forraigne princes, that the
King of Denmark seased on our armes, and thought meet to
break off with us the lawes of nations, at leift of friendship;
whereof he much repented, when he heard the true flate of our
affaires by Cochrane; but avowed we had juftifie provoked him by
our mifregard to give him information as a neighbour prince in
so publick ane exigent.

We were hopefull of powerfull affifiance 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 affifiance
of the Spanziard. Denmark was not satysfied with manie of our
prince's proceedings, and was much behind with the Crown of Brit-
tain, since his ward with the Emperor. Swaine was fullie ours to
have granted us all the help they could fpare from Germanie. Bot
we resolvéd to make no ufe of any friendship abroad, till our cafe
were more desperat than yet we took it. We flill hoped to bring
of our Prince by fair meanes, which had not been fo easie if we had
brought once forraigne forces within the Ifle. We were hopefull,
by the affifiance of God, to make our partie good by our felf alone.
The affifiance of Lutherans, let be of Papifts, 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 infolencies where they came on
their own charges to fight. Above all, a league with forraigners
had made England of neceffitie our partie; the evill in the world
we moft declyned, and our adverfaries did moft ayme at.

The leffe oue deffigne was for help from abroad, our diligence
was the greater to make good ufe of our meanes at home. There
was eftablished by common confent, to reside at Edinburgh con-
stantlie, a generall Committee of some noblemen, barons, and bur-
gers; alfo in everie fhyre, and whyles in everie presbytrie, a parti-
cular committee for the bounds, to give order for all militarie af-
fares, the raising of men, provision of arms, getting of monie with all diligence. To show the wilde and dexteritie of this new foot, (1) fee two of their first orders, (C.) wherein they take so good course for our whole land, as then was possible. Much help we gott from good Generall Leslie, who fast daylie with our general committees: his advise 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 Generalissimo, 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, muskett, picks, canons; wherein, from Holland, Swaine, Germanie, we were prettie well answered.

It was in that meeting of March much agitatet, If it were expedient to seafe on the places and perfons of our countrie, wherein the great confidence of our enemies was placed, to work by them chiefflie our ruine? It was not doubted but such prevention was most expedient for our safetie; but much question there was about the lawfullnes of beginning the course of violence on our part. It was concluded to attempt nothing till yet our affaires were more defferate; onlie order was given to levy with diligence two thousand foot in the shyres befoorth 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 diligentie trained, that they might be a seminarie of fojours for the trayning of the countreyes, whence they were lifted, and lie on the south border, to join with the countrey there, against any incursion from England; but above all, that we might have men on foot to hinder the gathering to one head of any partie for the King in these Southland quarters. Also, a meeting was appointed by my Lord Argyle, firft in Perth, with the noblemen and gentlemen of the North, for advysement anent the securing of all these countreyes, as far as Sutherland, from any commotion among themselves, or invasion of other; thereafter in Lorne, with the Ilesmen, to gett securitie of their loyaltie to our countrie at thir fo dangerous tymes.

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

(1) 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 subtil challenges: by his letters to the King and some of the prime courteous, he gave a bold and a true account of our Assemblie's proceedings. When he was halfe 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 country, and his resolution to joyn in the maintainance 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 miscarriages, 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 perfone, furthered, of necessity, by his removeall from the top of businesse, forced him to excuse his disobedience to both thir verie unreasonable commands. To the meeting at Perth he invited his good brother Huntley, as being mainlie intended for securing the peace of the North, wherein he had great interest, from the robberies of John du Gare, and James of Grant,(3) and other such outlaws: but the Marquis excused his absence by manie shifts. That man hes never been to this day fast or honest in anie purpose, 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 ingadged him for their service against us. Alwaysie such couerse was taken at Perth with the Northland gentrie, that we were not meikle sollicit for the Marquis feed, and all [who] would take his part. In Lorne, Argyle took so good order with the Isles-men as might be; his danger here was greateft. Sir Donald Gorrum, the Clan Ronald, and manie others, were hatching a mischief, to joyn with the Earl of Antrim, the chief of the Clangonald, who was, with the King's money and authoritie, to come with forces from Ireland to Kintyre. Diverse of these unhappe clannes had no good-will to the name of Campbell, but tooke them for intruders upon their old possessions, and was glad to fee the day, when, with the King's good-will, they might recover their ancesftors patrimonie from them; yea, Argyle's own brother at Court was thought to be on this counsell: but God disappointed all their malicious designs. Matters then were growing very hot; the clouds was thickened on all quarters; our merchands and travellers everywhere in England and Ireland were handled as re-

(3) John Dugar or Macgregor, whom Spalding emphatically calls "ane Hieland rogue," and James Grant, uncle of John Grant of Carron. (Hist. of the Troubles, vol. 1. pp. 8, 121, 222, &c.)
bells, their goods scathed on, themselves made sure. The English bands were gathering fast at York; hudge foumes, by way of voluntar contribution, was lifted in all the paroches of England; the subfdie of the bishops and clergie was verie great; our Scottifhmen were difmiffed 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 always 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 chainzeid, 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 joined with the Marqueis of Dowglafs, who might have reached out their hand to the Marqueis of Hamilton's followers. The town of Glafgow was, through the perverf-nesfes of some few men, much doubted. Galloway, Drumfreis, and Queenberrie, the Thofauer, and Dalzell, all which were men of fair lands, were suspected of too much willingnefs to joyn. Antrim's boats were making readie on the Irish floare; Gorrum, and others of the Clandonals, were gotten away to Ireland. The Contable of the Castl of Edinburg was f worm of new to the King, and the Marqueis of Hamilton. Captaine Stewart was come from Court to receive the Castl of Dumbartane, when the King's shippes were expected, to lay up munition, and bring in a garrifon, which caflilie might have infert 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 fo prepared, on every quarter, for our overthrow, that our Bishops affured our King, and this was given out confidentlie over all England, that he shoud need little forraigne forces for to matter us; only let him bot shew himfelf on our Borders, we should of our own accord run to confufion, or inteftine force should cruft his opposits with a small help, and it were bot of his royall countenance afar 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 goodsnes of our caufe; we were resoloved to stand be it upon all hazards whatsoever: we knew the worft, a glorious death for the caufe of God and our dear countrey.
Alwayes we resolued 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 flyres; 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 onlie 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 cheiffe adverfars, should be effayed; that, with diligence, Montrofe, with the forces of Fyfe, Angus, Perth, Mearnes, with the adyvfe of Leslie, and fundrie of his officers, should go and take order with Huntley and Aberdeen; that Argyle should fett strong guards on his coals; that Leith should be fortified. It pleased God, in all this to give us extraordinarie success: 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, par- lyed 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-ledgeds are applied to the inner gate; the walls are seale with fo much the greater cou- rage, that amazement had fo feaeth on all the fojoures within, that none of them durft fo much as drawe a sword: fo in halfe ane hour, that strong place is wonn without a stroke. So farr were the keepers free of all treafon or collusion, that the Conftable's firft retreat was to the King, where yet we have not heard of any punishment inflicted upon him. That night the noblemen fipped in the house. Thereafter great care was had by the Generall and Crouner Hamilton to better much the old fortifications, and putt to manie new ones, at ane hudge expence of monies. We thought it a great mercie of God, that a place of fuch importance was carried without any harme, either gotten or given, and took it for a happie pre- fage of the whole affair.

Dumbartane was a stregth that no force ever had winne, and what ffratagem to ufe we knew not, the capaine being fo vigilant a gentleman, and having provided it fo well with men, munition, and victualls: yet God put it in our hands moft easlie. The capaine, and moft of his fojours, being come to the church of Dumbartane, with his wife and family, on a fafting Sunday, the provet John Sempill, and Ardincaple, after the service, caused
lay hands on them all. The rest who were remaining in the house
were but few; who knowing of no rescue, after a night's siege, ren-
dered, 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 sight, was ladderit; the munition, that
so much dinn was off, feazed on; the crowne, scepter, and sword,
which (I know not how) had been transported 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 alfo was with them,) Cunninghamehead,
Blair, and a great number, so quietlie as they could, made to Ha-
miton; took in the Caffle of Straven; took securitie of all the
gentlemen of Cliddisdaill whom they suspected; went up to the
Caffle of Douglaifs, where they expected nothing but blowes and a
shamefull 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. Jofftone, in the South, had not the like successe; Carla-
verock was strong and well manned, the enemie there was the
greatest part; so Jofftone either durft not, or had not the op-
portunitie of executing his promised exploits: bot leift this fail
should encourage our foes, our noblemen and gentlemen went avow-
edlie, in great numbers, to Drumfries, and feazed on all the houfes
of our unfriends; so that all of them either joyned with us in cove-
nant, or fled to England. Carlawerock we did misken: it could
not be taken without cannon, which, without tyme and great
charges, could not have been transported from the Castle of Edin-
burgh; it might have been within a few hours rescued from Car-
lifie, 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 fett on foot fome eight or nine hundred well armed and
able men; put fome four or five hundred on Kyntyre shore, to
watche on Antrim's deignes; the reft on the head of Lorne, to
hold the iflanders and thefe tod's-birds of Lochaber, in fome awe;
went over himfelf to Arran with fome field-pieces, and tooke in,
without strokes, the Caffle of Brodick.

So foone as Montrofe did arme, fundrie of Angus and the Carle
gentlemen did joyn with us, who before had been very neutrall.
All thefe countriey 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 cowardly fear, leaves them; their bishops, doctors, and most malicious of their burgesses, shippes for England; the rest sends to parlie, but are refused: so in great fray are forced to render without condition. The discretion of that generous and noble youth was but too great. A great summe was named as a fine to that unnaturall city; bot all was forgiven. Our host did march on towards the Marquises house: neither was his witt to flee, nor courage to fight. While we were midway, he sent to parley; but we had no leasure for speeches. He then came out himself; and did under his hand sign all we required; onlie he defyr'd to be superceidet the subservyning of our formall Covenant; bot did the equivalent, did acknowledge the Assembly at Glasgow, and all the constitutions of it: undertook to joyne with us for defence with armes, against all whosoever. Bot, some dayes thereafter, when his son Boyne [Aboyne] was a-missing, and he found unwilling to give sufficient securitie for performing his promises, no man trusting much either his words or write, he is made to convoy Montrose and Leslie south to the Caftle of Edinburgh, where, for some moneths, he was left clofe prifoner.

Before the return of our armie, the houses of Drum and some other of our unfriends who had fled to England, were diffurnished of armes and victualls by some of our captains. This was much cry'd out upon by our enemies as cruell and barbarous plunderings, but a little tyme did try that we had been too great fooles not to difarm that countrey altogether, and use some fervcitie for example among them. At that tyme they had no reaason of complaining, but greatlie to commend (as they did in words) our leaders courtesie. Leith fortifications went on speedilie; above a thousand hands daylie imployed Platt up towards the sea fundrie perfect and strong bastions, well garnished 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 shore, made up such lconcnes and fuslles, and planted such a number of shipp-cannon upon batteries, that they were all in the case 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 strentches of our land came in our hands; no man among us, but these that swore they were stout friends; all otherways disposed, both nobles, gentrie, ministers, were gotten away to our professed enemies, and the whole countrie put in such an order and magnanimitie, that we
faid sensiblie the hand of God in everie thing going before us; fo all feare of human force was cleane banifhed away, and a pre

The counfellors that remained, offered to come up all of them to his Majeftie, for to give him much more true information of our pro-

His Majeftie, finding himself miscouunted of the hopes he was made to conceive of a strong partie among us, would not for all

while that motion was bot clofeley entertained, they laid it upon one of their number, my Lord Orbifloun, (1) to goe from them to reprefent, on all hazards, the justice and necelitie of our actions. This man undertook much to fpeak verie freeli, as he had done before in the countrie's quarrell: bot when he came to Yorke, he got no hearing, fo farr as we could learn. For all this, another was fent, my Lord Car-

His Majeftie, finding himself miscouunted of the hopes he was made to conceive of a strong partie among us, would not for all

The Deputie we knew, a man evill enough defpofed towards our nation, also a zealous Canterburian, moft willing to advance all the
designes of that fafion; bot fuch was the cafe of that miserable countrie, that it might spare no number of fojours. The malecon-
tentments there, for the ordinar oppreffions, has ever been great

(1) Sir John Hamilton of Orbiston, Lord Justice-Clerk.
and dangerous; but this man, by his cruel exactions of the last parliament, and the ejection of numbers out of their old possessions in the King's counties, by the bringing of the very Spanish inquisition on our whole Scottish 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 very blood was drunken out of the heart-veins of that people in their late subsidies, and these soumes 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 but 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 abfolutely 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 where to 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 compel, or much to boast them, but rather shifted their employment. The papists did not much flurre: at the beginning their offers were great; but 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 unseasoneable; 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 felt about with the armes of all the protestants in England, for their own safetie against the armed papists. The courtiers, indeed, did arme 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 anfwerable to the Parliament for countenancing ane expedition of forraigne warr, undertaken without the Parliament's advyfe; and therefore they were resolved not to concurr, leift 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 flurre, at leift fo to grumble, that at once these two brave patriots were fett free, and fent home.

Thir were the perplexities wherewith a good prince was in-thorned at Yorke, by the unhappie volleys of ane angrie bot vere imprudent clergie. We knew not then the eftate 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 leaft of the readyneff of fix or feven thousand great horfe, and thirty thousand brave foot; however, we were nought afrayed, after our experience of God's affiftance, and full peruation of the justice of our caufe, though all Europe had been on our Border.

This was about the tyme appointed for our Parliament, in the midft of May: we did little expect the holding of it in fo drumblie a feason; yet leift the fauil should have been on our fide, our commiffioners made themselves readie to keepe the day. There was a little before ane English preacher, Dr. Moyfley, come down in his habite publicklie, 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 fupplications, hoping that thereby the King yet might be brought off. The man I conferred with him at length: he seemed to me good and fimple; affured me of the truth of all my thoughts of Canterburie 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 houfe. He had come down by the King and the Bifhops knowledge and tolleration: commiffion he allledged none. He was, for all that, courteouslie receiveed of us all; he profefed full contentment in all our proceedings, and promifed to give the King better information of us than ever yet he had gotten. Bot, behold, when we are in this parley, and fome hopes of peace, the Marqueis appears in our Firth with a strong navie, and, as we were informd, a good armie of land fojours: This putt us all agaft; from all quarters we rann in haft; we in the Weft had firft fent out ane double companie, with their officers, under Captain Montgomerie, who, not onlie for his birth, but fervice abroad, was
made to Monroe the first captain; yea, of all his companies, that of Montgomerie from the sheriffdome of Aire was most commended, even publicklyie 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 countrie, sent out twelve hundred foot and horse, under my Lord Lowdoun's conduct as crouner, and Mr. David Dickfow 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 Dowglas appearing against us, wherefore the Tables there East thought meet 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; thefe about Hamilton and Munkland, my Lord Boyd; the highest with the toun of Glasgou, my Lord Montgomerie. This accreu to Baranthrow, with divers lands of Cunninghame, made my Lord Montgomerie's regiment among the strongest; but the pietie and militar discipline of his people was commended above all the rest; yea, none did doubt but in all our camp thefe of the West were most praife-worthie. They came out most readily, 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 infolences.

At the appearing of the shippes, we receaved order to come furth almost all who had armes. At this charge, my Lord Eglinton, who had been appointed with Cassilis 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: but 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 presently to fight, and all the Marqueis had within the shippes were bot a five thousand landfojours, taken up in a violent preffe; finding this, we gott order to goe back with the most of our people, to attend to the tymes of greater necessitie.

About this tyme Sir James Carmichael had returned, carrying with him, in stead of ane answer to our supplication, a most injuri-
ous proclamation, (E.) printed and published over all England in Apryle, pardoning us for bygones, offering still the conditions proposed in the Afiemblie of Glafgow, but making all to be traitors who rested not with these content; and disposed their lands and goods to their masters or tenants. This wyfe plott proved as pedantick a policie as all the former had done: not a man regarded the favour; all were more inragd with that lawles condemnng and alienating of lands. The Marqueis, when he came, send out to the Proverte of Edinburgh a trumpetter, requiring the Castle of Edinburgh and the fortifications of Leith to be put in his hand, and the proclamation to be published at the Croffe; which being done, he would come out, and as the King’s Commissoner keep the Parliament: if they were refufed, he was to execute his master’s other commandments. The answer 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 commissoners of Parliament wrote to him, as ye fee, (F i.) Reafons why they could not suffer such ane illegall and tempting proclamation be read, and withall, supplicating his Grace to mediat with the King ane hearing of our Supplications. There went manie meffages between from tyme to tyme. The opinion that men had of the Marqueis was diverse: the farr moft part took him for a bitter and malicious enemie, coming to revenge the injuries he apprehended he had gotten at Glafgow; others, amongst which few I was one, thought him yet a lover of his countrey, that the employment was thurf upon him, that he had accepted it; with a resolution to manadge it for our greatest advantage that loyalty to his prince would permitt him. It was evident, he efchewed all occasion of yocking or beginning the warr: he did not trouble a man on the fhoare with a fhott; what fishers or merchands he boarded were courteouflie ufed, nothing taken from them bot for present money, at a high rate. What fojours, indeed, or munition, he could intercept, was fent over to the King’s camp: and this was our greatest hurt; for albeit we had gotten these two years a great flore of armes, and manie officers home, yet we were fo difplenished before, and fo farr out of use, that we had need of much more: and order indeed was taken for abundance, had not the Marqueis fear flayed the trade; yet some was ftil coming to us. His strafts were greater than ours, when he came, as it were, to besiege; he was daylie at ane hudge expenfe, as the King professed, above thirty thousand pound flerling in the moneth. The English bodies could not endure to be prifoned in hippets; the want of aire and
fresh 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 of all the comfort the air and water of these Illes could furnish them, manie of them died; and when they went home, the most part of all who remained tricked pitifullie.

Our evill wifers gave it out, that we would not faill to keep a parliament without the King, wherein we would erect a new kinde of governement; bot tyme did refute that, with all the rest of our malicious partie's furnifes. I have heard some few, by way of reaoning, speek of holding parliaments, in tymes of extreame danger, without the King; bot 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 sent in to prorogate the Parliament, after some little reaoning 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 proteftation; wherein also we made our enemies false prophets. Onlie, at that tyme, the members of the Parliament, in my hearing, did give order for one verie ample commiffion to Generall Leslie,\(^2\) of sovereigntie commandement over all our forces by fea and land, on horfe or foot, of all our strengths, munitions, and all without any provifio bot one, that he should be subject to anfwer to the Courts ecclefiaftick and civill, according to the settled laws of the kingdome; also because [Colonel Lindefay of] Belftane, who had the charge as Captaine in the Caffle of Edinburgh, was complean-ed on by the Provoft of Edinburgh, as a man of no fuch 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 bishops iftigation, had a particular spleen at the man; also these 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 shippes; bot the poore hopes yet we had of peace would not let us begin any

\(^2\) Field-Marshall Sir Alexander Leslie of Balgony, who so distinguished himself by his military services abroad, and was promoted by Gustavus Adolphius, to be his Lieutenant-General. He returned to Scotland in 1633, and was created Earl of Leven in 1641.
act of warre; be the contrare, in all our preparations for defence, our open supplications was still displayed in our right hand. When the Earle of Effex, a little before, had come down to Berwick, with the charge of some thousand foot, we sent to him an earnest letter, that he would mediate with the King to hear our supplication, and be loath himself, who was so wyfe 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 dayes of many generations. Such is the obsequiousnes and almost superflitious devotion of that nation towards their Prince, that Effex durst not so much as open that letter, but sent it clofed to the King; yet asfured [us] of ane short anfwer, if it were the King's will to fend it back to him. Alaways we shew him in private the copie, wherewith he was not evill pleafed. The man was thought a good patriot, not much the factious way, or farr adverfe to our caufe; however, he was at once removed from our Border, readilie for fear of infection; neither did I hear fince, 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. Henderfon, in termes fo submis, that fome were not pleafed with the fframe, fearing left the basenes of it fhould be imputed to our quakeing for the approching of the King's armes; yet little in it was altered; only Argyle was defyrediv to wryte with him, in a flouter ftyle, a common letter to Pembroke and Holland, (G.) and would have done the like to Arundaill and Vaine; bot fome excepted at giving fo much honour to thefe who were reputed our malicious enemies. Diverfe reported better of both, yet it was carriied to hold on a generall claufe, that the firt two fhould communicat their letter to whom of the Councill of England they thought meet. The supplication and letter you have here doubled; of thefe we gott no anfwer: we heard the man was honeft, that he reported favourable of all he had feen and heard among us; and therefore was committed, lef his reports going too farr abroad, fhould have en-deared 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 fyne sparke, kindled by a raff and profane man, Bamfe Ogilbie, both malecontented at the beginning, for the Marqueis cowardice, resolves yet to trie their strength. When they began to gather, the Mafter of Forbes and my Lord Frafer, 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 unhappie, but yet both good and stout youth, the Master of Forbes: bot though that proved fallie, and our skaith 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 haste to take all advantages of his scarce hoped-for victorie. He rann over the countrie, repoffed Aberdeen, which was not unwilling to be brought back to their old friends; advertised the King of his succeffe, and prayed for supplie. The matter was of confequence; Ogilbie and the Marquefs’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; Scaforth and Raes were both fuspe6ted; Murray alfo was not our friend. Our friends lay either farder North than to make us any fpee6ie help, or else were fattered and frayed by Forbes’s defait; we could hardly 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 promising to fend to the coaft of Angus and Mearnes fome shippes to doe fome harme. It was thought, that the moft, if not all the land-fojours which the Marqueis had, was intended at firft for Huntley’s service; bot God disappointed that very dangerous intention, by keeping the navie fome weeks longer on the English coaft than was expected, even till Huntley was in hands, and all his defignes broken. Yet if at this fame tyme a confiderable supplie had been fent to Bamfe, he had wrought us much woe; bot Montrofe, at once, with Marifchall, who before this were avowedlie joyned to our fyde, as alfo Dumfermling, for our dangers joyned more to our partie, and put none away; thefe two valiant noble youthes made haste with all the friends they could gather: the toune of Dundie, and my Lord Kinghorne, both by his own following, and speciallie by my Lord Arroll’s vaffalls, to whom he was tutor, being his fitters fone, thir did us much help in all our northern expeditions. So foone as our armie appeared, Bamfe dißolved his forces, Aberdeen randered, at once all was carried before us. Bot ere it was long, our forces lykewise dißbanded, it was thought, on fome malecontentment, either at Montrofe’s too great lenitie in fparring the enemies houfes, or somewhat else. While our noblemen are befieging fome of the enemies caftles, they fee themfelues felen-derlie backed; they hear of the King’s shippes at Aberdeen; for
then the Marquefs had sent some shippes wherein the citizens, who before had fled from Aberdeen, returned, and some noblemen with them, as Glencairne, (who unhappie all this tyme, otherways than his forbears, to the losseing of the heart of all his friends, for the Marquefs's pleasure had deferted his countrie,) Tillibardine, Lithgow, Kinnoule, and others; we considerit how foone Baunfe might draw together his bands, and compaffle us, then being fo weake: upon the fight of thir dangers, they resolved in diligence to retire, that they might returne with a stronger convoy.

The wifdom of God, from the first day of this great affaire to this prefent houre, hes been pleased so to dispence his favors, that with the caufes of our rejoicing there was ever at once intermixed some matter of no small difficultie, whereby to sharpen our prayer, and exercife our faith to believe in the strong 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 ourselves 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 calls for our face; also the Weft being in no small frayes for the Irifh invasion: for the eftate of that countrey we did not then understand; only we heard that Crowner Bruce was sent about with fome officers to the Earle of Antrim, who, after long disappointment, had gotten money to levie fojours; that he had in readines fundrie flatt-bottomed boats; that fundrie troupes of the trained bands were come down to the floare; that the noblemen and gentlemen of our nation there had drawn on themselves and poor tennents a pitfull flawe, a scanda-lous oath, wherein not only they fwear the renuneeing of our Covenant, bot fundrie other things, which ftands against the tender confience of manie of our people: numbers of them, through this oath, are like to be undone. One Trewman ane English[man], being fupplicant by a cuning fellow to curry favour with the Bishop of Derrie, was apprehended, and confeffed, that he had heard that knave's motion to him, without fiffenting, of joyning with the Scots, if a partie should come over to Ireland; bot withall did avow, that he had never any fuch resolution, let be plott, for accomplifhment of any fuch motion. For this confefion he is hanged, and quartered half-quick, after the English fashion, as traitor. The knowledge of thir things put all the people in the Weft floare 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. These also
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 flippes did priſe to land. This made us fee a dangerous policie, whereof we were more afraid, than of any thing elfe. It was our great defyre to have at once been at handie-strokes, well understanding that the ferd of our hott spirits could not long bye in edge, alfo that our povertie could not long permitt us to keep the fields together. If the flipps should keep us befieged be feas, and hold us from all trade; if on our Border ane armie of Strangers should force us to lie in canpe long foreanent them, till our countreymen from the North came on our backs, till the Irish on the Weft, 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 Marrichall 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 hafte to come to the Generall's camp, wherever it fhould be, with fuch armes as they had, and a month's provifion of victuall; to the end, that either we may [have] grant-ed to us a reafonable peace, or elfe, 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 cominge to the King's campe, made manie a heart there, and in all that land, begin to quake: they knew that our neceffities and injurious oppreffion made us flout as lions; they heard of the conduct of Leslie and his experienced officers; they underftood their own feeblenefs, paucitie, unjust caufe, and manie miforders; they heard we were intrinch'd, drawn towards them as near as Dunglafs. At once a proclamation (J.) comes out in farre other straine than the former, fhewing, 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; elfe, 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 demonstration of our civill and temporall obedience, the granting of all our juft supplications. 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 councills: then indeed having afayed
the uttermoft all their policies and forces, they saw we were
not to be boasted; 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 resolute to make about [a bolt]
through the reek to gett a gripp of some of thefe who had firft
kindled the fyre, and flill 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 dan-
ger to their own heads, without poiffibilitie of any farder delay, they
were at laft content to permitt our gracious Soveraigne to give
over, for that tyme, the purfute of their quarrells; at lefft our
gracious Soveraigne, seeing the vanity of all their promises, and
finding it not poiffible for him to gett their wicked designes pro-
fecte, without the hazarding of the blood of manie thousands his
beft and greateft subjeéts in all his dominions, of his owne jun
and meek inclination, and by the wholesome advyfe of all the
nobilitie, both Scottifh and English, that were about him, he
inclyned to the ways of peace; and did repent much of these refolu-
tions, which, by the moft rath will, and disgraceful counfell, that
ever in any age had been furnifhed to any prince, he had laftly
declared, in his manifefto, to all Europe, bot to us, whom it moft
concerned. That unexampled manifefto, which, at Canterbury’s
direction, Balquanquall, and Rofle, and St. Andrewes, had penned,
was now printed in the King’s name,(5) and fent abroad, not only
through all England, bot over fea, as we heard, in diverse languages,
heaping up a rabble of the falleft calumnies that ever was put into
any one difcourfe that I had read, to fhow that we were the moft
desperat traitors that yet had lived, and meere hypocrites, who, in
matters of religion, had never been wronged, bot had onlie fought
pretences of religion to coloure our plotts for rebellion. It was
good that this book was kepted carefullie from our hands till the
Treatie of Peace was near closed; for, as the Bifhops by it had
engaged the King fo deeplie to perfew us, as there were no appear-
ance of any regref for him, without infinit disgrace, (for how could
he leave off to wracke, though he fhould fay in the way, thefe sub-
jeéts whom they had made himfelf declare in print, out of his fure

(5) This work has previously been mentioned. Vide pages 140 and 175. There
is no doubt that Dr. Baleanquhall 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 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 flod to the justification of the imposition of the booke of Service and Canons, both for matter and manner; that we were condemned for cenfuring, even in a Generall Assemblie, these who had preached, and still avowed the preaching of all the articles of Arminius; that our loud and continuallie repeated challenges of the Canterburian partie among us, as of papists, who, under the name of protestant doctrine, did preach and avow, and printed, the grossest tenets of poperie, were clean past by; that they, in all their proceedings, even the most tyrannous and unjust that could be gotten done, were defended; and we, for the best and most loyall 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 disgrace, 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 eares of all Europe, were true, what either follicie, or injustice, or weaknes, behooved it to be, to embrace us, and that without a remission, 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 raflhnes 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 so much as to a tryall! Alwayses the King and we both must 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, bot of all the rest of Europe, where they have too long abufed princes and nations, they shall be made give account of their full administraction.

However, that Proclamation was verie sweet to us, for simple neccesitie and discretion alone, to get either religion or libertie brooked as law, and all reason did require, had made us sojour: so we gladlie flod a-back at all the distance the King commanded. This our readie obedience being perceaved, behold, our unhappie
partie makes a new onfett. They perfwade the King to proclaime in our Borders, towards the former proclamation of our treafon, and the offer of pardon, and their mafter's lands, to thefe who would defert us. This was done at Dunce, with a strong convoy of English horfe. The lyke was intended at Kelfo; bot there Monroe, Fleeming, and Arekine preffenting themfelves in battle-array, did make Holland, with fome thousand foot and horfe, with their fhw alone, to retire in hafte in a flamefull disorder. It is thought Holland's commiffion was to cut off all he met in oppofition to him; bot his fojours that day was a great deall more nimble in their legs nor armes, except their cavaliers, whole right armes was no leffe wareie in whipping, than their heeles in jadding their horifes. We were informed, that to repaire that difgrace, Holland was commanded to returne with farr more forces, to execute his former commiffion: whereupon our Generall raifes his campe from Dunglafs, advertifes his troupes at Kelfo to march towards him; both of them that night meets together at Dunce, and there they fatt down on the head of that faire Law. We fand that advantage was made of our obedience, and a courfe yet againe, without refpe6t to promifes, to be taken for our wracke: So we returned to our former resolution of prefent fighting; and fent pofts athwart all the country, to hafte on our friends for that end. Some of the advertifesments I have caufed double; bot the laft (K) was so peremptor, invitinge to come to the burial of thefe who were like to be deferted, that the hyperbolies of Meldrum the secretar 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 fome two myles above Berwick, on the other fyde of Tweed, in a fair plaine along the river. The King himfelf beholding us through a profpect, did conjecture us to be fixteen or eighteen thoufand men; we were indeed above twelve thoufand; bot at once we were above twenty [thoufand men]. We might have doubled that number, bot 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 Carlifie; and the Weft the Irish fhore: 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 fhandard; and when all were together, their number was thought did not exceed in horfe and foot, English, Scotts,
Irish, sixteen thousand men, and these not of the stoutest; for it was constantlie reported, that one night a false alarum being in our camp, when our drummes began to beat, and our matches on the hill to flye through the darknes, there arose such a fray in the English camp, that verie manie did betake them selves to their heels, expecting from us a present invasion; yea, had not our wyfe and valorous Prince, with his Generall Arundail, done diligence to incourage, and to find out the groundles vanitie of the fray, there had been a greater flight, than with honour could have been gotten staysed.

It would have done yow good to have casten your eyes athrow the brave and rich Hill, as oft I did, with great contentment and joy; for I (quoth the wren) was there among the rest, being chosen preacher by the gentlemen of our flyre, who came late with my Lord of Eglintoun. I furnished to half a dozen of good fellows, musquets and picks, and to my boy a broadsword. I carried my self, as the fashion was, a sword, and a couple of Dutch piftols at my fadle; but 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 countreymen, which I did to my power most cheerfullie. Our Hill was garnished on the toppe, towards the south and east, with our mounted canon, well near to the number of fortie, great and small. Our regiments lay on the fydes of the Hill, almost round about: the place was not a myle in circle, a prettie round ryfing in a declivitie, without steepnes, to the height of a bowshott; on the toppe somewhat 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 [canvifs] lodges, high and wyde; their captaines about them in leffer ones; the sojours about all in hutts of timber, covered with divott or frawe. Our crowners for the most part were noblemen: Rothes, Lindefay, Sinclair, had among them two full regiments at leift from Eglintoun, Caflillies, and others, either with whole or half regiments. Montrofes regiment was above fifteen hundred men in the Castle of Edinburgh: himself was expected; but what detained him ye shall hear at once. Argyll was sent for to the treatie of peace; for without him none would mint to treat: he came, and sett up his tent in the Hill; but few of his people with him. It was thought meet that he and his shold lie about Stirling, in the heart of the
country, to be alwayes readie in subsidies for unexpected accidents; to be a terror to our newtralifts, or bot malked friends; to make all, without dinn, march forward, leift his unkannie trewesmen fhould light on to call them up in their rear; alwayes to have ane eye what either the north, or the shippes, or the weft, or our ftaill hoft fhould mifter of help. It was thought the countrey of England was more afraid for the barbarietie of his Highlanders than of any other terror: thefe of the English that came to vifit our camp, did gaze much with admiration upon thefe fouple fellows, with their playds, targes, and dorfachs. There was some compaines of them under Captaine Buchanan, and others in Arekine's regiment. Our captaines, for the moft part, barrons or gentlemen of good note; our lieutenants almost all fojours who had ferved over fea in good charges; everie compaine had, flying at the Captaine's tent-doore, a brave new colour flamped with the Scottifh 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 conftant guard was fome hundreds of our lawiers, musqueteers, under Durie and Hope's (7) command, all the way flanding in good armes, withcocked matches, before his gate, well appareled. He lay at the foot of the hill in the Caftle, with Baylie his fergeant-major, or lieutenant-general. That place was definate for Almond,(8) in whose wisdome and valour we had bot too much confidence; yet in the tyme of our moft need, the grievoufnes of his gravell, or the pretence of it, made him goe to France to be cutted: alwayes when he came there, it was found he needed not incifion, fo he paft to his charge in Holland, where to us he was as dead in all our dangers.

The counells of warre were keept dailie in the Caftle; the ecclesiaflick meetings in Rothes's large tent. The Generall, with Baylie, came nightly for the fetting of the [watch] on their horses. Our fojours were all luftie and full of courage; the moft of them stout young plewmen; great cheerfullnes in the face of all: the onlie difficulcie 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.

(8) Sir James Livingston, second son of Alexander Earl of Linlithgow, was created Lord Livingston of Almond 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 storme of weather, and neglect of the commiffaries, our bread would be too long in coming, which made some of the Eastland fojours half-mutinie; but at once order being taken for our victuals from Edinburgh, East-Louthian, and the countrey about us, we were anfwered better than we could have been at home. Our meaneft fojours was always served in wheat-bread, and a groat would have gotten them a lamb-legge, which was a daintie world to the moft of them. There had been ane extraordinary crope in that countrey the former year, befide abundance which ftil was flitten away to the English campe for great pryces; we would have feared no inlake for little money in fome moneths to come. Marche and Tevidiaill are the beft mixt and moft plentiful fhyses both for graffe and corn, for fleshes and bread, in all our land. We were much oblidge to the Town of Edinburgh for moneys: Harie Rollock, by his fermoens, moved them to flake out their purifes; the garners of non-covenanters, especiallie of James Maxwell and my Lord Wintoun, gave us plentie of wheat. One of our ordinances was to fetfe on the rents of non-covenanters; for we thought it bot reafonable, frae they fyded with thefhe 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 entreffe was as great as ours, if they would be Scot- tifh-men) a part of their rent for one year: but for all that, few of them did incur any losse by that our decreit, for the peace prevented 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 pastors dailie rafed their hearts; the good fermoens and prayers, morning and even, under the roof of heaven, to which their drumms did call them for bells; the remonfrances verie frequenf of the goodnes of their caufe; of their conduét hitherto, by a hand clearlie divine; alfo Leifie his skill and fortoun made them all fo refolute for battell as could be wifhed. We were feared that emulation among our Nobles might have done harme, when they should be mett in the fields; but such was the wildone and authoritie of that old, little, crooked fouldier, that all, with ane incredible submifion, from the beginning to the end, gave over themselves to be guided by him, as if he had been Great Solv-
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, bot 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 oberved, a difference would be used in commanding sojours of fortune, and of sojours voluntars, of which kinde the most part of our camp did stand. He keepe daylie in the Castle 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 so curious be farr as Arundaill's to our nobles; bot ye know that the English sumptuositie, both in warr and peace, is defpifed 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 Eglintoun, our crowner, intretained all the gentlemen of note that were with him at his own table, all the tyme of our abode; and his fonne, Montgomerie, keepe with him verie oft the chief officers of his regiments: for this was a voyage wherein we were glad to beftow our lyves let be our eftates.

Had ye lent your eare in the morning, or especiallie at even, and heard in the tents the found of some singing psalms, some praying, and some reading scripture, ye would have been refreshed: true, there was fwearinge, and curfeinge, and brawling, in some quarters, whereat we were grieved; bot we hoped, if our camp had been a little settled, to have gotten some way for these miforders; for all of any fashion did regraitt, and all did promise to contribute their best endeavours for helping all abufes. For my felf, I never fand my minde in better temper than it was all that tyme frawe 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 resolved to die in that service without retorne. I fand the favour of God fhyneing upon me, and a sweet, meek, humble, yet ftrong and vehement spirit leading me all along; bot I was no sooner in my way weftward, 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 to-
wards Haddington or Soutray, he might have been on their backs;
for we knew not then well either of the estate or designes of the
enemie: but after we were above twenty thousand men, he gave
out not obfurelie his purpose to approach the English camp.
Their feare of this made them cast 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 so near them, therefore occasion was
fought with all diligence of the Treatie. The way of the pro-
cedure was this: Robin Leflie, one of the old pages, being come
over to Dunce Caftle, made, as it were of his own head, ane over-
ture, that we would be please yet to supplicate, or else the English
forces did so dailie multiply, that at once we would be overflowed
with them. Our feare dailie diminifhed of their violence; we
knew at once the great advantages we had of the King: yet fuch
was our tenderness to his honour, that with our hearts we were ever
willing to supplicat 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
forth supplications. We had no other end of our warres; we fought
no crownes; we aimed not at lands and honours as our partie; we
defyred bot to keep our own in the service of our prince, as our
anceftors had done; we loved no new masters. Had our throne
been 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 fend over the
Earle of Dumfermling, with a fhort Supplication (L.) to hear our
juft demands, with a letter of our Nobles to the Counsell of England,
for a verie speedie anfwerv. The youth was accepted with greater
favour than was expected. For anfwerv, Sir Edmund Vername
[Verney], marshall of the King's house, 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 Englih
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;
bot, with much reverence, we read it at the Generall's table, and
flew what we mislyked 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 General 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 floutnes 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 haste, or as good for them, made us leave off that question.

On Monday, Rothes, Lowdoun, Sheriff of Tevidiaill, (?) and who other I forget, went over: Henderfon 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 confer 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, deemed treulie to be as defyreous of our peace as any, we made no scruple to goe to his tent: Where they were not well entered till the King came in; at whose unexpected presence we were somewhat moved, but yet verie glad. His Majestie said, he came there to shew his willingness to hear all they had to say, otherways than he was sclandered. Many speeches past, which, I think, the communers at their return putt in write, and in due tyme shall fee the light in their own royall and noble phrase. The King was verie sober, meek, and patient, to hear all: our spokemen were verie earnest to speak 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 Wednesdai, for one day was hipped for adyfement on all hands on what was past, and what to be proposed. The King misfled Henderfon and Johnstone, so at the next meet-

(9) Sir William Douglas of Cavers, was Sheriff of Teviotdale. The Commun., 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 Henderson’s discourse; but not so with Johnstone’s. Much and most free communing there was of the highest matters of state: it is like as his Majesty’s ears had never been tickled with such discourses; yet he was most patient of all, and loving of clear reason. I think it was that day when he gave two three lines of a good general answer, (N.) That he would grant us all our defies, if it were bot law, and the custom of our church and kingdom we were seeking.

Saturday was the third day of meeting, where the most free communing went on. His Majesty was ever the longer the better loved of all that heard him, as one of the most just, reasonable, sweet persons they ever had seen; and he likewise was the more enamoured with us, especially with Henderson and Lowdoun. Their conferences purchased to us a great deal of reputation, for wisdom, eloquence, gravitude, loyalty, and all other good parts, with the English councillors, who all the time did speak little, but suffered the speech to pass betwixt us and the King. In the closure of that day’s reasoning, our folks waxing bolder, on their knee begged the abolition of Episcopacie. His Majesty had scarce a face to deny them any thing; yet he would give them no answer to that demand, with an express defiance that they should not take his delay for a denyall, inviteing them to a new meeting on Monday: he promised to keep dyett, and thereupon offered his hand; which all, on their knees, did humble kyffe, and so departed full of joy and hope. All thir daies they were by Arundaill royallie and verie cheerfullie feasled, and much quick speech, especiallie from Rothes’s mouth, paft at the table: nothing what England, Spaine, France, Holland, could afford, was there laicking on their fields.

On Sunday, to-morrow, some of our Scottishe Bishops, readlie Rosse and Aberdeen, with their sweet and peaceable discourses, did alter somewhat the King’s minde; so the next 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 discharge Assemblies, and voysying negativelly into them. Against the next meeting, we had prepared wise and discreet answers to them, all in write, as we were commanded, tending to a negative, that the King had neither a power to dissolve, nor a negative voys in Assembly, according to the word of God, or our Church constitutions, or our Acts of Assembly, or any good reason. All our
consultations were in so publick a way, that nothing we spake or did, but at once it was at the King: our wayes were so full of honestie, that we did not regard [though] all our thoughts, let be words, had been proclaimed in a theatre of the whole universe; yet we were nothing content of the light, if not treacherous wyndens of mouth in some of our friends. We were nothing pleased with that day’s discourse, and leaft of all, with the Demands. They made us fufpect, that ought was fought of us bot to gaine tyme for the coming in of more English and Irish forces to the King’s camp, and spending of our moneys and victualls, that so we might be forced to retire: we therefore resolved to dallie no longer, but either that day to come nearer to reall conditions of peace, or else to break up our Camp and off our Treatie, and for the first journey, to lay down our leaguer within shot of cannon to the King’s trenches.

This our peremptorines of being well known on the other syde of the water, made, in the next conference, the demands to be quyte miskenit, and at laft the King’s will, in write, (P.) to be given well near to our mind. This was brought back by our communers, without much disput about fundrie claufls they thought of necellitie behooved, for our satisfaction, to be altered in the wryte; defyreing, that the jurie, if there was any of that change, fhould not be their’s alone, but fhould fall on the whole bodie, to whom they were bot serving commiffioners. At our Tables manie things were noted, which did much offend. Alwayes in the next conference, fome of thefe clausys his Majeftie deleted: others, which for his honour, he defyred might fland, were fo benignly commented, that for all the harthnes of the text, yet the King’s own exposition, declared to us by all the communers, and taken firft at their mouth by many extemporary pens, and then fet down by themselves to be communicat to all, gave tollerable satisfaction: 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 conclusyon, and bleffed God then, and ever since, for so rich a mercy to the Prince and whole Isle. 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 rified his camp. Had he incurred any fkaith, or been disgraced with a shamefull flight, our hearts had been
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broken for it; and likele all England behooved to have rifen 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 beene exeeded, yet no ordinar way for 
our safetie did appear. Had we beene bot some dayes journey 
in that land, the bordering fhyres were fo barren, and fo exhaust 
with the King's leaguer, that few night's meat could have been 
gotten for us into them; from our owne countrie we could neither 
have carriage, horses, 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 
occasion was great to have kythed their affection both to us and 
their own libertie, there was nought among them bot a deepe either 
leape or silence: we heard not the caife of our Northern army; our 
eares were beaten with daily frayes from Ireland on our West coast; 
much grumbling among too manie, especiallie of the Merse; Hume, 
and diverse of the gentrie there, were beginning to be suspeécted. 
However, these who understood best our affaires, thought that God 
had sent us a tollerable peace in a very fitt tyme; yet others did 
grudge at the hafte 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 weightie 
consultations of prime noblemen and barrons, and all minifters bot two, 
was not much remarked, nor their presence sought, if their neglig 
ence or adoes or miscontent did avocke them. Many thought, that 
three or three dayes longer delay might have purchaéed to us better 
and more cleare conditions. The randering of the Caftell of Edin 
burgh, with all the munition, and putting the fortifications of Leith 
into the King's hand without any condition, did much affray, espe 
ciallie when we faw the Caftle deliyvered to Generall Ruthven's 
custodie: always it was not now tyme to complaine. Our comp 
nies were disbanded, our hutts burnt: we looked not in hafte to 
gett such an army on foot; and without the like, our conditions 
might well be worfe, bettered they could not be. We expected the 
King in our camp before it brake up, for so he promiséd; bot he 
was made to alter that promísé, as too rashlie given out, not being 
his honour to countenance those armes which were lifted by his 
subjécts against his defyre, and laid downe not absolutelie at his com 
mand, bot on conditions, and these so disadvantageous to the in 
tentions once he had avowed. At the declaration of the King's will, we would not proteéft; yet leít it should be conceáved, that in
our capitulation we had past from our Assembly or Covenant, we thought meet to cause Calilis 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, alledgeing 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 jealoufies did yet remaine, as driuffling 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 sent over Lowdoun to have some of the articles cleared, and the performance of promifes, the answers were not pleasant. The Bishops were ordained to be proclaimed in the indiction of the Assembly as members of the meeting. When Lowdoun shew the clear necessitie of our protesting against this, the Marqueis advyfed, against the King's minde, to let that protestation goe with the rest. The indiction also of the Assembly by the counciell was not kepted at the promised tyme: the clergie and non-covenanting Lords had all the King's eare as before. The Marqueis and Mortoun had bitter contefts with our nobles before the King: the Marqueis's wayes was yet so ambiguous, that no man understood him, onlie his absoolute power with the King was oft there clearlie seen. The people of Edinburgh being fore grieved for the Castle's so sudden randering to the hand of their great enemie Ruthven, and provoked by the insolent and triumphant behaviour of that unhappie spark Boyne, who, yet reicke from our blood in the North, would rattle in his open coacht through their calfie, made ane onfett upon him, and well near had done him violence. The Theafurer alfo got a chafe in his coacht; which in the perfute brake, and he in the outcoming receaved some knocks, as they laid, with some women's neives: of this he was moft glad; for they indeared him to the King, at a tyme when his credit was verie near cracking. The Justice-Generall was also somewhat shoirred, and the Regifter searched in his houfe. The King had written for fourteen of the chief of our land to come to his campe, to give him some satification in some demands. Rothes, Lowdoun, Montrose, Louthian, Archibald Johnestoun who had gone before, were not lyke to be dismiffed. This put us all in agaift more
nor ever, that we had been drawn in a hofe nett; yet our noble-men were dismissed: the fourteen were stayed from going. The courage of the anti-covenanters, who after the peace began so to crowe, fell at once. Lowdoun, in wreitt, gave to the King reasonable satisfaccion in all the queties he had to propone (S.) The Assemblie was by the counfell indicted, albeit some fix dayes after the tyme appointed (T.); our protestation (W) was digested; the plott of the Seflions's downfitting for the President and Regifter's refitution, and other ends, was croffed.

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 sure of refitution, that all places of England was exprefflie denied them; yet in the Articles nothing could be attained for them, for we would content to no deed on our part that might incroach on the Assemblie of Glaftow. 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 convullions he had, wherein the violent opening of his mouth with his own hand or teeth, his tongue was somewhat hurt: of this symptome, very cafeable, more dinn was made by our people than I could have wished of fo meeke and learned a perfone. He had fallen, very unhappilie, 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 should have quitt them, and been glad to have embraced the Covenant of his mother-church, as his learned brother now hes done. Many other passages there was about that tyme, which I have now forgott; take only one, and I close.

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 joyneed heartilie to the partie. They spoyled Marifchell'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 Marifchell, most valorous and happie gentlemen, gave them some other matter to doe; though much inferiour 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 voley. Seafort had promis’d to bring his forces for our help to the bridge of Die; but we were much behind with that, as it seemes, very falle man in ane exceeding dangerous tyme. Bamf, frae he was once in armes, hindered the gathering of our friends in the large flyre of Aberdeen, and thereabout, being fimple matter of the fields. Seafort, and Raes, his general, had gathered well near five thousand men, but did not flurre out of their place. The gentlemen of Murray and Roffe did gather; but so long as Seafort flower still, they durft not leave their houfes; so not a man beyond Die did come to our camp, except Forbes, with their pages and some verie few gentlemen. Montrofe and Maritchell, knowing the danger, not onlie to their countrie, bot the whole cause, if they should either retire or fland, resolved to goe on and fight. The enemie had fortified the bridge of Die, and lay on the other shoare under iconfes, with their musquets and horfemen: we resolved to have the bridge on all hazards. It was a desperate peice of service; none more flower, and full of good directions at it, than Jesuit Abernethie, by the playing of the great ordinance on the bridge; and much adoe; for the pervers citizen of Aberdeen did fight verie manfullie that day. At laft, with some flaughter 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 should have done our nation no more cumber. Bot as it pleas’d God to keep us from all marcks of the leift alleaged crueltie from the first taking up of our armes, fo there the preventing mercy of God did kyth in a fpeciall manner; for that fame night, by fea, the King’s letters of pacification at Dunce were brought to the tou’n; which to-morrow earlie being prefent’d to our Nobles, made them glad they had gotten that bleffed coard whereby to binde up their fojours hands from doing of mischief, whereto that wicked Town’s juft deservings had made them verie bent. For all our spareing, yet that countrey’s malicious disloyaltie seemes not to be remedied. 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 Maritchell; as at the first expedition, a knave was taken in that town, who was mightilie suspeeted to have had ane designe to
have killed Leslie: yea, for all our pacification, the Marqueis's stout and honest sojourns, 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 fasched; for it is like that much of their knavish oppressions shall be fastened on good Huntley's back, as the chief author. Always for that tyme Montrose and Marischell did post to Dunce to have their part of the joy, as weel they did deserver, in the common peace; where they were made most welcome, both to their commerads and their King.

I wish this might be the comedick catastrophe of our verie fearfull-like Episcopall tragedie. But yet we have not received directions to make our publick and foemen thanksgivings; yea, some clouds still sticks in our ayre; so that we have keepe with us at home, till our Parliament clofe, all our countreymen-sojourns, to whose kindnes our nation is exceedinglie oblied; for, to help their boastful mother-church and countrey, they have deferted their charges abroad, to their great losse, which they knew she was never able to make up: they have here, on verie easie and small conditions, attended her service: for fear of their valour, our peace has been both the quicker and the better; the renowne of their kindnes, and conscience of their desert at the hand of their mother, for ever will be their greatest and most glorious recompence. Before the fitting down of our Assemblie, in the midt, and about the end, we had still new matter of fear. Athwart all our Parliament some thing of moment was ever like to goe croffe; yet all goes well at last: That present difficultie, about the articles and fourteen votes to the King, whereat there is much sticking, I hope that huge armie of Spainards now landed in England, shall make it get halfe to be swallowed down with the rest. Bot of our Assemblie and Parliament at more length with the next. For recompence of my labour send without fail to me the Currents and to the College, because of their expences, the Mercurie, both Belgicus and Françoys: this Françoys I shall take if they refuse. My service to your Wyffe. I refte your Coosin.

September 28th 1639.

A Postscript, October 12th 1639.

I thank you for all your three letters I received before your [our?] departure from Edinburgh. For them, receive here inclosed three packets: in the first, the rest of my papers anent the Assem-
blie of Glægow; in the second, a narration, in four sheets, of our proceedings to the 12th of August, the setting downe of our Aſſemblie 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 Aſſemblie 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 bot yet wavering up and down in the ſcales of a very dubious event: our maie acts are bot ſcare paſt the Articles. The Commissioner threatens either to ryſe, or to proſteft in the day of the ryding, or to make declarations equivalent to proſteſſations, or to deny the ſceptron to our moſt ſubſtantiall deſyres. To preveene this, we have been content to ſitt ſtil, half ſyde, thryce fo long tymſe as ever anie Parliament in anie land did continue, waiting till poſts upon poſts, runne up and down, for carrying to us the King's pleſure. It ſeemes our enemies credit is not yet extinguifhed at Court. The Castle of Edinburgh is dailie made ſtonger. From London, the other week, arryved to Dumbartan a great ſhipp, with cannon and other munition, with an English captaine and diverse English fojours. Diviſion is much laboured for in all our eſtate; they ſpeake of too great prevailing with our nobles: Hoome evidentlie fallen off; Montroſe not unlyke to be enfnares with the faſle promifes of advancement; Marifchell, and Sutherland, and others somewhat doubted; Šherriff of Teviſdaill, and ſome of the Barrons, inclyning the Court way; diviſions betwiſt the merchands and crafts of Edinburgh; and fo, by conſequent, of all the Burrows in Scotland, carefullie fostered by our Commissioner: our prime clergie 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 close well: We truſt the new bone which God hes caſten in our courtiers' mouth, of the Španiſh navie, inclofed 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; fo much the more as the English are in frayes, and, as they ſay, fun¬drie of their south-west ſhyres in armes, in a greater number than the King does require for the guard of his coaſts; also that the Palatine at Court is soliciting for ayeſ. In fo faire ane occasion, when Banier is almost triumphing in Boheme, to the terror of Vienne itſelf; when Mentz and Culen are both like to be taken by the Šwedes; when Alſatia is maſtered; when neither Saxe nor Weſſphalia are fo 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 unfortunatnes.

I wish ye would move your Printer at Amsterdam to sett 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: Also, ye would affay to perfwade some there who has good types and paper, to print, for their own great profit and schollers great use, ane Hebrew Bible, and Syriack New Testament, in one volume, both with the poyncts, 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. Also the Targum, and Talmud, with the poyncts and Latine expofition, in small volume; likewayes the Greeke Septuagent, with the Greeke New Testament, would fell well: a pitie that your Printers were not stirred up to print thir as they have done the Poets and Republicks. Ye forgett continually to fend to the Colledge, or [to myself] if they refufe, the last two three years Mercurie Françoises. Your Brownitick’s bookees ye shal at once receave back: I wish ye fent me some more of them. Let our friend make haftie to put out a second edition of his florie. Your Currantier would be admonifhed to take some little more paines to informe us of the state of Afia, and the Turkifh, Persian, Indian, and Affrican affaires; which were eafie for him to doe up on a little diligence, having your shipps fo oft coming from all these quarters.

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

My Instructions to Mr. Alexander Cunningham. (1)

If in your way ye have occasion to divert for three or four dayes to Cambridge, or if at your leasure ye go to it from London, fee Dr. Ward: try of him the secret, how Arminianifme hes fpread fo much there; how Shelfurd’s abfurditiees pleases 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 deceased.
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 profession, Dr. Colings, is verie courteous: sift him what he avowes of Arminianisme and Canterburian poperie; they say he is farr on, and oppofit to Ward. Conferre with that Dr. Beel, and try if ye find him a papift. I think Dr. Coofings be at Oxfورد, but if he be at Cambridge, conferre much with him; he is thought the maine penner of our Scottish Liturgie: if he will be plaine with you, ye will fee what that faction would be at. Be cannie in your Conferences, leift they take yow for a fpye. Visit their fair Bibliothecks and manuscripts. Try who are fervent and able opposits there to Canterburie's way, and let your chief acquaintance be with them: beware of our countreymen Hay and Areskine, for I heare they are corrupt.

At London acquaint yourfelf with Holdfworth, lecturer at Graffham Inne; [and] with Dr. Fearley the author of Pelagius Redivivus: try how they can be silent to fsee Poperie growing. Search for the author of the Holie Table, Name and Thing. Try the present efstate of Burton, Baftwick, and Prin [Prynne]; also of Lincolne, Bihop Davenant, and Hall: if they be there, conferre much with them; fee if they be opposit to all Arminianiffe, to bowing to the altar. Try what crucifixes and new images are at Paule's and the Chappell; and if Burton's complaints be reafonable.

The Brownifts had a church there; however, there are in the citie aneugh of them: conferre with fame 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 considerable partie opposit to bishops beydes thir; if there be any hope of getting the Epifcopall flate and their ceremonies removed; at leift, if the Arminian faction, with Canterburie's overthrow, can be gotten crufted. Conferre with Bifhop Montague; fee how far he is Popifh, if he hes written any thing thir four years, or hes any thing for the prefte. 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 (?). Try of some discreet Alderman the grounds

(?) 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.
why London did not joyne against the Scotts; what hopes there is of a Parliament, and taking order with the Canterburians for their Arminianism and Poperie; if there be any correspondence betwixt Con and Canterburie, 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 disfavored: 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 approven; if Stafford’s Female Glorie(5) was never burnt; if the good ministers of London be silent at the faction’s prograffe; 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 flart to Oxford, acquaint your self throughlie with Prideaux; it is mervellous that he is silenc: We thought that zealous men had not fo feared prisons nor fyres. Bodleye’s Librarie view it well. Try if all there be the Canterburian way; if any able opposits to it, and how they kytthe their opposition. Let me hear the prograffe 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 minifters who are not Brownifts; if there be any thing written for that poynit 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 trie in two or three diverfe shoppes, of Augusta, Jerome, Bernard, Ambrofe, Chryfoftome, both Savill and Frontoduce(4), Gregorie the Great, in the best edition; Bibliothca Patrum in eight tomes, fix great volumes, not the laft rable of fyfteen tomes; Baronius, fix volumes, alfo the laft edition ten volumes; Thuan’s Storie, the laft edition, four or fyve volumes: Try if any

(5) “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.

(4) That is the two editions of Chrysostom’s Works, published by Sir Henry Savile, and by Fronton le Duc (in Latin Frontonus Ducens.)
Univerfall lyke Thuan(4) be coming furth. 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 merchands in the Exchange can informe you truelie, if ye be curious, of the present eftate of all the Earth, for they have dailie intercoure with their factors at Mosco, Venice, Liffon, Constantinople, Alexandria, Aleppo, Perfia, India, China, Brasilia, let be in nearer kingdoms. Try for young Dr. Burgesfe ; it were good his father or he did anfuer Dr. Ames’s fresh fute. Conferre with Bishop Mortoune, 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 occasion 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. (5)

As for my comeing to your Town, I will tell you plaineie my minde. I thinke myself truely oblidged to your people for honouring me with their nomination ; bot withall, ye will help me to make them take in good part the neceffitie of my refufeall. I am settled, 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 conjoinyd, why shoul 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-

(4) In some of the MSS, "Universall 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."

(5) Henry Glen was one of the Magistrates of Glasgow, (Vide 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 feek my consent; no man hes once motioned this matter to my flock, [or] to my Presby-trie to deall with them for their consent: all is caft over to the Af- femblie's compulsion: men are not flaves or beasts 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 materiaſl inlaicks of a calling, would scarr any man from embracing your violent and tumultuarie invitation, let be me, who am resolved, by God's help, and that upon manie rea-fons, to flcke by my flocke to my dying day. I pray God fend yow manie good patfors, for ye had much need of them; bot as for me, let me not be further preffed 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, leif 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 fome 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 ftrangers, 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 Chriftien 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 direcit thir our two neighbours, John Barnes and William Neilſone, to yow, to defyre yow moft eaſmeftlie to transport yourſelfe hither conforme to the ordinance of the Assem-
blie. We have communicate our mindes thereanent to the bearers; yet we doe hereby moft instantlie intreat yow, that setting all excuses afyde, ye would pitie our defolate estate at this tyme, who hes no minifter to discharge any kind of ministeriall duetie among us, and to transport your selfe the sooner for that caufe, as our trust is in yow: and so rests

Your aflured and loving freinds to power,

Glasgow this 23d day of November 1639.

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

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

Right Worshipfull and verie Assured Freinds,—

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

(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 kytthe myself a servaunt 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 wifhe that in this particular I were not ane occasion of your hurt and displeaure. It is verie likelie, if ye continue to perfew that act of the late Provinciall [fynod,] that your place vaikke long, and in end be altogether frustrate of me; for both my Noble Patron and my people, and myself, are confident that our proteftation in Aberdeen will be difcuffed in our favors. My humble and earneft deffyre to yow, therefore, is, that ye would be pleafeed to caft me by. I am ahamed that so much adoe has been already made about the lykes of poor me, and shal be forrie to fee myfelfe the subiect of your discontentment, which, I feare, in the end shal be unavoydable; for when your long and troublesome fute of me keeps your place voyd in thir tymes when it had leift need, and mifcarries alfo in the end, ye will readilie then be difpleasted with me, and yet without my deferving; for I did ever plainlie shou to all that ever fpake to me, my firme resolution, fo farr as lay in my power, never to transport from my prefent charge. Wifhing therefore from my heart that your Wifdomes would, for your own good and eafe, and for my great joy, give over to put your felle to needels fatherie in perfeuing any more my imposfible transpor- tion; I reft, as well it becomes, to yow all and every one of yow, A verie loving freind and servaunt,

R. BAYLIE.

Kilwining, November 27th, 1639.

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

Sir,

My duetie in the Lord remembered. Pleafe yow remember what I fpake to yow at our laft meeting. Ye and all men may fee the pitifull effat of God's poore flock within this Burgh at this tyme, and how that God hes vifited our whole paftors at one tyme, whilk I pray God, may be in mercie, and not in wrath. Our eflat and condition thereintill now deferves pitie and commiferation of all who are able to help us; but especiallie of yow, whom God hes fo lawfullie called thereto, be lawfullie patrons, voyce and ordinance of ane lawfull Provinciall afSEMBlie, ane hungrie and willing flock, to accept: If thir be not sufficient reaons for your transpor-
I understand none. It is true ye may pretend, and hes left nothing unalleged ye can say, be worldlie reason in the contrare; bot I hope now ye will fett all these things aye, and preferr such an lawfull calling, and indigence of so defolate ane flock, before any worldlie respect whatsoever, and so pitie the defolate estate of this your own mother citie, who loves and favours yow so dearlie, hoping to get good of yow and your miniftrie; and so transport yourself the sooner. I need not to tell yow the estate of the sickie within this burgh, our want of our communion therein at this tyme, and others, ye may think upon yourfelf; and so expe6ling ane favourable anfwer frae thir bearers, I reft,

Your loving Condisciple and affured
Freind to command,

Glasgow, this 26th of November, 1639.

[To Mr. William Yair. (8)]

Verie Loving Condisciple,

Your affection towards me of old and late, be affured, is mett with mutuall repect. I have showne my verie worthie freinds your Commissiioners, as also I have written to your Towne Councell and Mr. John Bell, that which I forwarned yow at meeting, and all my freinds there, both in private and pubHck, that conffience and honeftie would force me to fticke by my flock to the uttermoft of my power; and so long as both my noble patrons and my moft 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 reafton, and manie duties, obldges me to carrie towards my efpoufed people, will be taken both by yow and by your Towne in good part; for I profefse, were it in any other matter, where my conffience and honeftie were not touched, I could be as forward, according to my bound dutie, to ferve 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, Minifter, I truft not onlie for the present, bot all my lifetyme, at Kilwining.

(8) 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 Freind, Mr. Robert Baylie, 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 Ministrerie at this place, and that ye would not delay to transport yourself here in respect of our great exigence, we receaved; but finds the same no wayes answerable to your calling, or our expectation. Ye write, that conscience oblishes yow to remaine with your flock, and honestie and thankfullnefs not to leave your noble patrons. We defyre yow to consider, with what conscience ye may stay, when ye have sic ane calling from God, and in not yielding yourself obedient to it, that ye be not found unthankfull unto him. We are persuaded that the Generall Assembleie will never regard that protestation whilk ye confide fo much in; for howbeit the Provinciall assembleie had not the power to transport ministers frae one place to another within their own province, as none doubts bot they have, yet they exercising that power, not onlie as of themelves, bot lyke wayes having commiffion for that effect from the Generall Assembleie, will be ane dangerous precedent to recall the same. Wherefore, Sir, we againe and againe request yow that ye would lay the conscience of your calling here to heart, and the great necesfitie this place for the present is in, and not postpone your transportation with unneeceflare delayes; for we will plainlie and truelie assure yow, that we will neglect no good and lawfull way that may effectuate the fame, howbeit that place should remain unplanted untill the Assembleie of Aberdeen; for what is impossible to men, is possible to God. So assuredlie expecting your obedience to the calling of God, and us, the repreffentative part of the parochiners, instant fuitors for the fame, wee remaine,

Your affe6lionat to our power,

The Provost, Baylzies, and Councell of Glasgow.

Glasgow, this 7th day of December 1639.

James Stewart.
Gavin Neisbitt.
James Tran.

John Andersone.
G. Porterfield.
Richard Allane.
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 Assembly; but since it hes beene your pleasure to put yourself to this new trouble of wryting to me again fo pressing a letter, I can say no more than before. Your present necessitie of ministres, all christian hearts does pitie; your carefull diligence, in calling men whom ye esteem fitt, all will lyke-ways praise; but for my coming to yow, I doe not think it warrantable. I doubt not much of the Generall Assembly's power oftransporting any of us where they please; but where a Provinciall, or any Committee from the Generall [Assembly] does proceed against reason, I thynke ane appeall to the nixt Generall [Assembly] verie reaonable, and according to the lawes and practises of our Church. My people having ufed a protestation, which I in conscience think reaonable 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 against God or yow, I pray God to pardon; but truely in this I am sensible of no fault: yea, if I tooke any other course, my conscience would smyte me; I could not lift up my face before my good people and noble patrons; I could have no courage to serve yow. But if the Generall Assembly ordaine me to tranport from my station, as I am hopefull they shall never aslay to make so 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 else, I might take upon
me the mark of great and unnaturall ingratitude. Always remaining yet, so far as I am still bound fast to my dear flock, and willing to abyde so to my dying day, I must continue still your suppliant to give over to put both yourselfe and me to trouble, by casting in that fute; which, through the present long delay, cannot but doe you harme, and, by the finall 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 . . . . . . (9)]

Good William,

It were good that men were free altogether of passions; but since this cannot be in this life, the next 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 unreasonablenes: the les the matter is, it showes 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 burdensome. 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 wayes I could, by prayers and supplications, that a poor and scurvye thing, whilk all law and conscience and reason oblighes his Lordship's lands to pay for our schooll and reader, this is peremptorlie refused. All other men's lands must pay to the Church their penionage, their vicarage, a duetie bydeye to the schooll; but My Lord's lands moft passe free of all, albeit his Lordship's hand be at the band for the schooll: the reason, because My Lord's countenance to

(9) 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 twenty pund land goe free; also because the vicarage, which he's taken three hundredth merks out of our poor's boxe, is given to my Lord Montgomerie, to whom it does belong by as good right as the personage. For such reasons as thir, my Lord will have our poor young man disappointed of his threescore pounds for thir last three yeares: for me to request more that my Lord would doe the poor man such reason, as his Lordship confesses all other in the parochine shold doe him, I will never mint; for I see well that all my most earnest and reaonable requests, when the matter is about the fcurviefte fome of money, are misregarded; onlie I cannot hinder the young man to charge be law for that which wryte 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 fay for my part, but that I must be greived that his Lordship, who albeit he had not in his houfe all the superplus of our church rent, and although his Lordship's place and meanes did not oblishe his Lordship in conscience, both by countenance and personall contribution, to further, as he did ever before my coming, that good and necessiar work of our schoolmafter; yet all thir respects being away, I did believe that his Lordship's favour and good words to myself would have given me full assurance to have obtained a more matter by my earnest request. Always 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 deceived.

Good William, ye will pardon the expreffions of my greived minde; I have fend them to yow as a token of my old and conftant affection. God help yow and all men whose livings depends on noblemen's pleafure; 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 houfe, get what meeting I will: to ftrangers I shall make it ever good enough; but God forbid ere my estate 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 reafon, and that which law and conscience binds to, albeit his
Lordship had not subscrib'd, I shall be obliged to yow; for myself I have no respect when it goes beyond words and lookes.

For the Right Worshipfull, His Assurit Freind, Mr. Arch. 
Priston's, Advoct for the Church. (1)

Archbald,
The tyme was when I wont to have the contentment of your frequent and long lettres; but fine you ar become great, a prim member of our Church and Stat also, I must rest satisfied with some bens of your ey in the streits onc a yeir; if some few strekes of your pen come to my landward cottage onc a thre or four yeir for rememberanc that some tyme we wer acquaint, it is all that my poor meannes can expet from your neu hight of estimation 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 longsom vacation, had not ane onexpetit accident of a verie deir freind forcet me to crave of you, by the right of all my old deservings, a resolution in a neu cai of our Church Disciplin. I hope you ar not ethir by privat or publi6t affaires put fo farr out of remembrance ethir of me or of your christian deutie to any, or of your magnifik office of clerkship and advocation to all minifters; but I mey furle expet your ryp, and advyfit, and full aunfuer, when I onc at moft in the yeir propone my quætion.

This is the matter. Eftir we had depofit D. Hamiltoun in the Assemblie of Glaffgou, some of the parilhioners of Glaffuirid came to Mr. Patrik Sherp, ther nibour, intreating him to with them to a good miniftre. Being urgit, he recommends to them ane old scoller of myn, Mr. Jo. Bell, a fone of my neerest nibour and moft deir freind, the minifler of Stevintoun. Upon this recommendation, thes of the parilhioners desirs to heer the young man preach in Mr. Patrik's church, the Sunday folowing, proming to be his

(1) This letter, on the subject of Patronage and Popular Election, is not contained in the MS. Collection of Baillie's Letters. The original, entirely in Baillie's own hand, is in possession of the Editor, along with Johnstone of Warriston's Answer; (Vide the Appendix to the present Volume.) Bailtie'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, videnc, &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 brek ther tryit for to oppofe the Doctor, but withall deifirs Mr. Patrik to move the yong man to deill with my Lord Semple, the laik patron and landlord of all the parifhion for a preffentation. The yong man came to me for my counfell and affiftance: knoweing him to be one of the moft able youthes I kneu vakand, for leruing, wi- dom, utteranc, and all minifteriall qualities, I movit my L. Argyle and my L. Eggliuntoun to wreit lettres to my L. Semple in his favours. My L. Semple promifie a preffentation, having tryit from funny hands that all I had mad the noblemen wreit of the youth, and mor was treu, yit for feir of the King’s offence did delay to præfent till the Asfemblie of Edinburgh. In the mean tyme, some of the parifhioners falles in conceit firft with on and then with ane other yonge man: thir my L. Semple refuces to præfent, being ingagit to Mr. Jo. Bell, not only for the recommendation of his noble freinds, but beliving him, as the Prefbitery both then and yit does, and many mo with them, to be the meeter man for the people than any other was proponit to him. Vpon this crofe thes of the parifhion who had delit for others, began to maligne Mr. Jo.; yet he being confident to give them full contentment, did go on by the advyce and incoragement of funny the cheif minifters of the Prefbitery of Hamiltoun and many of the parifhioners to receife the preffentation. He was made wellcome in the Prefbitery, his tryells præscrivit, both exercife, contraverfie in Latin, popular fermon: in all he gets ane fingular applaus, divers of thers who had oppofed took him by the hand, and all wer quiett. You muft knou, by the way, that the Doctor’s violenc in the epifcopall courses had made manie of that people fall to the other extremitie of fome extravagant conceits, and bruniiftik-lyk folies, much in- creafeit 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 onder proceffe: the main thing that ever they prætendit for ther diflyk of Mr. Jo. was, that he had futil a preffentation 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 publiitely made, the whole Asfemblie pronunciit 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 servit, 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 aunfver not so direct and full of affurance as he wifhit, he goes præfently, so 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 custome is, to exhort all to stand by the Covenant; from many scriptures preffes this, onder all the pains of hell; that by Covenant they ar tyed to the disciplin of our church; that one part therof is the minister’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 forcit in the feild, if she cryd was fre of gilt, by the lau of God, if silent, was punifheable for villanie; so they, if nou they did not crie againft this violenc, wer by God to be plaguit. By fuch fueite doctrin, he so inflamit the poor people, that a numer of them came to the Prefbiterie with ther fuordes, on the day of ther edict, and he, as ther captain, with a protestation against the admiffion, and ane apeill to the nixt Generall Aslemblie, upon no rafun at all, so farr as I can heer, (for ther writ I have not yit feen; but if I can have a double of it in time, I shall fend it to you,) onlie I am certainly informit that ther only alegation is, they would be Covenant brekers, and perfydious, and fo lyable to all the curses of God, if they did not oppofe that man who comes to them againft the acts of the church disciplin; a numer wherof they cite. The Prefbiterie strived to give them contentment in this scruple, but in vaen; wherfor they ordained to go on with the admiffion on the firft, I think, of the nixt moneth, finding no obje6tion at all movit againft the perfone ether for lyfe or do6trin, only a wilfull oppofition on the prætenc of a scruple which the provinciall Sinod hes pronuncit null. The people who oppofes for the moft part ar fillie cotters, being animat by ther Reider; they threatenit in the face of the prefbiterie 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 implovyt at ther church whensoever the prefbiterie would come ther to oppugne that fame Covenant. We have acquaintit Mr. David Dikfone with this story at lenth, who is much grievit with that people’s unrafonable, onymous, and verie dangerous folies; who hes undertaken to do what lyes in him to remeed it. I fheu him I
would writ to you for your advyce, and he was weell pleasit with
the motion.

I muft therfor earneftly intreat you, that with fo grat 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 one 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 feu préparatives paffit.
With the particular, which for your information I have written,
mell as little as you pleafe; but let your studie and write run mainly
on the generall, wither by our Covenant ar we oblihit to f tand
punctually, without dispensation, by thes paflages of our Difciplin
which really puttes down the right, or frufrats the ufe of patron-
ages; namly that paflage in the 4th heid of our Firft Book of
Difciplin "It apertaines to the people, and everie feverall congre-
gation to elect ther minifter." Does not that chapter at lenth 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 negle6t, and that for full
40 dayes? Also in our Second Book of Difciplin, cap. 3, the firft
part of the calling is election, and this is "the choifing of the per-
fon by the judgment of the eldership and confevt of the congrega-
tion." Heer election is mad the proper ac6t of the feffion, at leif!
prefbitery, and of the people, to whom at leift a confevt is attribut,
fo that ther diffe6nt, whoufoever on reafon or without reafon, wil caft
and hinder the election. Thridly, a paflage in the sam Second
book, cap. 12: Such "an election, and afent of the people" is re-
quirit, which does dire6tly diftry all patronages, without exeception
of the prince’s, and all benefices, as popifh corruptions againit
the word of God. This Book of Difciplin is ordainit by a numer
of our beft and moft lafull Aftemblies to be fuorne and subfevit
at leift by all minifters. Laftly, ar we not all fuorne to maintein
the Asets of the Aftemblie of Glafgou, and fo that tweintie article
of the tweintie-thrid feffion, wher not only all that seek prefe-
tationes without the advyce of the prefbitery, ar ordainit to be re-
pellit as rei ambitus, but also all who dire6tly or ondire6tly does
ufe any moyen for ane entre, ar ordainit to be reje6lit: fo then is
no this the cleir method which Glafgou Aftemblie commands, that
thes who defires that worthie work of the minifter muft firft feek
the confevt of the congregation, and then go feek the prefbiteries
good will, whil they ar fittin in judgment, to get ther warrant
to be presentit by patrons. All this seems directly to fly from the 4 alleagit texts of our Disciplin. All this the people of Glas-
ffurd takis themself bound to stand to by ther blood: whou they
can be loufit, I pray you earnestly shew me your mind and your
clear raufs; for thir folks cairs for no man's opinion, without his
clear grounds. If you think them right the inconveniences 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 Assem-
blies. 2. We must bring in a new forme of entre, which to this
day might weel have been withit, but was never practisit, at leff
never urgit in our Church. 3. We must preach doun, and people
by ther fuords must cut doun, all patronages: This, in the Assem-
bly of Edinburgh, oft to the Commissioner you protestit was never
your emme [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 Disciplin does import,
wer a project which everie on will not in haest 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
rauf. Lastly, ther will be grit danger in urging the people's
election from scriptur: the men that prefis it ar too neer to the
main fundation of Brunifme; the divin right of the Church, that
is the parifh, to elecit, admite, depofe, excommunicat ther minifter
and elders, of which right nethir Prince nor Prefbitery nor Assem-
bly can deprive them. The matter to me seems weightie, and of
grit consequent for the publiet; you shall do weel to tak some of Mr.
Alexrs.,(2) advyce. Whouever I hope I mey expect on of your old
long through letters, in a matter of such weight, and wher I have
to grit enteresse: if your diligenc be aunfuerable to my desir,
expect writen thankes: if not, I shall in quiett silenc regruit your
onlyndnes. The Lord be with you. My service to your kynd
Wyf.

Kilwinnin, Dec. 16, 1639.

Your old frend,

R. BAYLIE.

Ufe diligenc, for belyve, you knou, 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. (1)

Archbald,

Your frequent and very preffing letters, together with the approaching of the English Parliament, hes made me use all the speed I was able, in the midst of my very frequent and necessar distractions. I have sent yow all to the last chapter, which I hope shall be readie before yow have perused the ret. Yow fee my ordour is plaine and simple; my text short enough; my length is onlie in my marginall probations, which any common or hastie reader may paifie at his pleasure. The titles of my chapters, my notts on the margine, will lead, in a blenk, any who defyre to their particular tenets at some figure in the text; which, at their pleasure, they may fee provin at the letter in the margine. I doe verily think that a treatife of this kinde were verie needfull at this tyme to be publisht, both to shew to the Churches abroad the true state of our controversys, and to waken up the spirits of our own country-men, by demonstrating to their eye, in a short table, the incredible desigines of our partie: alfo for the rousing up of our slipprie neighbours of England, who readilie, if God have not given them over for their own destruction to a spirit of popour, cannot faill at this tyme to preffe more earneftlie the King than ever for justice on those our oppressors; who, before all the world, are taken ridd-hand with the vyleft errors, which no longer can be suffered, let be to be patronifed by their armes, who cannot bot hate them. However, doe God with us all what he hes decreed, yet it were good to give a testimonie to the undermyndit and opprefsed trueith; 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. Bot although I think it most necessar, that, without delay, a treatife of this nature should be sent abroad, yet I should be loath that my poor pamphlet shoulde be any occasion to marr the coming out of such a piece from your hands there, whom God hes enabled in all this caufe to doe great things. I think not good, that the lykes of me should proclaim our weakness in print: only at your defyre, have I undergone this

(1) The treatise, entiteld "Ladensium Auctoresque, 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 storie in Latine, a part whereof is in Mr. Henrie Rollock's
hand, which truelie, and for our advantage, fetts 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 preffe: it will doe
us good over sea. All the pieces yow have sent me, I shall at once
return them moft faithfullie to yow. For Lisimachus Nicanor,
good Lefly of Doun and Conner, (5) as I take it the author alfo of
Corbett's piece, the place of anfwering him would be my laft chap-
ter: but I am not disposed to medle with him; my book is too
long alreadie; he is a madde scenick raile: The things materiall
to be anfered are hiftorick paffages of our meetings, Assemblies,
and Parliament, wherewith I am not fo weell acquaint as his an-
fuerer must be; alfo, the quefition of the King's authoritie, which
he moft mells with, I am not fo feene into it as I durft ventour to
wryte of that subiect, more than I mind to fett down in my laft
chapter. Yow fhall doe weell to hafe a storie of our procedings,
which will be a reall anfwer to the manifefto, and him, and others.
The Lord be with yow.                  Your Brother,

R. Baylie.

March 30th, [1640.]

For Mr. D. Diksoun, 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 reaon, that at firft 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 instrumet
among them, by your labours, to gett that disposition of theirs
amended, which this long whyle hes been to the land fo offenfive;
to gett the grace of God, and heartie love to thofe who mindit
pietie, planted in their heart? fhall we be fo unreaonable as to look

(5) Baillie was mistaken in attributing "The Epistle of Lysimachus Nicanor,"
to Bishop Lesley. The author was John Corbet. Vide supra, p. 162.
(6) 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 wish may be wrought in them, by all the paines yow can take in your whole life?

My wryte I have sent east to Mr. Archbald [Johnstone]: yow may take a blank 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 advyse 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 cause. It were a pitie for my reward, that good and wyse men should putt me in print for my shame or hurt, or wronging either the honour of the trueth, or of our prefent caufe, which to me is much deirier than any thing I have. If it goe abroad, it shall lye on Mr. Archbald [Johnstone,] Mr. Alexander [Henderfon,] and yow, to whose judgement I doe simplic submit it to be ufed, as yow three shall agree.

That which ye wryte to our Presbytrie of our correpsondence, though the multitude of our Presbyterial actions that day permitted us not to answere, yet it was taken in verie good part: if yow pleafe to speake of it at the Synod with our brethren, yow will easilie obtain it, for both your good and ours. Yow would doe weell to prevent the evills which manie ways may infew upon the humor of some few there to change their Crouner: Be free at leift with George Porterfield (7) ; your refervedness here may be the neglect of a good office, and furthering of much displeasure, which may befal both to him, and to the Towne, and to my Lord Montgomerie; and yow are much oblied 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 affurance for Mr. Hew his part to be given not onlie to his fone, but at his removeall to anie other: finding them thus resolved, 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 deposition: God forbid or ever my hand be with gentlemen for the unreasonoble oppreffing 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 Lifmahagoe\(^1\) and Mr. John Lindsay:\(^2\) such staffage crueltie God will not approve, and men must detest: by anie meanses further that poor man of Campfey\(^3\) to his place; your depoision of him was much against my mind. If when the whole Presbytry and paroche, and the world which knows him, are for his restitution, and yow 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 punishement then deposition. Likelie, Mr. Alexander Dunlop will not be gotten longe keeped: we have no able expectants almoit to supplie rounes; the Lord help us. My people hes discharged me to keep the Synod, and my neceffar diligence in closing my piece will not suffer me to come abroad; fo, when I will see yow I know not. If your Towne solift not diligente, they will tyne Mr. Robert Ramfay. The Commisioners of Air Presbytrie had weell neer gotten a promife of our Presbytrie’s concurring with theirs for keeping him; but I did publickly marr that propoition. I long to see 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 pleased 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 trust to die in the faith of Christ, 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 brethern of Dunlop, by their band, two thousand merk. Item, ane annualrent 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.
possess'd by James Roe merchant in Edinburgh, which I estimate to five hundred merks if a reversion cannot be produced, or if it can, only to three.

My Bookes les not been cost for three thousand merk. I think if they be well fold, by some freind, with the things up and down the house, which may be spared, as my horse, my armour, the two silver tafles, 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 stipend the two next yeirs, 1638 and 1639, readilie may be near to two thousand four hundred merk.

I hope, if God blest my Wyfe's vertuous living, that thir things may come to weell near ten thousand merk; whereof I wish my Wyfe to be content, notwithstanding of her contract, with annual-rent of seven, and to employ the annuellrent of the other three to the education of my three children. After her, I wish that Robert, quyteing his heirship, might have five thousand merk, and Henry two thousand five hundred, and Lilies als much; and if the soumes diminifh to much lefs, that whatever is be divided to them by this proportion. I make my Wyfe sole executrix. I wish my Lord Montgomerie, my brother Henry Glen, the Principall Dr. Strang, Mr. Hary Gibfon, Robert Livingstone, Mr. John Bell, James Mitchell, Mr. Claud Hamilton, to give her their best advyces: if all be loft, God, in whose caufe I die, will be a husband to my most 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 revified this wrytt and approved it; only with this farther explanation. Cunynghamehead, at the next terme of Martinmas, will be auchtand me, befyde his father's band, four hundred merk of borrowed money, two hundred sixteen of annuallrent, of which he must retaine, for my tenth penny of annuallrent 1639, as I count, 20 merk. Dunlop, at Mertimes, aught score merk, whereof he retains sixteen; James Roe twentye pound; Alexander Armour thirtie pound, for three termes. Of my stipend, three full yeirs, 1638, 39, and 40; also large three hundred merk of 1637 yeir, according to Robert Livingfloun's subfcryved count.
To Mr. William Spang, after Aberdeen Assembly.

[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 Thyfius, to Voetius, to Paris, to Geneva, to Somer, to Tigur; for it concerns 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 misfled at leift one of your letters.

We have been long a moving, partlie of neceffitie, and more by resolution. We were, in February, declared traytors and rebells, upon no new reasons; our Assemblie's conclusion, anent our Covenant and Epifcopacie, aflected to and subferyved by the King's Commissioner and Councell, are declared to be moft traitorous; a commiffion given to Northumberland to cutt us off by sea and land before the coming up of our Commiffioners. When they came up, they were bot mocked, (the two Bishops at the table head, at the King's two hands,) the Deputie, and Marqueis, and Windibanks oft feoffingly interrupting them. We had no will to flurr till the Parliament concludit; and gave ane commiffion to our Generall. The Caftle of Edinburgh was long waited on; bot when our mindes [mines] failled, and the affault seemed dangerous, we thought meet to give over the interprife. Our men were long a-gathering: albeit the Wett sea-bank was firft at the randevouze, before the horfemen and baggage could be gotten put out it was the firft of August. Monro fand no opposition in the North. Argyle his traverling the heads of Atholl, Marr, Badenoch, Lochaber, with a prettie camp and cannon, never before aflayed, held all that countrey in order. Montrofe became somewhat capricious for his own fancies, and made Drummond, his neighbour, somewhat linger; bot Argyle makes all men draw.
Our Assembly at Aberdeen was keepit with great peace(1). We fond great averfencies in the hearts of manie from our courze, albeit little in countenance. Dr. Sibbet [Sibbald,] Forbes, and Scroggie, were resolvd to fuffer martyrdom before they fubfcrived any thing concerning Epifcopacie and Perth Articles; bot we resolvd to fpeak nothing to them of these matters, bot of farr other purposes. We fond them irrefolut about the Canons of Dort, as things they had never feen, or at leaft confidered. They could fay nothing againft any claufe of the book, of Canons, Liturgie, Ordination, High Commiffion; yea, Dr. Forbes's treatifes, full of a number of popifh tenets, and intending direftie reconciliation with Rome, farther than either Montague, or Spalato, or any I ever faw, was among their hands, and the hands of their young fludents; together with a treatife of B[ishop] Wedderburn, and ane English prieft, Barnefius, all for reconciliation. Dr. Sibbald in manie points of doctrine was found verie corrupt; for the which we deput him, and ordained him, without quick fatisfacion, to be proceffed. The man was there of great fame: it was laid on poor me to be all their examiner, and moderator to their proceff. Dr. Scroggie, ane old man, not verie corrupt, yet perverfe in the Covenant and Service book; Dr. Forbes's ingenuitie pleafed us fo well, that we have given him yet tyne for advyfement; poor Barou, otherways ane ornament of our nation, we found hes been much in multis the Canterburian way: great knaverie and direft 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 Assembly; yit Mr. Robert Ramfay was ordained to tranport to Glafgow, and Mr. Andrew Cant to Aberdeen, fore againft his heart: his patron Louthian will vehementlie oppose it. Thir violent tranfportations will at once offend manie. I am lyk to be more than bofted with a divinitie profeflion in Aberdeen: the world is fo farr miftaken; better for me to be dumb or dead than fo miserable. Much of our ten dayes (2) fitting fpent in caufes of tranfportations, and plantation of churches, where patrons, prefbyteries, and people had their contefts. 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 moft was a paffage of Mr. Harie Gut-

(1) The General Assembly at Aberdeen met on the 28th of July 1640,—
Mr. Andrew Ramsay, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, Moderator.
(2) The Assembly continued its meetings till the 5th of August.
tric’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 presed there by the Bifhops to counte-
nance the Liturgie and all their ceremonies, did absteene much
from the publict worship; and in privat, among themselves, their
minifters being all banifhed, 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 one voyage to New En-
land, inclined towards the discipline of thefe churches; yea, some
Brunifits, infinuating themfelves among them whileas their minifters
were away, did move diverfe towards their conceits. The molt of
thir good people flying over to us, were heartifie embraced of us
all; their privat meetings were overseen; fome of their conceits,
though they were fpreading, yet for caufes we let alone till the Laird
of Leckie,(7) one who had fuffered much by the Bifhops, was marked,
ufing his Irifh forme of privat exercifes in Stirling, and in his
prayers fome expreffions which were prejudiciall to Mr. Harie [Guth-
rie,] minifter of the faid toun, and other minifters of the land, who
did not affect their wayes. At once Mr. Harie, with the brethren of
that prefbytrie, and magiftrats of that toun, did begin with vehemencie
and fome violence, to fuppreffe thefe privat meetings, and to
paint out in verie black letters all the singularities they knew or
heard of in Leckie, or thefe who affected their wayes. They, on
the other fide, faiffed not to rander to Mr. Harie, and the brethren,
the like. The laft Aflemblie of Edinburgh was perplexed with this
matter. Mr. Harie made verie loud complaints of their novations,
both in word and wryte. Sundrie being conscious what in diverse
parts of the countrie was broaching, was in fome fear. Diverfe of
our chief minifters tendering verie much the credit of thefe verie
pious people, were loath that any thing concerning them shou’d
come in pubfic. We had fundrie privat meetings with the chief
that was thought to incline that way. Mr. Henderfoun vented
himfelf, at manie occafions, passionatfelie, oppofit to all thefe con-
ceits. We fend among ourselves great harmonie of judgment; yea,

(6) Mr. Henry Guthrie, at this time Minister of Stirling, was deposed 14th of
Nov. 1643; for malignancy. After the Restoration, (about 1665,) he was con-
secrated Bishop of Dunkeld.

(7) In the MS. ‘Leecie.’ The person mentioned appears to have been Alex-
ander Leckie of Leckie. “Joannes Leckie de eodem,” was served heir of his
LETTERS AND JOURNALS.

Leckie, declareing 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 pleased with the draught, onlie one, not lyking my conclusion of precise dischargeing of all novations till in a Generall Assemblie they were allowed, persuaded to leave off making of ane act, leif our adverfaries should triumph in our fo haftie di-putations, if not divisions; and did affure, by quiet dealing, to fopite another all farder reafoning of fuch purpofes; onlie we concluded, for fatisfa&tion of all, that Mr. Harie fhould preach for advancement of religious exercifes in everie familie, and Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. John Makcellean, Mr. John Levitoune, againft night-meetings, and other abufes quhilk were complained of. Mr. Blair, in his fermon, did not fo much cry downe thefe meetings as was expected; wherefore Mr. Guttrie refufed to preach at all. Some citizens of Edin-burgh declared themfelves not well fatisfa&ed with Mr. Henderfoun's zeal againft their pra&tie. One Livingftone, a trafliquer with the English who wer affected to our reformation, bot withall to the discifline of New England, in his letter to his friends abroad, did wryte verie difpytefullie of Mr. Henderfoun; thir being intercepted, did greive not onlie the man himfelf, but us all, of all ranks, who had found him the powerfull instrument of God, fitted expriflie much above all other to be a bleffing to our Church, in this moft dangerous feafone. For preveening of farder inconvenient, it was thought meet to preffe, in all the kingdome, religious exercifes in families, according to a draught which Mr. Henderfoun, with the unanimous consent of all, gave out in print. This familie worfhip was expected ane sufficient remedie againft the feared evills of uther privie meetings; bot when it was not found fo, thefe that would have keeped on foot amongst us some of the Iri$h novations, forefearing their severe condemnation by the infeuing Generall Af-semblie, thought good to eislu [eschew] that difcreditable stroke, and drew together in Edinburgh, in tyme of the Parliament, to a privie conference; on the one fide, Mr. Henderfoun and Mr. Eliaezar Borthwick; on the other, Mr. Blair and Mr. Dickfoun: thefe four agreed on a paper of caveat, limiting thefe privie meetings; which being opened to the ref of the brethren there conveneed, did please all. The report of this gladed all the land, hoping that thefe disputations 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 dafte him for attempting in that Assemblie any farder matter about Leckie his meetings, which they suspected was his maine earand to that place, urged straitlie the publick cenfure of his prefarmion. When he was removed, all these who had relation to the Irifh busines, lighted fo farpleie upon him, that manie did thinke that their cenfure was not fo much for his prefent mifbehauiour, as for some bygone quarrels. He took the Moderator's reproof submisivelie enough; bot whether on that irritation, or preceeding resolution, he fett himfelf with all earneftnes to have thefe matters concluded in Assemblie, which fome of us were afraied fo much as publicklie to name. Privatlie he had folicite the whole northern ministrie 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 houfe at the beginning of the Assemblie, that no motion should come in publick till firft it were confidered in privat by the Committee appointed for things of that nature whereof it was, unlefs the Committee did refuse to receave it. Whereby Mr. Harie his firft motion in publick, though he allographed 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 daies; bot by no means could be gotten diverted from proponing thefe queftions, which we were afraid should trouble us all. Accompit was taken of all the Commissionerers of the kerdome, in the face of the Assemblie, of fettling of familie exercife in ilk houfe of their Prefbytrie; it was avowed to be everie where prettie well advanced; bot this was no water for the fire in hand. It was the advyce of the committee, to propone Mr. Henderfon's paper before Mr. Harie was heard. This advyce, in my minde, was healthfome; for lyklylie all would have applauded to that paper, and no more needed for the fettling of thefe queftions; bot fome, whether becaufe they were loath, though privatelie they allfented to that paper, that yet it should goe in a publick act, or being carryed with a clean contrare fpaitie, were
willfull to have Mr. Harie to vent himself in publick, to the uttermost of his passions, would not let the committee determine any thing in that affair. Mr. Harie being permitted at laft to speak in the Assembly, in a long discourse, proclaimed what he was able to say of Leckie and thefe meetings: truellie he uttered manie things verie odious, if trew. Mr. James Simpstone of Bathgate shew alfo manie scandalous things of that sort of people. A Commissioner from Galloway declared a number of uncouth paffadges, reflecting on Mr. Samuell Rutherford, Mr. John Livingstone, and Mr. Mackell. Presentlie all went to a heat and confufed dinn; the whole north, especiallie the Earle of Seafort, a well spoked man, bot whose honestie in our caufe ever has been much suspeced, passionatelic fying with Mr. Harie; some others fretting to hear pious people fo flamefullie, as they thought, culumnait. In the midft of the clamour, I took leave sharplie to regrate that we did rufh in a greater evil than any was complained of: the confufed misorder of a Generall Assembly was the spoyling of the onlie remedie of that and all other defeases: Bot no poiffibilitie of order and silence; the Moderator had neither weight in his discourse, nor dexterity in guiding: we miffed much Mr. Hendersfon, or fome of our refpeoted nobles. At laft the confusion ended in a committee for the preparing of overtures to remedie thefe evils: the committee was for the moft part of men at Mr. Harie's devo- tion. After much jangling and repetition, with manie eikes of odious (whether true or fabulous) narrations, fundrie of us inclyned to have that fore-named paper paft in ane act. Bot my Lord Seafort, 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 introducive at laft of the thing limited. Mr. Rutherford all the while was dumb: onlie in the midft of the jangling he caft in a fyllogisme, and required them all to anfwer it: "What Scripture does warrant, ane Assembly may not discharge; bot privie meetings for exercifes of religion, Scripture warrants." Heb. xii. [Jam. v. 16.] "Confefs your finnes one to another, pray one for another;" Mal. [iii. 16.] "Then did the goodlie oft fpeak together, and God hearkened," etc. Thir things could not be done in publick meet- ings. A number greedinlie hanfit at the argument, Mr. A. Ramsay, Mr. J. Adamfoun, and others; bot came not near the matter, let be to anfwer formalie. My Lord Seafort would not have Mr. Samuell to trouble us with his logick fyllogifmes; the trueth
is, as I conceive, Mr. Harie intended to have all meetings private _simpliciter_ abolished; also Mr. Rutherford I know, had, in a treatise, defended the lawfullness of these meetings in greater numbers, and for more purposes than yet we have heard practiced; also Mr. Dickfoun had written, and practiced, and countenanced some things in these meetings, that now, both of them finding the inconveniences, and seeing the great opposition they got by manie good men, and especiallie by Mr. Hendersoun, were content to passe from, at leaft to be silent of. We closed that night with this overture, 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. Lindsay, Mr. Alexander Petrie, and I. In my act, I strave fo cunninglie as I could, to conuafe Henderfoun's paper shortlie, with some of my own conceptions. I communict it with the chief oppofers of Mr. Harie, Mr. D. D., Mr. Sa. R., Will. Rigg, and others, got them at laft to acquiefe. 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 mislyked it, and conceived, that under everie word a dangerous serpent did lie; there was no reme: his contentment was the contentment of the bodie of the Asfemblie. Frae he mislyked my draught, I fett myfelf to perfwade that his draught might be accepted, for truelie it had nothing that was contraverted: It conflifted of three articles;—the Second, "That read prayer was not unlawfull," Mr. D. Dick did inlarge, 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 Scripture to people, but onlie ministres, and expectants approvin by Prefbytries," 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 queffion. I did declare publickly, oft without contradiction, that the meetings whereof he complained were not familie meetings, but ane other kinde specificallie differing from the other; fo that his article of familie meetings would never touch any abufe of these meetings, were they never fo manie or foule. Yet because this was Mr. Harie's own draught, and he alleaged, that the people with whom he had to doe did take their conventicles onlie for familie exercises, he required no more than the declaration of the Asfemblie, that familie meetings extended no farder than to perfones of the fame families. This, though no man could refufe, yet these 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 needles, and did further Mr. Harie’s designe more nor his own words. Alwayes Mr. Harie was made content to admitt of ane exception, which was, the pracliffe of people flocking to their minifter’s familie exercife; bot of any moe exceptiones he would not hear; and more they prefled to have, upon one argument that did much amaze my minde, that except they got ane other conceit, they had a written protestation readie againft that act of the Synod; the thing that the devill was seeking, and would have been sweet paftlyme to that town of Aberdeen, and our small favourers in the North, who was greedilie gazing on the event of that broyle. Alwayes at laft the prayers of the land for God’s bleffing 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 fynve 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 againe I had inculcate to him, that all his act was bot a blephum if yow putt not in that claufe yow fee it hes againft 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 lefth we expectit, it does blow up againe as boyferoulias as ever: some that was grieved and freted that their oppofite should have gotten f0 much way, defyring to have some order of him, did give in a wryte, requiring, since fo manie wyle [vile] abuses were in the Assemblie alleaged to have been committed by Leckie, and others, in diverfe 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 ftit in Edinburgh, and confift of these whom the Assemblie had ap-pointed 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 rose fuch a heat and univerfall clamour, that it was marvellous. Mr. John Makcellan was found the in-
giver of it; while he began to be hisled at, Mr. A. Cant and Mr. D. D. did speak for the reaonablenefs of it, and some few other minifters and gentlemen who had been on the councell of it; but they were so 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 diforder of our Asfemblie; and had I been on Mr. David's councell, I would have difuaded him to my power from fuch a motion, which, if it had been aflented to, was like to have fyr'd our Church, more than any other brand that Satan at this tyme, in all his Witt, could have invented: fo, by God's goodnefs, water was caft on that fyre for the tyme. The amirs [embers] yet feems to fmoke; but 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. Archbald Johnftoun, fent by the armie to intreat that the Town of Edinburgh would be pleafed, on all fecuritie they could invent, to lend what readie monie they could fpare, for the fupplie of our fouldiers, who were in strait for want of monie; alfo, because it would be troublefome to thefe of Ingland, who were much delighted with their planting, if our armie fhould cutt down timber for bigging of our huttes, they prayed, that the honeft women might be tryed what webbs of hardin or fheets they might fpare, that everie four fouldiers might be accommodat in a tent of eight ell. H. Rollock had fo fweetlie fpoken to the people's mindes on the Sunday, that the women afternoon and to-morrow gave freellie great store of that ftuffe, almoft fufficient to cover all our armie; and, which was more, I faw on the Monday the neighbours being convened, offer in prent monies, to be lent in common fecuritie, verie fair foumes of monie; fo that, farr above all expectation, to our great encouragement, our meffengers on Tuesday got with them a large hundred thoufand pound, and hope almoft of as much fhortlie to follow. Oft tymes hes that worthie Towne been a good instrument in our caufe, but never more feaonable than at this dangerous exigent. The maintaинance of our armie was founded on the tenth pennie of our eftates, and hopes from England: the firft came bot fowlie 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 founes 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 horse, beydyes two or three thousand carriadge horses with swords and hagbutts. We lay at the Border a large ten or twelve dayes after our appointment to march. Durie, the Generall Commissler, for all his extraordinarie diligence, could not get a fourteen dayes provifion to the fore, and horses to carrie it, which we resolved to have with us. Alwayes at laft at Caldffream we paffe the 20th Auguft, with great courage, our horse troupes flanding in the water, our foot all wadeing in order about their middle. The lott gave the van that day to Montrofe; to whom I thinke it was very wellcome. He went on foot himselft 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 water on horse.

We marched at leasure through Northumberland; the scarceitie of that countrey and feare of the people made us divide our companies in three; Lieutenant-Gerfall Almond led one part, Generall-Major Baylie, ane other, the Generall the refte. The regiments keepepd their order of van and rear dailie by lott: all was within eight or twelve myles call. The troupers of the garifoun of Berwick made their incurfions on our scattered fingle men, bot to little purpofe.

On the 28th we mett all, according to appointment, in Newcasle Moore a little before night. We lay near the river, some fyve miles above the towne, at Newburne; the paffeage was well fortified; ten thousand foot lying, with their cannon, under the trenches; twenty-fyve hundred horfemen, well mounted, with head-peace, corflet, carabins, piftoles. To-morrow their canon and mulket plaid among us; bot it pleafed God wonderfullie to affift us. Our cannon, at the second voee, played fo well upon their trenches, that their foot, in great numbers, fled from their colours. About four afternoon, Coronall Blair, with a thoufand musketeers, and fome two troupes of horse, Coronall Lesly, and Sir Thomas Hope, were commanded to goe through the water. Twelve of the English 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 ventorioulsie, that they were like to be beaten, had not our Generall come up with fix troupes for their secourfe: At once the English fled. We loft 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 flaine (8) by fome of our owne. There was killed to the English, as fome fay, fixtie, fome a hundred, fome fye hundred. The Generall-Major, my Lord Wilmot's fone, and Generall-Commißfar Digbie, and Coronell O'Neell, and manie more gentlemen, were taken. The night and the near wood, and moft of all, our good-will to the English nation, hindered our purfuit 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 hafte. In the King's magazine wer found good flore of biltett and cheefe, and five thousand armes, muskets, and pikes, and other provifion. Mefs. Henderfoun 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 found humble and heartie thanks to the name of our God, in the confidence of whose help this work was begun, and on whose strength 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 nonplus; but God helped us ever. Our armie is alreadie diminished; the fraits of victualls, and discipline, hes made manie to runn away, on whom the trouperis of Berwick hes lighted fikere. Money of our own 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 leaft fort the countrey 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 thousand Iriſhes thir two moneth lying on the coaft of Ireland fore-anence our countrey, keeping thefe in the Weft, under Argyle and Eglintoun, in fuspence. Thir are thought now to be tranported to England; fo it is expected we shal yet have a battell. Our armie minds

(8) On the Margin of the M.S. Baillie has added, "This holds not."
to refresh themselves at Newcastle. They have written to the Committee of Estates for a rescreev: 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 flagish servitude for ever: We put little doubt but we shall get for our selves fair enough conditions; but it will be to our great regret, if we gett not all the King’s dominions to our happinesse.

The 28th of August, the day of our soleme humiliation in burgh and land through all the kingdom, according to the Generall Assemble’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 Caftle of Dumbartan, questionles the strongest place in Brittain, did capitulat to render to-morrow, and did so: meall, flefh, filh, frefh water, money, ammunition of all kind, they had in flore; but God had fent the fcurvie among them, whereof manie was dead, and moe verie fick, and few men for service left. We gave them baggage and armes, and courteous convoy to Borrowftounnes, where they shipped for Berwick. Alfo, as I think, that fame day the garrifon of Berwick thought to have surprifed our garrifon and cannon at Dunfe; but being discovered they were bravellie repulfed; and in the cairts that they brought for our cannon, they returned nought but their own dead bodies. It is the good pleafure of God to mix the wyne of his owne with fome water or milk, that it runn not into their weak heads. To-morrow, on Sonday the 30th, ane Inglysh villaine, having, as we are informed, been fuborned by the garrifon of Berwick, put fire in the powder which lay at Dunblafs, and tumbled over the houfe on that brave and noble gentleman the Earle of Haddingtoun, whose page he was, to whom the charge of all the Eaft countrey was committed: manie gentlemen and others were fmoored with the Earle, and manie dangeroufie hurt. God brought us fome good out of that evil, that is thought was prepared for our Generall and all our nobles, who oft a little before mett for councill in that houfe; albeit the knave, blowing up himfelf with the reft, cannot be had to tell us the certaintie: I fay, fome good we got be it; the people about the houfe being amazed, put on beacons for gathering of the countrie, and by their example all Louthis and Yffe fet up their fyres; whereupon the Caftle 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 fome 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 Monday last craved a parlie; we expect shortlie the good issue of it. The Earle of Argyle receiveed a commiffion to levie ten thousand men for a voyage to Ireland; however, for the present, it may be but a boaste to hold the Irish army at home; yet, as manie of our boasts hes proven in the end reall stroakes, this readilie may doe so; for it is thought we have manie thousands in Ireland, not onlie Scots, bot Irish, who are longing for our coming over.

Since, we have seen in manie letters from the best hands in our camp, sundry diverfe relations, of manie circumstances of our conflict at Newburne-ford; bot the moft agrees to what I have written; however, read your felf (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 fland in their armes, about the place of the fought. We got 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 troupers to die in the place, neither to take nor give quarters; yet when they flood a while till their foot was out of danger, they themselves, with little adoe, 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 strait; 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 fame night in a panick-terour, made them to-morrow offer us all they had. Their facilitie made us at once to try Durham, who willinglie receeved 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 toune good store of victualls. Finding plentie about Newcastle, we sent back some of our greatest ordnance, most cumber-some 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 suppllication to his Majestie, he would be pleased to hear our grievan-
ces, and provide for them; yow may read the tenor of it (D.). At the same time some forty nobles convened at London, did send my Lord Mandawell and Hawart to petition for a Parliament, to settle this warre without further blood, and to take order with manifold grievances, as yow may see them expressed in the wryte itself (E.). The King's answer to both was mild and short, as yow may read (F.). Ours indeed held on generalls, being most part excusatorie for what was past, and preparation for a parlie about particulars; so the King, by his secretarie my Lord Lanerick, defyred us to propon our speciall 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 standard at Yorke, against the 24th of this instant. It were easie for us to hinder that meeting, and furprife that randevouze; yet we resolve to goe no farther in till we see what our friends intends. We are fortifying our winter quarters at Newcallle: the Generall does call to the Committee for a recrew of five or six thousand men with diligence; also hes wryten to Argyle and Eglintoun to be in readines, with all that countrey, when he calls for them. We will goe with the better will since that most troublesome thorne of the Castle of Edinburgh is now out of our foot. On Tuesday, the 15th of this instant, for all their late thundering, they closed 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 Newcallle was much displeased with this capitulation: in their letter to the Committee of Edinburgh, they complained of it as disgracefull and disadvantageous that traitors to their countrey, when, after all the wortf they could doe, were brought to extremities, even then with such honour to be dismissed. But the truth is, the good Toune of Edinburgh did suffer daylie so much at thef knaves hands, as by any means they were most glad to be rid of them; also 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 destroy it all. A little after, Nidfdail rendered his houses of Carlawerock, and Threiff, which had keeped all year Cochran's regiment at the fedge. So now, by God's mercie, there is not a place nor person in Scotland who makes them to oppofe us; also these men which the North, Edinburgh, and Nidfdail, had hitherto withdrawen, were now readie, with their crowners, Munro, Lindefay, Hume,
to convoy Marischall to Newcastle; who, in haill about three or four thousand foot, were welcome to supplie the absence of our fugitives; who weell near 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 flricknes of military discipline.

Long before this, after our first going over Tweed, about the 20th of Auguft, we were of new proclaimed rebells at London (I.); bot the prentifes, or some others of our good friends, in papers publickly affixed, with the proclamations, declared us honest 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 Bishoprick to three hundred and fifty. Commiffions 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 eafe and peace, waiting, with some fear, what the 24th day might bring forth. At that tyme the moift of the land did keep the King’s appointment, and manie of our friends, the Noblemen supplicants, were there, contrare to our expectation. The King’s speech yow may read (L.). Traquair thereafter was brought in to repeat that leffon he had faiied before the Privie Councill, whereupon in February they had decreed warr against us; yet the supplications receaved from all the nuiks of the countrey, subfcryved with manie thoufands the moift confiderable hands in England, did not only force the prefent indiction of the Parliament to the 3d of November, bot also that fame night drew out my Lord of Lanerick’s letter (M.) to our Committee for a parlie, the Thursday after following, the 1ft of October. For their fafe conduct, there pasfed fome letters betuixt us and the Secretarie (N.); it was fent us in fo ample a forme as we could have wilfed. (O.) The Peers excufed their not subferyveing together with their Prince, bot witnessed his subcription in a letter of their owne apart, with many hands; to which we acquiefed. We thought it strange to fee the King, by his Secretar, petition us in fo equall termes for our paffe for thefe he fent to Berwick, and for difmifling the officers we had taken at Newburne. We yielded to the releifing of all prifoners, 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, foolifhlie
palled the Tyfe, and swaggering in the night in a villadge without a centinell, was surprifed by the King's horfe, with all his troupers. For all this, we get but little incouragement from our friends in the South: they fent us indeed this paper of intelligence (P.), but no money. We could gett 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 themelves or us; yea, we found much coofining and knaverie among that people. Some of the gentlemen who undertook to contribute, did faill of their affuarence: we were forced to send out for their cattle to caufe them be true: thefe who had the collection of the money did exact double to that they gave to us; the heaviest burden was laid by them, (abufing our ignorance,) on the back of Protestants our friends.

Some of the English, under our blew capes, became robbers every where: The moft of the churchmen having removed all that they had coniterable, left their houses, with some trash open, which their fervants and neighbours spoiled; at once libells full of outrages, done or feigned by the English themelves, are presented to the King againft 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 affuarences from them. According to our declarations, we took nothing for nought, only we borrowed, on good securitie, fo much monie a day as was neceffare for our being, to be repayed truelie before our departure. Other inconveniences befell us thane of our fouldiers began to take fluxes through cold and watching: some of our officers became malecontents: we remeided both fo weell as might be. At the Generall's defyre, out of the voluntare contribution of parifhes, there was with diligence fent to our foyers, shoes, coats, hose, farks; all was lodged in houses, the moft in the suburbs of Newcastle; the fortifications on the south fyde being perftyed againft a royall fide. 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-tercoufe of letters with the King, for which he was accused publickly by the Generall, in the face of the committee. His bed-fellow Drummond, his cofine Fleiming, his allye Boyd, and too manie other, were thought too much to be of his humour. The cold[nefs] 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 begun their conference. My Lord Bristoll, their speaker, did give us at the table their commission (Q.). They receaved likeways ours, according to the instructions from our committee. After our demands were given in, as the English requyred, in wryte, some quefions 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 ceffation from armes during the treatie, we demanded the payments promised to our armie, for the tyme bygone, where they had been withholden, and forty thousand pound Sterling a moneth till we in their Parliament had gotten securtie of our peace. The King sent down to a lift his communers, by way of advyce, Traquair, Mortoun, Lanerik, Sir Lues Stewart, Sir Harie Vane. The Thefaurer we allutterlie declyned, as one of whom we were chieflie to complaine; Sir Lues we thought for his vocation unmeet for a treatie; the reft we except against as not being expressed in the commiffion. They gave us, indorfit by Sir John Bonar, clerk to the Councell, some complaints of the Bishop of Durham, Toun of Newcastle, and some moe, of our injuries done to them. They retired from the table to a private room for advytement, and we had also another room prepared for our confultations. That night we clofed, they craving leave to expext the King’s answer to our propositions against the morning, and we fending the libells of complaint to our committee for their answer, which quicklie returned. We are somewhat jelous of the English policie in this treatie. If it take not speedie succeffe, our Generall mynds to lift speedilie from Newcastle, and draw nearer to Yorke. Argyile, with a brave band of gentlemen volunteers on horfe, are making in: The reft 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. (2)]

My Verie Good Lord,

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

(2) This Letter, addressed to Lord Montgomery when at Newcastle with the army, (vide p. 269,) 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 witches under the heaven. Your Lordship does exceeding well 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 yow all dailie, not only as our moft dear and worthie friends, but as for our verie selves; for we acknowledge yow are there in our place; that yow watch, endure paine, undergo dangers, that we may sleep, and be at eafe, in all fafetie; we take yow for that bulwark, which God on earth hes oppofed to a fpait of mifchiefs, which at once are readie, upon your breach, to overflow not onlie our bodies and eftates, bot our verie foules, and of all our potteritie. If, in your defending of your felf and dear countrey, God may be pleafed to honour yow with a farder fucceffe, in helping the multitude of oppreffed faints in England and Ireland; in dividing betwixt our gracious Soveraigne and a handfull of wicked counfellors, that hes divided this fixteen yeir and more that good Prince from all his beft minding fubjects, from all his friends, and allyes abroad; and yet are fo mad, that before they shoule 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 houfe of Palatine in banifhment 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 jeft and fport to fee all the King's dominions flame in warre, flow in blood, and, which shoule be moft to them, their gracious benefactor King Charles, the creator of their fortune, the onlie advancer of them from that base naughtinesse wherein they all were borne, to that too greatnefs wherewith long they have [domineered,] even they are content to behold King Charles's ruine, [to the lofs even] of his life, of his eftate, before they will humble themſelves to the tryall of the Supreme Judicatories of their countrey: If it may be our happiness to be the honourable instruments of God to force that handfull of mifcreants to receave from the ordinarie judges a part of their defervings, to the end that with them may be banifhed out of this land all jealousies and fears, 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 Livingston, who is mentioned at the close of the letter, died before March 1642.
superstition, tyranny; that the King and all his subjeets, when these wicked humors are spewed out, may harmoniouslie 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 feas of blood which cannot againe be taken up, but some part of that honour and reputation, which in hudge quantity that evil faction hes made us to losse, onlie that their wicked hands may keep our sweet Soveraigne in the prizon of melancholie and malecontentment, wherein they have inclofed him up since the first day that they ravished him away from the hearts of his subjeets at home, and all his blood and allyes abroad; if this be the tyme, and yow the men, who may deliuer our Prince from that most pitifull prizon, and restore him againe to the hearts, hands, and means of all Brittain, thryce happie shal 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 affiance; if paffits and epicures be permitted of God to keep these wicked men to be still cruel jaylors, holding the King in his most fearfull miscontentments; whatever become of yow, yet after ages shal not faill to kisfe and adore your magnanimous affay to deliver our Kirk and Countrey from pestilentious humours, which threatened both with a haffie de-
struction; bot dammed in all after tymes shal the fottifh cowardife of these men be, who being fo near to one great good, durft doe no more for the apprehending of it, than with fillie women breath out their fighs for it, and fend out their prayers: certainlie the will-
full miferies of that people, which by one little standing on their feet might be efchewed, when it falls on heavie and fore, shal never be pityed 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 inti-
mate a voluntarie contribution for the supply of the fouldiers, with 
an increaslied cheerfulnes, all, laffe and lad, most affectionatlie 
with their teares and blessings, came and offered verie liberallie. 
In the first two dyetts I have gotten, which is much in our fo deep 
poverty, above nyne hundreth merks; in the dyetts following, I 
expect much more. Of the first we intend to fend shoes, cloath 
for coats, hofe, and shirts, to fiftie fojurs of our paroche. We 
expect that Argyle shal be followed with a brave companie, even 
the moft part of the confiderable 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 myself, as many thousands would run as you could require.

My verie good Lord, cause R. Livingstoune to write often, and at more length. The Lord preserve you all, and your Lordship among the rest. At last I kiss 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 all the greater expedition as you can conveniently, and to bring with you a number of your Canterburian's Self-Conviictions, together with the warrants thereof, and all such papers and proofs which may serve for that purpose. Your being here within a few days, is desired and wished be all your friends here, and may prove useful for the publick. Hoping ye will sett all excuses aside, and prefer this great business to all others, we rest,

Your affectionat Friends,

W. Hamilton. Rutherford. (*)

Newcastle, 15th of October, 1640.

[To the Same.]

Most Affectionate Friend,

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

(*) 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 inclofed from our Committee at the camp, I hope neither will yow make difficultie to come, nor will my Lord Eglintoun hinder yow: for truelie, as I hear, our Minifters works more upon the fjours 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 conceive to be my worldlie eftate, and hereanent I declare my Latter Will:—
Aughtand to me by Cunninghamehead, according to his father and his own band, three thoufand merk; at Martimes following, a hundred merk of annuell rent.

By the Breither of Dunlop, two thoufand merk; at Martimes of annuell rent, seven score of merks.

By James Roe, merchand of Edinburgh, at Martimes, twenty pound, and ane yearly annuell rent out of his lands of Goldin hoof, according to my infeftment, of twenty pound; which, if he cannot produce ane reverfion, 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, fourty-two pound.

My Stipends the years [16]38, 39, 40, and so 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 subferyved with my hand the 27th of May will teftifie, about a 191 pound, 10 fl. 6d. that is three hundreth merk, laiking about fourteine. 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 aughtin me of my stipend, large four thousand merk which my Lord Montgomerie is obleidged to pay, according to my decreet of augmentation, regifrat either in the Commiffion or Session bookes, as Robert Livingstone can tell.

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

It will be my earnest 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 judiciaallie, fo soon as may be, what farde r she can crave by her vere 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 tentations which I wish 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 hundredth merks to be distribute prefentlie among the poor of the paroche of Kilwinning, at the sight of the Session.

If thir foumes be diminished, I would have my children's portions diminished 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 overfeers.

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

R. Baylie.

[To Mrs. Baillie at Kilwinning.]

My Heart,

I wrote to thee from Edinburgh, alfo from Kelso 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 sundrie difficulties, which partlie they anfwered, and partlie took to their consideration till this day. At our Prebytrie, after fermann, both
our noblemen and ministers in one voyce thought meet, that not onlie Mr. A. Henderfoun, bot also Mr. R. Blair, Mr. George Gillefpie, and I, shoulde all three, for diverse 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 Prefbytries ufed in our Church; I, for the convinceing of that praevent faction, agaist which I have wryte; Mr. Gillefpie, for the crying doune of the English Ceremonies, for which he hes wryte; and all foure to preach by turnes to our Commissioners in their houses, which is the cuftome of diverse noblemen at Court, and wes our praCtife 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 stay all Sunday, where we hope to hear, before we crofte 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 sent for the Great Seal of England thereto also, which we expeet ere we leave Darntoun. Six of us, Meifs. Johnfloun, Henderfoun, Smith, Wedderburn, Blair, and I, goe journie everie one of us with ane attender on horfe. I think the Sheriff of Teviotdale shall goe with us: Rothes and Dumfermling, Riccartoun and Hugh Kennedy of Aire, takes poft on Saturday. This day Waughton is away poft before us, to advertife us in our journey how all goes. Lowdoun is fashed with a defluxion; he will stay till Mononday, and come on as health servs, journie or poft. 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 prentisfs pulling down of the High-Commission house at London; of Generall King’s landing with fix or seven thoufand Danes in the mouth of Taimes, near London: we wish it were fo; bot we take it, and many things mow you 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 befylde that in privat. Put Rob to the school; 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 thow and they are. My Ladie [Montgomery,] to whom I prefent my heartie affections, will inclofe thy letters with her owne to My Lord, who will daylie [have] occaion with the poft of the Committee at Newcastle, to tend them to me. Remember what I defyreth 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 fees I flip no occasion. I wrote to thee yefternight from Newcastle; this night I am in Durham, verie weell, rejoicing 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 spake 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 farder; I could not there ftryve; I gave him his leave, and a dollor to carrie him home: his follie did me a great wrong; for if I should have gone back to fpeak ane other, I would have losted 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 schollars, 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 servant, a cup of sack, 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 Commissioners that were there, fup with him, and gives the youth his passe to goe with me. Mr. Archbald Johnfloun affures me for his charges as weell as my owne; so my man James's foolish unthankfulness is turned about for my ten tymes better provifion; I take this for a presage and ane erles of God's goodneß towards me all this voyage.

I wrote in one of my letters, of my Lord Saye's death, for so Durie affured the committee of Edinburgh; bot thanks to God, he is recovering weell, and now in reaonable health. Northumberland is not dead bot ficklie. The Archbifhop of York, Dr. Neill, a great enemie to us, was buried, as they fay, the laft week. Some thinks all was faid of the Danifh armies landing was bot mistakes.
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.

[To the Same.]

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 Hendersou 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 Briftol's letter to Lowdoun, intreating us to make haffe. On Monday we came, before we lighted, to Boroubrig, twentie-five myles. On Tuesday we rode three short pofts, Ferribrig, Toxford, and Duncafter. There I was content to buy a bobin (5) waftcoat. On Wednesday we came ane other good journey to Newwark on Trent, where we caufed Dr. Morylie fup with us. On Thursday we came to Stamfoord; on Fryday to Huntingtown; on Saturday to Ware, where we rested the Sabbath, and heard the minifter; after we were warned of the ending of the service, preach two good sermons. On Monday morning we came that tuentie myle to London before fun-ryfeing; all weell, horfe and men, as we could with; divers merchants and their servants with us, on little naigs; the way extreamlie foule and deep, the journeys long and continued, fundrie of us unaccuftomed with travell, we took it for God's singular goodness that all of us were so preferved; 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 fenfe of God's preference with my spirit. We were by the way great expences; their inns are all like palaces; no marvell they extors their guefts: for three

(5) In the transcript woven: It was probably a waftcoat ornamented with lace.
mealls, course enough, we would pay, together with our horfes, sixteen or seventeen pound Sterling. Some three diish of creevifhes, like little partans, two and forty shillings 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 Burgeffles in one; Lowdoun, whom we expect this night, in a fift, 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 should lodge with them; fo, to-morrow I think we muft flitt.

All things here goes as our heart could with. The Lieutenant of Ireland came bot on Monday to town late; on Tuesday refted; on Wednesday came to Parliament; bot ere night, he was caged. Intollerable pryde 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 required his perfon to be arrefted till probation might be heard. So Pym and his back were removed; the Lords began to consult on that ftrange and unexpected motion. The word goes in haffe to the Lord Lieutenant, where he was with the King: with fpeed he comes to the Houfe; he calls rudelie at the doore, James Maxwell keeper of the Black-Rod, opens; his Lordhip, with a proud glouming countenance, makes towards his place at the boord-head: bot at once manie bids him void the Houfe; fo he is forced in confufion to goe to doore till he was called. After confultation, being called in, he flants, 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 speake, 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 voyce, for his man to carry my Lord Lieutenant’s fword. This done, he makes through a number of people towards his coach, all gazeing, no man capping to him, before whom that morning the greateft 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 treason is a small matter! Coming to the place where he expected his coatch, it was not there; so he behooved to returne that fame way through a world of gazeing people. When at last he had found his coatch, and was entering, James Maxwell told him, Your Lordship is my prifoner, and must goe in my coatch; so he behooved to doe. For some dayes too manie went to visit him, but since, the Parliament hes commanded his keeping to be straiter. Purveyants were dispatchd to Ireland, to open all the ports, and to proclaime 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 Irith armie, and so manie as the King could make, to fall on the English lords, who are the countrie way; his cruell monopolies, whereby he fucks up, for his own ufe, the whole subftance of Ireland. My Lord Montnoris, Sir John Clatworthie, the Chancellor, hes been chief informers. The King was much commoved; the Marqueis, by the deliverie of Pym his speech, did somewhat calme him. The Parliament of Ireland is fitting: 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 minde somewhat from the Deputie.

We were extreamlie welcome here. The Parliament hes granted ane hundred thoufand pound Sterling, whereof we fhall have near fourtie in prefent money, to pay our armie fix weeke, without prejudice to exaé what, according to our bargain, is more due to us from the four fhyres. Burton, I hear, is come to town; Baflwick and Prin are coming, as they were fent for; Lightoun has 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 first speech, did call us rebels; but much murmuring being at that stytle, he thought good, two dayes thereafter, to make a speech to excufe that phrafe, and to acknowledge us his subjeéts, to whom he had fent his Great Seall, and with whom he was in treatie, to fettle a perfect agreement, with their content and approbation.

On Tuyfday laft was here a faft: Mr. Blair and I preached to our commiffioners at home; for we had no cloathes for outgoing. Manie minifters ufed greater freedome than ever here was heard of. Epifcopacie it self beginning to be cryed down, and a Covenant cried up, and the Liturgie to be fcorned. The Toun of London, and a world of men, minds to prefent a petition, which I have feen, for
the abolition of Bishops, Deanes, and all their aperteanances. It is thought good to delay it till the Parliament have pulled doun Canterburie and some prime Bishops, which they minde to doe fo soon as the King hes a little digested the bitterness of his Lieutenant's cenfure. Hudge things are here in working: The mighty hand of God be about this great work! We hope this shall be the joyfull harvest of the teares that thir manie yeares hes been fawin in thir kingdomes. All here are wareie of Bishops. This day a committee of ten noblemen, and three of the moft innocent Bishops, Carlile, Salisburie, Winchester, are appointed to cognofce by what meanes our pacification was broken, and who advysed 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 negleect me; prayer is our beft help: for albeit all things goes on here above our expectation; yet how foone, if God would but wink, might the devil, and his manifold instruments here watching, turn our hopes in fear! When we are moft humble, and dependant on God, whose hand alone hes brought this great work to the presfent paffe, we are then moft safe. This day I have heard that Canterburie hes ane Apologie at the preffe; if it be fo, at once I will have more to doe.

R. Baylie.

London, November 18th [1640.]

[To the Presbytery 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 firft 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 fent. Our Commissioners knowing the strait of our armie, used their beft meanes to have it hafted; 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 customes, and not esteemed wealthie, one day the last week, seeing the payment of the promized fowmes draw long, offered publiclie 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 lay at laft twentie-
five thousand pound is put in coffers, to goe away to-morrow for our armie; that the other twenty-five thousand shall, within two or three daies, follow. All things here goes weell, blessed be God. The petition against Epifcopacie, subferyved with some thousands of hands, as manie fayes, had been given in, and prefled hard before now, had not friends in both the Houfes, as more than the two part are, advyfed to spare the prefing of that conclusion till firft they had put the whole Bifhops and their Convocation in a præmo-nire, for their laft illegall Canons, which now they are about; alfo till they had brought downe some of the prime Bifhops for private faults, which they had not will to affay till they had clofed the proceffe of the Lieutenant, about which they have been thir manie daies. They have paff ane Act of great confequence in him, to be a leading cafe to Canterburie and others, but with great difpute, that all the Peers and everie Privie Counfeller fhall be obli{fled to witnefs, on their oath, of all the evil counfells they have heard given to the King, even in Counfell. It is expected daylie when Canterburie fhall be brought in. Thir two daies they have been preparing matter for Windibanks proceffe; yet he is not accufed. The courage of this people grows daylie, and the number, not onlie of people, but preachers, who are rooting out of Epifcopacie: all are for bringing them verie low; but who will not root them clean away, are not re{pected. Not one I hear of, either in the Univerfities or in dignities, does fpeak as yet. Holfworth, Ward, Feitl, Brommerik, Prideaux, or any famous for learning, nothing is expected from them; but there is great appearance 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 some leading men in the Lower, were fufpe{ted, by their inclination to the Separatifts, would divide from the Presbyteryans, and fo weaken the partie oppofed to bifhops; but fo farre as yet can be perceaved, that partie inclinable to feparation will not be con{iderable; and whatever it be, thefe and the refi who are for the Scotts Difcipline, do amicable confpyre in one, to overthrow the Bifhops and Ceremonies, 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 difbanding 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 monies 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 summe. In our treatie, we prefaced with a declaration in wryte, that our trying there was no submission to the English Parliament, nor any farther acknowledgement of any privilidge they could have above us, than we could claim over them, if so be the commissiioners of their Parliament would come to Edinburgh, the King being resident there, to treat with our commissiioners 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, Register, President, Secretar, Galloway, Airly, etc. put the King, with their despytefull 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, continuowig objections against number of the Acts of Parliament. The way of proceeding was fanious both to ours and the English Commissiioners; so the next day, Friday, ours gave in a large and sharp anfwer to everie objection. This satified the English fo fullie, that they went to the King, told him the fonce of difgrace if fo frivolous objections were dyted by fuch men to be propounded by them to the Scots; they made the King shortlie content to promife, that to-morrow, at nyne of [the] clock, he would call for us, and grant us our whole First demand siple, and would crave back the paper of his objections, and delyver our answers, that both might be deftryed. 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 Commissiioners did kiffe the Queen's hand, but without any word of difcourfe. There was there who could have spoken; but they were informed, it was not the fashion to speake at these occations; 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, fubberyved with the clerk's hand. When the King grant-ed the matter of our demands, he referred the manner of publishing these 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: but 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 eschew the forme of incendiaries, if it were poiffible,) it mightlie displeased them; so on Tueiday the King gives in a wryte, wherein he would have, under the manner of publishing our Acts in ane honourable way, understand the real deffroying of the first, second, third, and some more of the most materiall of our Acts. [By] this he displeased both ours and the English Commisioners; so this day we have given a quick anwer to that paper, shewing, that we have neither power nor commiſion to paffe from any Act of Parliament, especiallie having the King's grant of them all, both by word and wryte. So all things here are changeable: our treatie which all did believe, was farr advanced some dayes ago, is now, by a contrare tyde of evill information, juft where it was at first; but we doubt not bot at once we shall have all our demands; for the God of Heaven is clearlie with us, incouradges daylie our friends, amazes our enemies, and confounds them. I have fent yow some few parliament speecches, and two Gazets for foraign news.

Dear Britherin, have a care of my flock; be affurred, albeit I live here, and all our company every way as we could wish, yet my heart is there among yow; and so soon as I can purchase leave, I will hafte home: but for the present I have both my armes full of my old friend, his little Grace (?) as they ftyle him: if his proceffe were once clofed, which yet is not begun, the moft of my eirand here were at a poynct. Yow fee I wareie not to wryte, though it be near twelve at night, and this be the firſt of all my letters. The Lord be with yow, blefs yow all, and God's work in your hands. Stirr up your selves and your flocks now to pray for this mighty work in hand. On Saturday Burton and Prin came through the moſt of the citie triumphantlie: never here fuch a like ifhow; about a thouſand horſe, and as fome of good note fayes, above four thouſand; above a hundred coaches, and, as manie fayes, above two hundred; with a world of foott, every one with their roſemary branch. Baftwicke is not yet come from Sillie [Scilly.] This galled the Bishops exceedingly.


(?') Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury.
[To Mrs. Baillie at Kilwinning.]

My Heart,

All of us are very weell. Our treaty goes weell on; we hope to bring with us a happie and solid peace. The Parliament of England goes on very graciouflie; 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 lafft stroak, to make, as we hope, his funerall, our remonftrance againft him as the pryme incendiarie: Windiebanks is fled. Our treaty is prolonged to the 16th of January; our firt three demands are fatified; 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, praised be God, in the old fashion, as weell in health as any in the company; afflicted by God in all that I have to doe; everie way weell as thy heart could wiff. I pray daylie to God it may fo be with thee and my little ones. Hudge manie, and great things here in hand; we truft this is the acceptable tyme when we shall 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 Bifhops, Ceremonies, and all away, and that conformitie which the King hes ever been vexing himself and us to obtain betuixt his dominions, to obtain it now, and by it a moft heartie nation of the Kingdomes. Negle6l not reading and prayer in the houfe, and to be teaching, as thow can instrue6t and they can learne, both Robert and Harie and Lillie, in some beginning of reverence and love to God. If God be plefed to beflow his grace on thee and thyne, it is the higheft wiff I have for you.

Robert Baillie.

London, December 12th [1640.]
[To the Presbytery of Irvine.]

Reverend and Dear Brotherin,

On Fryday was eight dayes I wryt to yow fullie all that I remembered 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 nift Session of this current Parliament shall be concluded, we receive with thanks. Our Second demand, about the Castells, was declared to be granted in the firft. Our Third also was given us on Monrday in wryte. The oathes whereby our countriemen in England and Ireland hes been presfled against our Covenant, are declared illegall, and persons imprifoned therefore to be releafed; aflurance made, that no illegall oath hereafter shall be urged, and oathes approvin by Parliament to be urged only on thefe our countriemen who shall be ordinair refidents in England or Ireland. About the Fourth, of the Incendiaries, the laft four dayes hes been spent; our method in it was fyllogiftick: We proponed firft a major, "Whoever shall be found incendiaries, that they may be proceeded againft by the two Parliaments refeptivè." When this was made fast we were readie to affume, "But fo it is, we instrucf, by fuch and fuch reafons, that the Archbifhop of Canterburie and the Lieutenant, that the Thesauer, Regifter, 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 Comminationers together, the third, for Rothes alone, wherein he dealt fo effectuallie as might be, to paffe over this article, or to referr it to himself; but when their instructions, and a thoufand reafones, did permitt them here to grant nothing, the King in his paper gave anfwer to the demand, that he would not hinder his Parliaments to doe justice againft any fubject who fhould be found guiltie; but withall gave in a paper, wherein he required, that Traquair, being his Comminationer, might have his caufe difcuffed before himself. We gave in our reafons in wryte, why with this we could not be fatisfied. The King's reply will be given this afternoon. We doubt not, whatever fatheries Traquair putts us to, but to obtain all at once. If the major were made once fure, then our Scottifh 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 Canterburie and the Lieutentant 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 processies. The Parliament hold off to meddle with these two men till we be ready till join. It was resolved, that the petition against Episcopacie, root and branches, should be delayed till first we had gotten Canterburie 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 Canterburie stands to be concluded, as we hope in a deep bocardo, that the people's patience could no longer [keep] in; so yesterday a world of honest citizens, in their best apparel, in a very modest way, went to the House of Commons, sent in two aldermen with their petition, subferyved as we hear, by 15,000 hands, for removing Episcopacie, the Service-Book, and other such scandals, out of their Church. It was well received: they were defyred 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 flyres, to everie one whereof some thousands of hands are put, will be given in against Episcopacie: 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, byfide a hudge number of particular affaires, it is no marvell they proceed flowlie. For our affaires they have granted two subsidies, about 200,000 pound Sterling for the prefent, mainelie for the maintainance of our army. We are offended, that the monie decreed, and daylie presfled by us, and as oft promised by them, is yet gone away but in so small a proportion. They confesse that army is their own, and a most happie meanesse for all their defyres: that the dissolving of it were their ruine; that for the keeping of it on foot
and all our bygone losse, what would they not doe! Yet we tell them all is but fair words: they, by their wayes, hes oft put us near extreame necessitie, either to diband or plunder: yet, if it may pleafe God to give our poor sojours a little patience, we hope all shall goe well.

For the Irish affaires, ten of their Commisioners are come. Sir James Montgomerie and the other two of the thirteenth, are left a little behind for the gleaning of grievances. In June, the second feffion of their Parliament, ane petition was granted, that the collecting of the fix subsidies, which the first feffion had granted for the Scottifh warre, should be gathered after the old fashion; 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 ryfeging of the first feffion, had decreed shou'd now be: The cancelling of that Councell act did passe, and was registra't in the Parliament-books of that second feffion. The Lieutenant, 9th of November, two dayes before his delyverie to the Black-Rod, moved the King to wryte over to the Parliament of Ireland, then in their third feffion, that their zeale 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 feffion, and to revive that cancelled act of Councell, and prorogate their farther fittin till Easter, when the Lieutenant should come over for righting all was wrong. Before the coming of this letter, Deputie Wentford had adjourned the Parliament. Yet the Houfe of Commons held faft their doores, and would hear of no advertisement of prorogation, till their remonfrance was drawn up, and eight Commisioners appointed for presenting of it: thereafter they were contentit to dißolve. The Deputie, before some of both Houfes, as the King commanded, tare out the act before named; discharged upon their alleadgeance any commisioners to goe to England: Bot, behold, so soon as he heard of the Lieutenant's committment to the Black-Rod, he fell feek; and when Mr. Scinder came to bring over Ratcliffe and King; for

(1) Baillie's amanuensis has written Vieit, evidently mistaking this for some word signifying ordered or authorised; and Lord-Deputy Wandesforde he calls Wentford. When Wentworth Earl of Straffforde 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 simplicie 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 to-morrow died. ’The Lieutenant had obtained from the King his houses 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 enjoyned to keep his prisoner straiter: fo he hes now bot the libertie of three roomes, in the outmoft whereof there is a guard: no man at all comes to him bot by the Lieutenant’s speciall permiffion. Since he heard of Ratcliffe prifoned, and Wentford’s death, his two floups, his heart is a little fallen: The nixt week he may be proceeded. The Convocation meets twyce a-week, bot doe nothing at all; for as yet they have gotten no commifion from the King to doe any bufinefs. We hear there is some thirtie of them, weell minded for removing of Epifcopacie, and monie moe for pairing of Bishops nailles, and armes too. Montague and Manrening does not compear; bot will be fent for: Never a word of corrupted doctrine in the Convocation; the leffe good they intend the better; the more eaflie they will be gotten overthrown; for both the Convocation, and High Commission, and Starre Chamber, and officiall courts, are hoped to be gotten abolifhed. Sundrie countrie minifters, who meets with us, are on a remonftrance, to the which the Self-Conviction, as they confefle, gives them much help, which, in name of the Church, fhall shortlie be preffented against the Bishops.

The Separatifts are like to be fome help to hold up the Bishops through their impertinencie; but we truft, by God’s bleffing on our labour, to preveene that evill. 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 past 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 understood weell, they should have coft with ane hundred thoufand pound Sterling a-year, for twentie year to come; yea, the King, to paffe them the fhip-money alone, required in the late Parliament, as the leaft 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 press'd, 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 deal it betuixt them, that he might stand and fall as his innocencie shou'd 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 flight it. Ballwick came into the City this day eight days; twentie-seven coatches, a thousand horse for his convoy, trumpetts sounding from diverse 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 Westminister 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 sitts 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 disperfe 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,

London, December 12th [1640.]

R. Baillie.

[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 yow have I heard since my departure, made me plead to be dismissed 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 fome tyme can obtaine our defyres; bot be affurred, fo soone as, with the Commissioner’s good leave, I can obtaine a dimiffion, ye fhall 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 fpent; ane new edition from Amsterdam by my knowledge is come over: I am on a Supplement. I hear no appearance of any reply.

For our publick affaires I can wryte little more than in my laft the 19th of December. We fliek yet on the Fourth demand, of Incendiaries: all the papers that paft on that article I have fent to my Lady Montgomerie. Yow will fee in the generall anfuers, our replies, and their duplies, that faine they would shift and elude us with generalities. We did much fufepect Traquair as the author of thefe editions; bot on Wednesday, before the English Lords, on his knees, he crave of the King to be fent down to Scotland, and permitted to abide the fentence of the Parliament, whatsoever it might be, and with it rather to fall into any inconvenience, than to be reputed ane author of division betuixt his Majeftie and his people. It feems, that the Lieutenant’s letters from the Tower procures the length of this article; for his head, and the reft of the Englifh 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 paffes for their undoing; albeit it is faid the English resolves, and hes told the King as much, as, upon the neck of their Parliament’s fentence, they mind not to delay execution. On Thursday 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 fufflie 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 Commissioner; ye know I am none, bot it is my ordinar ftill [ftyle] for shortnefs, 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 aduyfe his Majellie 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 reafon, 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 profieme in this article to follow the Parliament of Scotland's aduyce; bot the English Lords, being wearie with this longfome debate, told his Majellie, that we would not be content with that fair generall; and if the quefition went to the Houfes of Parliament, doubtles all there would be for the Scots demand. The King therefore took it to his aduyfement till to-morrow what to fay farther. If this were closed, the Fifth demand, upon the reftitution 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 fome, 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 English, 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) ftuck 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 confideration. The English, 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 settling of a new government in the Church, the putting downe a world of grievances publiç, the satifying of infinite private complaints; for the doeing of these things, and manie moe, long tyme is requirit. So long as our armie flayes, it feems they will fitt ftill on all hazards; yet their great charges, fiftie thonfand pound

(5) "Mr. A."—Mr. Alexander Henderson.
in the moneth for the armies, will force them to close one Session, and end the most of their greatest affairs, that both armies may be dismissed: but this cannot be in haste. The Lieutenant is not yet heard; his witnesses manie are examined; his process is daylie going on. Matter is making readie for Canterbury's challenge, that one of thir dayes he may be delivered by James Maxwell to Sir William Balfour. What we have libelled 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, Cousins, and Helen [Heylin], are under baile; Pierce Bishop of Bath is fled; B[iishop] Montague and B[iishop] Manering are sent for; as also Potter, and moe of their Doctors. The City's petition for the rooting out of Episcopacie, at which are above fifteen thousand hands, my Lady Montgomerie will shew it yow, it will be anuered in tyme. Dr. Douning, my familiar freind's verie quick discourse, my Lord Eglintoun will communicat. Yow see what libertie is here, when such booke dare bear the names of the author, printer, and feller. The Convocation house of bishops and clerks meets once a-week, but never fayes or does any thing: they have not yet any commifion, either from God or the King, to doe any good, and Satan his hands are bound in this seafon of the Lord's favour from doing any evill. The Lower House has condemned all their canons, both old and new, and so hes cutt the cords of their Egyptian yoke. The Episcopall Clergie are made vile in the eyes of all: manifold most shamefull practises 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 well affected clergie for the overthrow of Episcopacie; readilie with the next yow shal have it: it is in my Lady Montgomerie's papers. It is now potting through the land for hands to make it flark; against it can come back it will be a fourntight, at which tyme a large remonftrance, by some dozen of hands chosen out of the whole number, will be readie, against the Bishops corruptions in doctrine, discipline, life, and all: to these they confefle the Self-Conviction gives them good help. At that tyme the root of Episcopacie 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 nofrills may joyn with the endeavours of weak men to blow up that old gourd wicked oak. The Primeate of Ireland, and a great faction with him, will be for a limited good and James Mitchell's called Episcopacie; 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 cryes out upon, I tryst they cannot thryve in any of their designs. There was some fear for thefe 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 Episcopacie, 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 coniderable parts of it, they will draw up a modell of their own, with our advyce, to be considered upon by Commiffioners of the Church, and others appointed by Parliament, and, if God shall blefs this land, by thefe Commiffioners to be settled in everie congregation at this extraordinarie tyme, till afterward, the Church being constitute, a Generall Assmble may be called to perfyte it. At this tyme a Generall Assmble would fpoyle all, the farr moft of their clergie being verie corrupt. If all this were done, we might be gone; for the rest, 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 fast in smoak; byfide his Court, and that of his Queen and her mother, and the Prince, and the rest of his children and fitter, his debts are hudge, they speak of thirtie or fortie hunder-thoufand pound Sterling: all this must be defrayed; and the Parliament gives fair words to finde wayes for all. Like-lye the bishopricks muft make some help; for here the moft of the wonted money is away; little had this three year; the fear of the warrs made all the bankers tranport to Holland what they were able. The four subsidies alreadie granted will be little enough for the armies ere they dißolve. 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 failing.

For forraigne news, no Gazets are printed this week. The Earle of Brederod, and other two ambaffadours, are come over from the States, to fute the King's third daughter for the young Prince of Orinzes. The seconde 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 soumes from all his subje6ts, 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 praise and pray.

This day Alderman Penningtoun, with a number of his brother came, with fome alfo of the toun-captains, and fome from the Inns of Court, to our lodging for complementing our Comissioners: 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 first comeing, had railed at us as rebells; upon our complaint he was fufpended, and yesterday made his publick recantation in the Church. The Bifhops of Glasgou, Brechin, and Aberdeen, are here in great povertie and miferie, with their families. Our fugitive Clergie are in verie evill cafe; thefe few who hes gotten places hes bot poor things; and thefe 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, close this his own work of hudge mercie, according to the fair appearances and great hopes of all his fants 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 expectation partlie of some matter of weight to wryte, and partlie of letters from some [of] yow, bearing your receipt and ac-
acceptance of these I had formerlie 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 testimonie of my thankfull[nes], which is all now I can render for your loving respect and care of my charge, yow shall have ane accompt of our affaires since my laft with my Lord Montgomerie, fo 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 Pacification. Great care was usit to fet it down in fo smooth, and yet fo effectue terme as was possible. Johnstone, Rothes, Henderfone, our chief friends of the English of both Houses in Parliament, did rypelie advyfe on all the words and syllabs, till at laft Mr. Alexander put it in that forme I have sent yow: it was fo compos'd of reason, that the King, when he faw it, had no farther hopes that the English and we should difcord upon that demand. The particular compt was given with the demand: a scrole of two hundred and fiftie thouſand pound Sterling, which we putt out of compt five hundred and fourteen thouſand pound [Scots,] whereof we offered to bear ourſelf fuch a proportion as the Parliament shold find reasonable, or us able. The particular compt was delivered by us to none, for caufes, but thence 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 captious queſtion in wryte, Whether our demand was positive; or we intended, by our compt, to obtain some kinde supply from the Parliament? Our Commiſſioners, after a little advytement in their retiringe chamber, gave fo wife anſuer in wryte, that Briftoll gladlie would have taken back his proſcription; but this we refuſed: fo both the queſtion and anſuer was ſubfcryved by the clerks. Sundrie dayes thereafter were spent, Briftoll preſling oft with more vehemence than we thought was needfull, the caſting of the Sixth demand to the laſt place; but this in difcreet yet peremptor expresſions, we refuſed it at laſt. Briftoll ſett down his proſcription in wryte, backed with the ſubſcriptions 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 confult how to fatifie our Sixth demand. With great care anſuer was penned by Mr. A. [Henderfon] to that verie dangerous proſcription: yow have it in the inclofed paper: All was delvered to the Parliament. Both
the Houfes being called together, Briftoll 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 conceive of his too hot reafoning againft us in the treatie. Mandaveele read, with the best toone he could, the reafons of our demand: Paget and Whartoun, our good friends, read our two anfwers to Briftoll's two propritiones: All was receaved in filence, with some favour by the farre moft part. The greatnes of the matter itfelf, and manie other weightie affaires, hindered the Parliament to make any conculfion therein; fo our treaters had a vacation: yet were they not idle, but verie diligent in folilliting 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 bruft out into words, in feverall places, of diflyke; yet God kept us in this difficultie. The matter comeing to the Lower Houfe on Thurfday the 21ft [of January,] it was much debated pro and contra, and referred to the nixt day. At which tyme, after some hot reafoning by our five friends, it was voyced firft, that our demand fhould be voyced; then that it fhould be voyced infantly; and, thirdly, by the moft part it was carryed, that ane supply, and fuftenance for our loffes and charges, fhould be granted to us, referving the meafure to their farder confideration. Of this we are verie glad, and bleffes God for his favour; for this all men took for the greatest difficultie we had: fo our treatie will goe on. Our Commiffioners and the Peers muft conferre on the quantitie, and way of payment, and fecuritie of what cannot prefentlie be given, which the Parlia-
ment thereafter will cognofce upon. Ane unhappie overture of Traquair, our constant good friend, that in Scotland, from the King and the Bifhops rents, he could shortlie make up ane hundred thoufand 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 poffible. Both the Englifh 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 affairs being yet in their hands, and the fpeciall articles of our treatie falling in the laft head, it feemes impoffible, before the 15th of February, to get the half dis-
cussed, yea the third.

The Parliament being fenfible of their spending of tyme, with-
out 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 expressd in some twelve or fifteen heads: The Lieutenant and the Irish affairs, Canterburie and the Canons, the Keeper and the Judges, Windibanks and the Papiffs, Goring and the Monopolies, etc. When these were clofed, they intended to close a Seflion, and dismis the armies. Sundrie of the great affairs are clofed, and the rest are coming on thick. For the secret reafon why the caufe of the Lieutenant and Canterburie is fo long delayed, some gueffes one and some another; the moft thinks, that more by witnes long agoe is deponed than might take mane heads; yet they defyre more, frae more daylie be coming in. Some thinks, their death would facilitat the overthrow of Epifcopacie, 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 Bifhops and other things: so that the Houfe, of purpose, keeps these men alive, to make their feare, fo long as they live, a band to knitt all togethger for the common good: However, verie shortlie the Lieutenant is expected on the flage, and the Bifhop at his back. The other day it pat the Lower Houfe unanimouslie, that they shoul have annuall Parliaments, or at leaft trienniall; and if the King did not call them, the Sheriffs shoul give out letters for choofing Commiffioners in the shyres againft such a day. If the Sheriff did not summond, if the persons chosen did not compear at the tyme and place named, it shoul be fellonie, losse of life and lands; that for fiftie dayes, upon no discharge, they shoul rife: A terrible act! nothing yet done in Scotland that feemes to strike fo much at royall prerogative. It is thought it will pafs the Higher Houfe alfo, albeit with some more difficultie. A number of pamphlets comes out dailie about Epifcopacie, 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, fafts and prays, and hears gracious sermons, for whole dayes, fundrie fydes in the week: truelie these heartie and humble prayers are our greatest confidence; in the adverfe partie we hear of little devotion in the bfft of them.

Saturday the 23d [of January.] This day fundrie things considerable pat. The minifters petition, which I sent yow before, subferryed with above eight hundred minifters hands, was given in
to the Lower House, by sixteen of the eldest and gravest of the number, together with their remonstrance of all the corruptions of that Church, in doctrine, discipline, lyfe, and all, in twentie sheets of paper. The petition was read, and weell taken; the remonstrance is appointed to be read on Mononday, a day of fasting in private, over all the Citie and manie moe places; for that day is appointed to consider the hard question of Epifcopacie. This day the new Keeper, Littleloune, raid in flate, as the fashion is of their installment, to Westminifter: 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 thir promotions: the men are none of them beloved; the Queen is said to be the caufe of their advancement. It is expected the King, by the Marqueis advyfe, shall make a better choyfe of his other officers; that Bedfoord shall be Thesaurer, etc. The King this day called both the Houfes to the Banquetting-roome at Whythall: he had a speech, which shorlilie I hope to gett, encouraging them to goe on to help the abufes 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 clofe of the treatie, that armies might not lie in the bofome of the land: their bill anent Parliaments he lyked in fubflance, but not in fome circumftances; he could not endure that his prerogative in calling of Parliaments should be put in the hand of fheriffs, conftables, and he knew not whom: bot by a meffage on Mononday he hoped herein to give them all contentment. Alfo about the motion of removeing Bifhops, he told them expreflilie, he would never permitt that State to be putt down, or removed from the Parliament; abufes, in their government, he would be content were rectified and reduced to the order in ufe in Queen Elizabeth's dayes; bot discharged them to make any farder motion. To this part of the speech was no hum, no appuafs as to the reft. This declaration will doe no evil; manie who inclined to keep Bifhops being put off flate, and brought low, while they fee they must continue Lords of Parliament, will joyn themselves more heartilie to thefe who will affay to draw up their roots. At the defyre of the English minifters, Mr. Alexander [Henderfon] hes wryten fome vere good reaons 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 alo, in my Supplement of the Self-Conviction, which at once yow poffiblie
may fee. Ane old Jefuit, (1) who was manie yeares agoe condemn
ed for feduiceing of people here, was sent away, with certification, if he returned, he should be execute, was latelie taken, and for new crimes condemned. Yetterday he should have been hanged for example; the King repryved him; the Citie does grudge, that in the face of Parliament justice againft Jefuites should be flopped. They had promis'd to give this day fivtie thoufand pound for the armies provision, but now they refuse. The Houfes took it to their confideration, informed the King: it is hoped he will deliver the Jefuite over to justice.

In diverse churches, the people raifed Pfalmes to fling out the fervice, and in fome they pulled down the railles before the altars. Some of the Separation being found at their conventicles, did fpeak difgracefullie of the King, Parliament, and lawes: of thefe things the Bifhop of London, the laft Saturday, the 16th, did make a grevious complaint in the Higher Houfe. Bifhop Hall could not remember his shamefull putting to the barre for the loufeneffe of his tongue upon my Lord Sey the laft Parliament, but behooved againe to aflay [affert?] (2) the refuicing of his advyce the other day, by the means of fome Lords there, was the caufe of that miforder. They preflied the Bifhop to name the man: he named Mandaveell. Prefentlie he was put to the barre; and his brother Lincoln behooved to put a jeft on him heavier than his cenhure, that his acknowledgement of his fault behooved to be formed to him in wyre, left his rhetorick in his confeffion fhould aggravat his fault, as it had done before. All this cannot make that man quiet; this week he hes put out a remonftrance to the Parliament for keeping up of Bifhops and Liturgies, without a word of any conneftion. The King lykes it weele, but all elfe pities it as a moift poore piece. The Higher Houfe alwayes made ane order, which is read in the churches, that none prefume, at their own hand to alter any cuftomes etablifhed by law: this procured ordinance does not difcourge any man.

Cooins, yetterday, for all his devotions, was pronounced in-

(1) John Goodman, Priest and Jesuit: see the Journals of the House of Lords, and Commons; but in the latter, he is at firft erroneously called Thomas Good-

(2) 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 fterling was decerned to be payed by him and the High Commissioners of York to Smart (5) for his loffes and charges in the prifon. There is a bitter book come yester-day from Ireland to our hands against the Asfemblie of Glafgow; it is thought by Bifhop Maxwell: it may cofl him and some other dear: if we had leaure, it would quicklie be anfwered. The Ambaffadors of Holland, Brederode Earl of Wian, Aerfen (7) the Secretar of the State, and Somerdyk one of the Lords, with the ordi-nare Ambaffador, were receiveed in the Banquetting Houfe by the King, Queen, Prince, Duke of York, two daughters, and hudge number of noblemen and gentlemen. Aerfen made a long and eloquent harrangue in French: though I was verie near, yet I did not hear diftin'''tle. They have fundrie audiences before the Counfell of England. It is the King’s eldeft daughter which the States suites for the young Prince of Orange: it is thought he may get her. They fppeak of thirtie thoufand pound of joynture; whileas the Palatine gave to Prinffe Elizabeth bot ten. The young Prince is expected shortlie: Durham Houfe is preparing for him.

For forraigne news, I have fent yow the Englifli Gazets for the laft feven weeks. The flates of Brabant hes given in a re-monfrance to the Cardinal Infant to procure a peace with France and Holland, or else they will be forced to fee to their own safetie. The French are fore beaten in Catilognia; bot the people are nothing the more discouraged. The King of Portugal increafes in strengtli numbers from Caftile joynes with him. There is a revolt feared in France, fo great and exceffive are the taxes there on all the people. They fppeak of Banier’s befidding 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 Gofpell. Manie here are verie gracious people; they farr goe beyond us in private fetttings. This Mondy is almoft a folemn day for private humiliatation, over all the Citie and their land, for rooting out of Epifcopacie. We trust a gracious anfwer fhall now shortlie come from heaven. It becomes all of yow there, who thinks to partake of Sion’s joy, to joyn}

(5) Peter Smart, one of the Prebends of Durham.

(7) Van Aerffen, Lord of Sommelsdyke, in Holland.
yourself with her mourning supplecants; if they fall not, the most here yet excepts no good dayes to either of the nations. The people throngs to our sermon, as ever you saw any to Irwin communion; their crowd daylie increafes. Six of us, Mr. Blair, Mr. Henderfon, Mr. Borthick, Mr. Gilleipie, Mr. Smith, and I, preaches our tour about on Sunday and Thursday. In my last tour, on the 3d verse of the 126th Psalm, "The Lord has done great things for us," I spent much of ane hour in ane historik narration, the best I could pen; of all that God had done for us, fra the maids commotion in the Catedrall of Edinburgh to that present day: manie teares of compassion and joy did fall from the eyes of the English.

Our post has stayed some dayes longer than we expected. We had no meeting in our treatie this two or three dayes, for we prest hard not to proceed till the quantitie was once named. This at laft, in both Houses of Parliament, is yielded unto; we expect, within a day or two, the Houses determination of a particular soune which may doe us all good. The matter of the Jesuite draws deeper than any man expected; the man is ane apostate, he had been ane preacher at London; he was banished before; the King's repriveying of him, being condemned in the tyme of Parliament, was taken by all to have been done of purpofe, for a preparative to save the life of the Lieutenant and Canterburie; therefore, albeit there did never anie Jesuite die before in England for religion alone, yet both the Houses hes most unanimously consented to petition the King this day, that he may be execute; also that sever order may be taken with all the Papits in the land, of whom the Parliament before did not take much notice. Yesterbay, they called before them four of the most noted papits here, Sir Killum [Kenelm] Digbie, Sir Thomas Winter the Queen's Secretar, the fonnes of Digbie and Winter the powder plotters, Walter Montauc Mandaveell's brother, Sir Baflill Brook. They have confed their collecting of contribution from the Papits of England to the King, against us: this day they are to appear again; it is thought it will lie heavie on them all. The Queen is speaking of her going to France, to the bains of Lorraine, for her health, and for the reconcileing of her Mother with her Brother. However, the Parliament's actions puts no small discontent and fear to her homach. Queen Mother hes gotten little thir three moneth: her plate and jewells are setting; no marvell she should wryte, as they say, humble letters of submition to her
fon to live in France where and how he pleases. Yesteray Mr. Pym gave in to the Higher Houfe, in 20 sheet of paper or thereabout, the charge of the Lieutenant: a world of foule points are proven. Before it can be wryten over in parchment, as the fashion is, it will be Tuesday; then it is like he shall be called, get two or three dayes to anfwer, and then be execute. While his head goe, the Bishop is lyke to dwell still with Mr. Maxwell, under his Black-Rod, bot no longer. The King’s heart is no whit changed from thofe 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 remonftrance is remitted till Mononday: I think it must 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, chieflie by Pembrok the Chamberlaine’s meanes: bot it is thought they have let it fall, in defpaire of fucciffe. 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 pleased therewith, that none of our fugitives brook benefite in England till firft they have fatisfiied our Church: this bill it is no doubt will passe. 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 stirr up your felves and your flockes to wrestling with God for a happie end of all our hopes, feas, 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 thow could whil. I had never, (praifed be God,) fince I faw thee, the leift 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 necelfitie makes me quiet, and my confcience of doing fome good in the public affaires, that concerns the glory of God,
and the weel of the whole Isle and posteritie, does comfort me in that perplexitie. It is like I shall not win home till we come altogether, which will be, I hope, someyme in March.

This day, [the 6th of February,] the treatie is prolonged ane other moneth from the midit of February to the midit of March. We hope ere that be ended, that all our affaires shall be clofed, and the greatest adoes of the English Parliament also, to our great joy and of the English also. The other day, our foume was determined: all that past in that difficult demand, I fent it inclofed in my laft letters; with the nixt, I fhall fend the fame to my Lord in print; for our charge againft Canterbury and the Lieutenant, with our Sixth demand, is caft in print; but this carrier is not for it. Thow hes here inclofit the happie clofure, which is not printed. Our Commissioner did stronglie solift all their friends in both Houses: we had fundrie opposites; yet when it came to voyceing, not manie kythed. Three hundred thousand pound Sterling, four and fift hundred thousand merks Scotts,(8) is a prettie foume in our land, befide the eighteen hundred thousand merks for our armie, these laft four months, and tuentie-fyve thousand pound Sterling for the fift month coming. 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 difficultie in a day or two; fo we come to the laft, anent a folid peace betwixt the nations: This we will make long or fhort, according as the necelfities of our good friends in England does require; for they are fift 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, fhouting and curfing him to his face. Coming in to the Higher Houfe, his long charge, in manie feets 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 cravef a moneth to anfwer; they or- dained him to return on Monday with the reafon of that his de- mand. On Monday he fent his petition in wryte, alleadging the

(8) A merk was equal to 13½d. Sterling; and thus one pound Sterling contained 18 merks Scotch money.
gutt for his abfence. Wednesday come 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 reft under the Black-Rod. On Wednesday [3d
of February] both the Houfes were called to receave the King's
anfwer anent the Jefuite; the copie of the fpeech we have not yet
gotten: it hes given verie great fatisfacftion to all; with much
humming was it receaved. He told, that the reafon of his reppry-
ing of that Jefuite was not for affronting justice, or flaying the exe-
cution of any law, bot becaufe in his Father's and Queen Eliza-
beth's reigne, no perfon had ever been execute for their confciencce
alone: however, he did remitt the man fimplic to their difcretion,
being confident they were wife to confider what might be the con-
fquences of his execution in forraign parts, where thefe of our
religion were under the power of Popifh princes. He protefted
his own fincere affection towards the true religion; promifed by
prefent proclamation to banifh all priefts out of the land within
a moneth, under the pain of death to all that fhall remaine or ever
returne. He gave affufureance that none at all fhould be permitted
to come to the Queens their chappells, bot alone their domeflick
servants. The Pope's agent with his Queen, he affured, fhould
quicklie be difmiffed, and none again be receaved. On Thurs-
day [the] fent a gracious meffage to the Lower Houfe, that was
also verie well taken, excufing herfelf, that through ignorance of
their law, she had moved thefe of her religion to contribute fome
moneys for the King's affaires; affufing thefe would doe fo no
more; also that the 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 profeff-
ion: bot fince she found them herewith offended, promifed it
fhould be fo 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 foortlie, is more and more
fpooken of; and manie begins to think, that poeffible both their
intentions are reall.

All here, praife 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 difcuitie to gett all the
tapouns of their roots pulled up are yet infuperable by the arme
of man. The deans and prebends, and other not-preaching minift-
ters 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-
misson 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;
bout many tears here are weekly sown for that end; we hope a
harvest of fruits are coming. We pray, preach, and print again
against them what we are able most freely: many a fore-thrift gets both
men and women thronging in to our sermons. This day Mr. Hen-
derfond 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 pity bot that sweet Prince had good com-
pany about him. We hear no farther news than I wryt to my
Lord from abroad; only it is said, that Baneer is besieging the
Emperor in Ratisbon, with a mightier armie than the enemie is
like in haste to oppose.

R. Baillie.

London February 6th [1641].

[To the Same.]

My Heart,

I am everie way so weell as thou could wish, and none in the
companie better; yea, I know none bot hes had some failries bot
myself. God continues his indulgence towards me. If there be
any continuance beyond the midst of March, Mr. Blair and I re-
olves to preffe a dimission. God’s hand is clear leading on, peice
and peice, men against their purposes, towards his ends. No book
here cryed up so 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;
cast all thy cair on God; learne to speake to him, and to rejoice in
his countenance. I love him, bleffed be his name better than ever,
and committs all that concerns 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 you before this should be wearie of provyding my place, I confesse it is no marvell; yet I must intreat you earnestlie not to give over that labour. I should long ere now have returned to that charge my self, if these here, who have power to command, would have permitted; however, I hope now a little tyme 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] thefe our charges againft Canterbury and the Lieutenant, with all that past on our Sixth demand, which here I fend to you with two of the laft Gazets for forraigne occurrences. There is a world of pamphlets here befyde, wherewith I may not burden the post. Our Seventh demand was past shortlie without much quefion: we would have had pretfentlie all the proclamations, declarations, and pamphlets revoked; but they would have us delay till the full clofure of the treatie; to this we acquiefced as reafon. They would have it reciprocally: this we thought dangerous; bot we were content, if they would be pleafed 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 acquiefced. You may fee the demand and anfwer here inclosed.

For the Eighth grit demand some dayes were fpent in preparations. The first article of it, concerning the garifons and fortifications of Carlile and Berwick, though it carried no difficultie, yet the Peers finding, that all the articles of the Eighth demand did concerne the whole nation for all tyme coming, fhow 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 feveral articles, which might be conjoined. The King and Britifoll alfo did much preffe, that we would give in all at once we did require in our laft demand; but this being not poifible for us, nor conducefull for the ends of the English, who required no fuch hafte, it was agreed we should give in fo manie
of our articles on that demand at once, as might be a fitt subje& for the Parliament's consideration and anfwer: fo with the firft, we gave in the fecond. That daintie paper anent the King and Prince's residence with us at fome tymes, yow have it here inclofed. The truth is, albeit we had no hope to obtaine much of that reafonable defyre, yet it was thought meet to preffe it, to be a ground and means to obtain the reft we were to defyre, 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 difpleafed: for their fatisfaction, we gave in the laft, here inclofed, as ane explanation of our intention in this article. As yet the Parliament hes had no leaufure to give us any anfwer; bot we expe& 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 fliownefs, and how little they yet had done in any thing concerned him, he declared his willingnes to fatisfie them in their defyre of annuall or trienniall Parliaments. So he defyred the Lord Keeper to fignifie his pleaufure anent that Act, as it was conceaved by both the Houfes. The way of concepition I wryt in a former letter. The Keeper's fpeech was not long: Il Roy le veut, was all. This did fill the two Houfes and City with fuch joy, that they required permiffion, and obtained it, to exprefs the fene of it, by ringing of all their bells, above a thoufand, and fettling out their bone-fyres. Bot as no worldlie joy is unmixed, fo to-morrow there fell fome discontentment 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 message by Mr. Pym, requiring, that no more tyme might be granted. Notwithftanding, on Wednefday, 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 eight dayes more tyme. This granted did fo extreamlie grieve the Lower Houfe, that they were near to have broken up, and give over all fitting, at leaft till Strafford were at ane end. When that motion was laid by, they were near to a profeflion againft the Higher Houfe, as hurting the priviledges of their Houfe, by granting to any they had charged with high treafon any delay of procefe, any benefite of counceell,
or use of lawyers advice, any permission to answer by wryte: yet they did not protest; onlie did notify their grievances with great passion.

The Londoners, who had promised long agoe fixtie thousand pound Sterling, and had it [in] readiness, keeps it still in hand. The Jefuite's reprying was the first occasion; and yet when the King hes given him over to their will, there is no more word of him, and I think they shall difmiss him; and now while they have reason of Strafford, they will give no money: this is their great weapon; so both the armies are in their third moneth. The English fojours, we hear, plunders the countrey without reproof. The favour granted to Strafford is laid moft on the back of the good Lord Sey: he did indeed moft speak for it; but no doubt these who were moft for granting him bygone courtesies, will be his smallleft friends when he comes to judgement. The Higher Houfe, for satisfaction of the Lower, sent to the Tower to advertise Strafford, that he come on Wednesday fullie instructed, for no longer delay will be granted upon any alleadgencie.

The week before there was a great commotion in the Lower Houfe, when the petition of London came to be considered. My Lord Digbie and Viscount Falkland, with a prepared companie about them, laboured, by premeditat speches, and hott difputts, to have that petition caft out of the Houfe without a hearing, as craving the rooting out of Epifcopacie against fo manie established lawes. The other partie was not prepared; yet they contested on together, from eight a'cloack till fix at night. All that night our partie folifled as hard as they could. To-morrow, some thousands of the citizens, bot in a verie peaceable way, went down to Westminster Hall to countenance their petition. It was voyced, Whether the petition should be committed, or Not? by thirty-fix or feven voyces, our partie carried it, that it should be referred to the Committee of Religion; to which were some four or fix more added, young Sir Harrie Vaine, Mr. Fynes, and some more, our firm friends. This Committee was appointed to consider all the remonfrance, all that was in the London petition, or in any other petition from the countrie, and of all to make their report, without determining of any thing; also they were discharged to medle as yet with the question of removing the office. Before this Committee, everie other day, some eight or ten of the Remonfrants appears. Doctor Burgessie commonlie is their mouth; we did suspeét him as too much Epifcopall, and wished he had not been of the
LETTERS AND JOURNALS.

number; bot he hes fuch a hand among the miniftrie, and others, that it was not thought meet to decaift him; yea, he hes caried himself fo bravelie, that we doe repent of our fufpicions. The paffages of the remonftrance that yet hes been called for, he hes 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 erecting of a kind of Prefbytries, and for bringing down the Bifhops in all things, spiritual and temporall, fo low as can be with any fubsifiance; bot their utter abolition, which is the onlie aime of the moft godlie, is the knott of the queftion; wee must have it cutted by the axe of pray-er: God, we truft, will doe it. The treatife I fent yow, of the Unlawfullnefs of Limited Epifcopacie, is anwered. 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 aug-mented. Think not we live any of us here to be idle; Mr. Hen-derfone hes readie now a fhort treatife, much called for, of our Church discipline; Mr. Gillefpie hes the grounds of Prefbyteriall government well afferted; Mr. Blair, a pertinent anfwer to Hall’s remonftrance: all thefe are readie for the preffe. Dr. Twifle, to our great comfort, is here turned a Remonftrant. The convoca-tion-men meet everie Wednesday, and reads their Latine Lettanie, and fo departs till the next week; they have yet gotten no com-miffion from the King to medle with any thing. Their motion to petition the Parliament, that fifteen of them might be heard to de-bate matters with fifteen of the Remonftrant minifters is evanifh-ed; as alfo the petition for upholding of the Bifhops is ftrucken in the lift; albeit one folid and pertinent anfwer to it be Mr. Barroues [Burroughs] and his colleagues, with Mr. Henderfone’s preface, is walking up and down the earth, which here I fend to yow. Dr. Twifle, if there be any difputt, offers to be one; he is doubtelefs the moft able difputter in England. We are, in this point, betwixt great hope and great fear; bot faith helps the one, and diminishes 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 par-ties longs to be at ane end. If Strafford were once away, Can-terburie will make no ftaie. Then things will runn; bot if all can be done before the fifteenth of March, it is hard to fay.

The King hes fpoken at length with all our Commissioners apart, verie fweetlie and pleafantlie. Johnfoun and Loudoun ufed great
freedome, and was weell understood. 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 English Lords, all Commonwealth's men, were sworne Privie Counfellors; Effex, Hertfoord, Bedfoord, Britffoll, Sey, Mandaveell, Savill. The Peers required we might send for any of our nation we thought meet to be at the conclusion of the treatie, but espcial-\[Vendofme\], the Queen's base brother, for fear of the Cardinall, is here at Court.

London, February 28th [1641.]

[To the Same.]

REVEREND AND DEAR BRETHREN,

These twenty dayes and above my minde did not serve me to write any thing to yow, not so much for the multitude of affaires, whereof, believe me, I have had no scant ever since I came here, as that I expected everie other week to see our maine bufinefs come to some close, that so a man might have pronounced what was likelie to have been the end of all these commotions; but becaufe that week does not yet appear, left you be too long wait-\[Vendofme\], the Queen's base brother, for fear of the Cardinall, is here at Court.

Ro. Baillie.
goes for the present. The Marqueis [of Hamilton] being through-
lie reconciled to the English, who not long ago were little better
affected towards him than to the Lieutenant and Canterbury, found it meet to bring some of the chief of them upon the Counsell.
The first motion of it was bitterlie rejected by the King; yet the
Marqueis, by his wishlome, 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 Counsell-
ors: Bristol, Exce, Bedfoord, Hertfoord, Mandaveele, Savill, and
Sev. This, for two or three days, did please all the world; and
to whom was England so much oblidge as to the Marqueis, who
had brought these men so near the King whom the country did
most affect? but incontinent fra some of these new Counsellors
were found to plead publickly for some delay to Strafford's pro-
cesse, and to look upon the Scottishe affairs not altogether so plea-
fantlie as they wont, all began to turn their note, that it was rash
imprudence so soon to put these men in possession of the honours
which some of them wer thought alone to seek. Our Commissi-
ioners were deeplie cenjured for advyeing the Marqueis to pro-
mote thefè men untymouslie, (albeit I heard Lowdoun deeplie
fwear he never knew of any such motion till it was ended:) They
were sclandered as if they also had been to be admitted Counsell-
ors of England and bedchamber-men, I mean Rothes and Low-
doun: a foolish phanfie 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 Canterbury, and the Lieutenant, and Episcopacie in
England. Some of our country, 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 collected, refused to give one pennie of it for
our armie. Affaires thus standing, our Commissioners prefentlie,
with some peice of passion, caufed Mr. Alexander penn that little
quick paper, proclaiming, against malice, the constancie of our zeall
against Episcopacie, 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 flationer Mr. Butter's
hand, who put it to the preffe, and fo through the city. The
citizens were infinitlie weell pleasfed with it; their fainting courage
returned. Bot Bristol, the Speaker for the English Peers of the
treatie, was much displeased with our quarrelling of Episcopacie in
England, and press'd us much to passe from this motion. When we perfifted, he gave our paper to the King. To-morrow the King was enraged at it: but after, by reason, he was a little calmed; the paper in print being put in hand, not by Britfloll, as the word went, but 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 strove to have down, is the verie apple of his eye. This furie for some dayes did in nothing relent; the printer was committed; the paper was called an hundred tymes feditious. The King told us we had in juftice forfaught our privileges; our old friends, the new counfellers, fpake nothing for us; our old enemies of the Popifh and Epifcopall faction fet out their faces; manie of whom, we never doubted, did joyne with them to maligne us: diverse of our true friends did think us too rafh, and though they loved not the Bifhops, yet, for the honor of their nation, they would keep them up rather then that we ftrangers shoulde pull them down. That faction grew in a moment fo strong, that in the verie Lower Houfe we were made affured by the moft intelligent of ourfaftest friends, they would be the greater partie. This put us all in some peice of perplexitie: our armie could not fubflift without moneys; fuch 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; but we here were fallen half afleep in a deep securitie, dreaming of nothing but a prefent obtaining of all our defyres without difficultie. The Commiffioners had fent for Argyle to be at the end of the treatie. The Marqueis had written for Lindefay. Amont had gotten a warrand to come up; but at once, by poft upon poft, we defyred all to lay till a new advertisement. By this blast God wakened us; we fled to our wonted refuge, to draw near to God; the godlie in the city, in diverse private societies, ran to fasting and praying; by thefe our old and beft weapons, we are beginning to prevail, prafe be to his holy name! By earnest 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 mollifying 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 doubtlefs this rafh and
ignorant people would have taken for a recantation of what we had printed before; so the last evills had been worfe 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 faid all out, the King thought meet neither to publish his proclamation nor our explanation. Evill will had we to fay out all our minde about Epifcopacie, till the English were readie to joyne with us in that greatest of questions; bot there was no renumed; the King urged that paper. Good Mr. Alexander being somewhat grieved with the event of the former wryte, fett himfelf with the more diligence to the accurat framinge of the nixt; and, after fome dayes delay, gave out that moft dilligat expreffion of our defyres of unitie in the ecclefiaftick government in all the King's dominions, which here I fend yow. Brif tol was not weell pleas'd with it, and the King worfe: yet the former furie was paft; neither was there here any provocation; for our defyre is proponed in great modestie of speech, albeit with a mightie strenth of unanswerable reafones. All that they replied, after fome nights advyfement, yow may read in their short paper, defirin us to defift, and not to move the Parliament in that matter. The reafons why we cannot acquiefce to their defire bot moft have the Parliament's anfwer, are to be prefented in the Treatie to-morrow; fo our paper, we hope, hall goe to the Houfees one of thir dayes, who then will be in a prettie readines for it.

As for the English affaires, thus they fand. Yow heard [in] my former the great debate in the Lower Houfe about the Ministers 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 moft acutelie, as we could have wifhed, againft the corruptions of Bifhaps; 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 againft them, that not onlie the Remonfrance, bot also the Cities petition, which required the rooting out of all Epifcopacie, fould be committed. The Committee mett thryfe a-week in the afternoon; fome fhireen of the Remonfrant ministers attended them. They required fatif faction punctuallie in that head which concerned the government: it feems the complaints againft the doctrine, the worship, and other things, were fo clear, that they needed no farfer 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 sole ordination and jurifdiction, their intermedling with secular affairs, their too great rents, and manie other things concerning them, to be true griev-ances. Here it was where the better fyde bestirred themselves, and God stranglie did affift them: to propone the rooting out of the Bifhops had been by pluralitie of voyces to have establihed them: they therefore resolved to proceed ordine resolutivo, to take doun the roof firft to come to the walls, and, if God would help, not to stay till they raifed the foundation: However to goe on fo farr as was poſſible; leaving, without any legall confirmation, what now they cannot winne to till a better tyne. On Tuesday the 9th, as I remember, they gave them their firft wound: after a long debaite, at laſt unanimouslie, not ten contradicting, the Lower Houfe decreed to move the Higher Houfe, by bill to take from them voyce in parliament. The next day they did the fame for the Starr-Chamber, High Commiſſion, Counſell, and all other secular courts. One of these dayes they are to caſt doun their cathedrall-deanries, and prebendries; alfo to spoyle them of their ufurped ordination and jurifdiction, to erect prebbytries in all the land, and distribute, in ane equall proportion, the rents among all the paroches for preaching minifters. These things being concluded below, as it is expected they shall be unanimouslie, let Selden and some few others gnash their teeth as they will, all will be caſt in one bill, and be given in to the Higher Houfe, where it is hoped it will get a good hearing. When Epifcopacie is made a poor plucked craw, whether our paper, and the Citie's, and many other, will at this tyne gett the neck of it clean thrawn 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 truſt shall irritat the Lower Houfe the more againſt 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, confiting of eight or ten Earles, as many Lords, and as many Bifhops, with power to the Bishop of Lincolne, who shall 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 Armaugh, Prideaux, Ward, Brommerik [Brownrigg?] Holfwoorth, Featly, Hakett, and Weftfield; and of the Remonstrants, Twiffe, Burgesse, 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 devised one.

Bot that which is the great remora to all matters is the head of Strafford: as for poor Canterburie he is so contemptible that all caufs him by out of their thoughts, as a pendicile at the Lieutenant’s eare. The charge which the Houfe of Commons gave in to the House of Peers against both, yow have here in print. So great dealing in this long delay of tyme hes been used for Strafford, that himself and his friends became insolentlie confident of his escapeing at leaft with life: yet their courage is somewhat cooled, beholding, on Saturday laft, after long, sharp, and dangerous debaitez, the Houses well near fullie agreed, that on his tryall, both the Houses shall fitt together in the large outer-hall of Weftminster: that the Lower House shall fitt there, not as a House, with their Speaker, but as a Committee, without their Speaker, to remove when they will to their own House; that they shall manage the proceffe and witneffes 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 cafe they will retire to their House; 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 moft did greedilie gryp, that is like to end the longfome debates about Strafford’s counfell or pleaders. He told the House, that they had charged Strafford of High Treafon; that they had found the articles of the charge treafonable; that they had voyced their witneffes depositions to be fatiffactorie: 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 buffie to fett up the feats for both the Houses; 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 army is not like to dissolve. Worcester will not come to the Parliament, pretending sickness. Herbert, his tone, is much at Court; the papists in Wales follows him much. The proclamation against papists, as yow may read it in print, is sharp enough, yet it is feared they are but too strong, and too well armed. The King's army in Yorke is thought to be in some better posture than before. Some fursnifhes divisions in Scotland. The noise of the Queen's voyage to France is dilled downe; no moneys for her furniture will be gottin in hafte; and the Cardinall has no will of her Mother. All these things, if we be not mad, will fet us on our watch. God, in his meer mercie, muft end what he hes begun, or yet all may goe verie quicklie to a horrible confusion: never was tears and prayers more feaonable and more neceffar. We were not weell pleasfed with the manner, albeit exceeding weell with the matter, that the Lower Houfe should have joyned with the King and the Higher Houfe, to have required us to give in all the articles of our last demand together. We would be moft gladlie at an end; yet, if we were readie to goe, as we cannot be in hafte, they know and proclaime that they were undone; yet the untabillitie and fearfullnes, and cleaving to their moneys of too many of them, will make us trust them leffe, and see the more to our own affaires. The index of our last demand, and all that yet is past upon it, yow have here. When my Lord Eglintoun hes perusd them, I know his Lordship will communicat all, both wryte and print, to yow.

The Marqueis, whatever he hes been, yet now is the beft 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 accused of treason also. The Popish-Episcopall faction seeing him evidentlie unite with the countrey to draw the King from them, did co-operate with all their power; bot the articles were so frivolous which they could invent against him, and his favourers in both Houses so many and mightie, that he was glad and defyrous to have that accusation difcoufed; bot the intenders of it grew so faint, that their purpose seems now to be evanished. Yet behold he fell in a greater danger: by his friends in the Houses he had obtained, for the King's pleaure, some delay
of tyme for Strafford's answer; by this they made the King believe that his power in both the Houses was so great, as it was easie for him, if he would endeavour it, to gett Strafford's life saved. They wrought it so, that if he denied to deal for Strafford he should offend the King; if he aſſayed to deal farther for him, he should lose the Parliament and us all. Yet it is lyke the man, in his great wifdome, will gett both the King and the Parliament keeped, and let Strafford goe where he deferves.

All the English ministers 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 termes with us: Our only considerable difference will be about the jurifdiction of Synods and Prefbyteries. As for Brownifts, and Separatifts of many kynds, here they mislyke them weell near as much as we: of thefe there is no considerable partie. Anent private meetings, we know here no difference we have with anie: Our questions with them of the new way, we hope to get determined to our mutuall satisfaction, 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 fanctification, which I minde to bring with me; all of them are learned, difcreet, and zealous men, weell seen in cafes of conscience. It were all the pities in the world that wee and they should differ in anie thing, especiallie in that one, which albeit verie small in fpeculation, yet in praefect of verie hudge conſequence: for, make me everie congregation ane abfolute and independent Church, over which Prefbytries and Generall Assemblies have no power of cenſure, but onlie of charitable admonition, my witt fees not how incontinent a Nationall Church should not fall into unſpeakable confusions, as I am confident the goodness 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 hes a prettie nave, with men and munition, readie for Lisbon. The Duke of Lorrain hes beene now some weeks in Paris, fullie reconciled with the French King; for Lorrain, they fay, he must be content with Auverne, and some other lands in the heart of France, where he shall not
be able to ftrue: bot 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 fay behind 
him in France. The King of France, as yow may fee in the 
Gazet, hes gotten a Frenchman governor of Brifack; by this 
meane all Bernard of Weymar's conquifes in Alfatia, are joyned 
with Lorrain to his crown. The fair Spanish province of Catilonia 
hes 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 reafon why 
Holland, jealous of the French greatnes, are fo earnest for allyance 
with England. Every other week the young Prince of Orange is 
here expected with his royall and very pompuoues traine. The Pala-
tine was bot very drylie welcomed at his first coming: the King 
had written to him not to come fo foone, bot the letters miiffled 
him; yet, now the King begins to fpeak of his help. 
This is all comes in my minde for the prefent. The Tretie 
is continued to the midft of Aprill: it feemes ere then all will 
be closed that concerns us: I will aflay to be difmiffled before. I 
truf I will not faill to continue your care for my flock; I thank 
yow all, Dear Brethren, for your bygone affiftance. I promise, by 
God's grace, if I were at home to give to every one of yow the 
lyke affiftance on occasion. The Lord be with yow all. Yow muft 
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 ftrir up your own foules, and 
thes of your flocks, to earnest fupplications; for all now is in ane 
apparent way of profering as we could wil; and yet there are 
secrect ways in hand, more than we know, and will fpeak of, to un-
doe 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 confidence that, come what 
will, may comfort with the sweet remembrance of our endea-
vours 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 stay has stayed beyond our expectation. After long delay, all the answer the Peers gave to our long paper of Episcopacie, was a defyre not to give it in to the Parliament; to this their paper you see our replie. At last, after many passionat words from Bristol, we were advised it was our good to lay by our paper of Episcopacie till Strafford's busines was ended; and so we have done. The seats and lofts, or, as they call them, the scaffolds of Westminster-hall, are now ready. Monday is the first day of Strafford's cause; some thinks his proceffe will be short: you shall know with the next. To mollifie the King, they have given him, the other day, the tunnage and poundage for the next three yeares, and some three subsidies, which, with the former, makes nyne. The stop of trade here, through men's unwillingnes to venture these three or four yeares bygone, has 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 House, are all the best Lords: we are made to hope, that against the intention of the inventors of it, it may prove a good meane of undoeing the Bishops. The Portugall Ambaffador is over to Holland; one expreflie for England is landed: after long debate at the Councill-table, it is resolved he Shall have audience, especiallie since the King of Spaine did receive the Bavarian Ambaffadors, as of the Prince Elector Palatine, for all that Bristol, then in Spain, could say to the contrair, but most of all because the Portugall offers libertie of religion, and other fair conditions, to the English merchants. They are speaking of Sir Thomas Roe going to Ratisbon yet once from the King. They wryte that Burgundie hes sent to Paris, 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 Dear Brethren,

Since, much byside my expectation, my stay here is continued, my letters to yow would have been more frequent, except I had been waiting to have seen busines come at last towards some finall
conclusion, or at least to such a point that a man might have made some certain conjecture when and in what fashion the end was likely to be; but this, after so long expectation, not yet being possible, I must leave it to farther tymne, and give you some accompt of what is past since my last, about the 18th of March.

Yow heard of our ingyving the Index of all the articles of our last demand, and of our earnest defyre to have the Treatie concluded so soon as they could with. For some dayes there was hot contests betwixt our Commissioners and my Lord of Bristol for our paper of Episcopacie; he requiring we would passe it by, or else draw it short to a simple proposition without reasons, so that it behooved us to have in that paper to the Houfes of Parliament, as it stood for our exoneration before God and man, and that we would acquiesce to the Parliament's answer therein, whatever it might be. At last, being advertified that the present giving in of that paper, might move division in both Houfes, betwixt those who were diversly affected towards Episcopacie, and that any division among them, till Strafford's processe were closed, 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 rest of our articles concerning our last demand: and, to the end we might make good our word of our desire to be at one end, the Commissioners divided the articles among them, and before the end of March had all redde. We gave all in before any answer could be gotten to any one of them. I have sent all to yow here in some four or five sheets of paper. Since, we have been pressin them from tymne to tymne to give us answers, who before urged us to give in our propositions; but to this day no answer satisfactorie to one point can be obtained. The world now seeth that the delay is alone upon their side. Their constant attendance on Strafford is pretended to be the cause; and truely it is a great part of the reason why our businesse, and all other else, have been so long suspended. Among manie moe, I have been ane assiduous attaint of that nation, and therefore I will offer to give you some accompt of a part I have heard and seen in that most notable processe.

Westminifter Hall is a roome as long as broad if not more than the outer house of the High Church of Glasgow, supponing the pillars wer removed. In the midst of it was erected a stage like to that prepared for the Assembly of Glasgow, but much more large, taking up the breadth of the whole House from wall to wall, and of the length more than a thrid part. At the north end was set a
throne for the King, and a chayre for the Prince; before it lay a large wooll-fleck, covered with green, for my Lord Steward, the Earle of Arundaill; beneath it lay two other feecks for my Lord Keeper and the Judges, with the rest of the Chancerie, all in their red robes. Beneath this a little table for four or fyve Clerks of the Parliament in their black gowns; round about these some furmes covered with green freefe, whereupon the Earles and Lords did fitt in their red robes, of that fame fashun, lynced with the fame whyte ermin skinnes, as yow fee the robes of our Lords when they ryde in Parliament; the Lords on their right fleeve having two barres of whyte skinnes, the Vificounts two and ane half, the Earles three, the Marquefs of Wincefler three and ane half. England hath no more Marqueffes: 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 Buckingham are but boyes; Lennox goeth among the late Earles. Behinde the formes where the Lords fitt, there is a barr covered with green: at the one end flangeth the Committee of eight or ten gentlemen, appoynted by the Houfe of Commons to pursue; at the middit there is a little dalk, where the prifoner Strafford flands and fitts as he pleafeth, together with his keeper, Sir William Balfour, the Lieutenant of the Tower. At the back of this is a dalk, for Strafford’s four secretars, who carries his papers and affifts him in writing and reading; at their fide is a voyd for witneffes to fland; and behinde them a long dalk at the wall of the room for Strafford’s counfell-at-law, fome five or fix able lauers, who were [not] permitted to difputt in matter of fæct, but qeftions of right, if any should 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, eait and weft, there arose a flage of elevin ranks of formes, the higheft touching almoft the roof; everie one of thefe formes went from the one end of the roome to the other, and contained about fortie men; the two higheft were divided from the reft by a raill, and a raill cutted off at everie end fome featts. The gentlemen of the Lower Houfe did fitt within the raile, others without. All the doores were keeped verie fraftlie with guards; we alwayes behooved 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 difficulcie. James Maxwell, Black-Rod, was great usher;
a number of other servant gentlemen and knights affilied. By favour we got place within the raile, among the Commons. The Houfe was full dailie before seven; against eight the Earle of Strafford came in his barge from the Tower, accompanied with the Lieutenant and a guard of mufqueteres 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 speaks what he will, but no other speaks in his presence. At the back of the throne, there was two roomes on the two fydes; in the one did Duke de Vanden, Duke de Vallet, and other French nobles fitt; in the other, the King, the Queen, Princeffe Mary, the Prince Elector, and fome Court ladies; the tirlies, that made them to be secret, the King brake down with his own hands; fo they fett in the eye of all, but little more regarded than if they had been abfent; for the Lords fett all covered; thefe of the Lower Houfe, and all other except the French noblemen, fett discovered when the Lords came, not elfe. A number of ladies wes in boxes, above the railes, for which they payed much money. It was dailie the moft glorious Aſſemblie the Ille could afford; yet the gravitie not fuch as I expected; oft great clamour without about the doores; in the intervalles, while Strafford was making readie for anwers, the Lords gott alwayes to their feet, walked and clatterd; the Lower Houfe men too loud clattering; after ten houres, much public eating, not onlie of confectiones, bot of flesh 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 fatt on: there was no outgoing to returne; and oft the fitting was till two, or three, or four a'clock.

1. The firſt Seflion 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 courteſie, proceeding a little, he gave a fecond, when he came to his dak a third, then at the barr, the fore-face of his dak, 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 Treason, that he was there to answer; that they might manage their evidence as they thought meet. They defyred one of the clerks to read their impeachment. I sent you long agoe the printed copie. The first nine articles, being bot generalities, were past; the twentie-eight of the farther impeachment were all read. The clerk's voice was small, and after the midst, being broken, was not heard by manie. My Lord of Strafford was, in his answer, verie large, accurat, and eloquent; confitting of a preamble, wherein he shew, of eight or nine articles, the good service he had done to the Crowne and countrey during the tyme of his employment, and of particular answers to the twentie-eight articles of the charge. The reading of it took up large three houres. His friends was so wary that they made three clerks read by turnses, that all might hear. I marked that he did stryve to cast all the blame upon Sir Harie Vaine; also that the Irish armie was to land at the Troon, and to goe first to Aire; and that they had spyes in our armie before Newburne, who told them our great straies for want of victual; also that he laboured to clear Traquair of the cause of the last warre, as if Traquair had onlie made a narration according to a prior discourse, which in the Privie Council was made by a noble and great personage; whether the Marquis, or the Earle Holland, or who else, we know not: onlie he dissembled, that that prior discourse, 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 speak; but the day being so far spent, to two or three a'clock, he was refused, and the Lord Steward (\(^{6}\)) adjourned the House till the morrow at eight of clock.

2. The second Session on Tuesday 23d. The King and Queen, and all, being fett as the day before, Mr. Pym had a long and eloquent oration, onlie against the preamble of his answer, wherein he laboured to shew, that all these meritorious acts whereof Strafford did glory, were nothing but disservices; that no praife of making good lawes in Ireland could be due to him, who made his own will above all law; the Parliaments he had keepe there, though they were more in number than that land had seen in fiftie

\(^{6}\) 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 suppressed in them. This was proven by a number of witneffes. Sir John Clotworthie, my Lord Ranulagh, and others, being called, came to the barr, kissed the book, prefented to them by one of the Clerks of the Parliament; deponed that fundrie who had voyced or reafoned againft bills prefented by the Deputie in Parliament, were threatened by him, or his inteer friend Sir George Ratcliffe. The first witnefs, Sir Pierce Crofbie, who, for voyeeing againft the bill of powder, had been by Strafford caft out of the Councill, was excepted againft, as one who pretended to be wronged and grieved. The Lords adjourned 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 considera-
tion. This was a precedent; fo that thereafter no exception of wrongs, either receaved or alleaged, did fett any witnefs. 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 witneffes was proven to be naught; that, long before his comeing, no monie came out of the Inglish Treafurie for the Irifh affaires after the year 1621, except feven thoufand pound a-year for maintainance of fome shipping on the Irifh coaft, which yet was defrayed by the Irifh rent or contribution the year before his over- comeing. No marvell he had payed ane hundred thou-
$\text{fand pound that the King was aughtin there, and left in the Treafurie ane other hundred thoufand pound; for he had gotten firt fix fubsidies, and then four fubsidies, notwithstanding the King in Ireland was for the prefent 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 Treafurie fundrie great fommes of money for his own ufe; that he advanced the Church-rents indeed, bot that he did it onlie to pleafe Canterbury; that he did it againft law, that rapine of men's eftates was no sacrificfe pleafant to God; that his care of the Church might be seen in the perfons whom he had advanced, Bramhall, Athertoun, Gwyn, my Lord Cork's under-coatchman; that how weell law and justice was adminiftrd by him, the Remonftrance of the Irifh 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 correspondence and conspiracie betwixt these of Ireland and these of England against him. Maynard presfled, that the Remonstrance might be read, not as a charge, but as a public testimonie of his injustice, to contradiect what he said in his preamble of his justice in Ireland: He craved justice in name of all the Commons of England, who were scelandred as conspirators by my Lord of Strafford. For this rashnes, 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, but some of both kingdoms, not members of Parliament. The Lords fand the gentlemens of the Houfe of Commons defyre to have that Remonstrance read reaonable. So when one at the barr had killfed the book, which is the order of their oath, and attefled 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 lofed much of his reputation.

When Pyn had ended, the Earle required tyme, if it were bot to the morrow, to anfwer fo heavie charges, manie whereof was new. After debate pro and contra, one of the Lords fpoke of the adjourning their house, and presfled their priviledge, that at the motion 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 queftion for a large half-hour. During their abfence, though in the eye of the King, all fell in clattering, walking, eating, toying; bot Strafford, in the midft of all the noife, was fefious with his Secretars, conferring their notes and wryting. The Lords returned, the Steward pronounced their interloqutor, That the matters fpoken being all of fæct, and that onlie in anfwer to his own preamble, he fhould make ane anfwer without any deelay. So, without figne of repining, the Earle anfwered something to all had been faid; instanced 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 proveyed weell; confessed he had taken out of the Trefaurie fifteen thoufand pound, wherewith he had bought to the King lands of two thoufand pound rent; also, that he had borrowed from the Thefaurer twentie-four thoufand pound, which was now repayed: bot for that he produced a warrand under the King’s hand to take
out of the Treasurie fortie thousand pound for setting up a magazine of tobacco. It was thought that letter was bot latelie purchased. He shew, he had a greater heart than to make my Lord of Canterburie's pleure the end of his actions; that he took his present afflictions from God for his other sins; that he was confident to take off the evill opinion which the Honourable Houfe of Commons had conceaved of him. 'He protested, he was the same man [he was] before when he was one of their number, and well respected 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 first of the twenty-eight articles. By way of preface, he refumed, to make Strafford odious, the chief of the things spoken the former day, preffing the grievoufness of his cryme, to bring in, by force of armes, in England and Ireland, ane arbitrary government. 'The Lower Houfe had appointed some eight of their number in a Committee to fland at the barr and plead by turne, as they thought meet to divide the articles.' On the first, fundrie sworn witnesses did depone, his threatening to obtaine ane larger power to punifh than was before; alfo, that in his new commiffion and instructions were infert claufles of a power of the Chancerie and Starr Chamber, whereby he and his colleagues were enabled to decyde any kinde of caufes otherwayses 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 these instructions were obtained. In his anfuer, 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 least not in York, after the tyme they allaged thefe instructions were purchased. It was replyed, they preffed, and had proven the matter, whatever became of the precife circumfinite of tyme: it was alyke 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 pouyt alledged were proven, yet it would be bot a mifdemeanour; that ane hundred mifdemeanours would not make one felonie, and ane hundred felonies not one treafon, being a cryme of a diuerfe kinde and nature. It was alle often anfwered, that his treafon was the subver-
fion 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 purpos and endeavour.
He alledge, that what was charged in the first article, was bot
ane enlargement of his own jurisdiction; and this in a judge was a
very chafe ambition. It were tedious to report all their quick
passages.

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 cruished, came to
depone. He excepted against him as one who had a quarrell against
him. Maynard produced his own decree, subfcryved by his own
hand, That whereas Sir David had brought before him the same
exception against a witnes, he had decerned, 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, but, in a jeesting way, Yow are wyfer, my Lord, than to be
ruled by any of my actions as paterns. For the matter, he pro-
tested, he had spoken the clean contrare: that they had found the
little finger of the law heavier than the loynes of the King; speak-
ing to thefe who, by law, and pleading against the ship-moneys,
had fpent 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 poynct blank all he requyred.
This knight was one of the Lower Houfe. Mr. Maynard de-
fyred him to be posed, (for no man there did speak to any other,
but all the speech was directed to my Lord Steward: all the ques-
tions any requyred to be asked, were asked all by him onlie:) Maynard requyred Sir William to be posed, 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 Needless motion.
Sir William anfwered, Since the first speaking of them they were
in his memorie, but he called them moft to remembrance since
my Lord Strafford was charged with them. Maynard prefentlie
catched him, That he behaved to be anfwerable to the Houfe for
delpet of dutie, not being only silent, but voyceing with the reft
to this article, wherein Strafford was charged with words whereof
he knew he was free. There arofe with the word so great an
hiffing in the Houfe, that the gentleman was confounded, and fell
aweping. Strafford protested, he would rather committ himfelf
to the mercie of God alone, giving over to ufe anie witnes in his

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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 priviledges of Magna Charta, and was go-
verned by the common law in England, being for the most part
Inglith 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 annuled; 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 Coun-
cell should not medle with anie actions of inheritance, except thes:
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-
ese of Parliament; saying 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 answer to things objected
the former day; bot was refused. He required permiffion to retire
and advyse about the prefent 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 constant cuftome, after the end of his
adverfaries fpeech, to petition for tyme of recollection; and, ob-
taining it, to fitt down with his back to the Lords, and moft dili-
gentlie to read his notes, and wryte anfwers, he and his secretars,
for ane halfe hour, in the midt of a great noife and confusion,
which continewed ever till he arose againe to fpeak. He prefaced
the mifffortune of the moft of his predeceflors the Deputies of Ire-
land, who, after their beft services, have fallen into publict chal-
lenges; also the great infirmitie of his body, and greater of his
spirit; that he wifhed earnestlie to fee ane end of this caufe; that
were it not for the caufe of his motherles children, he rather would
loffe his life, than with fuch a longfome and bitter toyle in his spirit
to defend it; that the article, though proven, was not treasonable;
that words, according to the flatute 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 happiness under the legall reign of King Charles that the chartours of Dublin were truely faultie in manie things, and prejudiciall both to the Crowne, to the Religion, and wealth of the land, and City itself, yet that he had never questioned them. Maynard replied to all *ex tempore* verie weell: I did marvell much at first of their memories, that could answer and reply to so manie large alleadgements, without the misfing of anie one poynct; bot 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 House did wryte much dailie, and none more than the King. That is strange in this great judicatorie, that nothing at all is dyed, bot 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 usuallie observed some one thing or other, and uttered it so pertinentlie, that fix or seven tymes in end he govt great applausie 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 equalling 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 oune usuall practice, in Connaught, where he was president, on paper petitions to decide causes? Glyn excepted, that he should not be posed with such question, being self accusations. When this grew to ane hot conteft, and the Houfe was going to adjourn, the Lower Houfe was content to refer all to the morrow. So at the beginning, my Lord Steward shewed the Lords opinions, which was allwayes a decree, that my Lord Ranulagh shoule depone his knowledge of the præctie of the Deputie at Councill and superiour judicatories, but should not be
questioned anent the practice of inferior judicatories and his own. My Lord Cork, the richest by far 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 witneffed 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 anfwer, regrated (as oft before and after) the want of tyme to bring his papers and witneffes 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 requeyred a certificat to be redd from the Councill-table of Ireland; bot was refuued, bcaufe none could atteft on oath the truth of the copie; bot he obtained the reading of ane order of the Lower Houfe in Ireland, for feafing on his papers, on his tobacco, and the moft 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 feaed 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 coatchman-vicar was Mr. of Arts, and required it to be read; bot was rejected as impertinent. The Councill-table's order againft my Lord Cork was read: It proved no more, bot that the Councill had joyned with him in that, as in manie other illegall actiones. He shew, that the Councill of Ireland had much more power than the Councill of England; that it was necessarie to be fo, for the governing of that barbarous and unquiet people. He fell out here in a daintie discoure of keeping the King's prerogative and priviledges of the people in ane equall ballance; shew, that however King James's instructions had restricte the power of the Councill of Ireland in manie things, yet that expresslie the determination of ecclesiastick possessions, such as thefe 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 witnefs: as for Sir Pierce Crofbie, he valued not his testimonie; he had never regarded him fo much as to speake to him at table fo familiarie: for this he called my Lord Caftlehaven, who, at the tyme alleaged, was at the table, to witnefs. He deponed, that some such thing was spoken at that tyme to Crofbie by Strafford.
He vilified also the testimonie of my Lord Killmallock against him; because he had sworn that Ratcliffe was his echo, a thing impossible. My Lord Digbie made a grave replie to this, that the oath of a witness is not to be applied to every several word of his deposition; that the words challenged might have a good and true sense. Strafford did extenuate his own words; that he might have said an Act of Councill was binding, to wit, in cases not provided for by Parliament, and to the time a Parliament should provide. Glyn and Maynard replied sharply, that his designe was well manifested by these his words, to bring in an arbitrarie government without law; and how much he scorned lawes, they called for another witnesses to depone. This he vehementlie opposed, that no referred witnes, after the examination was clofed, should be heard. They alleadged the practife in all courts, to call for witnes, ever while the probacion of the charge was clofed; that all the articles were bot ane and the fame charger; befyle, that he, in his anwer, had brought new matter, which they behoved to refute by these witneses. Britoll required the adjoyning the House; the Lords, after half ane houre's absence in their own House, returned, and found it reasonable that their witnes ought and should be heard. He deponed, that when the Lower House of the Irish Parliament had opposed the Deputie's bill concerning the felling of powder, he said, he did not regard it; for he would make an Act of Councill thereanent, which should be as binding as an Act of Parliament. It were tedious to fett down what past daylie, almean from eight to three; I onlie poyn at some principall things, which I brought away on my memory, without any wyrtyn.

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 last he came, and excused his delay with the contrarietie both of wind and tyde. Glyn fell on the fifth article, his practifieing of his arbitrarie government according to his word; his sentenceing a peer of the land, my Lord Montnorris, to death; his hanging of a souliour in Dubline, by martial law, in a council of war. My Lord Montnorris was called to depone: for all Strafford his exception, yet the caufe of treason being the King's, and having no guine by his testimonie, was admitted. He made a long and pitifull narration of Strafford's oppression: That being at table with my Lord Moore and my Lord Loftus, discouer falling
in concerning the Deputie’s futching 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 faid, that man had a brother in England who would not be content with such a revenge for fuch ane affront; that of these words fpoken in Aprile, he heard nought to September, when one night he receaveth from a meffenger a warrand to be at Councill to-morrow in the Castle chamber: when he came there, he inquired of other Councillors the reafon of the meeting, bot none could tell him. When the Deputie came, he shew, he had called the Councill of Warre to take order with my Lord Montnorris, one of the crouners of the armie, for his mutinous words againft him the Generall; that then he arose, and flood at the table-end; thereafter the King’s letter to the Councill, to fee the Deputie repaired in the dangerous wrong he heard was done him by my Lord Montnorris, was read; at the reading whereof, he faid he fell on his knees much amazed. Being called to answer, he requyred a copie of his charge, some tyme to advyfe, and counfell to plead for him. All thefe was refufed, and he inftantlie requyred to confeffe 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 ready to have sworn that he had not fpoken the alleadged words; bot having no tyme granted, he would neither confeffe nor deny, and fo he was removed. The Deputie required present sentence. Moore and Loftus deponed; he was found to have offended againft two articles of discipline, the one importing banifhment, the other death. Manie inclyned to make him culpable of the firft; bot the Deputie urged both or neither: fo he is called in, the fentence of death pronounced againft him, the Deputie promifeing nothing fhall aile his life; bot in the mean tyme committeth him to clofe prifon, wherewith in a few dayes, with grief and difpleafour, he fell in danger of prezent death. Upon the phyfitian’s oath, he is permitted to goe to his owne house; bot fo foon as he recovers, he is committed again; he is divefted of four eminent places he poifefled in the state; his wife moft hardlie could escape 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 supphilcat the Deputie in that behalfe, nothing could be obtained till he had subscryved the juftice of the fentence againft him: this for a long tyme refufeing, at laft he subscryved the forme was fent him, without reading it, and fo came out of prifon. The moft of all
this was witnesed 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, bot was brought back, and said to have stollen ane quarter of beece: for this he is sentenced to die; and albeit some noblemen had moved the Deputie's lady to be earneft for his life, yet, without mercie, he was execute.

In his answer, Strafford alledge, that martialis 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 Arundail's articles the last year, and in my Lord Northumberland's this year, were the same clauses; that for example it were necessarie that fugitives and thieves should die; that in that Council his voyce was bot one. As concerning my Lord Montnorris, he alledged the confession of his fault under his own hand; that his mutinous 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 Council's letter to the King was read; that no evil was done to him, and nothing intended but the amendment of his verie loofe tongue: if the gentlemen of the Commons House intended no more but the correction of his foolish tongue, he would heartilie give them thanks; that his not denying a share of that sentence, was not ane confession of his voyceing in it, or his procureing of it, bot his honour repaired thereby; that my Lady Montnorris courtezie was to him above all meafore displeasing; that the King intended him not pardon till he shoule readilie acknowledge his oversight.

To all this Maynard and Glyn made a fatiffactorie reply, That martialis law had no more place in Ireland nor in England; that the benefite of Magna Charta, ordaining no man to be sentenced to death bot by a jurie, was common alyke to both. They required my Lord Loftus, late Chancellor, who fourtie yeares together had been a provest-martialis, in what cases he had used martialis-law? Strafford opposed much the hearing of supplementall witneshes: his great friend, Clair, Britoll, and Savill, did dispute so much for that, that the House was almost adjourned upon it; bot my Lord Steward preeled the other dayes decree, that when the defendant, in his answere, furnisht new matter, the accufer shoule have libertie.
upon it to examine new witnёsses. So Loftus testifled he had never
ufed martiall law, bot upon manifest rebells; and that my Lord
Falkland's instructions carried expresly the cafses of warre and
rebellions. My Lord Ranulagh witnёssed, that the armie was no
more on foot or motion than it wont to be; that alone four com-
panies of foot, and two troupes of horfes were now and then train-
ing at Dublin. They prissed that no danger should come by words
fix moneths after they were fpoken; that the King's letter was
procured by Strafford; that he was the procurer and urger of the
fentence; that though he voyced not, bot 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 commiʃsion should not be taken from the King. Find-
ing the unexpected length of the proceeʃ, they fhow their purpoʃe
to omit some articles for giving of tyme. Strafford refused to conʃent, unleʃs they forewarned him of the article they were to fall
upon two nights before. They fhow it was reasonable he should
be readie always to anʃwer on all; bot however not obliedged they
would ever forewarn him a night before, of the articles the day
following to be handled.

7. Mononday 29th. Glyn handled the fixth article, the difpoffeʃ-
ing of my Lord Montnorris of a portion of land, upon Ralfton's
paper petition. We did all think that half ane hour would eafiliie
have diʃcovered that little article, but it fpent all that day. Ralfton's
petition was read, the decreet thereupon; witnёsses were heard
for Montnorris poffeʃion, and for his difpoffeʃion without farde
law. They profeʃed they would not examine the equitie nor the
inequitie of the matter, but onlie the forme of proceeding againʃt
the statute, againʃt King James's instructions, diʃcharging the
Deputie or Councill to meddle with caufes of inheritance; they
profeʃed onlie his subjeʃting the goods of the Peers to his will,
without law.

In his anʃwer, he cunninglie brake in upon that which they ex-
preʃliie declyned, the equitie of the matter. My Lord Montnorris,
by clear coʃenage and oppreʃion, having spoiled Ralfton of thes
lands, he read fome caʃses of his commiʃsion, which enabled him
to doe juʃlice 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 thefє instructions, which were never keeped,
nor could never be keepe; for such was the povertie and barbarous ignorance of manie there, that to follow the ordinarie longfome 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 affifes, but was stopped; for the lyke practife, in former Deputies, he brought fundrie witneffes; he required the Primate of Armagh's deposition to be read: Upon this rose ane long contefe. He had moved, on Saturday, that his witneffes that through ficknefs might not come to the barr, a commiiffion might be granted to some Lord to goe and take their oaths. This was not much oppofed; fo in the afternoon he obtained ane order in wryte for this end. The Commons was not content with this: He preffed that the order might be obeyed. At laft they urged his tranfgreffion of the order, and of all equitie, it not onlie being obtained without their advertisement, but alfo ufed without their knowledge; either the words or mind of the order behaved to be according to the practife of all Courts, that the contrare parties should be present at the examination to give in their croffe interrogatories: by this reafon Armagh's deposition was not read. He alleadged no benefite accreffed to himfelfe by his decree to Ralfon; and falling again on Montnorris's imprifonment, brought in witneffes to prove, that the caufe of his long imprifonment, was not his contempt of the Councill of Warre, bot debaits in the Starr-Chamber. The order in all the proceffe was, for the Commons to prove their article; when they brought witneffes, he objectet what he pleafed; when they had ended, he, after half ane hour's collection, did anfwer, without interruption, fo long as he pleafed: onlie when he brought his witneffes, bot not on oath, they oppofed what they thought meet: when he did clofe his anfwer, they made ever the laft replie, for that is their priviledge who pleads for the King, againft which he might say nothing, except fome matter clearlie new were brought, which they did not except he gave occafion, 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 unjuftice, that if they had their articles to frame againe, they would give in as manie new as old. Straffordリフォームd at that, and proclaimed them ane open deffeince. Glyn took him at his word, and offered infantlie to name three and twentie caues of unjuftice, wherein his own gaine was clear. He began quicklie his catalogue with Parker's paper peti-
tion, whereupon he dispossessed a certain Viscount of a good portion of land, for his own use. Strafford finding himself in an ill taking, did soone repent of his passionate defiance, and required he might answer to no more than he was charged with in his libell; onlie he protested, that in that Parker's land, his name was onlie used; that he was onlie intrusted in that bargain for the use of another. They brought diverse negative witnesses to depone, they had never known causes of inheritance disputed by the Deputie or the Council before Strafford. One of his witnesses they proved infamous and perjured, by an Act of the Council of Ireland; of this he professed his disreembrance. The King's letter, revoking his father's instructions, they said, was procured by his misinformation, and that he did not keep the tenor of it. The statute alleged by him of the King's prerogative, Maynard shewed was to be underflood, 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 pleased, without affription to anie one. Mr. Stroud was applauded for his quick remark, That Strafford did oppresse Montnorris, not onlie in his life, honours, libertie, lands, but in his verie soull, keeping him prisoner till he forced him to subferye, against his conscience, the justice of his own condemnation.

Mr. Glyn offered to goe on to another article. My Lord Strafford pleaded his infirmitie. The Steward compleaned of the expense of tyme. The Advocats prefed for the Commons expedition. Strafford, That however his bodilie infirmitie was great, and the charge of treafon lay heavy on his mind, yet that his accusation came from the Honourable Houfe of Commons did moft of all pierce through his soull. Maynard told, that by the flow of his eloquence, he spent tyme to gaine affection; as indeed, with the more ample fort, especiallie the ladies, he gained daylie much. He replyed quicklie, that rhetorick was proper to these gentlemen, and learning also; that betwixt these two he was lyke to have a hard bargain. Briftoll was buffle in the mean tyme, going 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 laft the Houfe was adjourned till the next morning.

8. Tuesday the 30th of March. Glyn shewed, that however they would not decline nor mince any part of any their articles, yet for laying the great expense of tyme, they would passe the seventh article, and the first part of the eighth: on the latter part thereof, he insisted, dilating my Lady Hibbotts's cause, 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 fillie old fool, is glad to bargain with her, for the hereditable right of twenty-five hundred pound a year for eighteen thousand pound Sterling. When the wrytes are making in Dublin, one offers him fyve hundred pound more; of this he fhew 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 refuseth 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 bargain. The Ladie is summoned before the Councill; the bargain is declared null; she is ordained to put the old man in present possession of the land, or else goe to prifon; and everie moneth she delayed to fulfill the order, to have her fyne of fyve hundred 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 Councill was for the Ladie. My Lord Dillon deponed, it was so 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 answer he said for sparing of tyme, he would clofe to the poynct, and answer to nothing bot to the charge alone: and good reason had he so 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 cause depending in another Court; that the Deputie had power to determine of petitions, as from his commiſſion, and practice of former Deputies of Ireland, he proved before; that this order, as all others of Councill, was according to the voyces of the moft part; that his threats to prifon and fine the Lady for disobedience to the Councill, was just; that Meredith's bargain was for his use he denied; but finallie, whateuer misdemeanour was in it, there was no treason wherewith he was
charged. Maynard assumed all, applyed 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 nixth article, a commissioun to the Bishop of Doune to imprisoun all of the meaneer fort, who refused to come to compear to his Courts; or when they compeared, to satifie all his orders. A copie of this commissioun was defyred to be read; he oppoed, that a copie of a warrant could not make faith. They told, if it were so, the principall not being recorded, bot in his power to be called in when he would, it should never be possiblie to prove any warrant, when the partie had suppreffed the principall. Sir James Montgomerie attested the truth of the copie, and his knowledge of the great vexation that came to vere 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 alfo his own Acts above both, in giving power to Bishops against law, to vex and imprisoun the bodies of the King's subjectes. He answer'd, that his warrant was not produced; that fuch letters of assistans to Bishops had been given before him; for this end my Lord Primat's deposition was read. He required, that some paffages of my Lord Falkland's book shoulbe 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 patern he had seen. Strafford confesfed, on the Bishop's defyre, he had fent him fuch 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 worfe than his word, as he conceavd it to make for his purpose. Glyn applyed it, shew the Primate testified onlie that he heard his predeceffor the Bishop of Meath fay, that at the papiits defyre, to faue the proceff of excommunication, he had gotten letters of assistans which did not square with the cafe in hand; that his Secretar's testimonie 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 Seffion, Wednesday, March 31st. This day I was absent; for being Moderator of our Seffion, I behoved to call a meeting to advyfe anent the order of the Faft, wherein we were advertized
from Newcastle, to joyn with our nation on the 4th and 6th of April: bot, as I heard, the matters that paffed that [day] were thefe. Mr. Maynard handled the tenth article, concerning his extraordinarie gaine in the farming the Cuftomes. It was clearlie proven, that yearlie he would have thirtie thoufand pound advantage. His anfwer was, that the bargain of the Cuftomes was put upon him againft his will. My Lord Cottingtown deponed, that when my Lord Strafford moved fome of the Londoners to offer feventeen thoufand pound for the cuftomes of Ireland, to my Lord Portland Theafurer, that they quicklie repented, being much more than ever thefe cuftomes had payed before; that no man would come near that offer, yet at laft Sir Arthure Ingram had come and offered one 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 faid, that the augmenting of the book of rates was againft his advyce, and that, before he medled with thefe cuftomes, while the Lady Dutchefs of Buckinghame’s lease did ftand; that if the cuftomes were raifed, the trafigue could not be diminished; that the making of a good bargain was no treason. Maynard fummed up all, That as he found out a ftrange discipline of the tongue in my Lord Montnorris’s cafe, by a fentence of cutting off the head, fo he had made in a few years, by good compt, large three hundred thoufand pound Sterling off the King; the rates was heighted before he gott the cuftomes bot onlie one moneth; if he were againft it, why was [he] the firft and fole exacter of that augmentation? and why did he thruft out Sir Arthure, the firft bargainer, fo foon as the years of hudge gain did come?

The eleventh article they paffed. 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 cuftome, and never more then twenty, was raifed by my Lord Strafford, to pay to the King five thoufand, and then ten thoufand pound, bot to himfelf at leift 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 regulating that superfluous commoditie was by the King’s letter committed to him; that it was bot a monopolie at moft; that any pillored or whipped was for perjury; 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 Session, Thursday, April 1st. Maynard opened the thirteenth article. The proclamations were read, discharging to sell any yarne but reefled in such a fashion; the warrand of my Lord read, to safe for use all that could be found otherways drefled than the proclamation appointed; proven by many witnesse, that the warrand in many places was execute; that public breath cats were defferted; that carts full of spoyll were carried to Dublin, and delievered to my Lord Strafford’s servants; that the officers brack up many houfes; that they ftrake poor women, holding their yarne, till fome died; that masters were disappointed of their rents; that fihousands starved through his oppreffions; that Sir John Clotworthie hardlie escaped punishment for wryting to the Deputie of these evills. He anfwered, That his intention in this matter was certainlie good; he found in Ireland great store of fheep, which, if weell used, might much prejudice the chief trade of England: that to putt down the woolle trade, he fett himfelf to countenance the trade of flax; that feeing the people, through their barbarous unskilfulnefs, hurt their own profite, he frove to direct them; that the proclamations were not his, bot the Councill’s; that warrands to fecond proclamations were neceffare and ordinare; that when he found the people’s untowardnefs to learn, he gave over the deffigne; that after his accompts, he had no profite, bot fome one hundred pounds of loffe by his trade; that for the midlemeanour of officers he could not anfwer. Maynard concluded, that intentions cleared not illegall actions; that his giving over before ten thousand was ftereved, maketh him not innocent of the killing of thounsands; that the concurrence of the Councill excufeth not him who led them.

The fourteenth article was paft: the fifteenth, as moft important, was accurateliie 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; fhow it alone was treafon, and more than the proof of the whole charge. He took onlie the mid part of it, concerning Savill’s warrand to soldiers; fhow that the Statute of Edward the Third and Henry the Sixth made at Dubline, did, in exprefle termes, make the leavying of fouldiers, and laying of them on the King’s subjefts, to be treafon, violating the King’s proteétion, and fo his crown and perfon; that it was ordinar for my Lord to execute his unlawfull jurifdiction, his
decrees on paper petitions, by this unlawfull power; giving a war-
rand dormant to a serjeant at armes, to lay one officer, and three,
five, or ten fouldiers of the next garison on any who disobeyed his
orders, to eat up all they had till they had obeyed. A copy of a
warrant to Savill was read. Strafford alleadged, a copy could
make no faith in so high a business; but this was rejected. Sa-
vill was required to attest the copy. He swore it was his subscrip-
tion, and a true copy of his warrant for the substance, but that
he had not conferred the wryts. Maynard press'd it was enough, if
witnesses did prove the warrant given by my Lord Strafford's autho-
ritie, whether by a word or wryte. The House adjourned upon this
debate. My Lord Steward at returne pleased both parties; refus'd
the reading of this copy, as not being sufficiently attested, but per-
mitting them to prove by witnesses, the matter of any warrant.
This they did abundantlie; especiallie in the case of one Berne,
who, on a paper petition, was charged to appear before my Lord
Deputie to pay ane hundred pound debt, which he might have
componed for fyve pound, but refused, not thinking it due. By
Strafford's warrant, ten of his troupers at Dubline came upon
the man's lands, eat to him the worth of five hundred pound, burn-
ed the most of his house, forced him to leave the countrie, and
serve as a fouldier in Flanders, being unable any more to keep
houfe.

My Lord Strafford, feeling the weight of this article, after half
ane houre's advisement, and retireing for easement, returned as a
man loadened in mind. He answered ane hundred shifts, and said
as much as any man could; but little, in my judgement, to the
poynt. He remembered his impossibilitie to bring his proofs from
Ireland, his oblidge ment to be judged there, and by the Irish
law; however, he was willing to submitt ane hundred lyves, if he
had them, to their Lordships equitie: he produced a number of
witnesses to depone, it was ordinarie there for the Deputie to give
warrant for presling of fouldiers pay, and contribution monie: but
not one of them all deponed the case of ordinarie debts, or decreets
on paper petitions. He alleadged, that the acts alleadged were old
and antiquat; but I understand not his probation. He said, that in
these statutes the King was not included, because not expresslie
mentioned, and so the King's Deputie was in the same case; also
that Queen Elizabeth's statute permitted the Deputie to leavie
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 Council for his legall ease. 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 foeraigne power and priviledge was the charge; that the Deputie hath power to levie warre bot upon rebells, not in tyme of peace on the King's peaceable subje6ts, answerable to legall Courts; that he declyneth also the question of law to be agitat by ane other in due place. Strafford offered to anwer the first part of the article, bot was ftopped: he oft triumphed, that they had allleadged 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 ease: this he obtained; for all were overwearied with fo confant 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 Session, Saturday, April 3d. Palmer opened the sixteenth article; His way to keep himfelf in poiffession of that arbitrarie power of his; his floping all to goe to England bot by his licenfe; his proposition for his power to the Councill-table of England was read; his proclamation alfo in Ireland for that end was read; witneffes brought to prove: his refusing 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 master the Chancellour to England. He anfwered, There was manie flatutes for the residence of the subje6ts 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 Jesuit's collidges, and keep correffondence with O'Neell and Tirconell.

Palmer replyed weell to all; That the flatutes alleadged, none of them did imported a perfonall reffrain 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 Jesuite colldege 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 *mixture et merum imperium* from his misinformed King.

It was Mr. Whitlock's turn to speak next: He passed 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 an Act of Parliament; that he framed, and put on the Scots ane new and illegall oath, which they did not defyre, as he faith in his answer. Sir James Montgomerie was called to witnes. He made at the barre a vere 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 ways of their countreymen; that the bishops motioned the expediency of ane oath; that many of them thought that which he spake, that to offer ane oath were to make themselves subject to supplication before they committed any fault; that Strafford replyed, Who would not take an oath shoulde 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 advyfement; this was refufed; 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 commiffion was to take the oath of all above sixeene yeares; that the instructions bare women alse weell as men; that the refuferes were prifonned and fyned; that manie fled, and left their cornes and cattells; (this Sir John Clotworthie and others teftified; one Salmon, ane schoomafter here, and John Loftus, witnesfeyd the sentenceing of Henry Stewart, and the rest;) that the Deputie declared the oath extended to all the ecclesiatick ceremonies present and to come; that he would prosecute to the blood these that would refufe; that the Scots were traitors, rebells, and mad; that he would pull them up root and branch, if he [re]turned to that kingdome.
He answered, That the tyme of that oath did Carrie great appearance of feares from the Scotts; that there was of them in Ireland above ane hundred thousand; that one Trueman was execure for a desigene to deliver up the Castle of Knockfergus to a great Lord in Scotland; that the Counciell thought it necellarie to secure the countrey from that fear; that they were privie to his letter and the oath; that all the Scotts took it chearfullie, except Sir James Montgomerie; that these who went away for this caufe he would never flay; that he knew not ane act of parliament to be necellar for ane oath at fuch ane necellar occasioun; that the fame oath was presfled in England; that he had the King's letter, under his own hand, for frameing that oath, which before he never revealed: if this was a treafon, being informed as he was, it be- hoved him to be a traitor over againe if he had the lyke occasioun; the greatnesse of Henry Stewart's fyne was for the greatnesse of the offence; it was not exacted, and his [fyne] was ever readie to be releaved when obedient; that the Primate will teeffie, he declared that no part of it concerned the church affaires; that he was not fo farr diversed of reafon as to speake like a madman of his Master's nation, manie whereof hath done him courtesies, and none anie wrong; that the schoolmater was not to be valued; he had sworne I spoke these words the tenth of October, wheras I was in Eng- land the twentieth of September; in a defiance, he hath mistaken faction for nation: I might have spoken of my putting out of Ire- land the faction of these 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 remember of any fuch words.

Whitlock reponed in reply, That the witnesfies depositions were contrare to his affertions; that whatever the danger was, he should not use any unlawfull mean to oppose it; that the oath of allegiance would have satified 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 substance of his teftimonie; 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 inclyned 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 pleaded to alledge of this simple man, without farther proofs; that Strafford did conciliate the Primat and Derrie; the Primate would have the refusing of the first part of the oath to be treason; the Bishop of Derrie said, the refusing of the second part of ecclesiasticall injunctions was treasonable; the Deputie would have both treasonable; that the penalty of ane Premunire is just; but his new oath of not protesting against any of his commands, carrying the King’s name, was strange, and the punishment of it also: he usurps a power here more than royall; for non est penes principem solum to frame ane new oath, in all acts of parliament, you, my Lords, and the Commons, have [an] interest. Mr. Stroud took notice of Strafford’s profession to do this over againe. He said, he well believed him; but that they knew what the kingdom suffered when Gavestone came to react himself.

My Lord Strafford regrated to the Lords the great traits of his estate. If true, it was the remarkable judgment of God. He said, 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 these 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 sixtie persons; that the House of Commons there had seafed all his goods; he supplicat, that the Lords might take course to lose those arreert from so much of his goods as might sustaine his wife and children in some tolerable way. If this was not false, alone to conciliat consideration, behold the power of God bringing that man, the moft statelie house-keeper that ever Ireland did see, to that miserie, in a moment, whereeto he brought manie.

Sunday, the 4th of Aprile, was a day of humiliation to us. Mr. Henderstone, Mr. Blair, Mr. Gillespie did preach; and on Tuesday thereafter I, Mr. Borthwick, and Mr. Smith, to ane fair congregation; so manie considerable 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 trust God heard yow and us; and ever since we are getting our answers. The plotts of our enemies since hath been kything, and God going on to confound them in his own way, above man’s Witt and strength, as it may be you shall hear shortlie.

12th Session. Monondai Aprile 5th. I could not be present;
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 saving of time, to open together the twentieth, twenty-first, twenty-second, twenty-third, and twenty-fourth articles. Strafford prefixed long to handle them severally one by one, as before it was practised and agreed. Glyn told him roundly, that it belonged not to a prisoner to prescryve the order of his process; they were to manage the proofs as they thought fitt, let him answer in what order he pleased. This they obtained. Whitlock discourse upon all, first in general: That as, after the pacification of Berwick, in Stewart's sentence, he had called the Scots traitors and rebels; so, at his coming to England, he had incensed the King against them; and when the Parliament of England refused moneys, he stirred up the King to invade with his Irish armie these of England, who would not be subject to his will. The first witnes is my Lord Traquair. Being posed, What he heard my Lord Strafford say concerning the Scottifh warre? He said, he could not answer to so general a question. Being posed anent his discourse at the council-table after his relations at Whitehall and at York, he defrayed to see his depositions, for the refreshing of his memorie: for all the witneses had deponed before the Committee of the Lower House long agoe: yea, some of that Committee, Digbie, as it is thought, had given particular information to Strafford of all their depositions. After all these prefaces, all that Traquair deponed was, That at York, his relation being repeated, Strafford said, that the injustice of these demands is a sufficient ground why the King should put himself in posture of warre; that at the first relation at Whitehall, he heard him say no more, and that all the number did fullie agree with him in that conclusion; but he knew not who spoke first. Finding that not so much was deponed now by Traquair, as before by my Lord Digbie, motioned, that they referred themselves to what was deponed in wryte. After serious recollecting, Strafford replied, That this was not the practice of any court where the witnesse was heard viva voce. My Lord Mortoun was sick; but his deposition was read. It did beare, that after my Lord Traquair's relation, once and againe, and the third time, Strafford avowed, that the Scotts demands were a sufficient ground for the King to make warre; although Mortoun contradicted, shewing, that since the King had permitted the Scotts to petition against all their grievances, their petitioning could be no ground
of warre before the reafons of their petition were heard; and the King exprefflie faid, Mortoun had reafon. Traquair being asked, Harie Vane, Mr. Secretary, deponed, that the 5th of May, after the breaking up of the Parliament, when he proponed a defensive warre, Strafford was for ane offensive. Northumberland was fick; his deposition did bear, that Strafford perfuaded his Majeftie to goe vigorouslie to ane offensive warre. The Lord Thesaurer, Bifhop of London, deponed, that Strafford’s opinion was for ane offensive warre, and that the Scots 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 fay, in Dubline, in cafe of necelftie, the King, by his prerogative, might leave moneys as he pleafe, having first tried his Parliament, if it supplied him not. My Lord Conway deponed, he faid if the Parliament gave not thefe twelve fubfides, the King was juftifiable before God and man to take fome other courfe to fupplie himſelf, though againft their will:—Sir Harie Vane, that if the Parliament did not fucceeed, he would be readie to ferve the King any other way:—Sir Robert King, that Sir George Ratcliffe, Strafford’s intimate friend, faid, the King had thirtie thouſand men, and four hundred thouſand pound in his purfe, and a fword at his fyde; if he ſhould want monie, who ſhould pitie him? that with the Scots they might have peace when they pleafed:—Sir Thomas Barrington, that he heard Sir George Wentworth, Strafford’s brother, fay, he conceaved the Parliament would give no money; that the Commonwealth was fick of peace; it will never be weell till it be conquered againe. Bifloll witneſſed, that Strafford faid to him, after the diffolving of the Parliament, that he liked not his diſcourfe, of calling another Parliament, the danger admitted not fo flow a remedie; the Parliament had refuſed to fupplie the King; he behoved to take another courfe; that the King was not to fuffer himſelf to be maftered by the frowardneſs and undutifulneſs of his ſubjects, or rather the diſafteſtion of fome particulars. Newburgh and Holland witneſſed the fame words. Northumberland and Vane deponed, that in the committee of eight for the Scots affairs, he faid, that his Majeftie having tryed all wayes, and being refuſed; in this cafe of necelftie, and in deſence of the kingdome, he was abfolved before God and man, and all rules of government; he
had ane armie in Ireland, which he might imploie for reduceing 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 anfwer, he went through everie article severallie, extenuated moft of his words. What he said of the King, he meaneed ever of his juft proceeding; for it was to be prefupposed, that he would never doe nor command in any other way; that in Councill he behaved to Joyce according to his opinion; that opinions might make ane heretick, if pertinacious, bot never a traitor; that chamber and table discoure, for argument, flum-flams, and fanfares, could not be trefons; that words of fuch a nature in King Edward the Sixth's days, were decreed otherwyfe to be punifhed. It hes been the widomne of this fpirit to secure weell the fubjects from trefon. We would be loath to let loofe that lyon which would devote us and our posteritie, if trefon be made as ordinarie as trefpaffes. Much adoe made for the laft words witneffed by Vane. He fware he fpake them not; made the Marqueis, the Thesaurer, and Lord Cottingtoun, depone they heard no fuch thing; and bore him witneffe, that he faid, the King behoved to use his prerogative; that he marveilled at the goodnefs of Mr. Thesaurer's memorie, better than his owne, and all the companie. Whitlock marked the shortnefs of Cottingtoun's memorie, who faid he heard not Strafford fpeak of extraordinarie wayes, which yet he confefsed. 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 defigne of the Irish army was for Scotland, as the Marqueis, Northumberland, Sir Thomas Lucas, and Slingibie did depone; that he intended to forteifie 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 Seffion. Tuesday, there was no fitting. On Wednesday, the 7th Aprile, Maynard did open the twenty-fifth article. The Lord Thesaurer deponed, that Strafford, after the Parliament, ad- vyed to goe on rigoroufflie and effectuallie with the Ship-moneys. Strafford confefsed, he had not learned to be wifer nor his teachers, or to disputt what was pronounced by the Judges. Maynard re-
plyed, that it was never judged, that for refuse of loan men should be prifoned, fryned, hanged. Wifeman deponed, that Strafford said they would gett no good of the citizens till some of the aldermen were fryned and prifoned. He confeffed, according to the Earle of Berkfhyre’s testimonie, that he thought the aldermen’s refufing, in fo necelfare a tyme, to give up the names of thefe they conceaved able to lend monies, made them lyable to fyne and ranfome. Garaway, mayor the laft year, deponed, that to the beft of his remembrance, he faid, no good would be gotten till fome of the aldermen were hanged. While Strafford took vantage at the words “the beft of my remembrance,” Garaway fowntlie turned to him, and told out punctuallie, “My Lord, you did fay it.” He faid, he fhou’d anfwer with alfe great truth, albeit not with fo great confidence as that gentleman, to the beft of his remembrance he did not fpeak fo; bot if he did, he trusted their goodnefs would eafilie pardon fuch a rafh and foolifh word. It was alfo bot a fingle testimonie; and the law provyds, that on fingle testimonie no man fhall be condemned of treafon. Glyn remembered them what sentence he had procured on Montnorris for rafh words anent his toes. Maynard fhew their charge was bot one, that fingle witneffe for feverall circumftances made manic for the whole.

In the twenty-sixth article, they had no witnefs to prove his concealling the fealing on the Mint, the imbafeing of the money; bot by diverfe proved his avowing of the Citie’s unthankfullnefs, and their deferving of much worfe for their greater readineffe to help rebells than the King; of his letter from Leicelteer, that the King of France fearched merchants books, and laid horfemen upon them till they payed what portion of their eflate he pleafe to demand; that if the King would doe fe, he had example of other princes; that this was a poynt worthie my Lord Cottingtoun’s confideration. He confeffed, the fenfe of his Mafter’s service made him ufe expressions of the Citie’s unthankfullnefs; that of all his charge thefe words of the Citie’s helping of the rebells were worft, and fince the gentleman deponed them, he would take with them and crave humble pardon; that he fpake not to my Lord Cottingtoun; that he faid our King was more pious than to ufe fuch courfes as wef mentioned in that foolifh letter of my Lord Leicelteer’s secretarie.

The twenty-seventh article, of leavyng money on Yorkfhire by fouldiers, was proved by fundrie. To thefe he anfwered, 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 croune, and parliament, that so they would contribute for the entertainment of two regiments for one moneth; that he made them delete that clause of a Parliament, knowing the King's resolution to call it of his own goodnells, 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 supply these who did.

Maynard and Glyn replied, that it was a levying of warre upon the subjects by force of fouldiers, to exact moneys by sojours; that it was not [with] consent of the fhyre; manie were gone out of toune, fundrie diftented, diverfe were papifls; thefe consented bot for one moneth; his commiffion gave him power to call perfons to serve the King, but 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 sett, and the Deutie brought to the barr on his knees, after the accustomed manner, he was defyred to say for himself what he would, that fo the House of Commons may sum up all before the fentence. He said, he was prepared to anfwer the particular articles omitted, and that they would be pleased to say farther; but for the summing up of all his anfwers, he was not prepared to anfwer, 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 caufe did allow: yet the Lords, after some debaite, did grant it. Always in the afternoons, when there remained any tyme, committees, especiallie for the enormities of churchmen, did meet and fitt fome 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 laft night his Brother was so afflicted with the ftone, that this morning albeit much better, yet he was allutterlie unable to flurr out of bed. Maynard and Glyn prefied they might goe on; that the excuse was bot fained; and however, being heard on all the articles, his presence was needlefs. The Lieutenant of the Tower being put to his oath, deponed, that
Strafford said to him, he was unable to come. This so great un-\nevelness was so much the more doubted, as for the witneffing 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 abfent or prefent, they should not fail to go on.

16th Session. Saturday, 10th April. All being fet, before the Deputie began to speake, Mr. Glyn prefled to hear some witneffes that they had refereed exprefflie on the twentie-first article. Strafford prefled for the lyke favour, that he might, on some preceeding articles, gett leave to examine witneffes; thereupon aryfeth a long debaite. The Lords adjourneth. When they returned, their decret was, the Commons shou'd call what witneffes they pleafed; and Strafford alfo. This the Commons form'd at. After much dangleing, Glyn declared, they were content Strafford shou'd in this [have] equall favour with them; that they fought no more but witneffes to be examined upon ane article, and that thefe onlie which they had exprefflie refere'd in the tyme: to grant more favour to Strafford than they craved, was maneifeft 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 perufed him to take a double of that note. The principall and all other papers concerning the difsolution of the laft Parliament, at the fitting down of this, were burned. The copie by him was produced in the Houfe, and did much confirm the mindes of all Strafford's witneffes; yet for young Sir Harrie's caufe, a very gracious youth, they resolved to make no ufe in publif of his testimonie, except in cafe of neceffitie, which then they conceaved was clear. The Lords adjourned one houre large: at their returne, their decree was againft the expectation of all. It kythd Strafford's friends were ftrongeft in the Higher Houfe; yea, to our great admiration, we learned that not a man bot Paget voyced otherwayes. My Lord Steward read the firft part of it, That the Lords conceaved, for gaining of tyme, that both the Commons and Strafford should ufe no farder witneffes.
The Advocats refufed to give any anfwer, till they had the receipt of the decree; fo my Lord Steward went on, and read, Bot if the Commons thought meet to examine further witneffes, they might doe it in all the articles; and they, as equall judges to both, conceived that Strafford might doe the fame. Att once the Commons began to grumble. Glyn pofed him on what articles he would examine witneffes, as if he had no more witneffes. Indeed, whatever he profefled, he told themfadlie he had, and thefe he conceived as advantagious 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 one end, the Commons, on both the fides of the Houfe, raife in a furie, with a shout 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 fould 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 fhould be torn in pieces; the King went home in filence; the Lords to their Houfe.

In the afternoon the Commons mett, prefentlie resolved on a Bill of Attainture; that is, to attaint and condemne Strafford in their owne Houfe as judges, and thereafter require the Lords and King to confirme their fentence; if they refufed, to proteft, and declare to all their fhyres, that they had deferted the Parliament for denyall of justice. While they were on this advyfement, the Lords fent a meflage to them for a conference. They fhew, they had no leasure to conferr with them; bot after their conclusion, they fent up fome to know the Lords minde; for the matter was nothing concerning Strafford, for the Lords thought meet yet not to touch that wound, bot 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 ceffation, fell in fear, left the King and Lords fhould keep the Scotts no longer, and fo they were undone; therefore the Houfe, which they had never done before, decreed to move the Lords to crave a furder ceffation bot only for a fortnight; which tyme did much defpleafe us, for we thought it fhew their defyre alfo to be quicklie ridd of us: bot this difference betwixt
the Houses 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 Westminfter Church, made his recantation sermon for licenfeing Pocklington's "Altare Christiamum," and "Sunday no Sabboth." The Lower House ordained the Mayor to see them both burned at Cheapside, and Bray the licenfer to read out of a paper, his condemnation of a number of errors, which he had licenfed. He did so with a great deall of feigned repentance; for the Lower Houfe this year makes many hypocrites.

On Mononday 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 procefl, paffing the debate of new witneffes, and keeping their bill of attainiture on foot at their pleafure.

17. On Tuesday the 13th, all being fett as before, Strafford made a fpeech large two hours and ane halfe; went through all the articles, both thefe three which imported statute-trefon, the fiftenth, twenty-firt, twenty-feventh, and others which was alleaged, as he fpake, for constructive and confirmational trefon: Firft the articles bearing his words, then thefe which had his counscells and deeds. To all he repeated not [nought] new, but the beft of his former anwers; and, in the end, after fome lafhnefs and faggins, he made fuch ane pathetick oration, for ane halfe houre, as ever comedian did upon a fstage. The matter and expreffion was exceeding brave: doubtlefs, if he had grace or civill goodness, he is a moft eloquent man. The fpeech yow have it here in print. One paffladge made it moft fpoken of; his breaking off in weeping and silence, 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 remorse at that remembrance, had flopped his mouth; for they say, 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 chideing him therefore, he fpoke her on the breast, whereof shortlie she died.

Mr. Glyn did follow with a fpeech three houre 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 cryme to the handling of another. This was Mr. Pym, who truelie, to the confession of all, in halfe ane hour, made one of the most eloquent, wife, free speeches, that ever we heard, or I think shall ever hear. Some of the passages of it, and no more bot some, and these defaced, I send yow in print, as they have been taken in speaking by some common hand. To humble the man, God let his memorie fail him a little before the end. His papers he looked on; bot they could not help him to a point or two, so he behaved to passe them: I believe the King never heard a lecture of so free language against that his idolized prerogative. Strafford, after all, craved the benefite of his counsell from the Lords; the Commons said they would advyse.

The dayes following, there was daylie conference betwixt the Lords and the Commons to hear Strafford’s counsell; at laft, on Friday, the Commons agreed to it; so on Saturday the Houfes mett as before. Mr. Lane, the Prince’s Attorney, spake for ane half hour of the statutes of treason, 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 question, when the Lords would propone a particular case; bot till then they would say no more at random. For diverse dayes thereafter the House of Commons went on with their Bill of attainiture. When it was readie and read three diverse 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 discountenanced by all honest 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 himself off: yet his credite in the Houfe is gone; whereof we are glad, for he is a great patron of Bishops. The Lower Houfe is more united than ever, and they say 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 stoutest Lords in all England for the countrey and our cause at first, bot since we made him a councillour, clearlie the court-way for Strafford and all the court-designes; he thought the receaving of the bill into the Houfe prejudiciall to the priviledge of the Peers. Esfex took him prefentlie up, and required him to expelaine himself: while he is doing it, Stamford admonisht him, he did not expelaine the words he spake, bot
others. He replyed, that Stamford durst not speake fo to him in another place. He answer'd, if both were without the barre, he would speake fo to him in another place; and he durst not challenge it. The rest cryeth on them to withdraw. Stamford readilie re- moveth, Savill fat still till Essex cryed to him to remove. They packed it up betwixt themselves thus and fua. In the mean tyme the Commons was voyeving downe the presidencie of York, as a needlefs and hurtfull court. This stroke Savill to the heart; for it was his great designe to be President in Strafford's stead. When the Commons the other day voyced the Convocation-men in a fyne one hundred and sixty thousand pound sterling, Canterburie in twenty thousand, Yorke's benefice in ten thousand, Wren in five thoufand, the rest proportionablie, and their benefices to be re- questred till that money be paid to the Lords of the Scotts Treatie: they excepted Savill from the failurie of that receipt, being taken up with the affaires 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 anfwer to their three propositions. Yesterdaie they gott their anfwer, little to their contentment, (after we had given the Prince of Orange the complemet,) we heard, in the Banquettting-houfe, where the King mett both the Houfes. To the firft, of removing Papifts from Court, he faid he would doe it; bot with alle little Scandal as can be. To the second, of difarming the Papifts, he was content it should be done according to law. To the third, the difbanding of the Irish army, he faid, he had been thinking oft on it, bot there was difficulties in it; that it was his intention to diffolve all the armes, and fettle all his dominions in that peace wherein he receaved them from his Father; bot for that end two things was neceflaire, the fatisfacon of the Scotts grievances, and money. Of the laft they were the only matter; and the sooner they provyded for it, it was the better: In the firft, though he was judge, yet with their advyce, with all diligence he would take a finall courfe.

This day, Mr. St. John, the King's Solicitor, before both the Houfes, to fatisfi the scruples which might marre the Lords in paffing the Commons Bill of attainture, did fhow, in a speech of three hours, how the facts proven of Strafford were high treafon, expreffly againft many Statutes, and anfwered 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 fhow how the Parliament might very legallie condemne his singular cafe, of evert-
ing all law, of treason. Upon some fome of escape, the Lords, at the Commons defyre, hath commanded Sir William Balfour to keep him close prifoner. Bot no more now afoe, bot the Lords, one of these dayes, to confirme the bill; and then the King's confirmation must be had. Unhappie men puts the King daylie in harder straits. Had the Commons gone on in the former way of purfuit, the King might have been a patient, and only beheld the ftriking 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 folemnized on Sunday nixt. Whether the Princeffé, of ten years old, shall be lent to Holland prefentlie, we know not.

All foreign news yow have in four or five printed gazets. All the papers of our Treatie yow have afoe. Whether our Parliament keeps the date, and our Treatie ends prefentlie, I yet know not. They have now put the King on thoughts of comeing to Scotland in June; Our unfriends are the authors of thefe counfells; but a very few dayes will open many secretts. Pray to God for our caufe and Church: God will help us against all, men and devills: No man is to be trusted; the beft is naturallie falle.

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 recompenfes the delay of it fo much the more, as preaching and printing gives me little fpare tyme. The Lord be with yow all, and fend us a blyth and short meeting.

Your Brother and fervant,

R. BAILLIE.
House. 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 House in great malcontentment. Mr. Pym, left they should break out in some rash di TEMPER, advysed to adjourne the house till Monday, without speaking of any purposes. His counsell was followed.

On Sunday, in the King's chapell, both the Queens being present at service, the Prince of Wales and Duke of York led in Princesse Mary to the chapell, convoyed 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 ambassadours, and his cousins of Tremuill and Naftaw: the King gave him his bryde; good Bifhop 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, arrove, and went to his bed in the King's chamber. The precipitation of this marriage is feared by manie.

We have mett at length sometimes with Dr. Rivett: he is one fullie in our minds, and against the Bishops. On Monday, some thousands of citizens and pretiffes awaited all day at Westminster, cryed to everie Lord as they went out and in, in a loud and hideous voyce, for justice against Strafford, and all traitors. In the afternoon, being informed, that the Lieutenant of the Tower had receaved a warrant to take in, upon his alleageance, one hundred fouldiers, 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 send for the guard of the Tower that night, Effex, Brooke, and Newport, with five hundred of the trained band of the Hamlets. All this tyme the Lower House was inclosed from seven in the morning to eight at night. After much debate, at last, blest be the name of the Lord, they all swore and subcryved the wryte which here you have, I hope in substance 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 lofed about Strafford's head. Bot to-day, and hereafter, great things are expected, whereof you shall be advertified.

May 4th, Tuesday 1641.
This day was spent on the subfcryving and swearing of the protestation in the Higher House. The Bishops hes put their hand to it, and we lyke it all the worfe. We are perplexed onlie for one poynt of it, which was paffed partlie through inadvertance, partlie because no more could be obtained. In the doctrine of the church of England, in the articles of their conclusion, both bishops and ceremonies are express; for which cause diverse of the best refuse to subfcryve in the Citie. Many commentars are fetcht to elude this; but the most satiffactorie is, that at swearing and subfcryving in the Lower House, it was declared exprefflie, by the doctrine they meaned not the government and ceremonies, and that quicklie they shall declare this, by ingiving of Bills against both. If this be, all is well; else not. Wednesday a sudden bruite ran through the citie, that the Papists had fett the Lower Houfe on fyre, and had befett it with armes: in a clap all the citie is in alarum; thopes clofed; a world of people in armes runnes doun to Weltminfter. When they come, they find the report alutterlie groundles. The matter was, about ten of the clock some coming out of the Lower Houfe, had said there was hott work and a great fire within; which being mistaken, putt the raffh and foolish alarum abroad. The hott work was a moft weightie matter indeed, the debateing upon a designe, which is alleaged the English armie was fett on, to marche towards London for dissolving the Parliament. If this be true, it will be the most dangerous peice for the Court that yet hes been spoken of. However, all the servants 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 forme. 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 dissolved or adjourned without the consent of the Commons Houfe. The Higher Houfe hes, with one consent, voyced Strafford guiltie of the facts charged, especiallie in the fifteenth, twenty-first, twenty-seventh articles; onlie nineteen, who were either his allies or witneses, went out before voyceing. To-morrow, it is thought, they will find these facts treason, and his head to be forfault. His petition to replie to St. John was reject-ed. Pembroke, Chamberland of the King's house, Dorfett of the Queen's, Newcastle of the Prince's, came and arrested all the servants of the King, Queen, and Prince, both men and wo-
men, that they flurr not without the King and Parliament's leave; the faireft way that can be to flay the voyages (which they say, was intended prefentlie after the Prince of Orange's difmiffion,) of the King's to the armie, of the Prince's to Wales, of the Queen's to Portsmouth, 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 verie sad and penfive; yet no man hes the leall intention againll him: if they had, the Scotts, for all their quarrels, would have their hearts blood: hot the farrell is the puniſhing 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 muſt break off, and leave something till the nixt.

Dear Brethren, have a care of my flock. I hope now to winn home shortlie. My beſt affections to yow all, both brethren and elders. This letter hes twentie-four pages, the other papers hes fortie-two pages. I have fent to my Lord alfo the seven laſt Gazets for forraign newes; alfo Strafford's and Pym's speech, with the Covenant in print.

Your fervant 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 discontentment, by God's gracious afliftance, fince 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 paffage. I have been much longing to hear of thy eftate; and behold yeſterday, 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 saffelie of a daughter; where-in I much rejoyce and bleffes my good God for this favour joyned to all the reft. My voyage will be much the lighter of this good

(1) Lady Mary Leslie, second daughter of John Earl of Rothes, was married 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 Scotts or English.
Lykelie he will take a place in the Bed-chamber, and be little
more a Scottifh man. If he pleafe, as it seemes he inclynes, he may
have my Lady Devonshire, (7) a verie wife lady with four thou-
sand pound Sterling a-year. The wind now blows faire in his top-
faile: I wish it may long continue; bot 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 cominge 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 scant of paper. I am now going to ship. No
more news than before. For the present, your Good-father is a
good courteour: if it hold, he is lyke to be fift both with King and
Queen; but fundrie thinks it is fo sudden and fo great a change
that it cannot hold. The King seemes yet resolut to goe to Scot-
land, albeit the difficulties of the journey be great, and daylie on
all hands increases. It is like this week two hundred thousand
pound Sterling shall be delvered for difbanding of the moft of your
armie, and good securitie given for the rest. They speake of keeping
fyll in Newcastle the halfe of yow; but I believe the Bill of abo-
lishing bishops, to be agitat on Thursday, may work a great al-
teration in manie things; and to the end of this week nothing cer-
tain can be pronounced of any thing. I have taken couerfe to be
informed by letters how all goes. I have directed to fend all my

(7) Lord Rothes at this time was a widower, his wife, Lady Anne Erskine,
dughter 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 yow. 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 Ladie with the first occasion. It seems verie unexpedient you 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 Generall, from Balmerinoch, from the Committee, writing 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, commissiioners and others, thought our coming to Newcastle needless; which your Lordship will declare, if any inqyure why we came not. They would gladlie have had us flaying when we were ready to goe; but being so fairelie dismissed once, we would not ingadge againe, being so long absent 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 aoffl him with the Generall to obtaine my most reasonable desire. 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.]
Tuesday morning, ten a’cloak.

R. Baillie.

[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 inclofed, a compt of the most part of my voyage, in the autographes of these my letters, which I caus’d keep for this verie end, that yow might understand all that I had written, or the most part of it. My long letter anent the Lieutenant yow receav’d before; some of my letters are away, but yow have here enough. Upon the sea we were fra Wednesday morning till Mononday. God was verie gracious to us in this most dangerous sea; we were once teddered on a sand-bed, had the wind been as it was the day before, or all the day after, our vesell had been dung in shards; as it was, we spake to two catches [ketches] to ryde one on everie
fyde of us: it pleased God the day fell calme, and when we had been prifoners fra fix houres in the morning, the evening tyde lifted us up and put us to the sea. After that, we had some florme for fixteene houres, our ship fell leek, it was verie evill ballaft, and heiled much; but our chief danger was about the Holy Island: the wind ferved us not to go about the blind rocks, where there are frequent shipwracks, we behaved 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, blessed 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 spirt had been stirring, and much prevailing both in Church and State, a wicked plott, depretate, devilish, and new, to have accused in the presence of the King and Parliament, Hamiltoun, Argyle, and Rothes, of words at leaf of higheft treafon, and to have proven them by fuborned witnesfes. The ground of this is not yet found out, you fhall hear more of it at once; but had it fucceeded, we had all fallen in a woefull miferie and ane bloodie butcherie; but God ftrangelie difcovering it, hes made it euanifh and turne much to our good. The fame evill spirt was stirring in our Church; great heat betuixt fundrie minifters and fundrie people; great murmurings and fear as if divifions for Brownifflick queftions had been apparent. I wondered to fee fo much dinn on no ground to compt of; I dealt earnestlie 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 these toyes. How all will goe expect to hear after the Asfemblie. Argyle hes made Mr. Johnftoune to wryte to me to make haffe to come to Edinburgh for the fettling of these things: I mynd to ryde to-morrow. This day our Parliament 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 means unexpected. The Higher Houfe is expected will let that fame Bill paffe; and that the King, who yet remaines moft averfe 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 violented the Parliament and City of London, holds all things fra conclusion. Traquair and Balcanquall
they say are fled. Our Parliament is defrayed by the King to goe on, for by no means we would hear of farther procrastination, with assurance of his coming down in the beginning of the next moneth. Our Affemblie fitts down at St. Andrewes on Tuesday nixt. Glafgow is to preffe my transporation, I and all my friends are shortlie to oppose: 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 skill, if they be \textit{fatis Latina}: I doubt of fundrie, bot truelie my skill in that facultie now is so smal that I dare say nothing; however, polish you still, so much as you may, that you may perfyte that work, which in my judgement will both bring profite to our cause, honour to our countrey, and deerved commendation to you for ever; you shall not want the best information I, or any I can move, is able to furnish. By all means preffe Paget by printing his book, also Rivett as he promised, and what you can with Voetius, and Cloppenburgh. If my Paralell, my Antidote, my Questione of Episcopacie, my Replie to the Modeft Advertiser, be not yet come to your hands, you must write to London to Robert Inglifi, or some other, to call for them at the shop of Mr. Gillibrand in Paul's Churchyard, at the Brafen Serpent; they will be about one fixpence the piece: the two laft were not printed out when I come away, bot now I hope they are. Continue to write at length your forranre occurrents. I was ever feared for a revolt in France, so greivous hes that government been these manie years. If Caflilion be routed, and Lorrain played the fals 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 affittance given to him from this. If the Swedds and confederats can keep the fields till the next Spring, it is lyke the Britifli Army may appear in Germany for some better purpofe than litherto.

I wish how you could finde a way to get your great men sett on a profitable studie: a pitie that Salmasius, Vossius, and Heinfius should so trifle their dayes about toys; I think Dr. Rivett, if he laid it to heart, could move the Prince and State, or else the \textit{Curatores Academiae}, or the provinciall Synods, or all of them, to interceed, fo farr as their preffing requent or authoritie or rewards could goe, to have these great spirits sett on work on these
things which are most profitable for the Reformed Churches, espe-
cially to vindicate antiquitie from the hands of Baronius and other 
Papists; but not in such a longfome, fruiitelfs, humaniftick way as 
Cafaubon and Montague hes begun; for this way is infinite, and 
one Centurie by all three shall not be paft through till they die. 
A pitie of pities that there should be fo little witt, zeale, or autho-
rifie in all these lands as to gett use made of all these treasures 
God hes given them. Sett your minde to fee what ye can doe to 
help it. I wifh Salmafius be no worfe employed than on the Pope 
against Petavius: Yet it were better to contemne opposites, and 
fett himfelf to delyver his own minde. Yow know that by fettting 
Stapleton, Durie, and others on Whittaker,(3) they diverted that 
man from farr better work; but I must end. The Lord be with 
yow and your wife.

Kilwinning, 15th July [1641.] R. Baillie.
Thurfday.

[To Mr. William Spang.]

Cousin,

Since your laft, the firft of Auguft, 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 Pafley to be ane 
flight man, without letters or good manners. All he fayes of 
his Irifh perfecutiones and testimonies from us, feem to be allutter-
lie falfe.

The carriage of our Assemblie was thus. Since the Assemblie 
of Aberdeen [1640] there was a continuall heart-burning betwixt 
the favourers of Mr. Harie Guthrie and Leckie; as in my dif-
courfe of that Assemblie yow may fee, I foretold. As I came from 
London through Edinburgh, I fand the mifunderftanding 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,

(3) William Whitaker, D.D. an eminent English Divine, who distinguished 
himself by his Controversial Writings. He died in 1595.
peremptor, not only to accuse Mr. Harie 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 abusers of privie meetings, and other things falfelie fathered on them. On the other part, Mr. Harie, and many with him, were no leffe resolute to defend all that paffed in Aberdeen, and to have sharp cenfurs concluded in the nixt Assembleie against all that were for novations, not approven by our Church. With those mindes went too many to St. Andrewes, as it had been a place of combate. Our only remedie against 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 Assembleie. 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 Southerk, by Traquair's advyce, who yet had too great hand in affaires; but Mr. Henderfone defervert the King from that man, towards whom the countrey had fo evill ane eye. For what speciall respeets Weems fell to be nixt, I doe not know; however the modestie and simplicitie of the man made him difpleasing to none.

When we came to St. Andrewes, our firft perplexitie was about a Moderator. Mr. Henderson was passionatelic defired in fo hard a tyme; but there was [no] certaintie of his presence. Mr. Harrie Rollock, on whom the voyces would have fallen nixt, had of purpofe abfentied himself. The refte who were mett were eftimamed fo far ingaged to the queftion to be debaited: judge what ftraite then of men was there, when the lyke of me, who to this day had declyned to moderate a Presbyterie, was fhoered to be leeted for to moderate a Generall Assembleie. Yet, after much secret advyfement with his Grace the Commiffioner, on Mononday, with much adoe, that difficultie was overcome.

On Tuesday, the 20th, the firft day of the Assembleie, the laft moderator, Mr. Andrew Ramfay, preached the 122d Pfalme. According to his way, he went over it all. His much kything of lecture was not to all favourie; but his falling flatt on all the particular queftions in hand, eagerlie enough, as if our Kirk were prefentlie burning with fchifme, 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 passionateli vindicating the credit of religious people from unjust flanders, and urgeing the repentance of fuch 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 publickly, as contradictorious to Mr. Andrew [Ramfay.] The firft day of our Assemblies is appointed for fasting and humiliation. Of this disposition there was not fo much this day among us as needed. After sermons we mett in the hall of the Old Colledge. Mr. Andrew did pray; the commiffions receaved by Mr. Archibald [Johnfoune]; many of the commiffioners were members of parliament; diverfe others alfo, upon the certain expectation of the Assemblies's translation to Edinburgh, had not come over. His Grace's commiffion in Latine was read; one claufe thereof importing the Assemblies's translation, at the Commiffioner's advyce, was demurred on by the Clerk, as intrinshing on the Assemblies's liberties; yet it was not publickly questioned. A letter from his Majeftie to the Assemblies, fo full of grace and favour as we could have withed, was read: the copie you have at (A). The anfwering of it was laid on Mr. David Lindefay of Belhelvie. His draught in the end of Edinburgh Assemblies was read; bot it was fo long and luxuriant, that our Mr. Henderfone was causd to make that short, decifed, and nervous anfwer you have at (B).

The Parliament had fent over a Commiffioner to us, one from ilk Eflate, Caifills, Auldbar, Provoft of Dysart, intreating, without any prescription, that, in regard many of them were members of the Assemblies, [but] could not, without detriment to the publick, attend at St. Andrewes, we would be pleased to translate the Assemblies to Edinburgh; alfo that we would be pleased to enter in no weightie action, especiallie in choosing a Moderator, wherein they defiryed to have voyce, before we returned to Edinburgh. In the translation there was no difficultie, bot in the delay to choofe a Moderator the difficultie was hudge. The moft thought the Assemblies could not be constitute, and was fo incapablie to perform any act, let be fo great a one as to move a translation, before a Moderator was chofen. Some leading men, who would have had the moderation to themselves, or to thefe who did favour their intentions, did urge a prefent elelction. The matter was remitted to the nixt feffion; wherein, to our great comfort, it was determined with farr greater eafe 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 carnelnefs of the Commiffioners from the Parliament, the Clerk finding in the Register some fuch old practick, the certain hopes of Mr. Henderfone's near return, his Grace permitting the matter to our own option, (whileas before fome about him had made him declare oft, that that delay would legallie evacuate his commiffion,) Mr. David Dagleifh overcoming in boldnefs his good friend Mr. Harie Guthrie, and ftrougli reafoning the fufficient formalitie of continewing, by voyces, the old Moderator, ad hunc alium, to tranfferre, and to choyfe a new Moderator in the beginning of the tranflated Aflembleie, by pluralitie of voyces it was clearlie caried. We took that for a certain preface of God's affiftance in all fubfequent purpoifes.

The nift Seflion was appointed to be holden at Edinburgh, the 27th. No more bot a fupplication of D. Houy (1) read, wherein he compleaned, that after his long fervice 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 fon, whiles to Dr. Panter, and to others; fo that no compt could be made by him of much money. Mr. Samuel Rutherfoord, I think, caufed complean of this to the Committee of Eftates when we were at London. They fent over Newton and William Rigg (2) with a commiffion, 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 dimiffion was taken, refferving fyve hundreth merks a year to him for his entertainment. When his fupplication came to be confidered in Edinburgh, his good friend Mr. Henderfone guided it fo, that, with one great deall of commendation to the old man, large as great, I am sure, as he ever deferved, it was voyced, that his dimiffion fhould be rendered to him; that, according to the acts of our old Aflembleies anent failed minifters or profeffors, he fhould 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. Gillespie come home. That week was spent in privie consultations for accommodating the feared differences. Argyle and Caffills 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 discharge of all privie meetings, bot thofe 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 occafion of that Act, sett down at length to you in my letters. Then it was at laft agreed, that Aberdeen Acts should be altogether miflyked; that a draught should be made for ordering these meetings now in question. The paper drawne up by Mr. Henderfone the 10th of June, which pleased all weell that I had conferred with, bot miflyked [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 miflyke them; they alleadged the permitting of any to meet, in the finall left number, was ane eftablifhing by ane act the thing itself. Many meetings there was for little purspe. It was appointed, that Mr. Dickfone and Mr. Blair should meet with Mr. Henderfone and Mr. William Colvin, and sett down their mindes. Their draught was long, and too generall. It was laid again on Mr. David Dickfone, with whom he pleased, to wryte down his minde. That forme also did not pleafe. At laft Mr. Henderfone aflayed it. His modell lyked us beft; yet Mr. David Calderwoodftar ted mightilie at it. We defyred Mr. David to dyte what he pleased: notwithstanding we were all refrefhed with a cer-taine hope of a solid agreement; for Mr. David Dickfone, Mr. Blair, and the reft who were suspected 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 such as, omitting Glory to the Father, Kneeling in the pulpit, discountenancing read prayers, and the reft. They gave answer to satisfaction, that betwixt us and them there was no discrepancy 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 blessings to this whole land, which every where began to be fashed with idle toyes and scruples.

On Tuesday, the 27th of July, we met before noon in the Grayfriers. After prayer, Mr. Andrew Fairfoull required that his commission might be given to Mr. Henderfone, in regard that the Prefbytric had chosen Mr. Andrew Ramfay, Mr. Harie Rollock, and Mr. Alexander Henderfone if he should be present, and him only in case of Mr. Henderfone's absence; so, albeit Mr. John Adamfome had, at his own hand, put in his own name in the commission, at the first meeting in St. Andrewes, and he had voyced there as commissioner, yet Mr. Henderfone being now present, he required to be free of the burden, which he had undertaken only in case of his absence. While the matter is going to voyceing, Mr. David Calderwood, albeit no commissioner, did reason very passionatlie, that Mr. Henderfone was incapable of a commission; in this Mr. Henderfone did second him: always, when it came to voyceing, Mr. Henderfone's commission was unanimouslie receaved. The next question was, about the lите for a new Moderator. The old fashion was, that the former Moderator lited whom he would, and the Assembleie added whom they pleased: Ane overture had past att Aberdeen, that every Provincial Synod shoulde have one of their number to 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 presséd much to have it so; but it was found unreasonalbe; and that overture, not being an act, and not being booked, was rejected. Yet they got Belhelvie eiked to the lite which Mr. Andrew [Ramfay] gave in. Mr. Henderfone declined earnealbe the burden of Moderation: always the moost of the votes fell on him. The noblemen were for Mr. Harie Rollock, fome for Bonner, fome for Belhelvie, none at all for Adamfone, Daglieih, 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 afternoon, hoping the Assembleie would be pleased to make bot one feffion also, and that in the forenoon, that so the Commisioners might gett both Assembleie 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
Houfe. He did prefiie 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 houfe, will make us, ere long, follow their good example. He read also a liff of names for the committees of Bills and Reports. Now for the Overtures: till thefe of Aberdeen were considered, verie hardlie would he permitt any to be added to thefe of his own number: for affeffors to himselfe, he fweet, he would advertife privilie thefe whom moft 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 selfhifted of that burden, as in all this Affèmblie 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 almoft a null, an evill constituite meeting, for being tranflated without a Moderator permanent, and choosing of him for Moderator who had no commiffion. Mr. Henderfone dealt verie patientlie, and refeéftfullie with him: at laft his Grace commanded him to silence.

The Moderator did caufe read fome letters, which was given him in England for the Affèmblie. The firt was from a number of our gracious brethren of the miniftrie at London and about it, congratulating our happie proceeding, fhewing their hopes to gett our discipline eftablifhed there, telling that fome of their brethren, who were for Independencie of congregations, were great hinderance to that deffine; also that they did give out that fome of the moft eminent men in the miniftrie with us, inclined their way. The men they named be (Mr. Henderfone told us) were Mr. David Dickfone, and Mr. Andrew Cant; but none in all the Affèmblie were more againft Independancie than thefe two. The matters, after fome dayes, were voyced; all in one voice rejected that conclusion, (6) as contrare direéftlie to our Covenant; and appointed Mr. Henderfone to wryte a courteous answer to our Inglis brethren; which he did verie accurateli: if I can, yow shal have the copie thereof. The nift was from one Mr. Durie, for affiftance to his Negotiation of peace among Protestants. Whill fome were beginning to fay somewhat to the man’s prejudice, I excufed 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. Gillepsie, and me, to frame an answer. 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 Affemblie were taken from him. It was granted he should have all except some of his sermons, whereon a part of his proceffe was grounded. A fourth was from Mr. John Guthrie, Bishop of Murray, supplicating that his place, for a little tyme more, might be keepe for him. It was rejected as unreasoneable, and his Presbytrie 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 measure of satisfaction and tryall, to be approven by the Generall Affemblie. The Moderator did fall on a notable motion, of drawing up a Confeffion of Faith, a Catechisme, a Directorie for all the parts of the publick worship, and a Platforme of Government, wherein possible 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 Affemblie; so we putt off that feffion with generall discourse, especiallie upon the matter of translation, which had most troubled us in bygone Synods, and was lyke to doe so in this also. Ane Committee was appointed to find out overtures for that difficult matter. Leift I should be prejudge, I got on it my Lord Eglintoun and Mr. Robert Barclay. Glafgow also, by their importunitie, gott on Dr. Strang and Mr. David Dickfone. The Presbyterie 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 ufed no other wayes by the Affemblie, nor if he had been a prime commissioner. This Committee did nothing for a day or two, and that, it was publiklie complained, becaufe 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 Assemblie. 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. Also he shew the expediencie of calling home one Mr. Thomas Young(7) from England, the author of Dies Dominica, and of the Synodymnias [Smeodymnus] for the moft part; and of Mr. Colvin from Sedan, to whose commendation he spake 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 consider the state of our farre remote Churches of the Isles, of Lochquaber, of Orknay, and Shetland. Some present course was taken for Lochquaber, and it was laid on Mr. Robert Blair and Mr. Andrew Affleit [Affleck], to goe in the spring and vifit Arran and sone near Isles. There was a Committee appoint- ed to consider the advancement of the weell of Colledges and Schools. All their consultations 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 removeing of monu- ments of superftition, from diverfe parts of the countrie, yet re- maining, was recommended to the Prefbytries. Mr. John Guthrie, Bifhop of Murray, went out of the tolbooth, to the Assemblie, 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 Ministers of Edinburgh, was onlie a fliff wrangling about the formalitie of the proceflé of his excommu- nication. He went in another supplication thereafter for the fame end, bot was neglecred; for he and others of thofe men, feems to be obdured in perversnes: 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 affectation for his early tutor, his Fourth Elegy "Ad Thomam Junium præceptorem 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 shall be pre-
feryved.

Saturday 31ft, onlie particular businefs was handled, not worth the wryting. Aberdeen, in their commiffion from the Generall Aflèmblie, had mett and decreed Mr. George Gillefpie, then at London, for their towne-minifter, and Mr. Edward Wright for their divinitie-profeflor, in Marifhall Colledge. Mr. George's caufe came then to be handled. His Grace (8) 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 content. Mr. George fpake weell for himself; that he nor his people were never advertifed till the decreet was paft, and diverfe other things. The difpute was long and hott: it was remitted to the nixt feffion. Argyle fpake of the regrate manie minifters made [refpe6ting the] under payment of their stipends, defired the Aflèmblie to find overtures for re-
mead, and promifed the Parliament would confider what should be proponed.

On Sunday afternoone, before the commiffioners, I heard Mr. Blair teach very gravelie for peace, and abfifence from all fuch meetings, as in former tymes had been very profitable, bot now were unexpedient, unlawfull, and fchifmaticall. 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 paffages of the Aflèmblie, private and publick, he did contribute as much to the pacifing 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 depofed by the blind Bifhop of Galloway, for diverfe quarrells. The miniftrie of Edinburgh had obtained to him a church in the Prefbytrie of Pee-
bles. The man had alwayes been of a verie contentious humour. They fay he had striken a man, whereof he died. However his Prefbytrie, for his perverfinefs and contentions, had fufpended him. He had appealed to the Generall Aflèmblie. The committee, on Saturday, had agreed them, and remitted him to the Prefbytrie. On Sunday, after both fermons in Leith, he told Mr. James Power that he was difpleafed with that accord, and would com-

(8) 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. 
Immediatelie goinge to eafe himself among the stuffe, a young man 
to whom the stuffe belonged, fell upon him with evill language, 
taking up his cloake and gloves: after some mutuell jarring, when 
he had gotten his cloak and gloves again, he fell in some quarreling 
with the young man, and with his whinger stroke him, where-
of prefentlie he died. He wrote a pitifull supplication to the Af-
memblie, 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; but we think the Constable will 
caufe execute him; and so much the more, because he a minifter, 
on the Sabboth-day, had committed that villanie in the tyme of 
the Affemblie and Parliament.

Mononday, the 2d of August, the Parliament flat not, so wee 
had two feffions. The forenoon was taken up with the businesfs 
of Aberdeen. Mr. Andrew Cant laid out Aberdeen's necessities 
patheticklie; Mr. David Lindfay and Proveft Leslie, shew their 
proceeding in Mr. Gillefpie's elecHon to have been punctuallie 
according to the words of the commiffion. Notwithstanding the 
Moderator, defyreing Mr. George's flay still in Fyfe for the ufe of 
St. Andrewes, did fo flate the question, for all the Northlandmen 
could fay to the contrare, and notwithstanding also of Argyle's 
evident feconding them, his abode at Weems was carried by plural-
itie of voyces. Yea, when they prefled Mr. Edward Wright's 
transportation, albeit all that favoured Mr. David Dickfone did 
voyce for them, yet they loft that caufe also; in regard [it was] 
manifeft, that before the meeting of that committee Mr. Edward 
was admitted to the church of Glafgow, and before his citation to 
come to that committee, or his knowledge of Aberdeen's intention, 
he was agreed with Glafgow, and had obtained his difmiffion from 
the Prefbytrie of Stirling. Mr. Robert Ramfay had fett the town 
of Glafgow on that man, whereof now I fufpeé 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 wish they come not to a shamefull 
hearing, and that quicklie, on the occasion of Mr. Hew Blair's 
elecHon to that toun's miniftrie. Sir John Scot's petition, to have 
a description of our Shyredomes, by some in everie Prefbytrie, to 
be fett before the mappes (9) yow have in hand, is granted.

(9) 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, minister at [Carrioden,] being transported by the Provincial Synod of Louthian to the burrough of Lithgow, had appealed to the Generall Assemblie. His appeal was voyced null. This preparative made Glasgnow too eager to call my cause; but they found the cause manie ways unlyke. At Aberdean there had been much adoe for planting of Innernesse. The Laird of Streichan, patron, had presented Mr. James Anan. More than the two part of the parish speaking Irish, obtained Mr. Murdoch Mackainze, a bold weell-spoken man, to be conjoinned to ane equall stipend and burden. This equalitie Mr. Murdoch urged and refused to preach to the Irish congregation but day about, so everie other Sunday they fang dumb. After some dayes travell, it was thus agreed, that a third man should be gotten to those who had never more nor one before, to preach in Irish upon fuye hundredeth marks, the Towne to pay three, the two ministers each one. We being agreed privatlie, the Moderator thought it tyme to move the queftion about Meetings, and regrated the finifer rumors thereanent. 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 Wedneday he read it once, twyce, thrice. Many required delay to voyce till to-morrow, and a copie of the wryte. All delay was flatlie refused; bot anie man was permitted to say what he would, if it were to ten at night. Mr. David Calderwood was imperitent still in his opposition. Mr. Harie Guthrie, and these who were in this poynt, were feared should 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 needleſfe scruples, if that paper had run a-showing through the city, before it had been concluded, made the Moderator peremptorilie refue that which now is every day practised in our Parliament, and I think were more necessarie to be practised in our Assemblie, except in some few extraordinar cafes. The paper that day was voyced, and unanimouslie attented unto; yet fundrie voyced it too generall and insufficient.

Tuesday, the 3d of Auguft, was taken up by a very factious
question of your good friend Sir John Scot. He had promished to Mr. Mungo Law, second minister at Dyfart, in the presbytery of Kirkaldie, a presentation to the Kirk of Kilrinnie, in the presbytery of St. Andrewes. The Presbytery of St. Andrewes not very curious to crave his transportation, Sir John, in the Provinciaill of Fyfe, urges his transportation. In the voyceing, not only the whole Presbytery of Kirkaldie gets voyces, but some borrowes two rulingelders gets voyce. Upon this, and some other informalities, Sir John did appear to the Generall Assembleie. By strong solicitation, by a world of mirrie tales in the face of the Assembleie, he gets 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 durst 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 disgrace than another contentment. Overtures for planting of univercities, burrows, schools, were read; also a letter of the King's to the Assembleie, in favour of Panmure, requyreing the Minister of Monikey to be transported [to] some other church of his Majesties presentation: the desyre, with the man's own confent, was granted.

Wednesfday, the 4th: Mr. William Bennet was ordained, according to the Act of Aberdeen, to transport to Edinburgh. Mr. John Colines, after long opposition of the presbytery and parochine, was ordained to be receaved to the church of Campfie. His presentation to the tack of Chancellor of the Chapter, wherein also he was obliedged to ratifie the patron's tack, was ordained to be rectified. Mr. Andrew Logie, depoed at Aberdeen according to the Provinciaill [Synod's] appointment, was restored to his owne kirk: Sir Alexander Abercrumbie of Birkenboug fathed the Assembleie much, that he [Logie] might be obliedged to receave a new presentation, that a new edictum might be served, and so, that the Assembleie's act of reponing him to his own church should be evacuat; but his motion being found to be from particular respects, it was misregarded.

Thursday, the 5th: Aberdeen did suppacat for Mr. Andrew [Honeyman's] transportation to their Colledge. Arthure Arskine, 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 Arskine, a weell deferving gentleman in our caufe, when he began to plead, was so choaked with tears, that he became silent, and removed. This accident
made the Assemblie so compassionat towards him, that, by pluralitie of voyces, he obtained his poynpt. Thofe three rebuts in end weell near efferat Aberdeene: by way of indignation they crave leave to have back their depofed Doctors; yet they gave in the fourth bill for Mr. John Osall [Ofwald] of Penketland. His mißfortoun was to be laft, els he had better reafons of flay than any of the former three; yet to pleafe Aberdeen, all he could say was mißregarded; and he, full fore againft his heart, was ordained to flitt.

Here came in my long-delayed action. After much altercation betwixt the passionat parties, and some calme dispute betwixt the Principall and me, by the favour of the Moderator, I got the invi- dious queftion eschewed anent my appeal, and the flate made, Tranfport, or Abide; when, after I had read the Reafons (D.) I here fend yow, there was not twentie voices of the whole for my tranfportation. I did foresee that this favour may readilie tranfport me, ere it be long, to places where my life will be much more miserable 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 meanes to keep me with my people. I took it to have been a finne to have negleçted 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 extinguished; yet even here also God was favourable to us. That matter was referred to us the Moderator's Asfeffors. We laboured fo into it fonie nights, that at laft we gott the parties agreed, both in a wryte, read to the Assemblie, under their hands, declareing their good opinions each of other: for Leckie did truelie witnes, that he knew no blame to Mr. Harie, neither in doctrine nor lyffe; and Mr. Harie testified, 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 desirous to have the Assemblie at an end, it was appointed to keep her feffions twice in the day, and to dispence with the abfence of fo manie of our Parliamentarie members as could not be present in the afternoon with us. The reft of that day, and much alfo of posterior feffions, was mißpent with the altercation of that bardifh man Mr. David Dagleill, and the young Conffable of Dun-die. He had obtained from his father to Mr. David a preffentation
to the perfonage of Dundie. The cuftome was, that of all the tithes, the Conftable payed bot to the church five hundred pound, the Toune gave to the parfon’s fuflpie 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 transport from Cowper till the Conftable feeure him in a fufficient stipend. The Aflemblie of Aberdeen ordains Mr. David to transport with diligence, and refers the quefion of stipend to the decision of the Committee of Eftates. The Conftable supplicats the Aflemblie to move Mr. David either to accept the charge, or give back the prefeftation. This Mr. David peremptorily refufed, intending by his prefeftation to erect a stipend to that place, and then readilie to leave it, if all doe not imbauce him. Mr. David’s strang (1) replyes to the Moderator would have been taken in worfe part, if the Conftable’s naughtinefs, in proclaiming, of the whole perfonage four or fyve chalders of victuall was too much for him to pay to the church’s ufe, had not offended us all. My Lord Fleeming’s petifion, 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 deserved fo weell of our Church, was fo long neglectl: He was recommended to the firft commodious vacant roome. Lykelie he shall not be in hafte provided (2): the man is fixtie-fix years; his utterance is unpleafant; his carriage about the meetings in this Aflemblie, and before, hes made him lefs confiderable to diverfe of his former benefactors. The cafe also [of] Mr. James Fairley, late Bifhop of Argyle, was much regraited; that he having given fo long agoe all fatification, that yet no place could be gotten to him(3) to deliver him from that extremitie 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 refit, one of Anna Inglith, complaining, that her husband, young Aiket Cunninghame, having receaved above fortie thoufand merks in portion with her, had deferted her, after frequent tormenting her with ftroakes and hunger, he deboh-

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

(2) The transportation of John Oswald to Aberdeen (see the previous page) made room at Pencaitland for the venerable Historian of our Church in his declining 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 damsel's father had left her to be married to Mr. H. Montgomery of Hasilhead, his wife's near cousin. After, his wife falls in a conceit with Allan Lockhart, and gives herself to him; and, by his persuasion, makes her daughter, when scarce twelve years, without proclamation, to be married to his cousin Aiket. For her reward, her husband Allan leaves her to pay ten thousand merks of his debt, which made her a poor vexed widow, and her success, as you heard. Wee were fazed with a bill of young Savill, a kyne gentleman, who required, that ane Littetour, (1) whom the patron Lindores had thruf on his church, shoulde be transportit. The gentleman, for the weel deferving of his house, was much pitied; yet, seeing the young man was admitted, and the most of the paroch did accept him, it could not be helped, till the young man found commoditie to transport, which was not like to be sudden. The Prebbyterie of Wigtoun compleaned of their molestation by one Magie, a notar, a criminous fellow, too much supported by that good man the Earl of Galloway. This bill being referred to the Parliament, they enjoyed the Earl of Galloway to goe home without delay, and fetch in that knave to suffer justice. There was no remead; his Lordship behoved to goe away to that unpleasant service. One Thomas Frazer in the Tolbooth, being condemned to die for murther, did supplication to us to be relaxed, before his death, from the sentence of excommunication: some was sent to visit him. His true repentance being reported, Mr. Andrew Cant was ordained, on the Sabbath, after his sermon in the great church, to relax him. On Monday he died penitent. Dr. Scrogie of Aberdeen supplication 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 supplication, to enter in our Covenant, was referred to the Provinciall [Synod] of the Merse.

Saturday the 7th: When Mr. David Dickfone, in the question of my transportation, had declared his intention to have as much help from me, in professing in the Colledge, as he gave by his ministrion to the towne, the Moderator, and others there then, not generalie lyking the mixing these two offices, everie one whereof required a whole man, Mr. David, left anie rub or marre 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 leafume for him to exercife so much of the miniftrie there as he fand himfelf able without detriment to his profeffion; the Principall not being fore-acquaint with that bill, except[ed] somewhat for the preparative, wherewith Mr. David was not weell pleased. It was moved, that the declarations which the Earle of Traquair had alleadged he had made in the Asfemblie, but verie fallifie, and had obtained to be registrate in the books of Councill, fhould be torne out and cancelled. This was referred to the Parliament; who, after the consideration of the truth of our alleadgance, fufficientlie verified by manie witneffes, did caufe rent out of the Councill-books, according as we required, thefe full [falfe?] declarations. Two motions came in here, which was like to procure us great fafhrie; yet, both by God's help, were brought to a peaceable conclusion.

The Parliament fent in to us the Earle of Louthian, one from the Barrons, [and] one from the Burrowes, requireing 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 profeffed, the other night in his examination before the Committee, that however that band was burnt, yet all the subferyvers were yet by oath obliedged to the matter of it; also they read a paper in our audience, written by Montrofe's hand, after the burning of the Band, full of vaine... (3) humanities, magnifieing to the fkyes his own courfes, and de-bafeing to the hells his opposites. Here great wifdome was requi-fite. It was remitted firft to the afternoon, and then till Mononday. 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, defyrefing our good opinion of him, offering to anfwer all we could lay to his charge, to our full satisfactory. 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 pleased to make it publiff; that which was alleadged of his words in the Committee was not

(3) 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 "only," 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 subfcryvers with him; that he had spoken of their obligation...onlie in relation to his accusation. Balmerinoch, moderator of that Committee, spake verie pathetick-
lie for the truth of Montrofe's words. The Assemblie paffed by
what concerned Montrofe, or any particular person; and, in an-
swer to the Parliament's question, a Committee appointed for that
end, drew up that wyse answer, penned by the Moderator, as yow
have it, (E.) making that Band to be unlawfull, and not obligatorie
of anie; making those that will not subfcryve this confenurable,
and paffing in those who subfcryves, what is bygane and weell
buried by the Committee of Parliament. The banders that were
present, Kinghorne, Seaforth, Lour, did presentlie subfcryve. Mr.
Blair and Mr. Rollock was sent up to Montrofe to acquaint him
with that which was paffed. He spake to them with a great deal of
respect to the Assemblie, feemed to infinuate his willingnes to
subfcryve what the Moderator and Clerk would require. Some
made the motion, which the Moderator did much applaud, that
as some from the Parliament had been verie happie instruments to
take some differences away, which were lyke to aryse in the
Assemblie; so it were meet to offer to the Parliament the labours
of anie they thought meet in the Assemblie, to help to remove
what difference was betwixt the members of Parliament. This
motion was from zeall to peace, but not upon consideration of pre-
fent circumftances; that the difference was not betwixt anie parti-
cular men, bot alleaged 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 carry our answer to the Parliament's queftion anent the
Band, were burdened with the forefaid overtures; the imperti-
nencie whereof the Parliament mifkent, and paft without ane
answer. All this paft on Monodday before noone.

The other motion, which on Saturday before noon perplext us,
was the Moderator's petition of libertie to transport from Edin-
burgh. At the beginning we took it bot for jelt; bot it proved
earnest. He affured us, his voyce was for no church of the
Towne; that continuallie he was [unhealthie] there, and not fo
anie where else; that to keep him there were to kill him; that in
the act of his transportation from Leuchars, there was ane expresse
claufè of libertie for him to transport when the publiek commotions
were settled, if he found that towne difagree with his health. The
Towne of Edinburgh was extream averfe; befyde the losse of that incomparable man, thought it a dangerous preparative to have anie of their minifters transported by Assemblies. They offered to buy him a house, with good air and yards; to preach onlie when he would; to goe freemie, if his health were not tollerable. They were fo much the more averfe, becaufe St. Andrewes fue at that tyme in a bill for his transportation to be Principal of their Colledge. He preffed his libertie, flowing his great earend out of England was [to obtain this relief] from the Assembly.(6) Some imputed his earnestnes to some malcontentment from some of the wyves speeches, the laft yere, of him [when consulting] for their weell, against their humour in innovating; but he affirmed health was the onlie ground of his petition, and if it should not fail, notwithstanding of his libertie, he should not remove; and if he did remove, he would not go to St. Andrewes, bot [to] some quiet little landward charge.

After noone there was a long debate for the Prefbytrie of Sky. Glafgow Assembly had annexed it to the Provinciall [Synod] of Argyle. Upon the petition of one, Edinburgh had annexed it to the Provinciall [Synod] of Ros. They had keepe both. Argyle pleaded for the renewing of the Act of Glafgow; Seaforth for the fealing of the Act of Edinburgh. After long debating of reafons, it was referred to the Commissioners of the Assembly to the Parliament to determine.

Mononday the 9th, before noone, befydes the things already said, the Prefbytrie of Newcastle wrote a letter of complaint, that there was a great neglect in manie Prefbytries to suppleie the armie with minifters: It was provyded for. The afternoone was our laft Session. The answers to the King's letter, to the English letters, to Durie's letter, were read. The drawing up the Directory, of [the] Catechifme, of the Confeflion, [and] of the Form of Government, that was laid on Mr. Alexander [Henderson]. His libertie was voyced, and granted,(7) to the no small miscontent of Edinburgh. Hence thanks were given to God for his fenible and moft speciall aflifiance; 23d Psalm fong. Nixt Assembly voyced [to be held] at St. Andrewes the 27th of July [1642.] Commissioners

(6) This sentence in the MS. reads, "showing his great earend (errand) out of England was troublesome this reason from the Assemble," which has no intelligible 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. Thofe of a province might serve by turnes; fo, after the first meeting, I got leave to goe home.

Yow have here an accompt of the Assemblie, fo farr as my weak memorie, without anie notes to count of, can furnish. What I fhall hear of the Parliament, of Montrofe's proceffe, of the King's proceedings, who came here, to our great joy, on Saturday the 14th, yow fhall shortlie receive. What information I got from London, yow have here inclofed; the evill illegible wryte [of] Sir Thomas Difhintoun contains a journall of that Parliament for fome weeks.

Your Confine to serve yow 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 particularie, crave them at other hands; for the prefent, take thofe from me. A fumme of the Clerk's minutes, and other papers and conferences, gave me information.

On the 15th of July, the day agreed upon in our treatie at London for the fitting of our Parliament, the Nobilitie in a reaonable number, the Commissiioners of fhyres and burrows fo full as ordinarie, mett in the New Parliament Houfe, weell prepared and hung, without ryding or robes. The firft action, after prayer to God, was the election of my Lord Burghlie to be Prefes. The Committee of Parliament had fent long apace for fome of the Commissiioners at Court. Dumfermling and Loudoun, at their parting, had receaved letters and instructions from his Majeftie. The letter was one earnell defyre of fome farther prorogation: you have the copie of it at (G.) The instructions had fome demands, that the Parliament would be content of the article in the Treatie concerning the election of the Officers of State, as he had exprefTed it; that they would accept of Traquair's submission, the double whereof yow have at (H.) together with Traquair's earnell defyre to be triedy of thofe things Walter Stewart had deponed againft him: His Majeftie demanded also to passe from all that were cited to the
Parliament, unless some crymes should be proven against them; in speeciall, that the keepers of the Castles of Edinburgh [and] Dumbarton might be restored to their dignitie and late estates; 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 Treatie, 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 sattisfacon, it was promis'd, till the 17th of August, they should paufe no definitive sentence on anie matter of weight, unless necessary contrained them, onlie they would agitate and prepare matters. Traquair's submiffion they did reject: to the demand, they thought meet to fufpend a particular answr till it were given to his Majeftie in perfon, or to his Commissioner; as for the Treatie, they gave doubles of it to everie Eftate for their tryall with diligence. These things they signified to his Majeftie in a letter, subferyved by some of everie Eftate, appointed for that end. When these things were voyced and concluded, my Lord Loudoun fhow, that the defyre of prorogation had come from the English Parliament; that his Majeftie had given him warrand to fhow his contentment for their fitting for prepareing of matters, if their affaires did permit no delay.

The 16th of July, a committee was appointed for ordering of the Houfe: Kinghorn, for the Conftable, his pupill, Marr, for the Marshall, his nephew, not yet come; Louthian and Almond for the noblemen; Power (5) 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 bot 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 flatlie denyed. Mr. Archibald Johnftoune required, that some of the Minifters, commiffioners of the Generall Aftemblie, might have place for hearing: that motion was rejected by Argyle with florome, as making way for churchmens voyces in Parliament. But the greateft difficultie, the young Noblemen they were very malecontent to be removed from thefe places

(5) According to Sir James Balfour, the Members of this Committee, for the Barons were (Forbes) Laird of Craigievar, 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 room for the affeétors: if any of the noblemen's fones got place, in this they were fo ftrait, that one day they refufed to voyce while [until] Angus, Montgomerie, and Maitland, were removed out of the Houfe. The young noblemen were fo much the more moved, as they forefaw the Barrons intentions, by this preparative, to queftion their places of dignifie, which both of late they had gotten; for before King James went to England, noblemen's eldest fones were bot Mafter, and their younger brethren pretended not to take places of Barrons. This unexpected motion was lyke much to increafe our divifions; which, without that occafion, were enough before. Yet, on all hazards, the Members of Parliament stood to their mark, refoIving to have all prejudicall novations reformed. The young noblemen, left they should have seemed to be for any other new or old faction, fatt still in their malcontentment, till the King, the fountaine of their honour, {hould come and decyde the question.

That day Erkine, Fleeming, and the Mafter of Naper, presented supplications, in name of Montrofe, Naper, and Keir, that they might have full audience in Parliament. This motion spent much tyme in diverse feffions. First, the supplications were refufed till fubfcrived by the parties fupplicant. After the fubfcription, it was granted they should all be heard, at what tyme the Parliament thought it convenient; but in the mean tyme they fand it reafonable to hear the information of the Committee, anent the caufes of their imprifonment, and all their proceedings with them. Thereafter they called Montrofe. When he came, he demanded what they had to fay to him? It was replied, that upon his oft and earnest fupplicating for a hearing, they had fent for him to give him a full audience. All he did fay was two or three fair gene-
ralls, that they would find him innocent of all that was furmifed against him. Having ended, they fent him back again to the Capfell, and heard read a verie odious lybell againft him; whereupon they voyced him to be cited to anfwer within fifteen dayes. Naper and Keir fpake, bot the fame purpofe, in generalls, of their innocencie, and confidence to anfwer fatifiactorie to all challenges. They defcended 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 proceffie,
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 comeared, defired to know what he was charged for, and offered to answere. He was remitted to the Parliament's beft conveniencie. Loudoun fpake for him, telling the King had defyred him to aflure the Parliament, that Sir Lewis had ever given him counfell of peace. Loudoun fo honeftlie and effectuallie did discharge himself of the King's commandment towards the Parlia-

ment, diverfe began to mifunderstand him, as if he had turned ane agent for the King: yea, this moft falfe fupicion did fo farr increafe with fome, and my Lord Dumfermling's earneftnes to be back to Court for his private affaires was fo great, that Loudoun had weell neer been shuffled of a commiffion to returne; which exceedingly had prejudged us in our common affaires; for the Englifh did deal with none of our Commmiffioners with that truft they dealt with Loudoun: also his moft ingenuous freedome ever with the King, kept him from that meafure of favor which a little complacencie might eafilie obtained. Yea, fo farr was that moft happie and gracious inftument grieved with the ungrate misconftructions of fome, that he petitioned the Parliament to be difcharged of his com-

miffion, to be exonered of his negociations bygone, if they found him faithfull. This made Argyle and friends, yea all, awake. They answered, that of his faithfullnes none did doubt; that to exonered him of his commiffion, they could not till the Treatie were clofe; that he behoved to returne with the Treatie when it was revifed, as after fome dayes he did, and he onlie. As for Dum-

fermling, Argyle obtained to him fome ten dayes, after that he alfho fhould be ten up with fome inftuctions for difbanding of the armie. It was appointed that fome of everie Eflate fhould goe to St. Andrewes, and intreat the Assemblie might transport to Edinburgh.

Saturday 17th: My Lord Weems prefented a commiffion from his Majeftie, to attend, in his place, the Generall Asemblie. He defyred a warrand from the Great Seal: it was granted. The reft of the day was fpent on the Treatie, and ordering the Houfe.

Mononday the 19th: Orders for the houfe were voyced and con-

cluded. A letter to the Commmiffioners with Loudoun, to deal with the Englifh Parliament, for fending home the Incendiaries, and to compleine of the compts of their fhyres, which were lyke to exhaust much of their brotherlie affilitance.
Tuesday 20th: The Articles of the Treatie were read. After-
oone, the letter to his Majestie, and the Commissioners with Lou-
doun, read and rubbertyed. Two of ilk flate ordained to receave
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 affeffors also
appointed to fitt with the Justice-Deputs in that caufe; Elphing-
stone, Edernie, Dumbartan, and Balcolmie, (') for the Lords of
Seffion.

Wednesday 21ft: 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 thefæ in the Caffle
approven or difproven.

Friday 23d: A proclamation voyced for dispenceing Sheriff and
Burrowe Courts to fitt till the laft of August. Afternoone, it was
voyced that the articleks produced by the Committee, were fuffi-
cent grounds of citeing the Earl of Montrofe, Lord Naper, Lairds
of Keir, Blackhall, and Captaine Walter Stewart. The advocates
which the Committees had appointed for the publick, Mr. Roger
Mowat, Alexander Perfone, James Baird, Thomas Nicolfone, to-
gether with Sir Thomas Nicolfone, and the King's Advocat, were
ordained to draw up the fummonds, and every poynft of the lybell
to perfue.

Saturday 24th: Mr. John Stewart condemned to die, by ane old
act of Parliament, he fupplicat the Parliament for mitigation of his
cenffure. It is true that none ever died for no tranfgression of
that act, and Balmerinoch being condemned for ane alleadged tran-
gression, was thought to have gotten great wrong, and the prepara-
tive may prove very dangerous. Whereupon fome of the Juftices
were vere fcrupulous to pronounce fentence. Yet Mr. John was
ftruyving 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 necelfare to make
ane example; fo much the more, as his friends, for whose 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 Balcomie,
one of the Lords of Seffion.
Judges, who would nor could not dispence with his execution. Blair, Cunninghamehead, [and] Caldwell, my neighbours, gave in supplications to have their wards and marriages past to themselvses gratis, seeing their fathers had died of sickness contracted in the publck service: their defyres were granted. Articles of the Treatie were put in mind, and by voyces concluded, and Instructions formed for the Commissioner carrier thereof. Diverse bills dailie of particular perfons were read and answered.

Tuesday 27th: The Prefes and Clerk ordained to subfcryve a warrand for two of everie flate to subfcryve the Treatie. Ordained, in the tyme of the Affemblie, the Parliament shoul have bot one feffion a day. In the afternoon, Montrofe, Keir, and Naper was heard, as was faid. Blackhall was voiced to have a chamber in the Caffle. The reafon of his long libertie was thought to be Argyle's favour, to whom, they fay, he made confeffion of fundrie of the plotters mysteries. Committees for the Incendiaries, and other purpoles, appointed.

Wednesday the 28th: Committees appointed for these in the Caffle, for the Incendiaries, for the Bills, for anfwering our Com- miffioners letters, anent difbanding of the armie, and delay of pay-ment of eighty thoufand pound. Montrofe petitioned to have Mr. John Gilmore, Mr. John Nifbitt, and Mr. Lues Stewart, appointed to plead for him. It was granted, that all advocates fhoule be appointed to confess who were required, except thife who were required to perfue; as for pleading, it was taken to farder advyfe-ment.

Thursday 29th: It was denied to Montrofe to meet for consulta- tion with Naper, Blackhall, and Keir; alfo it was appointed that they should anfwer to what interrogatories the Committee pleased to propone to them; though after their citation it was ordained, that all the members of Committees who were abfent, or came after the hours, shoule be fyned in the fame penalties which were ordained for abfcence or latenefs in the Parliament. Every Com- mittee had power to doe all things they thought necelfarie for their businesfs, provyding they determined nothing, bot onlie prepared matters to be reported in face of Parliament.

Friday 30th: Instructions to our Commissiooers at London, and the armie, and payment of eight[?{y} thousand pound, alfo for a commiffion to them to examine witneffes at London upon the Incendiaries, were twyce read and voyced, and my Lord Dum-fermling voyced to be their carrier. Stevin Boys warranted to take
up still the Castle rews [rents] for paying to Colonell Lindsay his two hundred merks a moneth, and to his fojours their payes. Colonell Lindsay was directed to admit my Lord Montrose’s friends who pleased to come to him; yet in such a number at once as he might command; also, that it was not needfull for him to be present with the advocates consultations. The Lieutenant-General was ordained to make proclamation, that all officers and fojours not members of Parliament, should repair to the armie with diligence.

Saturday 31st, Sunday 1st 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 should be canfed to delyver to him Mr. Thomas Lamb, for his slaughter committed in tyme of Parliament. After some dayes debate, the Town of Edinburgh, proteffing that no dammage hereby should befall their privileges, was made to delyver the fai'd criminall; especiallie since they acknowledged the slaughter to have been committed without the bounds of their jurifdiction. Fyntrie gave in a supplication in Montrofe’s name, to have the double of the depofitions of Mr. Robert Murray, Mr. John Robertsoun, Naper, Keir, Blackhall, Walter Stewart, and Mr. John [Stewart,] and [Col.] Cochrane, and of his owne. It was voyced, that Montrofe fhould fift answer to his interrogatorie, before he gott those depofitions. Monroe supplicat that monies at laft might be provided for his regiment. Justice-deputs petition for the Parliament’s advyce, in giving out their sentence 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, should make a quorum; alfo that the Committee of Bills should have power to subferyve summons for citation of parties and witneeffe. It was propooned by the Committee for the Incendiaries, and agreed to by the Eftates, that the Incendiaries, if they did not, at their first coming, preffent themselves to the Parliament, fhould be imprisoned by any Judge-ordinare; that who did conceall them, fhould be punifhed as contemners of the orders of Parliament; alfo that any member of Parliament fhould be used as a witneff, without prejudice of his voyce as a judge. Caffills, Durie, and Irwine, were ordained to interrogate Riccar-
toune. His supplication and processe before the Committee, and his intercepted letters, were read.

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 dayes, one Magie, a troublesome knave. Balmerinnoch complained, that Keir had refuced to answer some interrogatories of the Committee: The Estates ordained him to answer to all.

Tuesday the 10th: Loudoun's letter the sixth of this instant from London, and the rest of the Comissioners, except Rothes who then was dangerouslie 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 payed prefentlie, the rest of the eighty thousand pound to be given for the armies debts in the North-countreys; the finishing also the Treatie, except what concerned the trade, which behoved to be referred to a Committee. Argyle, Marihill, and Almond, were ordained to meet the King, with the best horse of Merse and the three Louthians, on Gladmure, neir Haddingtoun, on Friday. For to make all the members of Parliament fo faft to the Church and State as was possible, and to be without danger of temptation and Court corruption, ane oath, after long advyfement, was agreed upon, in manie things the fame 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 Zefter, 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. Lykeliie from them ane great eik will be putt to Traquair's processe, which before was long and odious aneugh. Possiblie I may fend yow the abreviat of it, if it were once clofed.

Wednesday the 11th: The Comissioners of the Generall Assemblie craved, that the declarations of the Earl of Traquair [which he] had caufed regifter in the Counfell-books, being contrare to his true declarations in the face of the Generall Assemblie, might be torn out of thefE regifter. After tryall this was granted; and, in face of Parliament, they were torne out, their double yow have at (KK.) Colonell Lindefay being sick, 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 Spotswood offering himself to the Parliament's tryall, yet a free ward in the partie (?) castle.

Thursday the 12th: It was agreed that a Preses 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.

Fryday 13th: Two of every estate, to wit, Argyle, Almond, Innes, (1) Kers, St. Andrewes, Aberdeen, together with the President and Clerk, were appointed to give the King information of all that had paff in this Session of Parliament. A proclamation ordained, that no Nobleman cited to the Parliament, should claim to fitt or voyage before he be tryed; and that no Nobleman who has been out of the countrey, though not cited, be permitted to fitt or voyage 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 defyed no continuation. The Estates thought meet to delay till the 24th day. To the committee for redressing of infolencies of the North, many supplications referred. Langtoun's bill to have Wigtoun discharged the office of Utherie, referred to a committee.

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

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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 House. He spake very graciously: The Preses, 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 enjoyned in the Treafie. He was intreated, according to the order of the Houfe, to fuufpend 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 Treafie: at laft he was intreated fo to doe. The quefion of the Ufherie depending, Langtoun too rafhlie takes a rod, and putts himself in poſsession of the place: The King herewith offended, commands to commit him for his prefumption. It was agreed on, at Argyle's motion, that when any matter of debate did occurr, two of everie state fhould be appointed to acquaint his Majeftie. This was done in the afternoo: 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 commit 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 Marqueis Hamilton, Mortoun, Roxburgh, Lanerick, and others, did subfcryve and fwear as before the King and Parliament. Burghlie the prefes required to dimift his place, as was conditioned to him, in consideration of his weaknes. His Majeftie fpake to his commendation: He ob- tained one act of exoneracion 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.

Thiffday [19th]: The Duke of Lennox, Earles Annandale and Dumfreis, did fwear the covenant, band, and oath, and fo took their places. The Commissioners at London their letter, for difbanding of the armie the 20th of this inftant, was read. After fome motion of the King, that they fhould march on a bridge of boats, over Tweed, it was concluded, with his Majeftie's content, they fhould come alongft Berwick bridge. No Parliament man was permitted to goe to the army but the Lieutenant-Generall. It was appoynt-
ed that everie Eftate {should} meet dailie from seven a'cloak to nyne; that the fession should be from nyne to twelve; that the committee should fitt from three to six; with power to call any member of Parliament before them, or other, and to remove them alfo; lykewayes, that any member of Parliament should be permitted to fitt in their owne place, in any committee. The Pro-
curator for the Church was ordained to preffent for the Church what he thought fitt. Sir John Hay offers himself, but supplicats he might be permitted, for his health, to keep his own houfe for some dayes. Dr. Arnot and Maclure are appointed to vifit him, and to report, on their oath.

Fryday 20th: His Majeftie prefented a manifesto, emitted by him in favours of the Palatine, there recommended by the Par-
liament of England to the Parliament of Scotland. It was read, and taken to consideration. The petifion of the Noblemens eldef fonnes, to fitt and hear in Parliament, [with] the overtures from the Generall Asfemblie for univerfities, churches, and fchooles, were lykewayes taken to adyfement, alfo overtures anent the Commiffariots.

Saturday 21ft: Montrofe's petifion to have [his] caufe difcuffed, was referred to his committee. After manic deliberations, fince he refufed to fubfcryve the fubmiffion, which the King did see, and not difallow, the cognition of his caufe was caft by till the Par-
liament had difpatched their more weightie affaires. Some of every Eftate was appointed to meet in the Duke of Lennox's chamber, for the Palatine's affair. They drew up a heartie content to the King's defyre, which the Parliament did inaët, their readinefs to aflift his Majeftie in a parlamentarie way, to regaine the Palatine when ever he requiryed. The controverfie betuixt the Mar-
ihall and Contable, alfo betuixt the Marifhall and Macers, were re-
ferred to Committees.

Tuesday the 24th: My Lord Loudoun asked inftument of his produifion, in face of Parliament, of ane exemplification of ane Aët of the English Parliament, wherein they ratifie the Treatie; alfo ane exemplification of ane other Aët, for fecuring the payment(2) of the two hundred and twentie-one thoufand pound fterling, the remainder of the brotherlie affiftance; both which Aëts were under the Great Seall of England. Alfo that he produced the copie of the Treatie, which at his laft going to England was delyveryed to him by the Parliament of Scotland. The Eftates 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 subscryved the instructions to the Generall for paying of the Armie.

**Wednesday, the 25th of August [1641.]**

**[To Mr. William Spang.]**

Cousine,

As in my last I promised, have now what comes to my mind of the course of our publick affairs 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 course 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 but onlie conjectured. My Lord Rothes was become a great courtier. 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 satissifieing of our needleflie irritat land, would be a soveraigne help of the continuall harthe rancounters of the English Parliament. Befydes, as it appeared afterward, about that tyme Walter Stewart's informations had come to the King, giving probable assuriances for convinceing of Hamiltoun and Argyle of capitall crymes, if the countenance of a present King might favour the accusers. Our Commisioners of the best nott, and the leaders of the English Parliament, by all meanes laboured to make the King's voyage difficult. Few did believe it possible; notwithstanding he was peremptor, and did goe. The first thing his Majestie aflowed in Parliament was, to touch without all delay with his scepter the thirty-nine acts of the former Seffion. To the moft the motion was very plausible. It was given out to be ane act of forward zeall to perform what was promisef in the Treatie;

(2) 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 espyed the danger of this action; who incontinent drew up first a short note, then a larger paper, demonstrating the great prejudice that the treatie of peace, and the libertie of the land, would receive, by such an unreasonable and undefyred ratification. You have the first at (A.), the next at (B.) These informed the weell the Parliament, that the King's offer was first shifted for a tyme, and then clean laid by as prejudiciall; and after much debate, the forme of publishing both these Acts, and of the whole Treatie, which yow did fee in print, was agreed upon. For awe safe proceeding in all things, before the King's coming, there was fundrie cautions enacted, whereof I writ to yow before, excellent orders for the House, which yet are not come to my hands, whereby the Officers of Estate for the most part, all the Lords of Seffion, all not members of Parliament, were excluded. Earles eldeft fones took this in verie evill part; seeing the Barrons, by that beginning intended to spoyle them of that honour, which latelie, by the King's favour, had been bestowed on them, and to reduce them to the old state of mere Masters: yet they resolved patience; for the leading young nobles were Angus, Montgomerie, Maitland, who, for fear of increaing divifion, were content to swallow down their grudge. It was much feared that the Burrowes should fall foule with the Barrons, who did claim everie one a full voyce; while as, in King James's dayes, the two Commissioners of a flyre had been in posfession of one onlie suffrage: (5) yet this difference was quietlie carried, for love of peace, in fo 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 dispute betuixt the King and Parliament was about the election of the Officers of State, of the Counfell, and of the Seffion. Upon this poynct much dispute had been in the treatie at London. We allledged it was our law, and old custome, to have all these elected by the advyce of Parliament; that the election of these 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 these to be a speciall part of his prerogative, a great sinew of his government, the long posfession of Kings in Scotland, the unquestionable right of the Kings in England. Much dispute in private and publick wes for this great matter. The equitie of our States demand yow may fee at

(5) In the MS. "one onlie suffering yet" &c.
yea, these good hands whilk were always readie to caft in write reasons for all that we craved, caufed differfe lykewayes other two papers; one, for the precedencie of noblemen according to their creation to flatem’en (E.); another, for exclusion of all flatem’en from voyce in Parliament, except the Chancellour (F.) When these things with great difficultie were obtained, there fell in for the nomination of the perfones to the places vaiking, questions unextricable. For the Counself and Seffion there was not much dispute; neither for the continuance of Roxburgh in the Privie Seall, or the Advocat, Thesfaurer-depute, or Justice-clerk: but all the question was for the Chancellour, the Thesfaurer, and Register. The King made no question to fatiffie that defyre, which was univerfall, about my Lord Loudoun’s advancement; it was resolved he fhou’d be Thesfaurer. Bot when his Majeftie found it more eafe to find abilities for the Thesfaurie, than the Chancerie, he changed, and declared Loudoun Chancellour, againft both his own mind and his friends. The objected difficultie of the fmallnes of that office fees, was prefentlie helped by the addition of ane penfion of ane thoufand pound fterling. For the other two offices arose unhappie debates. For their quiet fettleing, it was propounded, and long prefled, that the verie nomination fhou’d be by the advyce of the States; the reasons you may read at (G.) When little here could be gotten obtained, it was urged, that the States, in their advyce, for eschewing perfonall offences, might voyce by fheduls, as yow may fie at (H.); but this was counted a noveltie, and rejected. Fac¬tions began here evidentlie to appear. The moft and beft part of the Eftates were content to have Argyle Thesfaurer; but others efteeming that ane infupportable greatnes, did make the King peremptor in refuifing 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], whilk Argyle topes this nomination, as of man unmeet, becaufe of irreponfablenes 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 leffe lykeing had the States to him, in regard of fome contumelious words caft by him fome dayes before upon their preffident, Balmerinoch, who took them in verie evil part, and refuifed to proceed till Mortoun was forced to give him publick fatisfaction. The nixt on whom his Majeftie pitched was Almond. This motion was alfo rejected. Argyle had been before allwayes 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 oppose 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 these jarres whole moneths were mispent. It was generallie thought, that from these divisions the last plotts which brake out did either arise originallie, or were refumed, when for a while they had sleepe, and were laid afyde, when before his Majestie's coming, all what was alleaged, about Montrofe's intentionous to accufe Hamilton and Argyle in face of Parliament, was made grofflie odious; and by the beheading of Mr. John Stewart, the confest calumniator, the progreffe of these designes were choked. Behold, at this tyme, these fame, or the like counsells, are taken up againe. My Lord Kerr, in God's mercie, makes vent to them in his drunkennets before their maturitie. That very insolent youth, without all provocation, one day, after too much drink, will bot car-tell the Marqueis of Hamilton as a juglar with the King, and a traitor both to him and to his countrie. This message he sends to the Marqueis with his no less furious and drunken second, the Earle of Crauford. The Marqueis receaved the challenge in the chamber of preface; bot finding Crauford in drink, he answers modestlie, that gif to-morrow he would returne, he would give him ane anwer. This filled the whole Parliament with high indignation, that a member of theirs, of the Marqueis's qualitie, should be so abused, at his Majestie's elbow, by drunken foolies. 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 professed his manifold obligations: He excufed Crauford, as if he could doe no lesse than delver his commerad's message; bot with-all the wise man did make ufe of the injurie, and humblie required his Majestie's and the Parliament's declaration of their judgements in the matter itself. By this meanes he obtaines, by way of act of Parliament, both from the King and State unanimroufie, a declaration of his most loyall and faithfull service to that day; and my Lord Kerr is commanded to crave him pardon in these words,(J.) prescryved, and registret in the records of Parliament for Kerr his perpetuall infamie.

Sundrie wyfe men even then did begin to smell some worse thing; bot at once there brake out ane noyfe of one of the moft wicked and horrible plotts that hes been heard of, that putt us all for some dayes in a mightie fear. It was noised 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 delivered to the Earle of Crauford, waiting on with armed sojourns at the foot of the back stairs (6) in the garden, by them to be cast 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 weeke had been in the Road, for no other purpose that was known, that should have been the prigion out of the which they were to be brought before the Parliament to anfwer challenges of the highest treason; but if in their arresting, they should have made any re-fistance, Crauford and his sojourns were readie to have stabbed them. Cochrane was said to have given assurance for bringing his regiment from Muflelburgh to command the caufe of Edinburgh; and that night, with the assistance of manie friends in the toune, to have made faft, or killed, if need had been, so manie of the Parliament men as were fufpected might have been headie for the prisoners relief. Wayes were made to deliever the caftell to Montrose and his fellow-prisoners. The Kerrs, Humes, Johnftouns, and the moft of the borderers, were faid to be in readiness, and under warning, to march towards Edinburgh; the sojourns of Berwick alfo, who yet were not disbanded. These horrible designes breaking out, all the citie was in a flougt. Hamiltoun, Argyle, [and] Lanerick, took a short good night with the King, and fled to Kineill. The citizens kept a strong guard that night. Manie of the weel-affectted noblemen caufed watch their houfes. To-morrow the King came up in a coatch to the Parliament, and near fyve hundred of sojourns, and the worst affected men about him, with their armes in a minaceing way: they brake in to the midft, near hand of the Parliament's outer hall. The States were mightillie offended, and would not be pacified till Leflie 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 warrant, he did quicklie and diligentlie. Crauford, Cochrane, and others, were made faft. Great ado 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 profeft to deteft all such base treacheries as were fpoken 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 reflect on the Duke, Almond, or William Murray. A part of the confeffion of the accused you have at (L.) The Parliament in England fell in great feares at the fame tyme of fome mifchievous plots for the lyves of their pryme men: bot fo foone as our stories had come to their eares, they fett the trained bands about the doores to be their guard, and fent down instructions (M.) to their Commissioners to make known their deep refenting of our affaires. My Lord W. Howard, and fome four of the Lower Houfe, had been attending all this while in Edinburgh, for keeping good correffpondence betwixt the Nations and Parliaments; the King had refufed to fett his feall to their commiffion; 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 pleasure.

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 anfwcr for poynets of treafon: yet for his clearing, this paper was fent amongst 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 increafe their favour with the Parliament; fo whatever ruling 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 business both of the Incendiaries and plotters with Montrofe, and thofe who were cited to the Parliament. He had, the day he fled, brought all things verie near to that poynit 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 termes, to ane accurate tryall of all Incendiaries and plotters. To elude this oath, the accommodators us'd manie distinc-
tions. About it Mr. Hendersoun and Mr. Blair had been in con-
trare termes: In our meeting, who were commissioners for the
Church, Mr. Hendersoun spake for the passing of the tryall; I
contradicted him at some length. Mr. Archibald Johnston was
verie infirme, and dangerouslie 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 refusinge the King's
demand to fall on the Church; bot by ane overture cast in by
our good friend Mr. George Young, we gott the thorne put in the
right foot; for they had flated, by good Southsek's advyce, a
verie captious question to us, Whether, in conscience, the tryall
of the Incendiaries or plotters might by the Parliament be differ
with? If fo they did conceive the passing of that tryall was the
meane of the countrie's peace, &c. We required, before we could
give ane answer, our interrogators declaration, Whether they in
conscience, thought, that the passing of that tryall was a sure meane
of peace, without which it could not be had? Upon this, without
farder troubleing of us, the States resolued, as yow have in the
printed act, for taking the tryall, for their oathes fake, bot remit
ning the sentence to the King. A little before the King was like
to be verie peremptor; for he menaced to raise or leave the Par-
liament in confusion, if they would not yield to his demand of a
publick tryall of that plott was alleag'd 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 triffling Acts for the Church; bot that which we most in
tended verie hardlie could be obtained, our Commiission for fettle-
ing the churches and schooles. We had here few or no real
friends. The Advocate, (7) with his idle curiositie, put us to in-
nite difficulties. When we had gotten him somewhat satisfactory, then

(7) Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, Lord Advocate.
fundrie of all the Eflates carped for their own interest at everie other clause of it. All that we could obtaine was that forme yow 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-buffines must have been taken in the first place, upon pretence of the publick affaires, all that concerned us was rejected to June's flow feffion; yea, the churches of the West will not come in these two yeares yet to come. This I took for a great overflight in some from whom I expected, in wifdom towards their own standing, more favour towards the Church. We were at that tyme preaching some of us verie zealoufle against both the old and new Plotters; for which we gott thanks. One fermone I had in the Parliament House which was weell lyked. Good Mr. Henderfoun all this while was verie silent, and under mifconstrucion with the chief of his old friends, as if he had been too fpoyling with his Majestie in these dangerous occaions, and that in his fermones some sentences did fall from him prejudicial to the States proceedings. Bot surelie that man is most gracious: he was a good instrument, after much difficultie, to obtaine to the Univerfitie of Edinburgh both the Bifhoprick and Priorie. Glafgow was pitifullie croffed by the Duke [of Lennox], who muft 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 Galloway was given to the Colledge, ducceeing a stipend to its Cathedrall, and what will fall to the augmentation of Minifters. Aber-deen Univerfitie 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 disap-poynted. Richard Maxwell, to ingadge his hammermen to the King, got to their Meddlen Chappell, (8) the moft of Dunkell. The Deanrie of the Chappell, (9) fome four thoufand merks a-year, fell to Mr. Henderfoun. Argyle, Ifles, I fuspect to Argyle. Rolfe, Murray, and Caitlinefs, are divided to Northland gentlemen and minifters, who are bot of verie small deferving. The Bifhopricks were fo quicklie, and fo much against our mindes dilapidat, that we were near to have made a protestation in Parliament in the

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

(9) 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. Most adoe was for the Register. Hamiltonoun was bent to have it for Orbilton; but Durie, by William Murray, gott the King and the Duke to be passionatlie for him. The bodie of the welld affected Estates thought that place the just reward of Mr. Johnfloun's great and verie happie labours. Manie papers ran against Durie, amongst the rest this at (R.); notwithstanding, by Argyle his meanes moft, whereof manie wondered, Durie (1) gott the prize; and Mr. Archibald was made content with knighthood, and a place in the Seffion, 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 meanie tyme, after the English fashion, to serve it by a commission of five, two of Hamiltonon's friends, Glencairne and Lindefay, the Chancellor, and Argyle himself, with the Thesaurier-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 fend over in haffe 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 faved; but manie miserable 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 haffe all affaires; so in some eight dayes as great and precipitat haffe was usfed, as in three moneths before there had been needless protraction. A committee was appointed; the minute whereof, the 4th and 5th of November, fee at (S 2.) which in two or three nights did agree all things privatlie with the King, moft according to Argyle's minde; whereupon the number of malcontents in all estates grew against him; but without anie just cause; so our Parliament ended, after so long sitting, somewhat abruptlie. The King behooved 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 Scotish Parliament by the King in person at the morning session on the 29th of October.
ere he came to the Parliament, which prefentlie hes the mouths of all, that the Irish Rebellion, and new plots in England against the Parliament, were invented by the Queen, and not against the King's mind: bot in manie declarations his Majestie hes since put all fuch fufpitions out of everie equitable minde: however, too manie to this day will not take satisfaction.

There was appointed a Committee of our Estates to attend the Parliament of England, not fo much for the perfecting of our Treatie, as to keep correpondence in fo needfull a tyme. None of the former commisioners were employed, bot Sir Archibald Johnston, 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, Sherriff of Teviotdale, Rickartoune, Clerk of Dundie, did tyne all credite with the Estates. Our new Commisioners obtained warrand of Parliament to choofe for their service what minifters they thought meet. They agreed on Mr. Harie Rollock, and Mr. Borthuick. It was thought the King was evill furnithed of preachers; for his ftay was long: Mr. Henderfoun, on whom it lay to provide for two everie Sabboth, and one upon the Tuesday, could not get men according to his mind. The Commisioners of the Assembleie behooved to make some 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 declyne both preaching and prayer, and these who wer leaft hable, were fooneft intreated. In the end of the Parliament, the Advocate's idlenesse put the King on one humour of protestings of saving his right. This dangerous novelte, of cafting all loose, his Majestie at hift was moved to give over, moft by Mortoun's perfuasion. The author, for this, and other his needless offices, obtained to his fone Sir Thomas,(5) not onlie a place in the Session, but also, to the indignation of the nobilitie, a patent to the Generall Juflicarie, at leaft for one year. Poor Mr. Elphingftoun, who had it before, was caft by without anie challenge, as a man contained by all. The King made all the hafe he could, and ftrove to give contentment to all. Manie moe penfions given than ever will be payed. Sandrie Earles and Lords, bot a world of Knights, were created. Among manie referrs from our Generall Assembleie 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 you may see at (T.) It had been a pitie bot the Parliament had taken some notice of it.

Also the Parliament was in a fair way, before the breaking out of our wicked plotts, to have put over fea, to Germanie, ten thousand 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 unjuftlie and imprudentlie, neglected by our State,) and sent away be the King to the Queen of Swedden: bot mischeant instruments, as these twentie years bygane, fo to this day, mifleads fo the Court, that nothing can be gotten done for that poor Prince. Never such order in anie Parliament among us. The whole States mett daylie in the forenoon, and sometyme in the afternoon also. Oft the severall States had their afternoone, and ever the committees, which were manie, for facilitating of all buffineses of importance. No Act past till it were firft read to the whole States, and doubles of it given to everie State for advyfement, at least for one day, except in the laft two or three dayes, where manie acts could not, it seemes, for haftie have that leaufurelie consideration.

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 Magistrates.

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

Second Defyre.—That the King would be pleased to give aflure-

(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 pre-judge the Church of one preacher at least, in their room. 2. The Towne would be overburdened to provide that place, being over-charged with the stipends of so many more, both ministers, readers, schoolmasters, hospitalls, and such publick works as exhaust their rents.

Third Reason.—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. Fifty or fix chalders of bear, if it be prefentlie bestowed by the King, will uphold it; but if long delayed, all the Bishoprick will not repair the ruines of that building, which is Scotland’s only Paul’s.

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

Fifth Reason.—Whatever his Majestie will be pleased to bestow on a Preacher, on the fabrick 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 Universitities out of the Bishopricks, your Lordship (\(^2\)) 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 maintenance of one Principal, a Professor of Divinitie, a Professor of Phyfick, five Regents, fourteen or fifteen Bursars, 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 bot at the least four hundred pounds out of the Bishoprick, and one

\(^2\) 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 leaft fix Burfars of Divinitie, for some yearlie rent to the Bibliothek, also for maintaining and enlargeing the fabric of the House: Whatever is gotten, God and the King and your Lordship hall 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.XXVII.—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:


Baillie.—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.

Records.—Records of the Kirk of Scotland, &c. from the year 1638, by Alexander Peterkin. Edin. 1839, large 8vo.

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.]
C. 4. The Supplication of the Ministers of Fyfe given in to the Counfell, 23d Aug. 1637, Vide Baillie, vol. i. page 19
Rothes, 45.—Rushworth, 2. 394.—Balfour 2. 227, and Records, 53, (copy abridged.)—Baillie, 1. 449.
Informations given to severall Counsellors. 19
Rothes, 46.—Baillie, 1. 450.
The Act of Counsell after the Ministers Supplication, 25th Aug. 19
Stevenson, 2. 194.—Records, 53.—Baillie, 1. 449.
C. 5. The Counsell’s Letter to the King, 25th Aug. 19
Balfour, 2. 229,—Records, 53.—Baillie, 1. 451.
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 same Supplication, as corrected and sent up to the King. 22
Rothes, 47.
C. 8. The Act of Counsell after the Supplication, 20th Sept. 22
Balfour, 2. 233.—Records, 54.
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, Burgesflies, Ministers, &c. to the Lords of Secret Counsell, 18th Oct. 36
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Supplication to the King’s Most Excellent Majefty, [presented in the year 1633.] 43
Stevenson, 1. 104.
L. Declaration of the King’s abhorrence of all superstitions of Poperie, at Linlithgow, 7th Dec. 43
Large Declar., 46.—Rushworth, 2. 408.—Stevenson, 2. 236.
N. 5. The Clearing of these who have subfcryved 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 Counsell, same date.  

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

42

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

45

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

44

The Heads of my Lord Loudoun his Speech to the Counsell, concerning the Controversie depending for the Service-Book, Canons, High Commissions, and other Innovations, presfted 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 Counsell 21st Dec., and the Declinature given in the same day.  

46

Rothes, 50, 51.

V. Ane Act of Counsell, at Dalkeith, 21st Dec.  

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

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

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

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

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Baillie, 1. 453.

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

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

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

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

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,  

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

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B. Act of Horneing against the Ministers to buy the Service-Book, 13th June. Vide page 32
Records, 51.

E. 1. Answer from his Majestie, 9th Oct. 35
Balfour, 2. 236.—Records, 55.

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R. The Earl of Loudoun’s Speech to the Counsell, 21st Dec. 45
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Considerations according to the Grounds of Conformity for these who are scrupulous in subscribing the Covenant. (To this paper by Robert Baillie there are Additions at fol. 58 of the MS.) 93

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Rothes, 84,—Balfour, 2. 258,—Rushworth, 2. 742,
—Burnet, 34,—Records, 60,—Baillie, 1. 460.
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Rothes, 90.
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Rothes, 96,—Balfour, 2. 252.
Thefes de Majestatis Jure.

Rothes, 83.
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Rothes, 93.
Reafons for the Univerfitie of St. Andrewes, of their juft refufal of their Oath and Subscription to that pretended Covenant, obtruded upon them amongst the rest of the leidges, 20th March.
Anfwer to Ten Articles oppofeing our Covenant, &c. given out under the name of the Univerfitie of St. Andrewes.
Eight Articles for the present peace of the Kirk and Kingdome of Scotland.
Rothes, 100,—Rushworth, 2. 745, (only the first 3 Articles)—Burnet, 39,—Stevenson, 2. 318.
Memorandum refpe6ling Supplications, &c. to the Counfell.
Rothes, 110,—Large Declar., 79,—Stevenson, 2. 323.
Letter dire6ted be the Noblemen under subscryvers, (Rothes, Montrofe, and Fleming), for themselves, and in name of the rest, to the Duke of Lennox and Marqueis of Hamiltoun, with the Eight Articles forefaids.
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A. Coppie of the Marquiss of Hamilton his Commission
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I. Form of Commission from Sessions to an Elder, with their Minister, to Vote in the Presbytery in Electing Commissioners to the Generall Assembly.


K. The Proclamation of the 9th and 22d Sept.

L. The Form of Proteffation to be used at everie Burgh where the late Proclamation, at Edinburgh the 22d of Sept. 1638, shall happen to be proclaimed.

The Generall Band, [subscribed in the year 1590.]

Rushworth, 2. 778,—Large Declar. 143,—Burnet, 77.

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Large Declar., 152,—Rushworth, 2. 781.

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Proclamation indicting the Assembly to the 21st November, dated 22d Sept. 1638.

Large Declar., 146,—Rushworth, 2. 781.

Proclamation for the Parliament to meet on the 15th May 1639, (fame date.)

Large Declar., 146.—Rushworth, 2. 782.

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ORIGINAL LETTERS AND PAPERS CHIEFLY RELATING TO ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND, M.DC.XXIII.—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 True 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 sett downe some Articles vnder our hand to be obferved therein, which Wee send 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 our Privie Counfell, if any of these appointed by our former letters to them to communicate in our Chappell Royall, shall not accordingly per-

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forme the same, to the effect such order may be taken by oure Counsell therein, as by oure sayds former letters to them Wee did appointe. Where-in expecting your diligence and care, Wee bid yow farewell. From oure Court at Whitehall, the eight day of October 1633.

To the Reverend Father in God, and oure Right Trufty and Wel-beloued Counfelloure The Bishop of Dumblane, Deane of oure Chappell Royall within oure 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 vertue 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 Chappell 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 succeffors, shall be Afliftant to the Right Reverend Father in God, the Archbishop 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 succeffively.

That there be Prayers twice a-day, with the Quire, as well in our ab-fence, as otherwife, according to the English Liturgie, till fome course be taken for making one, that may fit the cuftom 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 fo succeffively, come duly thither to prayers upon Sundays, and fuch Holy-days as that Church ob-
serves, 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 Chapell, That the Lords of our Privy Council, the Lords of the Sessions, 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 feast, in that our Chapell-Royal, and kneeling, for example fake to the Kingdom. And We likewise command the Dean aforesaid to make Report yearly to us, how We are obeyed therein, and by whom; as also, if any man shall refuse, in what manner he doth so, and why?

That the Copes which are consecrated to Our use, be delivered to the Dean to be kept upon inventory by him, and in a Standard provided for that purpofe; 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 Trufty and Well-Beloved Cousin and Counfellor, and Trufty 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 should think fit, that they, and you of our College of Justice, and Members thereof, should communicate twice [once] every year in our Chapell of Holyroodhoufe: But now, being willing, for good considerations, that the Communion be oftner celebrated there, and to nominate such times as we have thought fit for that purpose, IT is our pleafure, 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 caufe in- timate this our pleafure,) to our faid Chapell, to participate of that Holy Sacrament, that others, by your exampl, may learn to obferve the laudable order in that cafe prefcribed: wherein faill you not, as you tender our prince- ly respect and pleafure, and as you will anfwer to the contrary; for Wee will notuffer you, who fould precede others by your good example, to be leaders of our other subjefts to contemn and difobey the orders of the Church.
So, requiring you to cause these our letters to be registered in your Books of Sederunt, Wee bid you farewel.

From our Manor of Greenwiche, 13th May 1634.

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 Soveraine Lord ordeanes a Commission to be granted vnnder [his] Hienes Great Seall of the Kingdome of Scotland, making mention y't quhair divers complaints have bene made to his Ma'tis be the moft Reverend Fathers in God and the Reverend Fathers the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of Scotland, vpon certane advocatiouns and suspensions granted by the Lords of his Ma'tis Counfall and Sefftoun, at the instant fute of pairties callit before the judicatories of church discipline. For removing of that inconvenient, and to the effect no wicked, scandalous, nor disobedient perverse pafs vncenfured and escape without punishment, his Ma'tis, as being Supreme Judge of all perfones and cautes, alwele civill as ecclesiasiticaall, within the Kingdome and all vtheris his Ma'tis dominions, have gevin and granted, lyk as his Ma'tis, be the tenor heirof, geves and grants full power and commiission to the moft Reverend Fathers in God and his Ma'tis right truftie and wele-beloved Counfallors, the Archbishop of S't Androis, Primat and Metropolitane of Scotland, and the Archbishop of Glagow; to his Hienes truflitie confine and counfallors, George Erle of Kinnowll Lord High Chancellor, Wm Erle of Mortoun Lord High Thefaurer, Thomas Erle of Hadingtoun Lord Privie Seall, James Duik of Lennox, James Marques of Hamilltoun, William Erle of Merchell, George Erle of Wintoun, Alexr Erle of Linlithgow, Jo: Erle of Wigtoun, Jo: Erle of Kinghorne, Ro: Erle of Roxburgh, Alexr Erle of Galloway, John Erle of Annandaill, John Erle of Lauerdall, Wm Erle of Dumfreis, Wm Erle of Queinberrie, Wm Erle of Stirling, David Erle of Southafk, John Erle of Traquair, Jo: Erle of Weymes, Ro: Erle of Ancur; To the Reverend Fathers in God, the Bishop of Ed'r, the Bishop of Galloway, the Bishop of Dunkell, the Bishop
of Aberdene, the Bishop of Murray, the Bishop of Roś, the Bishop of Brechin, the Bishop of Dunblane, the Bishop of Argyll, the Bishop of Caithness, the Bishop of the Isles, and the Bishop of Orkney; his Matie\textsuperscript{5} truflie confing Mungo Vicount of Stormont, his Hienes truflie confings and counfallors George Lord Gordoun, Archibald Lord Lorne, and Jo\textsuperscript{a} Lord Erffin, and his Hienes right truflie and wele-beloved Ro\textsuperscript{t} Lord Dalzell, and Ro\textsuperscript{t} Lord Kirkebru\textsuperscript{e}; his Hienes truflie counfallors, Alex\textsuperscript{e} Maifier of Elphinhoun, Sir Archibald Achefon of Glencairne kny\textsuperscript{t} his Matie\textsuperscript{5} Secretar, Sr John Hay of Baro kny\textsuperscript{t} keiper of his Matie\textsuperscript{5} Register and Rolls, Sr Thomas Hope of Craighall kny\textsuperscript{t} barronet his Matie\textsuperscript{5} Advocat, Sr James Carmichaell of that Iik Justice-Clerk, Sr James Galloway M\textsuperscript{o} of Requefis, and to his Matie\textsuperscript{5} truflie and wele-belovit Sr Ro\textsuperscript{t} Spottifwood of Dunypace Kn\textsuperscript{t} President of the Seffion, Sr John Scot of Scottifbarbet kny\textsuperscript{t} Director of the Chancellerie, Sr Ro\textsuperscript{t} Gordoun knight barronet, Sr Jo. Scrymgeor of Dudope, Sr W\textsuperscript{m} Sinclare of Rodline, Sr Walter Stewart of Mynto, Sr John Spottifwood of Darfe, Sr Jo\textsuperscript{a} Hammilton of Bargeny, Sr W\textsuperscript{m} Cunningham of Caprington, Sr Ro\textsuperscript{t} Greir of Lag, Sr John Charters of Amiffeld, Sr W\textsuperscript{m} Mure of Rowallane, Sr J\textsuperscript{a} Maxvell of Pollock, Sr W\textsuperscript{m} Douglas of Cavers, Sr Patrik Agnew of Lochmaw thirief of Wigtoun, Sr John M\textsuperscript{e}Dougal of Garthland, Sir James Baillie of Lochend, Sr Jo\textsuperscript{a} AUCHINMOWTIE, of Gosfurd, Sr Ro\textsuperscript{t} Mongomrie younger of Skelmurelie, Sr James Lockhart younger of Ley, Sr Duncan Campbell of AUCHINBRECK younger, Sir W\textsuperscript{m} Scot of Harden, Sr Donnald M\textsuperscript{c}Donnald of Slait, Sr Ro\textsuperscript{t} INNES younger of Balveny knight barronet, Sr Thomas Vrquhart of Cromartie, knight, Jo\textsuperscript{a} M\textsuperscript{c} Cloud of Herreis, Jo\textsuperscript{a} Campbell younger of Caddell, Campbell of ARDKINLA\textsuperscript{t}, Lawmont younger of that Iik; and to his Matie\textsuperscript{5} wele-belovit Doctor ANDRO BRUCE deane of Sr ANDROS, M\textsuperscript{c} James Hammilton deane of GLASFOW, Doctor Alex\textsuperscript{e} GLADFITANES archdeane of Sr ANDROS, Doctor Theodor Hay archdeane of GLASFOW, Doctor WATER WHYTFURDE subdeane of GLASFOW, Doctor Ro\textsuperscript{t} HOWIE proveft of the New Colledge of Sr ANDROS, Doctor George Martene proveft of the Auld Colledge of Sr ANDROS, Doctor Patrik Panther professor of Thologie in the New Colledge of Sr ANDROS, Doctor John Strang principal of the Colledge of GLASFOW, Doctor John Douglas, Doctor David MONRO provefone of KINuchar, M\textsuperscript{c} James Hannay Deane of Ed\textsuperscript{t}, M\textsuperscript{c} W\textsuperscript{m} WYTHART provefone of Refalrig, Doctor Jo\textsuperscript{a} MICHIELSANE minifter of Brunetland, Doctor George WILHART minifter at Sr ANDROS, Doctor Henry Scrymgeor minifter at Sr PHILLANES in FYFFE, M\textsuperscript{c} Coline Campbell minifter at Dundie, D\textsuperscript{e} Ro\textsuperscript{t} BARROUN professor of Thologie in the Colledge of New Aberdene, M\textsuperscript{c} W\textsuperscript{m} AMAND minifter at AIR, M\textsuperscript{c} John Tennent provefone of Calder, M\textsuperscript{c} ANDRO RAMFAY and M\textsuperscript{c} David MITCHELL minifters at Ed\textsuperscript{t}, M\textsuperscript{c} George Hannay minifter at TORPHICHEN, M\textsuperscript{c} W\textsuperscript{m} MAXVELL minifter at STOW, M\textsuperscript{c} James LOGANE minifter at SMEALHEM, M\textsuperscript{c} Patrik DURAME deane of ROS, M\textsuperscript{c} GEORGE MONRO chanccller of ROS, M\textsuperscript{c} Thomas M\textsuperscript{c} KENZIE minifter at Tarbet, Doctor James ELOT, M\textsuperscript{c} John BELL, Ro\textsuperscript{t} WILKIE, John Maxwell, and Zacharie Boyd, minifters at GLASFOW, M\textsuperscript{c} John Hay provefone of Renfrew, M\textsuperscript{c} W\textsuperscript{m} BIRSBANE.
perfone of Erkyn, M" Walter Stewart minister at Kilpatrick,
minister at Cambusnethan, M" Michael Wallace minister at Kilmarnock, M" George Lindsay perfone of , M" John Lindsay perfone of Carffairs, M" Thomas Ramsay minister of Dumfries, M" Jo" Alex" perfone of Hoddom, M" George Buchanun perfone of Kirkpatrik Juxta, M" W"m Bennet perfone of Anerum, M" Jo" Maitland perfone of Edinloun, M" Abraham Henderson minister at Whithorne, M" Alex" [Ham- miltoun] minister at Mongoff, M" James Hamiltoun minister at Wigtoun, M" James Scott minister at Tungland, M" David Leitch minister at Dun-drennan, M" Henrie Guthrie minister at Stirling, M" Thomas Spittell perfone of Fawkirk, M" Ro" Balcanq" minister at Tranent, M" George Sydferte minister at Colbrunfeth, M" James Burnet minister at Lawder, M" Alex" Kinneir perfon of Whitson, M" Murdo M"Kenzie perfon of Dinguell, M" Dougall Campbell, minister at Knapdaill, M" Donald M"Gillinorith minister at Innerara, Frazer Deane of the Isles, and M" Patrik Stewart minister at Bute, Conftable of the Threue, S" Jerome Lindsay S" Hendrie Hay, M"s Ro" Nicolfone and Thomas Aikinheid, Comiffars of Ed", M" James Weymes comiffar of S" Andros, M" James Sandilands, comiffar of Aberdene, the Comiffars of Elgin, Innernes, and Ros, present, and who fall be for the tyme being, M" Ro" Murray, comiffar of Stirling, Adame Cuninghame, comiffar of Dumfres, the Comiffar and Proveift of the Citie of Glasgow, the Comiffars and Proveifts of Wigtoun and Kirkcubru1: Or to any fevin of them, ane Archbishop or Bithop being one of the number, to fumond or call before them, at quhatfomever tyme or place it fall pleasfeth them to appoint, all and ande perfones within the Kingdome of Scotland, and dwelling within the provinces of S" Andros and Glafgow, that ar other than calandous in lyfe, doctrine, or religion, speci- allie all traffiquers, intercomouners, refetters of Jesuits or seminaries priests, all hearers of mafs, all excomunicat papifts, recufants or non-comunicants, all inceftuous or adulterous perfones, all obfinate comemners of the discipline of the Church, or for that caus excomunicated, all abusers of religious per- fonines and places, and difturbers of divyne service, and things thereunto be- longing, and all blasphemars, curfars, and swerars; and not onlie to call the faids transfrigfiers, and everie ane of them, bot lykewayes all perfones quhat- fomevir within the said Kingdome fufpeet to be guilte of the afoirfald crymes, or any of them, and to try and to cognoce of the afoirfald crymes and offences, and if they fall find any man guilte and impenitent, to geve direcioun to the minister of the parish quhaire the faid impenitent perfone remains, to proceed againft him or hir, and proune fentence of excomu- nication againft them; and if the minister difobe the faid direcioun, to fufpend, deprive, incarcerate, and punifh, as they fall think fitt. Attour, with power to them [to] punifh, incarcerate, fyne and confyne, any that fall be fund guilte of the faids crymes and offences, or fall prove comemataions, or refufe to compier before them; with power lykewayes to the faids comi- fioners to call before them all minifters, preachers, M"s of schoollcs, col- ledge, and univerfities, exhortars, and letterars, within the faids bounds,
that fall be deliért vnto them for preiching or speiking in publique against the present state and government of the kingdom and church, or against any of the conclusions of the bypast Generall Assemblies, particularlie against the Acts concluded in the Generall Assembly held at Perth in the moneth of August 1618 yeirs, and whom they fall try dissoberayrs 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 Maiestyes licence and warrant, or the licence of those who fall be authorized by his Henes to that effect, to confine and punisth, by suspensioun, deprivatioun, fyning, committing, and incarceratioun, according as they fall find the qualitie of their offence to deserve. As also with power to receave and discus all appellations made vnto them from any inferior ecclesiastical judicatures, and to inhibit the saids inferior judicatures to proceed in any cause that they fall judge impertinent, and not to belong to their cognition, and to confine the saids judges whom they fall find to behave themselfs partiallie in any cause concerning the fairfaids. Comanding the captaine and levtenant of the guard, the provost and baillaries of Burrowes if it fall happen the saids commisioners to reside, the Shirefs and Baillies of realitues to search, feik, tak, and apprehende all such delinquent, and present them before the saids commisioners, vpon the warrant of any sevin of them, ane Archbishops or Bisheps being one of the number. Comanding lykways the captaines and constables of his Henes caftles and houses, and the keepers of prisons and vtheris places of firmance, to receave and deteane these that fall be directed vnto them by the saids commisioners vpon warrant as said is, As they will answer vpon their disobedience and vtermost perrill; ordaining farther the Lords of Privie Counfall, vpon the certificat subfixrit by the saids Comissioners, or any sevin of them, an Archbishops or Bisheps being one of the number, to direct letters of horning for payment of the fyne imputed by the saids Commisyoners, in case of the delinquent disobedience or refusall to conpeir, when they are cited before them. Of which letters and charges, no suspensioun or relaxation fall be granted without the testimoni of one of the Archbishops or Bisheps being obedience to the decree of the commisioners and fatifiactioun of the paarties. And maketh constittuents, and ordeanes Mr. Wm. Hay, comissiar-clerk of Edin, clerk of the said High Commiiion during all the dayes of his lyftime, with power to him to creat deputys vnder him, in ather of the saids tuo provinys requiryng the saids Commisioners, to receave the oath of the said Mr. Wm., for dew administratioun of the said office, with power to them to appoint fiscall, officers, and all vther members of Court, and to direct sumonds and precepts in his Henes name, for citing quhatsoever partys or persons in any of the caufes forfaids; which precepts fall be sealled with one of the Archbishops or Bisheps sealls and subfcrivit be the saids clerks, with power to summond witnes in any of the forfaids caufes vnder the paine of fourtie pundis money of Scotland; and if the saids witnesss refuife to conpeir, or the saids partys decerned in a fyne, delay to mak payment of the sumyne, Ordaining the Lords of Privie Counfall to direct charge vpon the certificat of the said
comissioners, as is above specified. Of the which fyne the ane half fall per-
teane to his Majestie, and the vther half to be imployed vpon the charges
which the saide Comissioners fall be forced to mak in the executing of the
said Commissioun, and if any remainder fall be, the same fall be bestowed to
pious vses, at the sight of the saide comissioners. And generallie all and
findrie vther things to doe and exercise that are necessarie in the premises, or
may be thought onaways requisite for his Hienes service, and according to
the intention of this present commissioun, inhibiting the Lords of Secret
Council and Session to grant no advocacy from the saide comissioners in
matters of the qualitie fayrfaid, but to remitt the tryall and censura thereof
to the saids, comissioners. Comanding, laftlie, all his Majesties lieges whom
these things may concerne, to answere and obey the saids Comissioners, or
any fevin of them, ane Archbishop or Bithop being an of the number, and
their officers and ministres quhatfomever vnder all hyeft paine that may
follow, and ordeanes thir prefents to be an sufficient warrand to the Director
of the Chancellarie for wryting of the same to the Great Seall, and to the
Lord Chancellor for appending the said Seall thervnto, without any farder
precepts to be direct thervpon.

Given at our Honnour of Hamptoun Court the twentie-ane of October,
the yeir of God I m. VI e. threttie-four yeirs.

V.

ANE ACCOUNT OF PAPERS INTERCEPTED BETUIXT
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 principall authentick Autographes betuixt the B. of Canterbury and
our Prelatis, quhill contributes to the discovering of their plottis and pro-
jectis. And first, amongst utheris we haif gone through, of memoires,
instituled " MEMOIRS FOR MY LORD B. OF ROSS, OF MATTERS TO BE PROPOIN
TO HIS MAJESTIE AND MY LORD CANT. HIS G.," all writtn and subcrvvit
by the Archbishop of St. Androis, August 8, 1634; of the same dait, and
subjoined with the first draucht of the Book of Canones sent up to be cor-
rected, and no doubt corrected with the same hand to quhom it is sent; as
fra the dait, so fra the conjunctione of the King and Canterbury in the title,
ye may cleirlie perceave the same, and the dependance of our Prelatis from
Canterburry, to quhom, equallie with the King, they mak ane accompt of all
things: As in the first direccione, they give ane accompt anent the Liturgie,
the Canones, and the Psalms. In the 2, anent the filling of void places in the Church. In the 3, anent the Communion in the Chappell. In the 4, anent restraint of wageing to Communion. In the 5, anent the Hier Commissioune to be a constant judicatorie, or undoing the Presbyteriall discipline, whereupon the B. of Ross obteinit a letter from the King to the Counfail, superfcryvit 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 injoyed at St. Androis; anent the featis of the Kirk; anent the commencement of the Univerlitie; anent the doctorateing of Clyft ane Inglishman, and the degrading of one Baitock. In the 10, anent the Commissioune of Sur anderis, that ane new injuntion be sent doune to prohibit all other churches but thae of the Erectitnine. In the 11th, anent the Commissariot of Argyle. In the 12, anent the B. of Ed'. relict. 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 separat; that the annuitie be put in ane churchman's hand to bring in church livingis againe; that all signators pas in Exchequer; that the managinge of his rents be intrusted to men responsabill and comptrollabill. The 25 anent Balmerinoch and his lybell. The 26 anent the two comissions for the Chappell rents, the Erle Roxbruche's kirks. Be the quhilk Memoires, even in all forts of materis, sent by our chiefest Prelate unto the B. Canterbury, 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 moit flow, especially wherein his Ma. was to haiff any hand, or give any countenance, and particularie anent the Service-Book and Book of Canones, wherein our greatest Prelate gewis ane accompt to the B. of Canterbury, as equally joynd with the King, even as scholaris does unto their materis.

Lykas we haiff ane uther autographone intituled, MEMOIRES FOR MY LORD B. R. (1) all writtin and subd by the B. of St. Androis hand, but without a daite, quhilk beginnes thus, "My Lord Cantv. defyrde to be informit," and than goes one, In the first article he schowis both how the Chancellar had the place before St. Androis, and how it fuld be redreft be ane act of Counfail. In the 2, anent the Liturgie, that they had done all that was posibill. In the 4, anent the Canones, to get a varrand for the printing. In the 5, anent the kirks that are void, your Lo. will acquaynt my Lord Canterbury with our opinione. In the 6, anent the Commissioune of Suranderis, that all continuatione of erectit kirks. In the 7, your Lo's may tak occasion to speak of the Pryorie to my Lord Canterbury, and learne quhat is done, and schow how necessarie it is. In the 9, that the Annuitie be ufed for buy-ing of the erectit Lordships, and a comissioune grantit to fyve perfones 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 discharged to give collatione therupon. In the 12, anent Lincures to Mr. Andro Leirmouth. In the 13, that Wederburne be brought to the Chappell. In the 14, that the loftis of the church of Edr be take doune. In the 16, touchinge my Lord Balmerinoch, ye fall schow my opinion to my Lord Canterburry. Quherby he may perceave that nothing was done or might be done in this Church quherof Canterburry was not the pryme and primum mobile; especially 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 Rofts,] bot unsubscrivit, to the B. of Canterburry, quhilk is the scroll of the principall whilk he has sent away, quherin he acknowledgis and admares Canterburry’s wisedome in the governing and directing of this Church, and all the affaires therof.

We haiff a letter of my Lord Sterling’s to the B. R., 17th February 1636, quherin he schawis my Lord Canterburry delivred our new printed Book of Canones to the Kingis Majestie, with ane direction to him for tuo letters to be drawne up for the Kingis hand, concerning the authorizing of the Book. Quherby ye may perceave Canterburry 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 Troubles and Trial of Laud, p. 80. 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 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 BELLENDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVI. No. 13.]

My very good L°. S. in X°. [Salutem in Christo.]

You are much beholding to my L°. Sterlinge; and for my selfe, I did you the best service I could, and am glad your troublesome suites are at an end. I hope that w^th ye^ Kinge hath now done will preserve you against your pressing necessities, through w^th I pray God send you a good passage: But for Westminister foes, they did very much wrong you, whoever they [were,] ye made those relations to you of ye^ great Sume; for my former [letters told] ye^ truth to you.

Concerning your present, until any better place falls, I can promise nothing; but I assure [you, his Majestie] 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 consideration. At this time you have given his Ma^s good content, and he expects that you continue in ye^ course; and lett him still receive a note whoe they be that conforme, and whoe not, for I see his Ma^s is resolved to goe constantlie on, and therefore you muft not fayle.

I have considered howe much reafon you speake concerning ye^ poore Singing men, and have receiv'd their Petition w^th you feint encloid. I must needs say their case deserves a great deale of commiseration; and the very first time ye^ I gott accesse to his Ma^s, after ye^ receipt of your letters, I acquainted him w^th their necessities, and he, like a gracious and a good Prince, was very much moved w^th it, and commanded me to deliver their Petition to my L° Sterling, ye^ some course might be taken for them; and this, God willing, I will doe soone as ever I can meete w^th ye^ L°, w^th I hope will be this day, and soone as I can drive it to any good issue, you shall heare from me. Soe, in haft, I leave you to the Grace of God, and rest,

Your L°^s very lovinge ffriend and Brother,

Lambeth, Jan. 14,
1633 [1633-4].

To the R° Reverend Father in God, my very good
Lord and Brother the L° Bp of Dunblane, at Edinburrow, thefe.

[Indorfed.] Anent his encouraught, 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 Ma'te 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 desire, shewe his Ma'te what your desires were, and what necessities lay vpon you. After much consideration of the buynes, his Ma'te resolued to give the Bp.ricke of Edenburrowe to my Lo. of Brehen; and for yourfelfe, he commanded me to write expressly to you, yt he did not take it well, yt, contrary to his express command, you had omitted prayers in his Chappell Royall, according to the English Litturgye, w'th some other omisions there, w'ch pleased him not; besides, his Ma'te hath heard yt there have been lately some differences in Edinburgh about ye Sufferings of Christ, &c. and yt your Lordp was some caufe of them; or, at least, 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 Ma'te is not well pleased w'th neither: And this hath been ye caufe, as I conceive, why his Ma'te hath paft you over in this remove; and you shall doe very well to applye your selfe better, both to his Ma'tes service, and yt well ordering of ye Church, leaft you give juft occaion 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 careful of ye', I doe not see what any freind can be able to doe for you. Therefore, not doubting but you will take these things into serious consideration, for your owne good, I leave you to the Grace of God, and ref't,

Your Lordp's very loveing Freind and Brother,

Lambeth, Maye 6th

1634.

To ye Rf Reverend Father in God, my very good Lo. and Brother, ye Lo. Bishop of Dunblane, att Edenburrowe, thefe.

[Indorfed.] Anent the Liturgie, and his Sermon.
My very good Lo.

My haft att this time forces me to write very breefely: And thefe are to lett you knowe, that I writt 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 fatified him, but not altogether.

And for ye firft, his Matie faith, ye though ye Gentlemen of ye Chappell Royall did abfent themfelves for feare of arrefts, having not to pay; and ye that might hinder ye service in ye Chappell in a folemne and a forrnall way of finging by then; yet his Matie thinkes you might have gott a Chaplaine of your owne, to have read the English Liturgy, 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 knowes I have done all ye good offices I can, but have it not in my power to mend all ye difficultyes of ye time.

Concerning ye disturbance yt was in Edenburrowe, if any wrong was done your Lord, ye must lye vpon yem whoe mifreported you to ye Kinge, whoe eere they were. And howfoever, ye Kinge took it not ill you advised ye then Bifhop of Edenburrowe to appeafe ye differences, for that was very worthyly and defervedly 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 fide w one partye, than either repreffe or comepefe the difference. Though I mutt needs confefs to your Lord, that, by reafon of the multitude of bufynesfies wch lye vpon me, I cannot charge my memorye wth ye particular.

You have done very well to acquaintance the Lps of Counfell and Seffion, &c. wth his Maties refolution concerning ye Communion in ye Chappell Royall. And I doubt not, if you continue to doe ye wch his Matie lookes for in ye courfe of ye Church, and wch is moft juft and fit 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 refi

Your Lord's very loveing Freind and Brother,

Lambeth, July 1st,

W: Cant: 1634.

To the Rev. Reverend Father in God, my very good Lo.

and Brother, the Lord Bp. of Dvnblane, thefe.

[Indorfed] Anent Reading of the Liturgie, and his Sermon at Edinburgh.
My very good Lo. S. in Xpo.

I have a second time mou'd his Matie concerning ye\textsuperscript{em} ye\textsuperscript{t} obeyed or disobey'd his commands in receiuing ye\textsuperscript{e} Communion in ye\textsuperscript{e} Chappell att Hallyrudhous, and you shall not fayle to receive his Matie\textsuperscript{ss} anfwere by my Lo. [of Roſſe]; foe ye\textsuperscript{t} I shall not need to be farther troubleome to you in ye\textsuperscript{e} parti\textsuperscript{cular}.

His Matie is fully satiffyed ye\textsuperscript{t} ye\textsuperscript{e} English in ye\textsuperscript{e} Chappell Royall before my Lo. of Roſſe.

and in all things else, onl

and he told me ye\textsuperscript{t} a little before his, d since ye\textsuperscript{e} your Lord\textsuperscript{e} halfe ye\textsuperscript{e} money was payed unto ye\textsuperscript{em}. And ye\textsuperscript{t} ye\textsuperscript{e} other halfe was payed before to one, I think of their company, whome themselfes 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\textsuperscript{e} Chequer is not in ye\textsuperscript{t} cafe ye\textsuperscript{t} I can thinke it fitt, (or if I doe,) I am sure ye\textsuperscript{e} Lo. Treasurer will not thinke soe, ye\textsuperscript{t} ye Kinge shoule paye ye\textsuperscript{e} fame summe twice; and yet, I must confeffe, it falls very hard upon ye\textsuperscript{e} poore men to beare ye\textsuperscript{e} losſe; but they should have been wiser in ye choyce of their agent. Notwithstanding, if there can be any hope in this cafe ye\textsuperscript{em}, I shall doe my beft, and, for ye\textsuperscript{e} future, my Lo. hath promifed me they shall be duly payd. Soe, I leave you to ye\textsuperscript{e} Grace of God, and reft,

Your Lord\textsuperscript{e} loueing Freind and Brother,

Croyden, Octob' 4,

W: Cant:

1634.

To the Rt Reve . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
my very good L . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
Lo. Bp. of Dun . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

[Indorfed] AGAINST THESE THE . . . . . . munificat.
ARCHBISHOP LAUD TO THE SAME.

[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, 

I am very very glad to heare your resolutions for the ordering of his Maj's Chappell Royall, and ye you are resolved to weare your Whites, notwithstanding the malicoufnes of foolish men. I knowe his Maj will take your obedience and care very well; and being fully satisfïed both concerning your Sermon, and all thinges else committed to your trust, you may, as opportunity serues, expe£t from his Maj all reafonable thinges; and I fhall not be wanting to give you all ye assistance ye I can vpon all occasions; of wth I heartily pray you not to doubt.

My Lo. ye Earle of Traquare is now come, and I shall take ye first opportunity I can to speake once more wth him about ye Gent. of ye Chappell, and shalowe him what your Lord writes concerning one Edward Kelly, whome you mention; and what answere foever I can gett, you shall receive from me. Soe, in haff, I leave you to the Grace of God, and refi,

Your Lord's very loveinge Friend and Brother,

Lambeth, Jan. 12,

1634 [1634–5].

W: CANT:

I have spoked wth my Lo. Traquare, and he tells me, (if I miftooke him not,) ye paym was made to Kelly wth relation to the Gent. of the Chappell, and ye your oune hand, as well as others, is to some agreement ye was made thearabout. The paper was not then about him, els he had shewed it me. Your Lord 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 ye R Reverend Father in God, my very good Lord and Brother, the Lord Bishop of Dunblane, att Edenburrewe, these.

[Indorfed] Anent wearing of the Whites.
ARCHBISHOP LAUD TO THE SAME.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio. Vol. LXVI. No. 19.]

My very good Lo. S. in Xpo.

The Kinge hath been acquainted with yo' 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 heartily glad to see in what a faire way ye Church-busynesseyes now are in those parts. I hope, if ye Bishop be pleased to continue theire good example, and their care, all thinges will settle beyond expectation.

The Kinge hath declared his pleasure concerning ye Bishop now void, and hath given yow ye Bishop of Aberdeen, as yow well heare more att large by my Lord of Rosse. But being an University, and a place of consequence, he will have you reside there, and relyes much upon you for ye well ordering of ye place. I am very glad ye Kinge hath been soe mindfull of you, and given you soe good a Testimony upon this occasion of your remove. Soe, I leave you to ye Grace of God, and ref,

Your Lord's very loveinge Freinde and Brother,
Lambeth, May 19, 1635.

To the R' Reverend Father in God, my very good Lord and Brother, the Lord Bishop of Dunblane, att Edenburrowe, these.

[Indorfed] Anent their encouragement.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD TO MAXWELL BISHOP OF ROSS.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio. Vol. LXVI. No. 20.]

My verie good Lord, S. in Xpo.

My Lo. Sterling is not yet come, but I have acquainted his Matie 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 send to his servaunts att Edenburrowe, ye fo, against ye Lo. Sterling's coming, all things might be in ye better readiness, w'ch is all ye service I can doe till his Lord's come.
I am very glad your Canons are alsoe in good a readines, and yt the true meaning of yt one Canone remaines still under ye Curtaine. I hope you will take care yt it may be fully printed and passe with ye rest: Twill be of great use for the setleng of ye Church.

I thanke you for your care of D^o Wedderborne: He is very able to doe service, and will certanly doe it, if you can keepe up his heart. I was in good hope he had beene consecrated, as well as my Lord of Breben, but I perceive he is not; what ye reason is [I know] not, but 'tis a thousand pittys yt those uncertantyes abide with him. I pray [commend] my love to him, and tell him, I would not have him finde at any thinge, for ye Kinge will not leave him long att Dunblane, after he hath once setteld yt 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 differ his protestation concerning ye Chappell, [and] to leave ye rents prefently to Dr. Wedderbourne; and twill not be long ere letters come from ye Kinge to take of the Annats from ye Bp릭ks; and Dor Forbes being ye late B^o Exequor, being a worthy man, may be better considerd some other way. As for ye Annats of ye Ministers, ye King is resolued not to tuch ye same att this time.

Concerning yt wth you mention about fitting of ye Chappell, both wth silver veffels and other ornaments, upon ye sale now to be made of some stuffe of ye King's; I thinke my Lo. of St. Andrewes will very shortly receive a letter, under the King's hand, to give power for all yt you desire; and then, if you do not see yt Chappell well furnisht, ye blame for ever be yours.

The Bp. of Breben is come, and my Ld of St. Andrewes hath written att large by [him,] and I have given my Lord's Grace answere 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 alliance in my Lo. Marquesse, [that I am confid]ent, he will passe Arbrothe, full and wholly, Precinct and all; and his [Majesty is of the] same opinion with me. Therefore I hope that both my Lo. of St. Andrewes feare [and yours is caufe]leffe.

"The next paffage in your letter is only an expreッション wth you have for your overthrowe, and that if they can bring you into disgrace wth ye Kinge, [they will find easier paffage] to damnify ye Church. I pray trouble not yourselfe wth thew conceits; but serve God and the King, and leave ye reft to their protection. It may be such [a fear were] fitter for me, and perhaps I have jufter cause of apprehensions, would I give way to [such thoughts]

In the next paffage you are more confident; hold you there, & lett no man flatter [you in the fer]wife of God and ye King. But wheras you write yt some wth have promisd, and [protested] aire to me concerning ye Church, have, in all Judigatures, since your last return, gone [against] ye Church, I pray name ye same; for I am loth to mistakke percons, and then I shall not [fare] to acquaint 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 feare any thing in my Lo. of Roxborough's busynesse, for I doe not beleue ye King will erect any other Bp.rick in hauft. God blisse him, and make him able to better those which are already, and stand in need of helpe. I doe not hear of any alteration to ye leffe or ye more about ye Exchequer there; but should there be any, I haue moued his Majts ye no thing be concluded till my Lo. of St. Andrewes judgment be knowne, according as you desire. As for ye instance you make, in ye Annuity of Tithes, I read ye alsoe to ye King; and you cannot but remember ye King hath saied enough to you in ye par[icular]: Let this be enough.

My Lo. for ye close of your letter all ye I can say is this, my affittance you shall have in all just and hondble wyes for ye Church; but ye King is noe gracious of himselfe, ye you may be better able att any time to doe your owne busynesse wth him then I am to doe it for you, being not able to vnderstand many difficulties of your busynesse. Yet, considering my presence is here, where yours cannot always be, I shall be ever as ready to serue you as I haue been, ye is, to ye utmost of my power. Soe, withing you all health and hapines, I leave you to ye Grace of God, and reft,

Your Lord's very loueing Freinde and Brother,

Croyden, Sept. 19th, 1635.

W: CANT.

To the Rt Reverend Father in God, my very good Lord and Brother, the Lord Bishop of Ross, att Edenburrowe, thefe.

[Indorfed] 19 September 35, His gladnes for their being at the preffe, especiallie that one Canon vnder the curtaine.

XIII.

DR. JUXON BISHOP OF LONDON, TO MAXWELL BISHOP OF ROSS.


My vere good Lord,

Upon the receipt of yo former letters, I p[refentlie] repaired to my L: Grace of Canterbury, and got a dispatch of what you desired 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, wth signification of the haft it required, to leave the care of convenance vpon his Grace; because, my letters coming from Newmarkett, (where the Court then was,) by an unknownen 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 than all the Canons in Edinburgh Castle; but when men's eares have beene vfed awhile to the sound of them, they will not startle so much at it, as now at first; and, perchance, find them as vsefull for prefervation of the Church, as the others for the Comonweale. Our prayers heer are for your happie proceedings in that great service, wherewith I reft,

Yo' Lordhhippes assured friend to serve you,

London House,
17th Februarij 1635 [1635 6.]

To the right Reverend Father in God, my verie good Lord, the Lord Bpp. of Rosse thefe bee, Ed'.

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 Secretary of State for Scotland.]

Right reverend father in God, and my verie good Lord,

I thank ye verie hartily for yo' Booke of the Cannons, wch I received yefternight. I was present in the morneing when my Lord of Canterbury delivered the Booke to the King, wch, as soone as his Majestie had read some parte of it, he delivered unto mee; and I was glade to heare him so well pleased therewith. I finde some erreours in the Printer, by mistakeing or renverfung 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 eu'er I dealt with; and therefore trust nothing to him nor his servants but what of necesity you must leave.

Since the writeing hereof, I receaued a letter from my Lord of Canterburry, signifying his Majesties pleasure for two letters that should be drawen vp for his hand, concerning the authorizeing of the Booke of Canons; wch, God willing, shall come home with the next packett. I hope my Sonne will take such a courfe, with yo' advice, concerning the Pfalmes as shall be fitt, to whom I referre the same; and still remayne,

Yo' Lord's verie affectionate friend and servant,

S[terling]
I send yo' Lo' these inclofed letters from my Lord of Canterburry, to be delivered by yow according to their severall directiones.

[Whyte]hall, the 17 of Feb'. 1636.

To the right reverend Father in God, and my verie goode Lord, my Lord Bifhope of Roffe.

[Indorfed] 17th Februar 1636. His purchaſing the King's authorifing the Canons.

XV.

ACT OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL AUTHORIZING THE SER-VICE BOOK, WITH HIS MAJESTYS WARRANT:

October 1636.

[Registrum Secreti Concilii, fol. 179.]

Apud Edinburgh, 20 Decembris 1636.—Sederunt.

Thesfaurar.  Angus.  Deputie Treafaurer.  Juftice-Clerk

ACT ANENT THE SERVICE BOOKE.

Forſamekle as the King's Maiestie, euuer ſince his entrie to the imperiall Crowne of this his ancient Kingdome, eſpeciallie ſince his late being ſire, hes diverfe times recommendit to the Archbifhops and Bifhops heir, the publishing of a pūblic Forme of Service in the worship of God, whiche his Maiestie would have unformelie obſerved in this Kingdome; and the ſame being now condeſcended upon, althoſh his Maiestie doubts not bot all his Maiesties ſubjects, both clergie and others, will ſeeve the ſaid pūblic Forme of Service with ſuch reuerence as appertaineth; Yitt his Maiestie thinking it neceſsarie to make his pleafure knowne twiching the authorizing the booke thairof, Thairfore the Lords of his Maiesties Privie Counſell, according to his Maiesties ſpecciall warrant and direction, Ordains letters to be direct, to command and charge all his Maiesties ſubjects, both eccleſiaſtical and civill, be open proclamation at the Mereat Croifes of the heid Burrowes of this Kingdome and other places needfull, to conforme themſelſes to the ſaid pūblic Forme, quhilk is the onlie forme quhilk his Maiestie, (having takin the Counſell of his Clergie, thinkes fitt to be ufed in Gods pūblic worship heir: Commanding heirby all Archbithops and Bifhops, and others prefbyteres and churchemen, to take a ſpecciall care that the ſaid pūblic Forme of worship be dewlie obferued and obeyed, and the contraveaners condignlie cenſured and punished; and to have a ſpecciall care that enerie
Parish betuix and Pafche next, procure unto thamefelfs twa at the leaft of the faids Bookes of Commoun Prayer, for the ufe of the Parish.

FOLLOWIS HIS MAJESTIES MISSIVE FOR WARRANT OF THE ACT abou-
written.

CHARLES R.

Right Reverend Father in God, right truftie and weill-belouit Cousins and Counfellors, right truftie and truftie and belouit Counfellors, We greit you weill. Whereas since our entrie to the Crowne, efpeciallie fince our late being in that Kingdome, We have diuerfe times recommended to the Archbishops and Bishops there, the publiſhing of a publiſt Forme of Seruice in the worhip of God, whiche We would have vniormelie obferued therein ; And the fame being now condefcended vpon, thogh We doubt not bot all our fubjefts, both Clergie and others, will receaue the fame with fuch reuerence as appertaineth; Yitt thinking it necelfarie to make our pleafure knowne, tuicheing the authorizing of the Booke thaireof, We require you to command, by opin proclamation, all our fubjefts, both eccleſiall and civill, to conforme thameſelfes in the praſtife thairof, It being the onlie forme which We, (having takin the Counfell of our Clergie) thinke fitt to be ufed in Gods publiſt worship there: As alſua We require you to injoyne all Archbishops and Bishops, and other Prebyters and churchemen, to take care that the fame be dewlie obeyed, and the contraveeners condignlie cenfured and punifhed; And to take order that euerie Parifh procure to thameſelfes, within fuch a space as you shall thinke fitt to appoint, two at leaft of the faids Bookes of Common Prayer for the ufe of the Parifh; wherein you will doe us moft acceptable fervice, and for which these 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 House.]

We, Robert Bryfon, Bookfeller, and I, Evan Tyler, Printer, by theſe pre-
fents grants us to have received from Mr. George Halyburton, all & whole the fowme of Ane hundred fourty-four pounds, four shillings Scots money, being the juft price of the Liturgies, which are given in to the Chappell Royall. In witnes whereof we have subscribed our names, At Edinburgh this fifteenth of April 1637 years.

Robert Bryson.
Evan Tyler.
ARCHBISHOP SPOTTISWOOD, TO DR. HALL BISHOP OF NORWICH.

[The Original is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, inserted in a copy of "The Booke of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments: And other parts of Divine Service for the use of the Church of Scotland. Edinburgh: Printed by Robert Young, &c. 1637." Folio. The copy (marked KK. e. 24.) is printed on large paper, but it has been rebound and cut down, and does not, as usual, contain King James's Psalms, dated 1636.]

MY VERY REVEREND AND HONORABLE GOOD LORD,

I was desir'd to present you, with one of the copies of our Scottish Liturgie, which is formed so nigh to the English, as we could, that it might be knowne how we are nothing differen in substance from that Church. And God I beseeche to keep us one, and free us from those that craife divisions. Zo.', will be pleased to accept this little present, as a testimonie of our Churches love, and sent by him who truly loveth zo'. and will still remain,

Zo.', most affectionat Brother,

SANCTANDREWS.

[Indoried.]—To my very Reverend good Lord and Brother,

my Lord the Bishop of Norwich.

LINDSEAY BISHOP OF EDINBURGH, TO THE PRESBYTERY OF DALKEITH.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio Vol. LXVI. No. 40.]

WELBELOVED BRETHREN,

A great number of the Ministers of this diocese, thinking the day of the Synode had beine the last Weddfiday of Apryll, did come to this Towne, and finding themselves mistaken, presentlie returned to their owne homes, with whom I spake not. These presents therefore are to defyre you to keipe presentlie the tyme appointed, wch is the last Weddfiday of Maij, for at that tyme there are fundrie things that I have to impart vnto you, and in speciall concerning the Service Books that are to be receaued in our Church; of the wch books it is thought expedient, that presentlie everie Minister and Congregation buy two vpon the common charges of the parith, one for the vs of the minister, and the other for the reader, or him that shall assist the
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minister in the service. The price of the Booke I think shall be 4lbs. 16th. y' is 9lb. 12th. the two. The matter is of no great moment, and the employment verie necessar and profitable, as experience shall prove. I hope y'fore yee will not faill 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 first of June. In the meane tymne I expect that yee will observe the commemoration of Chriſt's Ascension, on Thursday the 18th of May; and on Sunday the 28th thereafter, called Whitfonday, a commemoration of the descendieng of the Holy Ghost, whch haue beene and are solemnly observed throw all the Christian world, to the hono of him who is the God of order, vnity, and peace; to whose grace I leave you, and shall euer remaine,

Yo' loving Brother,

Halyrudhous, 28 Aprill 1637.  

To his welbeloued Brethren the Moderator and remanent Brethren of the Excercife of Dalkeith, thefe.

XIX.

INSTRUCTIONS HOW THE SERVICE CAME TO BEE MADE DELIVERED TO MEE BY THE KING.

[Woſrow 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 blifled memorie, who knew moſt perfectly the defects of the Church of Scotland, shortly after his coming to the Crown of England, out of his religious and pious care of God's glorie, and tender affection to that poore Church, in quâ natus et renatus, beganne serioſly to think vpon the etfa[blifhing 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] shoule be framed; and, by A[ct of Asſembly, fo] 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, whch after hee had redued, it was sent vp to King James, who did take the paines to perufè and consider it, and gave order to the Deane of Winchefter to doe the like, the fame was returned to my Lord of S't Andrews, with his Ma. directions whathee would have to be changed, omitted, or added, to make it the more perfe[ct.}
Before it could be brought \textit{ad umbilicum}, God called that blissful King to Glory.

King Charles shortly after his entrie to the raigne, air not only to his Father’s crowne, but pietie, vrged the fame \textit{wē} a moit pious care and fatherlie affection. This very Booke \textit{in statu quo} King James left it, was sent to his Ma. and presented to his Ma. by myselfe, (whether the fame was done or not by the B. of Rofe then, now Archb. of Glasgou, I darre not confidently averter, 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 paines taken by his Ma. here, and My L. St. Andrew’s, and some others there, to have it \textit{fo} framed, as wee needed not to be ashamed of it when it should be seen to the Christian world, \textit{[and]} \textit{wē} that prudent moderation that it might be done in that \textit{way which might occasion} the leaft offence to weak ones there.

In God’s mercy . . . . . . . . . . . that it was framed \textit{fo} as the . . . . . . . . . . it, and put their hands to it, \textit{wē} I shew to his Ma.; and thereafter his Ma. gaue His Royall approbation, writte to the Councell for authorifing of it, and to the BB. to be cairfull, in all prudent and conuenient speed, to put it in pracliffe, and that it should goe to prefs, that this might be the sooner and better done.

To facilitat the receiving of the Booke of Common Prayer, a care was had beides to make it as perfecft as could be, \textit{so lykwise} that howsoever it should come as neare to this of England as could be, yet that it should be in some things different, that our Church and Kingdome might not grumble as tho wee were a Church dependent from or subordinat to them.

His Ma. prudent pietie was fuch, that tenderly earing for the peace of this Church, some things were kept in our Liturgie which as yet our Church could not be vrged with, and some things which the weaknesses of the greater part would except against: that the turbulent heire might get no advantage by our Booke to difquiet the Church, and that ours might the more \textit{[smoothly]} be receaued His Ma. in a gratos moderat . . . ned vnder his hand, dispensed \textit{wē} ye BB. not . . . . . . . . . . vpon any but such as were willing . . . . . . . their flocks to doe it.

And yet \textit{[His Majesties]} care and prudence was more, that when all was concluded, and the Booke ready for the prefs, to prepare men the better to receue it, gave order to all Archbishops \& BB., till our owne shoulde be printed and fully authorifed, to caufe read the English Service booke in their Cathedralls, to \textit{vē} it morning and evening in their owne houses and colleges, as it had been \textit{vēd} in His Ma. Chappell Royall in the yeir of God 1617. The BB. \textit{vpon} a remonstrate made to his Ma. that feing their owne was shortly to come forth, defired that all shoulde be continowed till their owne were printed and fully authorifed: to which his Ma. graciously accorded.

In 1636, at farthest in the beginning of 1637, the Booke was printed, sent to his Ma. prefented to the Councell, authorifed at His Ma. command, publick proclamation made to all churchmen to beginne the pracliffe at
Easter 1637. His Ma. at this tyme, at euery occasion, put the BB. in mynd of their dutie, and not to be negligent.

The Bifhop of Edinburgh not being able to beginne at the appointed day, the Bifhops meiting in June and July, carefull to obey his Majeftie did think fit, before the Session raife, (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 neireft adjacent churches; and knowing that all were not alike affected to fo pious a worke, ordaining intimation to be made the Lords day before the 23 of July, that the Service was to beginne and continew, fearing that some difaffected would prevaricate in the intimation, caused print the intimation, and intimat it in all the churches of Edinburgh, in the printed order.

What a barb[arous] hub-hub was then, woulde to God it were buried in oblivion. After that the Toune of Edinburgh, fearing His Ma: [displea-

A fpecsly. . . . condemning the fafts . . . . either knowledge of it, or hand in it, and promising obedience (. . . . was put vpon Raefallis and Coal-reillers, but how juftly, let subfequent actions and events declare:) His Majeftie was fo gracious, that he pardonew the Toune, accepted of their excuse: Such was His goodness all this tyme, not one, no not the bafeft, cenfured.

The 23 of Auguft, a Counccell day, appointed to meet solemnly, to know His Ma. pleafure, expected to returne before then; their came to that diet some few Minifters from Fife, and some from the Weft, being charged to buy and recewe the books, to fufpend. Nothing was done then to curbe them, but at Counccell table speaking that their was a fire in all the parts of the kingdome. Quherevpon, in the nixt Counccell day, noble-men and numbers of Minifters did appear with petitions, and crying out againft the Booke as Popith fuperftitions. After which petition and petitions were fent to his Ma.

At this tyme, if I miffake not, my L. D. of Lennox, occasionally being at home, did bringe vp their Petition. They encreafed in number, and then fpoke againft Service-book, Canons, His Commission, &c. Declarations were given in to the Counccell; and heir you would admire to fee the tennor of that Act at Dalkeith, which they pretend as their warrand for meiting, which they abusd to the eftablifhing of their [Tables. His] Ma. was gratioufly pleafed to declar, by op[en Proclamation, hec] intended no no-

A tion in Relligion, &c.; [but that the conte]mp of the Proclamation con-

A cluded at Lin[ithgow,] commanding them all to repair home, would be look't to. Traquair written for came vp. At Stirling was a gracious pro-

A clamation, to affure His Majeftie's subjets of the fynecerity of Relligion. Heir was made the first profeftation againft authority, which in terminis meits & oppofes the proclamation. After that, Privie Seal was fent home. Then the Covenant was put on foot, &c. After that, his Lordship's panis did prove fucceffful: His Lordship can give you information of this. Then the Marquis of Hamilton, &c.

VOL. 1. 3 G
XX.

INFORMATION FROM THE EARL OF STIRLING TO DR. BALCANQUALL.

[Wodrow 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 Councell gave out letters, chargeing every minifter to receive two Service Booke for every paroch church; but Mr Alex' Henderson, and two other ministers with him, in name of the rest, gave in a petition the next day, that they might have some reasonable tyme to see the Booke and consider of it; whereupon the former charge was suspend. The Service Booke was begun to be read in the church of Edinburgh upon a Sunday, when the Lo. Treasurer was forth of towne, and the Councell not preuent, which made a great mutinie in the church, and the service was read with difficultie, the church doores all being shutt; and as soone 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 Council-houfe, the Clerk Register being then Proveft, urgeing him to signe what they demanded, till the Lo. Treasurer came and releved him.

The Towne of Edinburgh being preffed 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 urgeed to vfe it till the rest of the Borroughes did consent to the receaving of it, and they would abstaine, in the mean tyme, from joyning in peticion with them. They could have no answr, but that they must either receive it preuently, or joyne with the rest, which they did, though it might then have been prevented.

The Councell, vpon this, was removed from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, and the Lo. Roxbrughe was sent home with a commiffion from his Majestie, and a proclamation, shewing that no innovation in Religion was intended; but it was fo farr from settling the busines, that they proceeded to more high demands then before, and of others then concerning the Service Booke.

Thereafter, the Seffion being removed to Sterline, and the troubles still encreasing, a proclamation was made there, expressing his Majesties gratious intention and fincerity in Religion, and withall chargeing all men, vnder paine of Treafon, to retire themfelves to their owne houfes; but this was encountered with a proteftation, and no obedience given to the charge.

After this, they made a Covenant amongt themfelves, and a Bond of mutual aide, for prosecuting their caufe in eftablishing of the Religion in that eflate which they conceaved to be the purity thereof, and confirmed the fame by an oath and subscription of all fuch as they could, by any meanes, draw to adhere to them. The Minifters, taking a liberty, even out
of the pulpits, to abstrac\ 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 finde out, (or, they say,) could be pretend against them.

[Indorsed in Balcanquill'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.**

Forasmakle, as by act and proclamation, made and published heretofore, It was commandit and ordained, that everie Presbyterie within this Kingdome fould have had a care that their parochiners fould have beene furnished and provydit, betwixt and Pasche laft, with twa of the Bookes appointed to be univerfullie receaued throughout this Kingdome, for the public\ forme of Service in the worship of God, as in the act and proclamation made to this effect at length is conteinit: Quhereunto, altho great numbers of the ministerie of beft learning and foundest judgement and gifts, hes given dewtifuU obedience, and hes conformed themselfes to his Maiesties royall will and pleafure in this point, Yitt there is some others of the ministerie who, out of curiof\tie and singularitie, refuife to receaue and embrace the faid Booke, and does what in thame lyes to foifter and interteyny diftra\cioun and troubles in the Kirk, to the disturbing of the public\ peace thereof, without remeid be provydit; Thairfore, the faids Lords ordains letters to be dire\ct, charging the whole Presbyters and Ministeris within this kingdome, That they and euerie ane of thaim provide and furni\the themselfes for the use of their Parishes, with twa of the faids Bookes of public\ Service, or Commoun prayer, within fyfteine dayes nixt after the charge, vnder the paine of rebellion and putting of thaime to the horne; and if they faillie, to denunce, &c. and to ef\cheit, &c.

(2.) Apud Edinburgh, 28 Julij 1637.

Sederunt.

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<tr>
<th>Chancellor.</th>
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The Lords of Secret Counsell having heard the Provest and Bailleis of Edinburgh tuiching the proposition made be thame, and course taken conforme thereto, for a peaceable exercice of the Service-booke, and securitie of the perfonis imployled, or who fall be present and affift at the praftife thairof; The Lords ordaine the Provest and Bailleis to advyse amongs thaimfelfis anent ane obligatorie ac{t to be given be the Toun for the real performance of what they fall undertake in the buffines abone mentioned, And allowes thame to publifhe, by touch of drwm, the Orders to be eftablished be thame for keeping of thair Toune in peace and quyetnes, and preventing of all trouble and commotion within the fame.

(3.) Apud Ed' 29 Julij 1637, in the Chanrs loodging.

Sederunt.

Treasurer. L. Alexander. Clerk Register.
Wintoun. B. Brechin.

The Clergie's Report anent the Service Booke.

The whilk day the Archbishop of St Andrewes, Lord High Chancellor of this Kingdome, for himfelfe and in name of the remanent Bifhops, reported to the Counfell, That, in regaird of the late trouble and insurrection raifed upon Sunday laft, for oppoing the Service-booke, and upon new emergent occasions and considerable refpe£ts, It was thought fitt and expedient be thame, That thereould be a furreaffe of the Service-booke till his Maieftie fould signifie his pleure twiching the redrefle and punishment of the authors and actors of that diforderlie tumult, and that a course be fett down for the peaceable exercice thairof, to the glorie of God, his Maieties honour, and the good of this Citie; And in the meane time, to the effect his Maieties good and loyall subje6ts be not defrauded of the comfort of the word, the faids Bifhops had appointed and given order that, in the whole churches of this Citie, fermon fall be made at the accustomed times, by regular and obedient Minifters, and that a prayer fall be made before and after fermon, and that neither the Old feruice nor the New eftablished feruice, be vifed in this interim: Whiche report and conclusion, takin be the faids Bifhops, being heard be the Counfell, They remitted to thame to doe therein according to the power incumbent unto thame in the dewtie of thair offices.
(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 said Lords for removing and clearing of all such scruples, declares that the said Act and Letters extends allanerlie to the buying of the said Bookes and no farther.

**XXII.**

**THE SUPPLICATION OF CERTAIN MINISTERS OF FYFFE, GIVEN IN TO THE COUNSELL, 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 means 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 Presbytery, to receive tuo copies of the new Booke of Common Prayer, and declaring our selves most willing each of us to receive one of the said Bookes to read, that we might know what it containes before we could promise to pratiſfe it, alleadging, that in matters of God's worship we are not bound to blind obedience; it was refuſed 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 refuſed the said Bookes out of curioſity and singularity, to provyde every one of us tuo of the said 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 to jufť and voyd of offence, to have recourſe to your Lordships, most humbleſly intreating, that the Charge may be fuſpended, 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 Kingdom, 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 Majeftie and the Eſtates.

2. Because the liberties of the true Kirk, and the form of worship and religion received at the Reformation and universally praſſified senſyne, 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 pactours should be moſt able to difcern and direcť, what doth beſt beſeeſe our meaſure of Reformation, and what may serve moſt 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 assigned be your Lordships to show,) will be found to depart far from the forme of worship and reformation of this Kirk, and in poynts most materiall to draw neir to the Kirk of Rome, which for her heresies in doctrine, superftition and idolatry in worship, tyrannie in government, and wickednes every way, is als Antichristian now, as when we came out of hir.

5. The People hath been otherways taught by us and our predecessors 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 tyme coming. Therefore, we beseech your Lordships that we may have letters directed, charging the persons who has caus'd use this Charge against us, to compeir personally, bringing and producing the saide Letters of horning, with the executions and indorsations 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 warraund of a Nationall Assembly, 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 warraund of the Estates of Parliament, without whose consent to alter the Form of worship, and to enjoyn all his Majestie's subiects 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 lefs then the Kingdom is a free and independant Kingdom; and as our own Patriots can best judge what is for the good of the Kingdom, so our own Pastors should be moit able to judge what form of worship beseemeth our Reformation, and what serveth moit for the good of the People.

5. This Booke destroyeth all the order of our Kirk-Session, Prebytries, and Assemblyes, and puts the censure of doctrine, the admission 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 must say 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 mists, 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 Councell's Letter to the King.

Most Sacred Soveraigne,

According to the warrant of your Majesties commandement, wee have been most willing and readie to give all concurrence and assistance to my Lords of the Clergie for establishing of the Service-Booke; and notwithstanding of that barbarous tumult (occasioned alenarlie, for any thing wee can yet leare, 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 Councell upon the 23d of Auguft instant, in this extraordinarie time of vacation, expreslie to think upon the best expediencies for advancing of that Service, wee found ourselues farre by our expecation, surprized with the clamours and fears of your Majestie's subjects from almost all the parties and corners of the Kingdome; and that even of these who otherwayes hes heretofore lived in obedience and conformitie to your Majestie's lawes, bothe in Ecclesiatical and Civile businesse, and thus wee finde it so to increafe, that we conceive it to be a matter of high consequent in respect of the general murmure and grudge in all sortes of people for urging of the practice of the Service-Booke, as the like hath not being heard in this Kingdome; so that wee dare not longer delay, nor conceal it from your Majestie, not knowing whereunto the same may tend, and what effect it may produce; neither dare wee dyve further in the tryell of the cause of the said fears or remedies thereof, till it shall please your Majestie, in the deepnesse of your Royall judgment, to preferve the way, after hearing of all the particulars, either by calling some of your Majesties Councell, bothe Clergie and Laiteit, to your Majestie's owne presence, to the effect our case may be taken for pacifying the present commotion, and establishing of the said Service-Booke, or otherwayes by such other meanes as your Majestie in your owne
great widsome shall think fitting; and wee have appointed the 20th of September for attending your Majesties pleasure hereanent, which wee, as becomes humble and faithfull subjects, and these 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.

Lauderdall.  Naper.
Tho. Galloway.  JA. Carmichell.

(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 needlefe noyfe, would make it appear, that either wee have a verie flack Counsell, or verie bad subjects which wee will never beleive, having had soe great a proffe of their affection 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 accessorie to that insolencie and ryot (committed in the tumult that day), were nowayes censured to terrify others from attempting the like; and it doth likewayes feeme verie strange unto us, that the Miniftry of Edinburgh, haveing offered to beginne the reading of the Service prouydying that they were secured from indemnity, and releieved by our said Cittie of the foresaid charge within a moneth thereafter, that the said offer was not accepted, which wee will you yet to accept, and fee it performed; and it is our pleasure that everie Bihop caufe read the Service within his owne diocis, as the Bichops of Ro's and Dumblane have alreadie done; as likewayes that yee warne our Burrowis, particularie that none of them make choyfe of any Magistrates but of such for whom they will anfwere for their conformitie: So expecting that yee will extend the uttermoft of your endeavours, by doing what is necessary, and preventing any inconvenient that
may occurre, 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 Soveraine,

We received your Majesties letter concerning the Service Booke, and according to the precript and direction thereof, we are seriouslie applying ourselves toward the performance of what your Majestie hes committed to our care. For which purpose, we have appointed a constant Counsell to reside here at Edinburgh, and have required the Prelats presence, and written to thefe that were absent, for eftablishing the Service within their several diocies; and have accordingly given order to the Burrowes to make a right choyfe of conforme and well affected perfones, for the charge of the Magistracie, this ensuing year.

By our former letter, we certified 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 perfones, who were earnest and humble Supplicants for oppofoeing 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, barrons, and gentlemen, one from the minifters of the Exercise of Auchtararder, within the diocie of Dumblane, (where your Majestie is informed the Service is practised), and the third from the city of Glaifgow; together with the lift of the remanent petitions: The effect and subsance of all which resolves in one alleadgance, that the Service enjoyed, is against the religion pretentlie professed; or that the same is inorderlie brought in without the knowledge or conflent of a Generall Assembleie, or contrare to the Acts of Parliament, or difconforme from the Service ufed and received in England, which the Petitioners undertooke to qulifie and make good; wherewith we have forborne to meddle till we receave your Majesties gracious resolution thereon.

We doe humblelie crave pardon to expresse our unspeakable grefe to find that your Majestie is not satisfied with the sinceritie 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 accont of all that was moved or concluded in Counfell concerning that biffinesse. We have alwayes beene dewtfullie inclyned to further the performance of your Majesties royall commandements, and shall still continue, as in dutie bound, to answer the truth whiche your Majestie hes reposed in us; and fo humbly entreating your Majestie to be graciously pleased not to hearken to wrongous suggretions which may prejudice us in your Majestie's favour, we pray God to bleffe your
Majestie with a long and prosperous reign, and we rest your Majestie's most humble and obedient subjects 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 seventh of this instant, exhibitt 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 ordained to be directed to all those of the Counfell who were not present; which was done: the other letter was the letter of trufl, 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 Earl of Roxburgh did signifie his Majestie's pleasure 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 at Dalkeith till the firth of February, the Seffion then to begin, and to hold at Stirling. Thereafter, the Earl of Roxburgh represented 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 sent your Lordship one 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 expreffion was accepted in all humility and thankfulness be his Majestie's subjects. 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 tryall 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 Proveft of Edinburgh. Thereafter, some few of the noblemen, barrons, burgeffes, and minifters, in a moft humble and modeft way, according to the order taken the 15th of November, defyr'd to be heard, and made offer to give in one petition; but the Counfell, being carefull to follow his Majestie's gracious commandments and directions, which were represented to them by the said Earle of Roxburgh, entred in a ferious 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 againft the Bifhaps 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 so we ref. From Dalkeith, the 14th December 1637.
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 fitately cause than this, for the which we compeer 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 dependeth the wealfare both of Church and Commonwealth, our condition of lyf, liberty, and temporall estate in this transtoy world, and our eternall happines in the world to come; our duty to God Almighty, the Supream King of Kings, and our allegiance and duty to our Soveraign Lord and Master the King: And as the publice 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 illegall introducation of the Book of Canons, Ordination, High Commission, and Service Book, called the Book of Common-Prayer, in which are found the seeds of diverse superstitious, idolatry, and falf doctrine, so as the Romish Mass is in the main and substanstiall points made up therein: which whole Innovations, as they are fraughted with heaps of absurdities, and intollerable pollutions, in the matter, tending to the undermyning and extirpation of true Religion; so, in the manner of inbringing, they want the warrant of Generall Assemblies, the only representative body of the Church, or allowance of Parliament, but are unlawfully introduced, contrary to both, by the Prelats. First, by causyng set forth ane Book of Canons, wherein it is ordainyd, 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 forerunner and usher to the Service-Book, printed thereafter: which Service-Book, by the Bishops conveyance, was, by Act of Counfell, ratified, long before it was either printed or seem; and thereafter, being thus sheltered by some shaddow of authority, by publick proclamatione, it came forth, charging all his Majestie's subiects to conform themselves therunto, as the only form of God's public worship to be used within this Kingdom; and mimifters, ere ever they had seem it, were charged to accept and buy the name 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 suspension 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 allaunerlie, and did write to his Majestie the difficulties of establishing it. And the subiects finding themselves thus infarled betwixt two extremeties, 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 suppliant your Lordships against these Innovations, so farre tending to the overthrow of true Religion and our lawfull liberties. For preventing whereof we resolved to proceed in that most orderly and legal way whereby to efcue all imputations of factious convocations, or tumultuous dealing, and which might beft tefifie our loyalty to the King our Mafter, by selecting one or tuo of the graverf minifters within each Prefbritry, and one or tuo discreete Gentlemen from every Shyre, to prefeer our complaints, and reemonstrate our just grievances to your Lordships; by whose mediation, the matter might be repreffed to the King's Sacred Majestie, from whose jufticie redrefs was humbly craved and expected, and supplications at divers tymes were given in name of the nobility, gentry, miniftry, and burrowes, to that effect; as the petitions themselves, especially that which was given in the 25th of September, and upon the 18th of Ocober, doth clearly proort: At which tyme, by warrand from his Majestie, procured, as we apprehend, by the Bishops, the course of our supplications was interrupted, and the Counfell at this tyme discharged to medle with any Church bufines; and the Supplicants, by open proclamatione, wer charged to depart off the Toun within the space of 24 hours, under the pain of rebellion: whereby we were contrained to give in that supplication the 18th of October, containing one complaint againft the Archbishops and Bishops as the contryers, maintainers, and urgers of the Service-Book and such other grievous Innovations; and fo, in obedience to the proclamation, that meeting was dissolved, and the Supplicants did return to the severall places of their residence in the country, till the earneft defyre of an gracious answer of our former demands, whilk was alwayes longed for from his Majestie, made us return to Edinburgh the 15th of November, as a tyme convenient of our meeting, being coincident with the term and doun fitting of the Seffion; where we might lykways consult and advyfe of the moft expedient way of repreffing our humble defyres and remonstrating our just grievances to the King's Majestie. But my Lord Thesaurer, 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 tefifie how much defyrous we wer to carry our felues in that humble and refpeftful way which might be most pleafant to his Majestie, (as we hope your Lordships will bear us witnes,) and that the important bufines of deeplie concerning us all might be attented and prosecute by a few, that frequent and numerous meeting was dissolved, and Commissioners choyen for attending his Majestie's anfuer, and to doe what elfe 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 Counsell was appoynted to convean 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 defyred by my Lord Thesaurer and the Earle of Roxburgh not to appeir at Linlithgow, upon assured promise, that our petitions and defyres should be judiciauie heard in Counsell 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 superstitions of Poperie, or violation of the laudable lawes of the Kingdom: By which signifies of his Majestie's gracious pleasure, we are still more and more confirm'd of his Royall care for preservation of true Religion establisht in this his ancient and native Kingdom; and are encouraged, with the greater confidence, to remonstrate and so prosecute our just exceptions and complaints against the Service-Book, and other superstitions 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 so long and patient attendance, our earnest defyres doeth tend to the preservation of true Religion, (which is the very salvation of our soules,) his Majestie's honor, and the subiects lawfull liberties, we believe 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 an 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 humblie crave, that these our prefiling grievances, and just defyres, may be fully represented to his Majestie by the hand of your Lordships who have the honor to be intrusted, as prime Officers of State, and as his Highness's particular servants, with his Majestie's royall commandments; whole faithfull counsell and travell is most requisite in this businesse, whilk doeth so highly concern 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 Arcbishopps and Bishops are our direct parties as contrivers, devisers, introducers, maintainers, and urgers of the Books, (the one whereof is called the Book of Canons, and Constitutions Ecclesiasticall, 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, until our caufe be tryed and decyded according to justice; and fo, the saids Prelates being our only parties, upon whom we have at this tyme justly complained, must be decynd 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 sustained as relevant against the Prelates, notwithstanding they have purpo[fie of]tented themselves at this time, because if the matter and action depending shall not receive a present decision, but shall happen, by anwer or letter from his Majestie, to be remitted back to the Counfell, the Chancellor and Bishops who are Counsellors, will be judges in the complaint given in against themselves; and the Chancellor, with sixe or seven of the Bishops, making vp a quorum of the Counsell, may doe and determine of our caufe and petitions, now depending, as well as they past an Act of Counfell for approving the Service-Book, before it was either printed or seen; which Act, we persuade ourselves, had never been past, if either there had been a frequent Counsell, or if the Bishops had not been the predominant ingredient at that tyme. 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 defyres doeth chiefly tend to the prefervation of true Religion, and the subjects lawfull liberties; neither doe we crave the Bishops blood, nor revenge on their persones, but that the abu[ses 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 remedied, and the power that they have abused may be so restrained, as the lyke evils may be prevent-ed in tyme to come.

XXVI.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REGISTERS OF PRIVY COUNCIL
continued from No. XXI.

ACTS ANENT THE PRESENT COMBUSTION IN THE COUNTRIE.

(5) Apud Stirline, primo Martij 1638.—

Sederunt.

| Thefauler. | Lauderdaill. | L. Elphinston. |
| Wigton. | L. Doune. | Deputie Tre. |
| Kingorne. | B. Brechin. | Advocat. |
|            |            | Justice Clerk. |

The qth day, the Lords of Secrete Counfell being conveened in Counfell, and having at lenth reafourned upon the caufes of the present combustion within the Countrie, and of this present metting, they declare, that the caus of this metting is to repreffent to his sacred Ma[eb] the trew estat of the Coun-
trie, be occasion of the Service-Booke, Booke of Canons, and the Hie Com-
mission; and to thinke upon the beft way how his Majestie may be satified in
honour, and the peace of the countrie secured.

Thereafter, the Clerk of Reg' produc'd ane letter from the Lo. Chan';
excusing his not keeping of this dyet according to his promife; and the
Lord Privie Seale declared, that he had receaued the like letter, and to the
fame effect, whiche he had communicat to the Lord Treasurer, who imme-
diatelie diptach'd a letter to the Lord Chancellor, defrying his lP. to keepe
this dyet precifie. And in refpect thairof, and feing the Lord Chancellor
was not come, The Lords thought met to continue all further doing in
this mater till the morne, at eight of the clocke in the forenoone, whilk
they appoynted to be thair nixt meeting, and to fitt till twelffe, and to meit
at twa after noone, and fitt till fax. And the faids Lords ordains the faid
Lord Chan' his letter, produced be the faid Clerk Reg'; to be infert and
registrat in the Booke of Privie Counfell, ad futuram rei memoriam: Of
the quhilk the tenor followes:—

Please your Lordships to excusse my abfence frome this meeting whiche
I promis'd to keep, but am hindered by diverse vrgent occafions. Your
Lo. knowes my minde in the cheefeft busines whiche is to be intreated,
whiche I affure myfelfe will be the mynd of all good clergie men, that is,
to lay aside the Booke, and not to preffe the subjefts with it anie more,
rather then to bring it in with fiche trouble of the Church and King-
doms as we see. But I fould wiife all this to be fairlie caried, without
anie taiche to his Majesties honour, and the opening of a doore to the dif-
obedience of ill affected people, qvie I know your Lordships will be care-
full; and fo befeeching God to bleffe yo' Counfells with a good fucceffe, I
take my leave,

Refing yo' Lo. humble fervant,
(Subcribitur) Sancctandrewes.

Ed. the laft of Februar 1638.

(6) Apud Stirline, 2 Martij 1638.
Sederunt, ut die praedicto.

The q' day, The Lords having entered vpon consideration of the prefent
eflat of the Countrie, and caufes of the generall combution within the fame,
They all in one voice conceaue that the feares apprehended be the subjefts,
of Innovation of Religion and discipline of the Kirk eftablished be the Lawes
of this Kingdome, vpon occasion of the Service Booke, Booke of Canons,
and High Commissiion, and the forme of introduction thairof, contrare or
without warrant of the Lawes of this Kingdome, ar the caufes of this com-
busution.

(7) Apud Stirline, 3 Martij 1638.
Sederunt, ut die praedict.

The Lords having tane to thair consideration what farther fall be done
for compefcing and fetting of the prefent combution within this Kingdom,
and dissipating of the convocations and gadderings within the same, feing proclamations are already made and publisht, 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 propouned, what nixt wes to be done, It wes resolv'd, that one or two of the Counsell fould be sent to his Maj'ty, to acquittance his Maj'ty with the trew estate of maters heir; and it being voted whether one or two fould be sent, it was voted that one sould goe, and choice wes made of the Justice-Clerk.

Item, the Lords having entered vpon consideration of the remedies, and conceaving that the Service Booke, Booke of Canons, and Hie Commission, as is fett doun, ar the occasion of this combustion, and that the subiects offers thame, upon perrell of their lyves and fortunes, to cleere that the faid Service Booke and others foresaid, conteane diverse points contrare to the Religion presentlie profefst, and Lawes of the Kingdome in mater and maner of introduction, The Lords thinkes expedient that it be reprefented to his Maj'ty gracious consideration, if his Maj'ty will be pleased to declare as aue act of his singular justice, that his Maj'ty will take tryell of his subiects greevances and reasons thairof, in his owne time, and in his owne way, agreeable to the Lawes of this Kingdome; and that his Maj'ty may be pleased graciously to declare, that, in the meane time, he will not preffe nor urge his subiects 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 first, Yow ar to receave from the Clerk of Counfell all the Aéts past since our meeting vpon the first of Marche instant.

Item, Yow have to reprefent to his Maj'ty, that this dyet of Counfell wes appointed to be solemnelie kept, be the advice of the Lord Chan' and remanent Lords of the Clergie, being at Ed' for the tyme, who affured ws that they sould keepe the dyet precifelie; but at our meeting at Stirline, we receaued a letter of excuse frome the Lord Chan', whiche forced ws to proced without his Lordship's presence, or anie others of the Clergie, except the Bishop of Brechin, 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 resolv'd to fend yow with a letter of truift to his Maj'ty, we did fend ane letter to the Lord Chan', acquainting him with our proceding and defyring him to consider thairof, and if he approved the same, to signe thame, and to caus the remanent Lords of the Clergie neerest vnto him, and speciallie the Bishop of Brechin, who wes ane care and ey witnes to our consultatios, to signe the fame, and by thair letter to his Maj'ty, to signifie thair approbation thairof; or if his Lp
did find some other way more convenient for his Majesties honour, and the peace of the countie, that his Lordship's letter to the Lords Treasurer or Privie Seal, would acquaint thame therewith, to the effect they may convene the Counsell for consulting hereanent.

Item, That you shew to his Majesty, that his Majesties Counsell, all in one, finds, that the canfluence of the generall combustion in the countie, at the seven apprehended be the subjects, of innovation of religion and discipline of the kirk, established be the lawes of the Kingdom, be occasion of the Service-Booke, Booke of Canons, and High Commission, and the forme of introduction thairof, contrarie, or without warrant of the lawes of the kingdom.

Item, You are to represent to his Majesty our humble opinion, that being (as we conceive) the Service-Booke, Booke of Canons, and His Commission, (as it is sett down,) at the occasion of this combustion; and that the subjects offers thame, upon perrell of their lyves and fortoons, to cleare that the said Service-Booke, and others foresaid, conteane divers pointes contrarie to the true religion presentlie profefit, and lawes of the kingdom, in mater and maner of introduce: That the Lords thinkes it expedient, that it be represented to his Majesties gracious consideration, if his Majesty may be pleased to declare, as an act of his singular justice, that his Majesty will take tryell of his subjects greevances, and reasons thairof, in his owne time and in his owne way, according to the lawes of this Kingdom; and that his Majesty may be pleased graciously to declare, that in the meaner time he will not preffe nor urge his subjects therewith, notwithstanding of anie act or warrant made in the contrarie.

And in case his Majesty fall be graciously pleased to approve of our humble opinions, you are thereafter to represent to his Majesties wife and grave consideration, if it fall not be fitting to consult his Majesties counsell, or some suche of thame as he fall be pleased to call to himselfe, or allow to be sent from the Table, both anent the time and way of doing.

And if his Majesty, (as God forbid,) fall dislyke of what we have conceived most conducing to his Majesties service, and peace of this Kingdom, you are to urge, by all arguments you can, that his Majesty doe not determine upon anie other course, untill some at the least of his Counsell frome this he be heard to give the reasons of their opinions; and in this case lykewyse, you are to represent to his Majesties consideration, if it fall not be fitting and necessary to call for his informers, togidder with some of his Counsell, that in his owne presence he may heare the reasons of both informations fullie debated.

And you fall lykewyse shew his Majesty, that the Counsell, having taking to their consideration what farther was to be done for compefeing and fattting the present combustion within the kingdom, and dissipating of the convocations and gadderings within the same, seing proclamations ar alreadie made and published, discharging all suche convocations and vnlawfull meetings, The Lords, after debating, finds they can doe no farther nor is alreadie done heerin, untill his Majesties pleasure be returned to thir our humble Remonstrances.
(9.) MISSIVE TO HIS MAJESTIE ANENT THIS MATTER.

[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 Eftate of this Kingdom is suche, That since this laft proclamation, the expression of the subjects their feares, and apprehension of alterations in religion, and of thefe other things conteanit in their petitions, ar come to fo great hight, that we conceave ourselves bound in duttie to repreffent the fame to your Sacred Ma\textsuperscript{te} be one of our owne number, and be him likewyses to acquaint your Ma\textsuperscript{te} with our humble opinions and advices anent the reme-\-5\-deis; and having for this purpofe made choife of Sir John Hamilton of Orbifton Knight, and Juftice-Clerk, We humbelie intreate your Ma\textsuperscript{te} may be graciously pleafed to give credit vnto him, in what he fall deliver concerning thir matters. And so praying God to bleffe your Ma\textsuperscript{te} with a long and happie rayne. We reft,


Frome Stirling, 5 of Marche 1638.

(10.) MISSIVE TO THE CHANCELLOR.

OUR VERIE HONOURABLE GOOD LORD,

We receaved your L\textsuperscript{s} letter and excuse anent your L\textsuperscript{s} not keeping of this meiting of the Counfell, whilk be your L\textsuperscript{s} owne propofition and motion was appointed and found moft neceffarie to be at this time and in this place, and we expected to have been affifted with your L\textsuperscript{s} beft advice and opinion in thir great and weightie affaires now in hand, wherein the bodie of the eftat is too neerlie interest. But feeing your Gr\textsuperscript{e} other adoes withdrew you from this meiting, and we finding the neceffitie and importance of the bufines to be fo vrgent as it could not admitt anie delay, we therefore ente\-red to the conideration of the caufes of the preuent evills and remedies thairof; and having spent three dayes thereupon, and debated and digefted all that could be faid thereanent, wherein as we fall anfwer to God, We carried our selves without all priuat refpe\textsuperscript{ct}, and had nothing before our eyes but the glory of God, his Ma\textsuperscript{te}s honouur, and the peace of the countrie. In end, we agreed vpon fome articles to be remonfрат to his Ma\textsuperscript{te} be Sir John Hamilton of Orbifton, Juftice-Clerk, the copie whereof your L\textsuperscript{s} fall heerewith receave marked by our clerk; and if yow approve of our judg-\-9\-ments, we intreate your L\textsuperscript{s} to figne the fame, and to fend the fame to the
Bishops of Glasgow and Edin. request that all be in Edin. or Glasgow, to sign the same. And we are the rather moved thereeto, that the Lord Bishop of Brechin was ane eare and ey witnes to all our proceedings, and affented and affixed all that was done herein; and we thinke it lykewayes verie neceffar, that if your Lp approve heirof, you fall teftifie the fame to his Majie by your awne particular letter; and if your Lp thinkes upon anie better courfe for his Majies service and peace of the countrie, we expect that your Lp will acquant us therewith, and with the reafons moving you thereto; and fend your anfiwer in writ to the Lords Trefores and Privie Seale, who will be resident at Edin. that, accordinglie, they may conveene the rest of the Counfell to consult thereupon. And fo with the remembrance of our best affections, committing your Lp to the protection of God, We ref,

Frome Stirline, 5 Martij 1638.

The qth day the Counsellers prefent, promeift that they, nor none of them fall, fend anie advertisemen to Court tuiching the proceedings of this meetinge, till firft the Justice-Clerk acquaint his Majie 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 transcrips this Letter is marked, by mistake, as having been addressed to (Henry) Lesley Bishop of Down.]

My Lord,

This is the firt occasion I [have] found to anfere your laft kinde letters. I can do no more bot humblie thanke your Lo. for the sincere proffers of your undeerve kindnffe. Truelie it is like ynoth I will be brought to that necessitie 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 subtcribed, and the reft are daylie subtcribing, a Covenant. It is the Oath of the King's Houfe 1580, with strange additions, a mutual combination for refiftance of all novations in religion, doctrine, and discipline, and rites of worship that have bin brought in fince that tyme; fo as if the leaff of the subtscribers be touched, (and there be fome of them not 10 yeeres of age, and fome not worth 2 pence,) that all fhall concurre for their defence, and for the expulfion of all papifts and adherfaries (that is all that will not subtcribe) 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 Paftors are brought in to Edin., to cry out againft
vs wolues: and they, with our brethren here, M. A. Ram. M. H. Roll. and your whilome friend the Principall, (crying 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 staires, swords drawne, and, "If they had the Papift villaine, O!" Yet I thanke God, I am liuing to serue God and the King, and the Church, and your Lo". Your Chiefe is chiefe in this businesse. There is nothing expected here but ciuile warre. There is no meeting of Counsell; the Chanc. may not with safetie 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 drawes him out to knowne dangers, and then makes a shew of protection. Ross keepe at home still, and keepes vp the Service in his Cathedrall, but I feare shall not be able long. What was told your Lp. of his disclaiming the Booke was most false: Dun and he never spake 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 Ross sent a copie of ours to your Lp., 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 Commision, they will not rest there: there is some other designe in their heads. There are still here 500 Commissioners of the States; they relieue one another by course, as Caifer and Pollux went to hell. They fit daylie and make new lawes; their protestations, and decrees beginne thus:—"Wee Noblemen, Barrons, Gentlemen, Burgeffis, Ministers and Commons." They deposite Moderators of Prebyteries, and chuse new. M. Matt. Weemfs subscried on Fryday, preached for the Covenant on Sunday, and discharged the Organ. I have neither more tyme nor paper. God send this Church peace, preferue yours, and send you better newes next. So witheth

Edb. 19th Marche 1638. your L*p humble Servant,

Da. Michell.

To the Right Reuerend 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 Loveing Freind,

Efter I hade cloed the w'in contained, I refayed yo* of the 21 of Ap-
pryle, and I approve y' cours (which after Rothes and Lindsay's coming) is resolved vpon, in writing vp to the thrie Noblemen; and seeing of Articles ar to be refyned and sent to them, as I doubt nott bott they wilbe expref in modest terms, and vpon warrantable groundsis, so it wald be wyfliie adverted that our defyrs be nott too fpairing, nor any thing omitted to be fought, which is neceliar for remedie of the evills present and preventione of future: for althoe the demandis be never fo moderat, wee may expe6t les, bott noe more, then is craved. Bott I knowe thes who ar about the busines are wyfe and weil affected, and God who hathe direct all their former stepts, I hope will gif his grations affistance in this paflage alfo. A letter from Lorne of the 11 of Appryle, is come prefentlie to my hand, schowing he came to Court one the Setterday befor, and was called the nixt day to waitt vpon the King; q' he stayed a full ho' and a-halfe w't his Ma'tie alone, and (with his Ma'tie permissione) hade verie frie conference w't 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 advyfe. But this pairt was fo generall and ambiguous, that I culd nott knowe his meaning, for he said he wold explain this poynst at mooting. Ther was noe thing determined anent o' busines at the writting of his letter, nor hope y' a Generall Assemblie wilbe granted. Wee ar nott beholding to the Steatif-men's report of o' cariage; and if they offerr to joynye and interpone the King's autoritie to further otheris who offeris ther service to the King, they vndertake to effectuate all the King wold have done; so that ze write of Huntlie and M^Kaye feemes to be trewe; and if wee seeild nott to that whiche shalbe declared nixt concerninge the King's farde pleafour, (which I fear will nott be satiffactorie) wee may shortlie expe6t the worst; which is all I can find by what is writtin to me: Bott I am confident Lorne shal stand faft, and nott be moved w't all y' temptationis; so y't if Rothes knowe of a fuir bearar, or be to send one vp with the letter to the 3 Noblemen, he will doe weill to writ to him apairt, and w't fridome, or heft back this bearar to me; that after I knowe what is concludit, I may writt to him as shalbe thought most convenient. So trufing to heir from 3ow w't expedi-tione, I reft in heft.

Lowdown, the 24 Appryle 1638.

30' most loving freind,

I have writtin to the Earle of Rothes, accquainting him w't what I learned by Lorne's letter, and desiring to knowe what he will advyfe me to writt to him, for till I knowe what is writtin vp to the 3 Noblemen, and o' demandis,
I can not resolve what to wrtie to Lorne. Therfow hearft back this bearar.

To my Right worthie and loveing Freind,
Mr. Archibald Johnftoun of Wearafoun,
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 Indiciing of a Generall Assembly, as, firft,

The diffracliounis in the Church, which this is esteemed by many the best and easiest 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 rebellion, preaching what and where they please.

Thirldy, the calling of these Minifteris to an account, that have gone throw the country viurpand other mens pulpitis, exacted peoples oathes to the Covenant, fo called, and miniftred the communion to them that are not of their flock; besides the fastings and humiliationis, by them indicted, q'of they had no warrant.

Fourthly, the examination of the Book of Comon Prayer, if there be any thing in it sounding to Poperie and superstitiou.

Fifthly, to trie the Book of Canonis, if there be any Canon therin q'cho is not concluded by Generall Assemblies, or in comon pradtife of the Churche.

And the main and laft reason, is, That it is supposed the grant heirof may move thefe men to difsolve their meetingis, and leave the town of Edin' free for the minifratioun of justice. There is no queftioun, at 50' G.'motioun, and vpon o' humble requests thar are Churchmen, his M. will be pleased graciouly to grant an Assembly: But as it [is] in his M. sole power to call an Assembly, the time and place must be left to his appointment.

As to the manner and way of proceeding, it may be at lyfure considerit and advyf; and, in the mean time, 50' G. wold be pleafit to tak fome courfe for repreffing these feditioufe sermons and preachers that are daylie preaching in Edin', one q'of this day made we have defyrit my Lord Regif- ter to report to 50' G. Oy'wyfe, as we cannot look for any peace heir; we will tak the neerest way to secure o'felfis.
Dr. BALCANQUALL'S PROPOSITIONS TO CHARLES THE FIRST.

[Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVI, No. 37. This Paper is indorsed 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 Majestie shall think it not fitt to chaftifie his subjefts of Scotland wth a just warre, or at leaft not to doe it yet, these thingis must be taken as granted: First, that it is not to be imagined that they will ever renounce the Covenant: Next, that no satiſfaction can be given them without abrogating the Five Articles of Perth, and granting them a free Parliament, and a free Generall Assemblie; 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 danger is not fo great, his Majestie having a negative voyce, by wch, he then giving them a stoppe, thingis can be no worrie then they are now, but rather better; for they can never be better prepared for force then now they are, and his Majestie shall gaine tyme for his designes: But the inconveniences of a Generall Assemblie are verie great, his Majestie theirin having no negative voyce; for,

First, they will undoubtedly suffer no Bishop to be Moderator or President of it; wch is a thing to that order most disgraceful.

Secondlie, They will undoubtedly proceed to the accusation, deprivation, and excommunication of some of the present, and those the principall Bishops.

Thirdlie, The mildest thing that can be expected is, that they will fo limite Bishops for the tyme to come, as that they shalbe onely titular, and keepe their revennewe, but shal have no jurifdictiion, and be made lyable to the cenſure of Generall Assemblies as much as any other minifters: These thinges are certainlie to be expected from the Assemblie; but besides, these thinges are justly to be feared from it:—

First, That they will repeale all Acts of Generall Assemblies whereby Bishops were erected; wch they may doe, and then they are confident that
all Acts of Parliament erectinge Bishoppes, being only Acts of Ratification of these Acts of Generall Assemblies, are ipso facto void, as being meerlie relative to thingis wher they will now make Nonentia; and this poyllous tenet is put in them, and mainteyned by many lawers, though by others, as good lawers, rejected.

Secondlie, They will enact, that any Bishopp who shall euuer be of the Privie Councell, Seffion, Exchequer, or any other secular judicature, shal be excommunicated and deprive.

Thirdlie, It is justlie to be feared, that all the rigid Acts where now they shall make, shalbe made additionals to their Covenant, and so accordingly svorne vnto.

Yet their be probable inducementis for his Maiestie to grant them a Generall Assemblie, notwithstanding the other great daunger:

First, Vpon the verie refuall of a Generall Assemblie to them, they will immediatlie indict one themselves, (for that they may doe it, after they have petitioned his Maiestie for one, and not obtayned it, the lawers have assurred them,) and then all the former inconveniences will follow, and that with farr more violence, they being not restrained by the presence and interlocutions of his Maiesties Commissioners.

Secondly, The Lords, and many of the Minifters, in our communications with them, have protefted, that they intend no totall destruccion of the Epifcopall Government, but onely restricction of it to the Lawes of the Kingdome.

Thirdly, If notwithstanding, these their promisses, they should goe on to take from Bishoppes those things where Acts of Parliament have given them, then his Maiesties Commissioner’s Proteftation to the contrarie will have their right, till it be discredite coram judice competente, as well as they conceive their Proteftation doth have their right.

Fowerthly, It may be hoped that the care and wisdome of his Maiesties Commissioners may take of the edge of many mens forwardnes; for we have seene that the fingular dexteritie and wisdome, the infinite patience and indufrtie of his Maiesties present Commissioner, hath gained tyme hitherto, and restrained them beyond all hope, from preuent violences and outrages.

Fifthly, If in that Assemblie, thingis goe the worst that may be, his Maiesties Commissioner’s Proteftation will make his Maiesties cafe to be no worfe than it is now, but rather better, having gained tyme for ripeninge his de-fignes; and their cafe, I am sure, cannot be better then it is now, and the president of their indicting ane Assemblie of themselves is of dangerous concequence.

If his Maiestie be not pleased to grant them a Generall Assemblie, then Barwick must presentlie be looked after, els they will take it, and the Non-covenanteres, especiallie the Minifters, must have present and private warninge to provide for their faifties.
XXXI.

SOME DIRECTIONES SENT TO PRESBYTRIES,
27TH AUGUST 1638.

[Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXII. No. 10.]

1. THAT everie Prebytirie 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 Prebytirie to the Generall Assemblie, therfor it is statute and ordained, that, in all tymes coming, three of the wyfe& graiveft of the brethrin fall be directed from everie Prebytirie at the most, as Commissioners to everie Assemblie, and that none presume to come without commissioun; and lykwyse, that one be directed from everie Prebytirie in the name of the Barrooms, and one out of everie Brough except Edinburgh, which fall have power to direct two Commissioners to the Generall Assemblie."

2. That everie Prebytirie have ane coppie of the commissioun to be given to the Commissioners; wherof the tenor followis:—"At the day of The quhilk day, after incalling of the name of God, we the members of the Prebisterie of having diligently considered the manifold corruptions, innovations, and disorders, disturbing our peace, and tending to the overthrow of religion, and liberties of the reformed Kirkis within this realme, quhilk hes come to passe, especiallie through want of the necessarie remedies of a Generall Assemblie, allweill ordinarie as pro re nata, injoyed 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 presents, &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 erroneous in doctrine, or scandalous in lyff; that they be not choyfen Commissioner; and, iff the Prebytirie refus them proces, that they proteft againes that refuifall, and therefor againes the electionn of these Minifteris, and therwpon to taik Insturmentis, and to extract the famin.

2. To have a speciall caire that informationes be tymonfifie maid againes everie Bishope, with the fuir evidences thereof; anent their mistantiages in Synodis, Prebytiries, Hie Commisn; urgeing Intrantis to subferyve vn-warranted Articles, receaving of brybes from intrantis; staying cenfure
against Papistes, giveng licence to marie without asking of banns; the pro-
phanitie of their owyn lyves, by drinking, whooring, carding, dyeeng, fwea-
ing, breaking of the Saboth; the purchais of their Bichoprickes by bryles,
their vnhonest dealling in civill barganes, and abuseing of their vaflalis; and
these and sicklyk, commoun to all, or propper to anie, to be gathered and
put in ordour by fun in euerie Praefbytrie, to betrusted for that effeç, and
their diligence to be reportit against the 20th of September, leaft the noye
of all our complaintis againes the Praelatis evanish at the Assemblie.
3. To remember the minifteris to be redde for disputation about such
heids as ar lyk to be agitated in the Assemblie; as, De Episcopatu, de
senioribus, de diaconatu, de potestate magistratus in ecclesiasticis, pra-
sertim in convocandis conciliiis, et qui debent interesse in conciliiis, de
civili jurisdictione ecclesiasticorum eorumque officiis in civilibus, de rebus
adiaphoritis et potestate magistratus in illis, de liturgia praescripta, de
ritibus ecclesiis seu Liturgia Anglicana, de sacramento, de corruptelis
liturgiae et libri canonum, de quinque articulis Perhensibus, &c.
4. To chufe thrie Commiissioners in everie Praefbytrie quhair they can
be had weill affected, and to vfe all means how fewier may be chofen in
evill dispofed Praefbytries: Let weill affected Barrounes and Ministers nixt
adjacent indevoir for this.
5. Consultation would be had by the best affected among themselflis, befor
the electioun, that in the chuifeing the voyces be not devrydit, but may
disfencend togidder on the famin perfounes.
6. To vfe all means for ec Maxwell the in electioun, as far as may be,
Chapter-men quho have choyfen Bishops, thos quho have fitten vpon
the High Commiission, Chappell-men quho have countenanced the Chap-
pell-ceremonies and novatiounes, all quho have offered to reid and præctis
the Service Buik, the Buik of Canounes, and Minifteris quho ar Jutices
of Peace, althe they have fubfervit the Covenant, unlees they have defitit
and acknowledg'd the vnlawfullnes of their former doeing; becaus thes and
such lyk will be readye to approve these corruptionnes in the Assemblie.
7. That where a pryem Nobleman and weill qualified gentleman may be
chofen in fundrie Praefbytries, that he be chofen in that Praefbytrie where
their is gytttefell scairfittie 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 War-
riston'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 vnknawin to yow how the pitiful cafe of our Kirk lying sick of
many diseases in the want of her ordinarie yeirlie Generall Assemblies, hath called these many yeires bygane vnto vs, her children and servantis, to cry with her for help to our Lord Jesus, her husband, who now of late is risin vp for us, (bliishe be his holie name). And haveing led us along throw the coursie of lawfull meanses fit for her recoverie, doeth now call us by manie evidences as vnto a more deip humiliation for our finnes aparte, fo also vnto a Generall Assembly of the Kirk togidder; for obtaining whereof as we have often made supplication to authoritie, and long waited in all patience, so haveing 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 expectacion thereof, our eyes in the mean tyme being fixed mainelie on the Lord Jesus, who as he hath a vncontrollable rcht of gathering his awin people into Holie Assemblies, and ruileing his awin house and effaires in all the dominickes of the Earth wher it pleafeth him to have a Kirk, fo hath he this privilidge in a special manner in this land by long posfession, (vjujtile interrupt-ed,) and Actis of Parliament confirmed fo vnto him, as this parte of our service cannot evin befor men be quarrellde; spciallie now, quhen, for want heirof, his servantis of the Ministerie ar becum strangeris one vnto another, and ar as far from communon of giftes as if they lived in fundrie kingdoms, yea ar begun to be devydit in judgement and affe6tioun, ther former peace and vnity turned in schisme and divi6ioun, the doctrine, once pure amongst us, now corrupted by Arminianisme and Poppifh errouris, the teachers thereof these sundry yeires bygane rewarded and preferred, quhen the faithful and peaceable pa6oris were cenfured and thurft from their places; and the Lordes people made to doubt of their religioun, not knowing what hand to turne vnto, and almoft throwin into the pit of popifh su6perstiti6n and tyrannie, oppined wide in the late Service Buik and Buik of Cannones, which yitt ser the beginnings of greater evilles; So that if this remedie be neglec6it, we fie no appearance of recoverie or settleing of true religion amongstus, bot all must goo to confusion, and our Lord and his people heir be divorced ane from another, quhich could affe6t us more then the fewering of our lyffis from us. These ar therfor to exhort, requict, and to charge yow to consider the lawfulness and nece6tic of v6eing this remedie according to the printed Reasounes for a Generall Assembly, and for the better preparation of the Commissioneres that they may be in readines vpon the shorter adver6e6timent, when tyme and place fall be appointit, that ye would now in this strait exigent goo about preparation for the Assemble. And after the 20th day of September, the tyme appointit for the returne of His Ma6ies Commissioner, with your best convenience, chuse your Commissioneres, according to the dire6tioun to be delveryd with thes vnto yow, fo that they may repairi hither to Ed6. befor the first of October, or fo soone as may be, to convien with the rest of the Commissioneres, and to refine His Ma6ies last anfwer from His Ma. Commissioner, fra q" we expe6ct the preuent in6te6ton of a frie Generall Assemble; and that to als short a tyme as the vrgent nece6tic of this Church requireth, or vpon refufall y'of, (which God forbid), to adyve and resolue vpon such lawfull remedies as may cure our preuent evilles, and prevent the extreme miseries of the Kirk and State
threttened y'by, q're 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 endis. In confidence q'of, haveing given yow this loveing and tymeous warn-
ing, we remain, yo' Brethren and fellow serves in the Lord,

The Noblemen, Gentrie, Burgessis, and Ministers
waiting at Edinburgh.

Montrose. Cassillis.
Lindesay. Cranstoun.
Yester. A. Forbes.
Balmerino. Johnston.

J. Wemyss, sir of Bogie.
William Hume, Ayton.
J. Cheyles of Kerfwell.
A. Dunbar of Grange.
Gray, sir of Nauchtane.
A Swintowne.
Bischoptoune.

(The following signatures are upon the opposite page of the original.)

J. Cochrane, Commissioner for Ed'.
Thomas Paterson, for Ed'.
John Osburne, for Ayre.
Rt. Richardsone, for Drumfries.
Ge. Bruce, for Culros.

subscriptione of Min' Comissioners fra Prebiftries.

Jo. Ker, at Saltprüftoun.
M. David Dickson, Irwin.
Mr. Andrew Cant, Petulgo.
M. R. Cranstoun, Skunye.
M. Robert Murray, Methven.
M. Alan Fergusoun, at Strae-
blain.
M. Rt. Mairtine, at Ettrick.
J. Norwall, at Balphron.
W. Guild, at Abd'n.
Mr. Alexr. Makgowne at
Moufwall.

M. A. Ramsay, Ed'.
M. David Dalgiesche, Cupar.
Mr. Andrew Auchinlek, at
Largow.
M. A. Blackhall, Aberladie.
Mr. Joh: Cragingelt, Allo-
way.
M. James Hammiltoun, at
Drumfries.
Mr. William Menyeis, M.
at Canemore.
M. Johne 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 Prefbitry 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 pafs especially through want of a necessar remeid of a Generall Assembly, as weil ordinar 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 Generall Assembly, which is indicted by his Majestie to be at Glagow the 21st of November next to come, doe, by thir present, nominat and appoynt Mr. DAVID DICKSON minister at Irwin, Mr. ROBERT BAYLIE minister at Kilwinning, Mr. W. RUSKELL minister at Kilburnie, as also JOHN LORD of LOWDOUN ruling elder of the parochin of Newmylnes, in name of the barons, conjointly and severally, our lawfull Commissoners, giving and granting to them, our full power, commiffion, and express charge, to repair to the saide Assembly indicted by his Majestie to be holden at Glagow upon the 21st of November next enquiring, 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 commiffion, in our name to propofe, treat, reafon, vote, conclude (according to the word of God and Confession approven by sundry Generall Assemblies, and received throughout the whole Kingdom,) in all Ecclefaifticall matters competent to a free Generall 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 commiffion and charge, We have subscribed thir present:

Mr. Michael Wallace, Moderator, Mr. J. Fullarton, Clerk to the Prefbitry, Mr. Jo. Bell, Mr. A. Dunlop, Mr. W. Lindsay, Mr. R. Bell, Mr. H. Eglinton, Mr. H. McKaill, Lord Montgomerie for Ardrossan, Cunninghamhead for Stevenfown, J. Cunningham of Aikett for Dunlop, Blair of Adamtown for Peirftoun, Southook for Long-Dreghorn, Mr. R. Barclay for Irwin, T. Niving of Munkriding for Kilwinning.
SIR THOMAS HOPE, LORD ADVOCATE, TO THE EARL OF ROTHERES.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio Vol. LXVI., No. 56. In printing this letter, the numerous contractions in the original have not been retained.]

PLEAAS 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 hinderin the Subscriptioun; and I find your Lordship's letter inclyne that way, quhilk makis me almoist stupifet; 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, trewilie I fould haif beineloth fo quicklie to haif embracit it. But quhen your Lordship, (and utheris quhom God hes blifet with that honour to be infrumentis to bring his Kirk to this happie efait wherein it is now, and to the full perfecioun quhairof thair is nothing inlaiking but that quhilk, on 2 Merche 1580, wes, be Actis of Kirk and Parliament, establischit for the governament of Godis Kirk in this kingdome) dois feyme to oppugne it, I am brocht to suiche a perplexitie that I know not quhair to fix my mynd; for I dar not deny obedience to my Souerane quhair he commandis that quhilk is lauffull, and aggreabill to Godis word, and quhilk ze both think to be so and hes interpreft fo in your particulars exprefst 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 fo mercifully and wonderfully blifet in the beginning of this work) feymes to inclyne to. But I may and will fay, I fand ane good warrant for myself to do quhat I did, and prayis to the Lord that thairs may haif als good succefe, as in hart I wilche, onlie I feir that the course of opposition takin fall not produce to them according to thair pious intentionis; and I can not fay that intentionis ar a good warrant ather to refufe quhat is good, or to do that quhilk is contraire. The Lord direct ze ow all, and if ze wald elchew the feir of diuifioun, chok it in the entrie, be commanding ane abfolut vnioun, quhilk is very eafe if ze fall gif ordor to all to subferyve this, as one in substance with the other. Pardoun me, my Lord, if I haif excedit the bounds of my anfuer, for the buslines and the feir of the event of it breckis my hart; but go quhat it will, I truft in God to haif both my lyff and soule for a pray. So committin your Lordship to Godis grace, I ref,

Your Lordship's humblill servitor,

Craighall, 2d October 1638.

THOMAS HOPE.

To the right nobill Erll, my Lord the Erll of Rothere.
XXXVI.

LINDESAE BISHOP OF EDINBURGH TO THE PRESBTERY.  
[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVI. No. 42.]

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL AND WELBELOUED BRETHREN,

I AM informed ye ye haue summoned Mr. David Mitchell to compeire before you, and to be cenfured for certaine points of erroneous doctrine delinuered by him from pulpit, as is alleaged, and ye ye are to proceid against him 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 Edinburgh 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 these bounds where ye delinquent serveth, is to take tryall of ye fact, and vpon just cause found, to deprive; and ye like order to be obserued in suspension of ministeris from ye exercise of ye function; These are ye fore to requyre you not to proceide to any of ye forlaid cenfurs against ye said Mr. David, vntill ye I, associating to my selfe, you, ye ministerie of ye bounds, take tryall of ye fact wherepon he is accused; with I, by these presents, offer my selfe to doe at any convenient tyme and place to be appointed by vs with comonc consent. Otherwis, in my judgment, ye shall doe best to continue this proces, and all other of this kinde till ye Generall Assembly indiciated by his Maie, ye there all things may be handled without prejudice. So hoping ye will take this matter to yo wise consideration, and direct some of your brethren to me with answere, ye after conference with them, both ye and I may advise and doe with shall be found most expedient for ye honor of God, ye peace of ye Church, and ye quietnesse of our owne conscience at ye glorious appearance of our Saviour ye Lord Jesus, who fall render to every one according to ye with he hath done in ye body, whether it be good or euil, to whose grace I commend you, and in him doe rest,

Your very loving Brother,

Halyrudhous, 9th October 1638.  
DA. EDENE:

To his welbeloued Brethren, the Brethren of ye Exercise of Edinburgh, 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 you]wr G. his letters to my L. Commissioner, dated the 18 of this pre-
sented, your G. seemeth to expect from me, according to my promise, the reasons why I conceive this present Assembly indicted, cannot hold with his Majesty honor and satisfaction. Trewlie, my meaning was, that I conceived nothing would be concluded in it, either for his Majesty honor or satisfaction: my reasons are the same with my L. Commissioner at Oatlands, [repre]sented to his Majesty, wherein their resolution, both utterly to abolish Episcopacy and ratifie their owne Covenant, were demonstrated; to which now may be added, the dangerous points with they mean to ventilate and establish their, with your G. will easily perceive by their Private Instructions, with I sent to your G.; as also their daily growing insolent proceedings, which your G. will easily perceive, by my last from Hamilton, and from Dalkeith yesterday. But whether it will more confit with his Majesty honor, that the Assembly should meet at the day and place assigned, I leave to your G. his mature advyse. The Covenanters hope it shall bee 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, your intamit that you have reviewed the Devyns of Aberdeen’s last Duplyes, with your G. proposeth to have print-ed with the rest: if they be the same duplyes with I sent your G. from Hamilton, then the Commissioner will send to them to divulge their copies, for the Devyns themselves do earnestly defyre it, as my L. Marquis will shewe 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 LL. Covenanters had in many places said that they hoped the ministers should be drawn by the Aberdeen’s men . . . . the Covenanters mynd in a poynit for with his . . . . would give the Aberdeen’s men, no thanks; but also because your G. in your letters, had intimate your dislyke of farther replying, the first velitations, (as your G. truely affirmed,) being more vigorous, the rest more languishing and verba. But your G. having receaved their duplyes from Hamilton, in your G. xixt letters, wee expect your G. advyse heirin, with shall bee accordingly followed.

The inclosed I shewed to my L. Commissioner; it is sent from a man of woorth, and a Covenant, to whom I [have been] much beholden for intelligence in their secret [acli]ngs. The latter part of it since it concerneth a . . . . ws, great man, and at this tyme the moft to bee looked [vn]to of any man in this kingdom; and being not willing to . . . . e him, yet unwilling that his Majesty should not knowe of him [as much] as I do, I thought good to send with the letter it selve, humbly beseeching your G. to send it safely back againe; for if the writer should 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 Principal of the Colledge of Glaico, the learned covenantant in Scotland, but to fearfull, that he darre not owne it, and indeed if he should be knowne, [beseide]s his danger, we should loose that great wfe which my L. Commissioner maketh of him. My L. Commissioner meaneth presently to
putte it to the preffe. One thing I defyre yowr G. advyfe in, Whether I shall not caufe to be printed after it, their generall and publifhed Instruc-
tions to the feverall Prefbyteries for the election of their Commissi-
ioners, as alfo their private ones, wch they think are not knowen, that so the rest of the
hoodwinked Covenanters may fee how much they have been abused? or shall we rewefe that private paper to wpbraid them with it in their teeth
at the opening of the Affembly. I send yowr G. lykewyse their newe In-
tructions, sent through the kingdome, by wch yowr G. may eafly fee what
tumultuous and violent proceedings they [intend] to yfe, not without force,
if they fee caufe. If yowr G. think fitte, thishall be printed too. I hope
I shall have it by the nixt returne. God keep yowr G. is the heartie
prayer of

Your G. moft obliged and devoted,


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 Holy-
roodhouse, 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 publickly 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.

"Sir, We also befeech yow to grant and to preserve to us of the Clergie,
and to the Churches committed to our charges, all Canonick 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 fame, and promise to maintain yow
and everie one of yow, 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 moxt 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 diispose of the privileges and poffeions of the Prelacy of Scotland, to abrogate, or abridge the same as he sees fit, when it pleafes his Majeftie; but by taking his Oath his royall liberty is fo conftained, as he cannot choose to doe but what he hes sworn, albeit it should be found to his hurt.

2. His Majeftie's Father, of royall memory, knowing that the law of Præmunire had no place in this Kingdom, did keep himfelf free, and retained this power over the Prelates of Scotland faft in his own hand, for his own efpicial reafons concerning himfelf, and the publi£ good of this Kingdom; and no reafon the King fhould now be bound, and his Majeftie with his succeffors, by this preparative, in worfe caufe than his predeceffors was.

3. The King being free of the perfonall Oath, may give privileges when he pleafes, as well unzworn as zworn, and no reafon his free favor fhould unnecessarylie be thus bound.

4. It is undoubtedlie more honourable for the King to give to his fervants of his own free will, than by necelaltie and force of Oath; of his own bounty, than by craving of particulars closely conveyed in one generall, and far more fafe to keep his fervants in dependence upon himfelf, 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 reft content with the first Article for maintenance of the religion of Chrift, now preached and profefled within this realm, no reafon the Bifhaps fhould crave more.

6. Seing the particulars which the Bifhaps intend to have are not specified in this Oath, but their project involved in the ambiguous generality of all Canonicall Privileges and whole rights, it were unreaonable to grant what they thus crave, except, firft, their prefent poffeifion, which they crave to be preferved, were tried, and then what farther they wold have, were declared, and found fo equitable in itelf, and fo convenient to the state of this Kingdom, as it were worthie to be zworn, and never to be changed, left his Majeftie's Oath fhould be fubjeft to mifconftuction 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 admiflion gives them, let them be afked, if they will content with what they have thereby: But if they understand by Canonicall Privileges and whole rights, what the clergie had before Reformacion; and yet hes, where Poperie prevails, according to the native and original fenfe of the word, and of this whole article, yet standing in the Coronation of Kings, as it was of old, whereby the clergie may have ground full to claim their old poffeifions, and the King forced either to grant all that they crave, or make fuch interpretations of this oath, as shall not topp the obloquie of the clergie full urging the tenor of the article in the proper and native meaning, it is more nor becomes good subjefts to crave; fpeciallly 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 vaftals, though he wold open a door to brangle rights to lands and rents, which the King's subjects doe quietly possess. give ground to the Church for exemption from secular obedience, and subjection to imposts and taxations, and make way for many other inconveniences, which not to have foreseen, had been great implicitie in this Kingdom, and to have concealed from his Majesty, unfaithfulness. Δεδιώκει τοῦ Θεοῦ.

XXXIX.

THE EARL OF ROTHES 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 full hein aduertified be another Minister; which being neglected as sundry war, I was defyred this day to signifie to your Lordship a purpose we have to be in Edin. [Edinburgh,] & meet together on Wednesday next, for thinking full on the beft and faireft and most submife wayes for preventing thir threatened calls. For all the fals feigetions giuen out be som, I dar say ther is nothing either yit don or intended, that is not legall & submifte, and which can any way be jufly accepted att. You may be a witnes to this, & then can jufly bely thes rapoters. This is mor then I use to do, but it is warrendable. My service to your Lady, & all hapines is wish'd to yow be Lelie, ij Nouembre Your Lordships careful & fervand, 1637.
Rothes.

To my honorid good Lord my Lord Balcarafe, thes.

XL.

LETTERS IN FAVOUR OF DR. BALCANQUAL.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVI. No. 33. The first letter, which is in Balcanqual'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 Duke 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 Athenae Oxonienses, by Bliss, vol. iii. p. 179, Fasti, p. 383.]

And nowe I must be a verie importunit suitour to your Grace, in a buffines in wch I should bee verie forrie to be denied. It is in behalfe of the Dean of Rochefter; the Dean of Durham being dead, that he may suceed in that Deanity. If your Grace will moove his Ma'th in it, I doe beleue he will not deny me this favor for him. His Deanry wch is near worth 300 lb. per annum, will be at his Ma'th disposing, his parfonage of Adilham in Kent, of wch your G. is patron, and wch he leteth for 320 lb. per annum, and a little more: the houfe whairof hee built himselfe from the ground, and wch he hath made the best parfonage houfe in Kent, he will leave to your G. disposing. This I must say, he hath been a faithfull servant
to his Majesty in this unlucky service. A great servant to your G. in periwadding manie of this Covenanting clergie to believe wtherwyse of your G. then. . . . they had been made believe . . . . . of some use in this business and in any troubles wch now after the Assembly are lykely to beginne. I dare be bold to say, his Majesty hath no chaplain can doe him the lyke service, especially in the point of intelligence; for he hath got a great hand with that part of the Covenanting clergie, whom he hath made refer the tyrannie of some of the rest of the ministers, and especially of the laity and lay elders, even to a verie high discontentment, I hope ere long to one open breach; by these men he cometh to knowe all the secrets of that pairtie, wch is of singular wle to his Majesty's service and me. And theirfor, if these troubles hold on, his residence at Durham, or near these parts, wch are near to his intelligencers, will bee verie wsefull. If he should misfe this, I am affrayed both he himselfe will be inceintly discouraged, as thinking his Majesty and your G. do not regard him; as also that the pairtie with whom he hath heir correspondance will beginne to think so too, and so will not eair for continuance that correspondance wth him, wch will be prejudiciall to his Majesty's service. I beseach your G. by the moat . . . . Majesty and your G. welcome answer 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 reason 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 expect) speake with you; and to shew you that I am not unmindful of the daily pains that at this time Balcanqual takes in my Service, I would let you see the case 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 so I rest

Your assured 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 Scottish 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 so long detained the letters and papers heirwith sent, is, That it was our opinion, and likewise our Brother Mr. Henderfon's, while he was here, that they should not be made publick, but referred to keepe the perfons that wrote them in awe, and as a meane to winne them to a strickt and circumpect carriage in their callings. And being now required to send them to the Commiffion of the Generall Assembly, wee have directed them to yow, that yow may make fuch vfe of them as yow fhall think fitt, and wee remaine,

29 Sep't. 1646. Your very affectionat Brethren,

LOUDOUN. LAUERDAILL.

A. JOHNSTON.

SAMWEL 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 penitence 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.)
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 bin a doing heir this week. My Lord Boyd and Loudon came on Tuesday at night, and remained heir til the Fryday at afternoone. Boyd, with a great number, came in to the Prefbiterie, giving in before them that famous lybel against our Archbispoff and his colleagues, (the tenor wherof you have sein since it came fra the eaff) whom they have styled ther the faid Mr. Patrick and his Colleagues; which expression occasioned a mirrie mistake amongst the ruder sort of people on the Thurffday, when it was red publickely in the Cathedrale, before fermon, wher for Colleagues they tooke it to be the Colledge, and mervellid how they could challenge the said Mr. Patriffk and his Colledge of incest, adultery, drunknes, &c. for they believed that both the Bifhop and we wer frie of thefe; also, they beleived that Bishops onlie should have been removed by this reformation; but for the Colledges, they mervellid why they wold remove thefe. Bot to leave fport, my hert wes trelie forie to tie fuch despitful and infultinge carriage; for they wer not content to give in that long lybel to the Prefbiterie, and to fend him the copy of it with a officer, which was al the legalitie they could vfe, but fet up a wrytter boy to Reid it in the Reader's fuite in church, by the knowledge of the Magiftrats of the towne, the Lords and gentleman fittin in one daik, and Mr. D. Dick, in ane vther, singing the triumph over the Bifhop in his pretendit Cathedrale. After fermon, the Lord Loudon came to the Proveif, defyreing him to con-vocat the Towne-Councel: He refuited, bot anfweirer thus, that if he had to doe with any of them, he wold come to his chalmer with thefe he wold requeir. Bot after that, Loudon being enformed that the Church-Session fute at afternoone, by the expectation of any, he came ther with Boyd and vthers, requyred accefe, and haveing entred, had a harrangue of ane houre's length, to the Minifters, Magiftrats, and vther honefe men ther, concerning the iniquitie and daunger of the King's Covenant, conjureing them, by al the powers of heaven and hel, that they wold not subfcrive it. The ground of his fear wes, the hearing of the courfe wes taken in fending for fo many of the printed proclamations, and distributeing of them amongst ther bur-gelis of al forts. His demande in the clofe was, that he might have ther affured promises not to doe it, which he might report to the Tables, whence he had his direcfeion. He prefled the Proveif to anfwer, whom if he had intangled, he knew the refte wold follow. He fhunned to make anfweir ther, it being the Moderator's place, Mr. John Bel: yet fearing leif that good
old man should yield too much, he was induced to answer, and that chairpelie 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 ther deliberation, the matter not yet being come to a resolution, far les that resolution being signified to his Grace, he thought it did not become any Nobleman of the kingdom to require of them a simple negative or promise not to doe; but if the Towne, or any in ther name, wold prafume to answer fo, it wer a vyld flame; wherfor he could not, nor wold not say more, but that they wold advyfe anent that he had spokon; so he was demifed with les content then he expecst. 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 handsomelie, because it falls to be the day of the celebration of the Communion, so that Wednesday onlie is to be kepid hear. As concerning the Protestation you recommendit to me, I have verie good hopes to obtaine it; for although I could get nothing done on Wednesday laft, the Bishop's lybel haveing detained them so long, yit I have assurance of ther coming hear to townne the morrow anent that matter, when I beleive it shal have a good begining; and as I find occaion, I wil daylie sryve to draw in thefe, one be one, that you wold glaidlie have. My collagyes and I ar forie that since fundrie of the precarious people of the countrie hes gotten Aberdein's late reply, we shoulde 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 expeft to be at Hammillton shortlie or not; so cravinge pardon for my long and tedious letter, I ref

Your W. servant in what I ame able,

Glaugow, 29 Octob. [1638.]

Wil. Wilkie.

The bearer heirof, Mr. Archbald Cambron is the brother of that worthie Montfieur Cambro; he is pitifullie vfed by the Buchanans, and hes them cited before the Secreet Council. In helping him you doe a grit worke of charitie.

For the Right Worshipful Doctor Walter Balcanqual,

Dean of Rochester. Thes.

No. 2.

Right Worshipful,

I receaved your letter with the Doctors of Aberdein their duply, for which I humblie thanke you. All heir ar hartilie glaid of ther intention to be at this Assembly. And you may be sure they wil not want lodgeing; althogh my Lord Commissioner his Grace, had not taken such particular cair to have them provydet, we could caus some of our students quyte ther chambers and confyne themselfes in les bounds, or they lackd. I show the Principal what you writ concerning him, and how it was his Majies wil he shoulde owne what he writ; the reasons you referred to metting. He thought it straunge, mervelling what they could be. Be way of conjecture I told him tuo. 1o. That in thir tymes fo ful of misconstructions
and prejudices, *non quid dicatur sed quis dicat,* is looked to. 2nd. That it was dishonorable as I imagined, for his Majesty can to be pleadit by nameles men, as importinge both lake of authoritie dew to his Majesty to protecl, and lake of courage and loyalitie in the wryter not to professe what he writ in the defence of his Majesty just caus. He conjectured rather that it procedit fra some thing in the writ, or els that this is a courfe his Majesty is not earneft for; and I find if it wer a matter that his Majesty and the Commissioner wer resolved to thronghe without being diverted to any mid courfe be the Assemblie, it wer easie to persuade him to avouch what he does. That vther poynct you intrusted to my cair I have agented fo weel as I could, persuading thes of the Ministerie to come into the Towne who I trusted wold be most willing; and havinge met privatelie we drew vp this, the copie whereof I have heir enclofed. I have got the hands of feiven alreddie to it, whereof the gritter part ar sibcrybers of the countrey's Covenant. We keip it vere secreit, both becaufe by this means I hope to persuade moe of the Prebiterie to goe on, who if it wer divulged might be diverted. As lykwyse I find the Principal and vthers of them accompt it full of hazard, it importeinge their pleading of the nullitie of this preseant Assemblie, which how odious it wil be, any may judge. God willing, it shal be keiped til the Commissioner and you come heir; at which tyme if you find it conducible for the King's service, you wil add courage to their fainht herts. In the mean tyme what evir vfe you make of the matter done be a Prebiterie, yet doe not specify the place, for reasons above-mentioned, til once you be heir. If the Assemblie wil goe on illegalle in any thing, I hope the Commissioner his Grace wil command the King's Advocat to plead his Majesty right, who, if he deal sincerelie, will be able to convince them both in the matter of Laick elders, and their procedure against Episcopacie, both whereof ar ilegal. So with my best wishes and prayers that God wold bliffe you, and prosper your labours in this grit busines, I rest

Glasgow, 6th Novemb. Your W. servant in what I ame able,

1638. Wil. Wilkie.

If any letters come in the packet at any tyme directed to me, I hope, Sir, you will give them to some who wil send them hither. I gate some of late, but could not find that they had receaved these of myne which went vp with Master Paine fra Hammiltoun.

For the Right Worfhipful Doctor Balcanqual, Dean of Rochester. Thes.

No. 3.

**Right Worshipful Sir,**

I thought to have had the happines of sieing you before you had gone fra Hammilton, and came ther on Monday morning, being enformed, by a Gentleman that came thence, that my L. Commissioner was not to take jour- nay till Tuesday; bot being come ther I fand my enformation falle, wherat
I was not a little forie. Always haveing misseld that occasion, I doe by these lynes present my hertie service and beft wishes for your undeserved favours shoven me at your being heir; and whithal must make bold to intreat your favour to a poore youth, my Brother, whom you wil find before you at Court. He hes had goode education both at Cambridge and St. Andrews, and I hope shal prove ane able man. He hes written to me that I wold deal with your W. by the intercession of friends heir in his favours, to be Lecturer at Savoy: if you have not some neir friend to prefer to that place, it were a worke of charitie thus to repsect him who is so 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 haveing had thrie yeir education ther, wil have the language prettie weil. I am forie bot his letter had come to my hands before I thod 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 expect as the copeftone of your former favours. The Articles of Perth wer condemned yesterday in the Assemblie, as being contrair to the National Covenant, and confequentlie abjured for ever out of this Kingdome; and Mr. James Forlythe depoted. I ame certanelie enformed, by one that knows it weil, that ther is one Barnes, a merchant of Edin, 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 Ma^st of France, or any Prince, shoul furder the armeing of subiects against ther Prince. I pray God give wifdome to al that hes his Ma^sts ear, to direect him aright in thir tymes of fo grit difficulties, and that he wold blife you in al your effaires, which is the wish of,

Your most affectionate and humble servant,

Glaewgow, the 11th Decemb. [1638.] WIL. WILKIE.

To the Right Worshipful Dr. Walter Balcanqual,
Dean of Rochester, and Master of Savoy, thes.

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 bein my fortune to know the matter of my fute or we shed, I could have bein more confident to have obtained a goode anfwere; and yet I wil not difside, bot what you may you wil. The youth I hope shal be worthie, at leif was accompted fo heir, and had the offer of a prefentation to a church, wherto he was earnetlie defyred be Sir James Carmichael, the Thefaurer-depute; bot feing no peaceable entrie in thir tymes, except he wold run the Country'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, yow wold oblige not a few to be thankful to you in his name; my interest and affection makes me importunat, bot I know you have so much goodnes and love as to overfe fuch venial faults as this.

I beleve I neid not wryt occurrencis, you have them of more pryme men then I; yet being alfe neir the fontane as any, with that Periian to his Prince, (of whom AEliau) I prefent you with a handful of Glasgown waters. Our Afemblie, after the ratification of her Church Regifter, abrogation of fixer former Afsemblies, explanation and reconciliacion of the Covenants, abjuration of Episcopacie and Perth Articles, deprivation of all, and excommunication of moft part of the Bishops, indiction and intimation of ane Afemblie to be keiped at Edr in July nixt, appointment for Committees, visitations, and provincial Synods, with a number of leffer constitutions, tandem aliquando, on Thurifday laft, being the 20 of this infant, it came to a final conclusion. The Moderator, I hear, had a speach in the clofe whollie eucharisticke, wherin he gave thankes, and exhorted al to doe fo, to God and his Maith, for the Afemblie they had gottin, to the Nobles and gentrie for their paines and attendance, to the Towne wherin they had bein fo well intertained, and particularlie for ther commodious feat; yet God knowes thefe thankes wer dew to his Maith and his Commissioner, for refepect to whom onlie it was buildet. Then after some vthers of the minifterie had spokenn, the Moderator, craveing pardon for his forgetfulness, gave thankes to my Lord Argyle, by whois praefence and counfel they had bein so much comforted and strengthened: Wherat my Lord arofe and had a long harangue, firft intreating al prefent not to misconfine his too late parting, and kything for them, protesting he was always their way, bot had delayed to prefent it, so long as he fand this clofe carriage might be advantageous to their caus, bot now of late matters had come to fuch a chocke, that he fand he behoved to adjoyne himselfe openlie to ther societie, except he wold have proven a knave, (this was his expreffion, which how hard fo evir, did much endeare him to his audiotorie;) then his Lo. went on, and exhorted them al to vnite, wiilhing al, bot espéciallie the reuling elders and minifters, to keip a good harmonie; entreated al of the minifterie to confider what had brought the Bishops to ruine, viz. pryde and avarice, and therfor willed them to thun thefe rockes as they wold ecfew shipwratcke: Lykwyfe both he and the Moderator, in their speaches, prefid much al to speake favourable of his Maith and his authoritie. At laft the summe 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 Afemblie had given voyce in thefe termes, Abjured and removed, except onlie one minifter Mr. Robert Baylie, minifter of Kilvining, whois conscience straiter in this particular dyted him to voyce, Removed bot not abjured, to the grit scandal of his stronger brether, 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 particularie red and voyced againe, had drawen vp a supplication to the Afemblie, in the name of conforme men, to mitigate that Act, at leaft that
it might have farder hearing and be disputed; wherof they haweing gottin intelligence, my Lord London went to the Clerke, when he was reeding the catalogue, and caufed him to suppress that man's name, so he not being cited, and therat a little aftonished, did not kyth, effrayed to be made publice odio victima. Vpon the day after, they went al to Ed's almoft, wher no doubt you know better what they have been doing then we; the report went they met ther to draw vp a Supplication to his Ma'te to be hard plead the equeiti of ther proceedings; also to draw the strengt of their voits together in that center to anfwer your reaons in the Commissioner's Manifefto concerning the not abjuration of Epifcopacie by the Covenant, a peace, which, however they flight, calling it (thofe of them who speake moft favourablie) a prettie courtelie pamphlet; yet al that ar indifferent and frie of prejudice, afteimes thefe reaons praegnant and peruaive. I have fend you inclofed the minut of the Acts which was givin vnder the Clerk's hand to al the Commiffioners. Ther be many thinges of grit importance not mentioned heir which they did, as ther choofeing agents for the Church to the Parliament fome young noblemen, Montgomerie, Fleming, &c. with fundrie of the minifters, who muft attend the Parliament in name of the Church, to reprefent matters that concerns hir good, but muft not voyce nor ryde in Parliament; as you may fee in the Acts: So the Church hes excommunicat itfelf fra the whole politick bodie, and fo pure and spirituall it wold be, that it hes communicat its whole policie to the reuling laitie. I fand be thofe that knowes the grounds of the Nobilities proceedings, that the pryme reafon of the removeal of Bifhops is the power they had in Parliament; 8 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 thefe 16 the reft; so that al depended vpon them, and they onlie vpon his Ma'te. Amongst ther Acts heir omitted in the Index, there was ane Act of reference of divers matters to the Parliament; as how the Bifhops rents should be difpofed vpon; item of reforeing Mr. David Catherwoode to his libertie, &c. Al the tyme of the Assemblie heir was grit outcryng againft the Colledge daylie by fome of the Nobilitie, accompling it a high contempt to any incorporation, in the place wher they fate, to have withdrawn their Commissiouner, and difallowed their proceedings: The Moderator, Mr. David Dicke, and vthers, wold notuffer fummonds to be givin out, but choyfed rather to labour in a frendlie maner; in which privat conferences they wer fo 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 viſte the Colledge, and to take order with everie thing they thinke amiff; especiallie to eftablih Mr. Rutherfort a Profeflor of Theologie ther, to lay the grounds of Divinitie, more ancient then antiquitie, and yet laiter then Luther: what fhall be the event of this viſitation you fhall afterwards heir; ther is good hopes to get it shifted and delayed, but come when it will 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 thankefgiving for the Assemblie; a terrible day of tryal for many Minifters, who is difreced to profesio joy, when ther is nothing within bot fear and sorrow. To al the preacher I wold affigne, for
that day, this text, Psal. 2. "Rejoice in trembling;" for have of the first what they wil, I am sure they, and the most part of the countrey that hes any vnderstanding, wants not the latter.

I will not wareie you any more, expecting the favour of some few lynes for a anwer, which you may direct to Orbeiton; and praying God, to blifie you in all your wayes, I ref,

Hammitone, 26 Decemb. [1638.] Your W. in al dewtiful observance.

wher I chanced to be.

If Abraham, the Father of the Faithful, wer alse 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 infulible Judge Mar-prelat, and his company, wer to give sentence vpon you for your superstitious titles of Dean, &c., and though you wer to dispute the queftion concerning reuling Elders with Mr. Ramfay ther champion, lifted vp on a foole in the midft 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 Maftor of Savoy, thes.

[Indorfed by Balcanqual.] Mr. Wil: his letter concerning the breaking up of the Assembly, and my L. Argyle his speech.

No. 5.

Rght Worshipful,

I receavd yours yeasterday, to which I resolv’d, without delay, to returne this answere, although since my laft I have not had the occasion to meet with him fra whom I vse to get best intelligence of particulars. How the guyse goes in general these tuo papers enclofed, ordained to be spred throw all the flyres, at ther Tables, will soone shew you; the firft wherof I doubt not bot long er now the Treasurer and vthers hes brought, the latter possiblie you have not fein becasus its bot juft now divulg’d. If ther former information to England, fo smoothlie (as they conceive) contrived to conciliate favour, hes had such bad acceptance at the good subiects hands ther, as to irritate, and furnished such ample matter to his Maie, in his short preæurforie Declaration, to give them such a laft and such gallic titles and styles as they doe little glory of; what a world of good stufse I pray you shal be fund in thes for that larger promeifid Declaration. For my owne part, I was astonish’d to hear Mr. Dicke preach al thofe grounds, not haveing then fein this paper, which after came to our hands, as you fie, diretching these to be prefified vpon the people by the preachers. Weimen, simple ones, and mad desperate fellows, liftens; bot the gritter number, partlie out of con-
futed by ther Covenant as to swallow sych pillons, (however inurefted, with the hazard of the preacher's salvation for their truthe, and crufed over with the fereue of the good caus,) without a whryning fqueamifhes, the fure prefaage of a sudden randring, voyde of operation. I ame fyl of the former mynd, that his Ma^tes præfence, with any tollerable forces, shal produce a present victorie, and you may confider my reafon, and judge whither I be miftaken. I fay that which holds the countrey on, in ther hazardous hardines, is prymelie ther blindnes; they ar pitifullie blindfoldet by falle enformations and fained letters, difperfed of purpoſe fra Ed' vnto al quarters, and borne in vpon the people as vndevfionable truthe. The King's lake of concurrence fra England, their afferance, although he get affifance, that they wil onlie accompany him to the Bound Rod, but no farther, til they fie a better quarrel; that the trained bands of England, the finews of his power, ar become to his Ma^te foure ploomes, (this is the expreffion of one of thofe fuppofed letters,) yea, fome does not ftand to averre, that our nobles receaves letters of encouragement from fome counceleurs of England, moe then one or tuo of that number. If thofe, and fuch lyke grounds, being prefkyd by men powerful and popular, might not deceave a poore people for the tyme, and may not, in a fpoot tym, proving falle, deceave themſelves, through ther being deferted by thefe they have deceived, judge you: Bot now, since his Ma^te laft declaration, wherin he fpeakes as a King haveing both power and a mynd to vindicat his honor, (to which they ar in al hait printing ane anſweir, and wil yit hazard fome men in fending them to England,) you wold wonder to fie how they flyde from these former falle reports, and takes vther grounds of retaineing the people in ther wonted ignorance and humours, by declaring now that al is in hazard, liberties, religion, and what not; that now they have to expeft to be a province, the Liturgie, Canons, &c. They wer foole hardie, as you may fie by thefe papers, enclosed before his Ma^te enformation to England came downe; but now, fence they feam more desperatlie mad, fo that fome who wer become cold in the caus, shrinking and reddie to reteir, ar now forced, being defitit of leaders and fhelters, to keip vp and goe on in fair generals with the currant, til they met with a contrarie tyde, or fome bush in the brae to grip to, fearing not to make ther partie good in this chocke, and fo to be made the firit facrifice of ther furie. The Towne of Glafgow (as I leard of thofe who feamid to know it weil) was of this number, and therfor had givin fuch a limited commiffion to thefe that came fra them to the meiting at Ed'. that it did grittie difpleafe the reft of the burowes, and grittie wer they vpbraiedt as being Aberdein's fifter, and of a Laodicean temper; ther commiffion rejectetd, and this (the copie wherof I have enclosed which was the ordinarie of al the reft) givin to be fent to be signed by ther councel; this they shifted whole eight dayes, til at laft a peremtorie direcction in grit hait was fent them, by one who was ther weil wither, and saw how matters wold goe, if they shrinked. So at a extraordinary tym, after day light wes gone, ther councel was convocat; for that divers came not, vthers difaffented, bot the grittie part ther prefent, agried to give warrand to the towne-clerke to signe it, although they had promisedit tuo dayes before not to give it til they had hard the judgment of
ther minifters and colledge; and yet if evir they should be necelitat to grant it, they should put in that claufe, "What may concern the King's honour"; but what wil not fear doe. The Noblemen kep their resolution verie cloffe; they met al of them that was in towne, after his Maiies declaration or en-
formation to England came, and fate fra 2 houres at afternoone till neir 8 at night; yet we can not lerne what they did. They professe a oath of fecrecie was taken; they looke and speake alfe big as evir. Spem vulto simulant premunt altum corde dolorem. Grit courage in show, and yt it was told me that it made fundrie of them falled tears. Ther was a meiting apoynted (I know not if it hads [holds] now) at Perth to be the 15th of this month, whither Argyle and fundrie vtheris should goe to speake with divers of the North. The reafon pretendid is to take order for secureing the North fra John Dowgaire's robberies; but I hear fundrie whispering (I know not if they have grund for it) that the thing intendit, is to take some fudden courfe for Aberdeen. Its givin out alfo that Argyle shoulde goe imediatile fra Perth to Glafgow, ther to remaime a space, and by his power to keip 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 taking of armes. If he goe ther, fundrie wil be in daunger, who hitertill hes spoken boldlie against thir vncouth courfes and Table-directions. Its thoght the griteft part ther and therabout wold be more glaid to hear of the Duke or Marquis his comeing in his Maiies name to shelter them. How-
evir, both Caftills and Eglingtonoun wer drawin in to the laft meiting at Ed.; yet none of them wold condiscend to subferyve the band for the 200,000 merks which Wam. Dicke, the proveit, furnifhes. They said they should pay what fel them to pay by juft proportion, but wold not be bund con-
junctlie and severallie. God knowes what difficulties they wil meet with, or all be clipped that they have chalked. Eglingtonoun at that meiting had a speach to the nobilitie, whollie for peaceable courfes, and reprefented all the hazards they ran by taking of armes. It was verie weil spoken, if he speake it alfe weil to them as he did resume it to ws; but wthal he told it was rep-
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, and yt I wil not be fo foole hardie as to name him who is your servant, 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 asfured of one who wil delyver it to the gentleman the laft was fent to, fra whom I ame sure to have it faiife. My freinds ther with you, it feams, hes forgot me, and I dare fcairfelie remem-
ber them, at leaft by nameing them in this letter.

For the Right Worshipful DoChor Walter Balcquall,
Dean of Durehame and Master of Savoy. Thes.

[Indorfed by Balcquall.] A letter from Mr. W. W.
No. 6.

Right Worshipful Sir,

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 advysed, and at least have revysed and corrected it carefullie: yet I have resolved to fatifie your defyre, and to send it after the maner ye requyre to Patrick Hamilton, my Lord's baillie, duelling in Hamilton, vpon Mononday nixt, inclofed in a paper directed to yow. He wil delyver it to any beirar whom ye pleis to direct to him to receive it, (for this I think the saffest way, and ye wil not want occasion to send to Hamilton to him for it, miskenning my name.) I can not be answerable for the correct wryting in al points, speciallie concerning the spelling, which ye wil easlie get helped I wil not be content that my name be any way hard in the matter. I lippen to Gow more, and al wayes remane, 

Yours at command to power,

Reid & ryve.

A. C.

To the Right Worshipfull D' Balcanquall, Dean of Rochester.

[Indorsed by Balcanquall] A letter from the Principall of Glaftgow.

No. 7.

Right Worshipful,

Being heir occasionallie, at the Abby-gate, and seing James Hamilton reddie to take horfe, I have prefumed, in bais paper, such as I could get, and in a tumultuarie 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 enforme you of al hes paffed. Alwayes for the present receive this breif su:me of what paffed in the Assemblie the first 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 faction on al hands agitat, and the Towne of Ed' croffid in their defyres for M. Rutherford, 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 Sattirday, ther was comittees for all the parts of the Kingdome, to revife procesfits of depofed Minifters who supplicat, (for vthers they ar neglecft and ther deposition holden as good;) in which this courfe was taken and yeildit be the Commissioner, that men depofed for vitious lyfe or erroneous doctrine should be depofed, or rather their deposition ratified, vthers whois gritest blemishes wer not subcrevyng, and declyning Glaftgow Assemblie vpon supplication and repentance be receaved. Bot yit when it came to the poynet I fand that Mr. Fletcher of Ed', notwithstanding of a moft humble supplication and offer of al fort of satisfaction imaginable, be them to whom and whois
cenure he whollie submitted himself, could not be reponed in his place, bot one declared capable of one, yther; and now this holds good as a general. Let a man nevir be fo blameles, if he have not subfcribed, if his whole parifhioners doe not petition for him, for al his repentance, he is onlie declared capable of the Minifterie. Laftly, on Sattirday morining ther was a committee appointed, in prefence of the Commissioner and whole Assemblie, for revifing the King’s Declaration, to gather out the ecaips and manifeft falffhoodes (as they terme them,) of that book, to remonstrat to his Ma:ke; and yet when I hear indifferent men speake of that, the fardeft they can say is, fome ecaip in circumftances, bot in the fubftance of the relation, al trew. Arme yourself with patience and providence; and the God of mercie give you courage and resolution againft al ther fpyte. Til farder, Sir, I humblie thank you for your laft kyndnes at Berwick; except it be renewid in the countrey way, direcfid to the Prefbiterie, its of no vfe. My Father hes his humble fervice remembred to yow, and fayes, he can doe no more bot pray for you for your kyndnes to his beft beloved fonne, Mr. James, whom he wold wys to come home (becaufe of the chairges he is to him ther) if he could condifecnd to matters heir; bot of this I defpair, and therfor renews my fute for him. Noght els bot craves pardon.

For the right Worhipful 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 Sess. 25, December [18th] 1638.

The Generall Assemblie hauing confidered, y4 it wes the continuall praftife of this Kirk, as is evident by the Books of Assemblie, and y4 it is now moft neceffar, to give commiffion to fome able and wyfe men of the minifters and elders to visit the Colledges & Univerfitis of this Kingdome; and now being prefentlie convened in the citie of Glafgow, by God's providence, and vnabil to goe themzelfs for the viſitation of the Univerfitie of Old Aberdein, Thairfoir nominats & apoints John Earle of Sutherland, the Master of Berridaull, my Lord Frafer, Alexr M'of Forbes, the Laird of Leyis, Robert Innes of y4 Ilk, Walter Barclay of Towy, M' David Lindsay at Bellhelvies, Doctor W'm Guild at Aberdeen, M'r Thomas Mitchell at
Turreff, Mr James Martein at Peterheid, Mr John Paterfoun at Foveraine, Mr Wm Forbes at Fraerburgh, Sir Gilbert Ramsay of Balmaine, Mr Wm Dougles, and anie aucht of thame, being four Minifters & four Elders, a sufficient quorum, giveand & grantand vnto thame the full power & commiſſion of the Asſemblie, To meitt at Aberdein betwixt & the first Mononday or Tuesday of Aprilly next to cum, to conftitute y'' Clerk & wy'' neceſſar members to vifit the Univerſities of Old Aberdein, To ſummond & conveine befoir thame all the members y''of, To try & examine the qualities of the members y''of giff they be correfpondant to the order of y'' erectionis, To consider how the doctrine is vift be y'' Masters & Regents, & if the fame be correfpondant to the Confession of Faith, & Actis of this Kirk, & how the order is keipd amongst studetns, how y'' rents and liveings ar beſtowit, and all wy'' things, to try & examine whilk anie Commiſſioners from the Asſembly had power to try, or whilk the Generall Asſemblie itselſ might have trysted in her Visitation, an efter due trystell of the members and orders theirin, if they be agridable to y'' Errectioun, and the Actis of this Church; To remove all members superfluouſ, vnqualifieſ, or corrupt, & to plant y'' roumes w' moir ſufficient & found masters; To remeید all difforders, reſtiſe all abuſes, and to doe all wy'' things neceſſarie for the prefervation of Religion & learning, whilk the Generall Asſemblie themſelſs might haue done, or anie Commiſſioners from thame in y'' Vifitationes haifſ done: Lykas the Asſemblie grants vnto the Commiſſioners foirſaids, the power of ſummaunding befoir them all Minifters & Profeſſors w'in the province of Aberdien for to acknowledge the laitt Asſemblie and the constitutions y''of, & vpon their Reſtriſſal, to cite them to compeir befoir the next Generall Asſemblie, to be holden at Edinburgh the third Wednſday of Julij, to be cenſoured for y'' contempt & diſobedience; And this Commiſſion to indure till the laſt day of May nix to cum, & the Commiſſioners report y'' dilligence to the next Generall Asſemblie, & be anſwerable for y'' procedings.

Extracted out of the Books of Asſemblie by Mr. Archibald Jhonſton clerk to the Asſemblie.

[Signature]