

JANETTE CURRIE

*History, Hagiography, and Fakestory: Representations of the
Scottish Covenanters in Non-Fictional and Fictional Texts from
1638 to 1835*

Submitted for the degree of Phd.

29th September, 1999

**Department of English,
University of Stirling,
STIRLING.
FK9 4LA**

09/100

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe a debt of gratitude to Drs. David Reid and Douglas Mack who shared the supervision of my dissertation. I would also like to record my thanks to the various libraries that have assisted me in the course of my studies; the staff at both the National Library of Scotland and the Mitchell Library in Glasgow were particularly helpful. To my family, I am indebted for their patience.

CONTENTS	PAGE
List of Abbreviations	i
List of Illustrations	ii
Introduction	iii
CHAPTER ONE <i>Representations and Misrepresentations of the Scottish Covenanters from 1638 to 1688</i>	1
CHAPTER TWO <i>Discordant Discourses: Representations of the Scottish Covenanters in the eighteenth century</i>	58
CHAPTER THREE <i>“The Hoop of Rags”: Scott’s Notes As National History</i>	108
CHAPTER FOUR <i>Scott’s anti-Covenanting satire</i>	166
CHAPTER FIVE <i>Unquiet Graves: Representations of the Scottish Covenanters from 1817 to 1835</i>	204
Conclusion	258
APPENDIX ‘The Fanaticks New-Covenant’	261
BIBLIOGRAPHY	271

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The Brownie *The Brownie of Bodsbeck and other tales*

The Minstrelsy *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*

W *Waverley*

TOM *The Tale of Old Mortality*

HoM *The Heart of Midlothian*

LWM *A Legend of the Wars of Montrose*

MB *The Mountain Bard*

TWM *Tales of the Wars of Montrose*

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Title page of 'A Sermon Preached at Glasgow' (1679?) p.41a
2. The front-piece to the first edition of
A Hind Let Loose (1687) p.53a
3. A page from William Wilson's manuscript
transcript of sermons preached at conventicles p. 100a
5. Pages 16 and 17 from Grahame's *Sabbath* p. 145a
4. The title page of John Howie's 1816 edition of
Biographia Scoticana p. 192a

INTRODUCTION

This study is an examination of the differing and competing representations of the Scottish Covenanters that emerged from the signing of the National Covenant in 1638 to the publication in 1835 of *The Tales of the Wars of Montrose*, by James Hogg. The dissertation researches representations of the Scottish Covenanters in three centuries of fictional and non-fictional texts, for example, seventeenth-century sermons, eighteenth-century chapbooks, and nineteenth-century Scottish literature, and it notes and examines the discordance in the various modes of literary discourse. The dissertation is arranged chronologically as the most logical method of tracing and demonstrating the discordance. An historical context is provided to each chapter and also within each chapter as necessary to explain and to situate the discourses under scrutiny within their contemporary climate.

Chapter One examines representations of the Scottish Covenanters from the first signing of the National Covenant in 1638 to their disappearance from Scottish mainstream thinking with the 'Glorious Revolution' in 1688-9. The chapter begins by examining the document known as the National Covenant and reveals how radically different it was from previous Scottish bonds of alliance. The early Covenanters or 'Politick Christians' who attempted to promote and to live up to the spiritual and secular aims of the National Covenant were concerned to present a true image of what it was to be a Covenanter. The Royalists and anti-Covenanters counteracted by detracting the movement through irony which revealed the inconsistencies of Covenanting principles. The paper war of words included contemporary news sheets, privately circulated letters, broadsides and ballads. After 1660, when Episcopacy was reintroduced into Scotland literary representations of the Scottish Covenanters were, on the whole, denigratory as the Scottish Privy Council, with the full support of the

English government sought to prevent a repeat of the events of 1638. The satirical work of George Hickes is revealed as a crucial factor in the demise of the popularity of Covenanting. As the Covenanting movement became defensive rather than offensive the Covenanters counteracted with books and pamphlets such as *Naphtali*, that included declarations and ‘last testimonies’ of those convicted for treason after the Pentland Uprising in 1666. This chapter closely examines one of the published Covenanting sermons and reveals that it is inauthentic propagandist literature. The representation of Scottish Covenanters in the crucial post-Bothwell/Popish plot/Exclusion Crisis altered significantly. A comparison of the draft manifesto published by Royal Warrant under the title, ‘The Fanaticks New-Covenant’, with a later document published by the ‘United Societies’ reveals that there were moderate Presbyterians after Bothwell Bridge who proposed upholding the Covenants. Their ‘manifesto’ was published alongside of the more violently rhetorical ‘Sanquhair Declaration’, which led to them being wrongly associated with the Cameronians. The final representation to be examined in this period is of the Cameronian historian, Alexander Shields. He portrayed the Covenanters of the 1680s in apocalyptic tropes as a ‘suffering remnant’ in exile within their own country.

Chapter Two examines the discordant discourses of the eighteenth century. The ‘Revolution Settlement’ of 1688-9 re-instated Presbytery and as the tables were turned, so the Episcopalian satirists denigrated the Presbyterians by implying that all Covenanters were of a similar violent propensity as the Cameronians had threatened. The move towards Enlightenment away from the enthusiastic rapture of the seventeenth century can be traced through these satirical representations which concentrated an accusation that Presbyterian preaching was ineffective and ridiculous. As Covenanting fell out of favour historians such as Robert Wodrow, and also the ‘United Societies’ as

the Cameronians became known turned to apologia. Their accounts portrayed the Covenanting movement of the later seventeenth-century as entirely defensive. This was disputed by satirists such as Pitcairne and Swift, and Enlightened historians such as David Hume. Towards the end of the eighteenth century Reformed Presbyterians, as the Cameronians were now called, published major works which promoted positive images of the Covenanters. John Howie's *Biographia Scoticana* significantly altered the perspective of Covenanting. He depicted Covenanting as the natural successor of the Reformation in his hagiographical collection which begins with the martyrdom of Walter Mill in 1550. Overall, this chapter examines the way that representations of the Scottish Covenanters altered in the changing political, religious and intellectual climate of the eighteenth century.

Chapter Three examines the literary representation of the Scottish Covenanters in the early nineteenth century to 1807. Using Gerard Genette's *Paratexts* as a model the chapter examines the interplay between the text and the annotation in John Leyden's poetry and in his editing of John Wilson's poem entitled, *Clyde*, in the annotation and introductory material that Scott appended to five Covenanting ballads in the third volume of *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, in the annotation to James Grahame's long reflective poem entitled, *The Sabbath*, and finally, to the imitation ballad entitled, 'Mess John' in James Hogg's collection of 'traditional' material entitled, *The Mountain Bard*. The chapter situates the subjective editing practices of Scott into the contemporary political climate of a heightened revolutionary atmosphere engendered by the threat of war between the United Kingdom, and France and Spain. This chapter offers a revision of the poet, James Grahame. A close reading of *The Sabbath*, that is taken in context with his earlier suppressed anti-clerical and anti-Enlightenment poetry

reveals that it is an anti-Establishmentarian, as opposed to purely reflective poem. Finally, in this chapter the notion of James Hogg as Scott imitator is rejected. A close reading of his ballad, 'Mess John' indicates his move from imitator to independent author. Overall, this chapter reveals that Scott revised representations of the Scottish Covenanters through an appropriation of eighteenth-century pseudo-Covenanting and anti-Covenanting works.

Chapter Four is a study of Scott's series of novels entitled, *Tales of My Landlord* that he published between 1816 and 1819. The chapter begins with a close examination of Scott's satirical representation of Reformed Presbyterians and dissenters in his first novel entitled, *Waverley*. After establishing Scott's anti-Covenanting tropes the chapter then proceeds to an examination of the novels from the series which constituted his most intensively derogatory treatment of Covenanters and their descendants. Taking Parr's study of *Don Quixote* as an exemplar the chapter discovers the extent of Scott's anti-Covenanting satire. As in the previous two chapters the contemporary political and religious climate is also discussed.

Chapter Five examines the literary response to Scott's anti-Covenanting satire, and to the subjective editing practices of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe. It suggests that the battle over the documentary evidence of Covenanting material signified the battle for authorial control that became the central concerns of Hogg and Galt. The prose fictions of James Hogg, John Galt, Allan Cunningham and John Wilson are compared and contrasted. This reveals that Hogg had developed an entirely new paradigm of positively representing the Covenanters by acknowledging their heroism and fortitude while rejecting their violence and wild rhetoric. John Galt's anti-romantic novel *Ringan*

Gilhaize offered an innovative interpretation of historical reconstruction that appears to have been deliberately aimed at countering Scott. A study of some of the Covenanting articles in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* reveals that the anti-Covenanting strain had evolved by the 1820s into a hagiography that sought to contain and suppress the popular image of the Covenanters as heroic rebels. This was vigorously opposed by James Hogg. *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* is compared with the late seventeenth-century pamphlet, *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence Display'd*, and the similarities are noted. This inter-textuality intensifies Hogg's satire and adds to the complexity of his overall questioning of those who would revise Scottish history. An examination of Hogg's projected 'Cameronian Series' reveals that his quasi-hagiographical Cameronian prose fiction and balladry was a serious attempt to understand the Cameronian mentality in the same way as Galt's novel had. The chapter concludes by examining Hogg's last published novel, *The Tales of the Wars of Montrose*. Here, through the different narrators and editors Hogg continued to unsettle the 'Toryfication' of Scottish Covenanting historiography. Overall, this final chapter suggests that Hogg rather than Scott devised a revision of the representations of the Scottish Covenanters.

Each chapter is illustrated with an interesting example of contemporary material. The Appendix comprises a xerox of the original 'Fanaticks New-Covenant' (1680).

CHAPTER ONE

***Representations and Misrepresentations of the Scottish
Covenanters from 1638 to 1688***

A combination of political, social and religious issues prior to and during the reign of Charles I pushed the Scottish nobility, lairds and burgesses into a union with the Presbyterian clergy against what they deemed was the unlawful intrusion of the King into Scottish politics and religion. Out of this alliance emerged a politico-religious document entitled the National Covenant; the signatories became known thereafter as Covenanters. It is from this document that the image of a Covenanter was first propagated throughout Scotland, England and Ireland between the years 1638 and 1643.

Covenanting or bonding was not a new concept in seventeenth-century Scotland. The practice of signing bonds or bands of manrent and friendship where two parties entered into a contract for both social and political purposes became widespread during the fourteenth century. For example, in 1320, the Scottish noblemen bound themselves to a *Remonstrance* addressed to Rome in which they requested that the Pope ‘admonish, and exhort the King of England ... to suffer us to live at peace in that narrow spot of Scotland’ (*Declaration of Arbroath*).¹ In 1557, a number of nobles and gentlemen known collectively as the ‘Lords of Congregation’ signed the first religious bond in which they pledged to ‘lawboure, at oure possibilitie, to haif faithfull ministeres purelie and trewlie to minister Christes Evangell and Sacramentes to his Peopill’ (*SB*, II, p.152).

Federal theology was established within Calvinist doctrine as propounded by Scottish Presbyterian clergy who taught that the act of covenanting was simultaneously personal or internal, and public or corporate:

A covenant is a mutuall band betweene two persons, having mutuall conditions. God humbleth himselfe, so farre, that he covenants with man to be his God, and promiseth to be their Father; we ... oblige our selves

¹ Reprinted in John Galt (1823), *Ringan Gilhaize, or The Covenanters*, Patricia J. Wilson, ed. (1995), ‘Postscript’, pp.451-455, pp.453-4.

to be his children and people, if we forget to honour our Father, then hee will not accompt us his children. (Archibald Symson, *A Sacred Septenarie, Or a Godly and Fruitful Exposition On the Seven Psalmes of Repentance* (London, 1623) p.132)²

If the concept of covenanting was so firmly established within Scottish society to the extent that it was widely practised socially, politically and religiously, what was so different about the National Covenant that its signatories have provoked such widely conflicting opinions both then and now? A study of the document below reveals how innovatory it was.

The document begins with the re-printing of the *Negative or King's Confession* which James VI and I had signed in 1581, along with his courtiers and household, and which he had ordered to be publicly subscribed. Through the *Confession* he had pledged that '[Protestantism] onely is the true Christiane Fayth and religion pleasing God and bringing salvation to man', and had denounced 'all contrarie religion and doctrine; but chiefly all kynd of Papistrie' (*SB*, III, p.32-3). The reprinting of the *Confession* is followed by a long list of the statutes passed by Parliament which ratified that document where the Covenanters signified that they expected the King to follow the historical precedent set by the Reformers when he wanted to alter the Liturgy, Doctrine or Canons of the Church of Scotland. A Covenanter, then, was one who had pledged to maintain the Reformation principles, and as such, was vehemently anti-Roman Catholic.

According to the statutes the Reformers were 'bound to resist all treasonable uproars and hostilities raised against the true Religion' (National Covenant, *SB*, III, pp.95-104, p. 99). One such 'hostility' was the attempted introduction by Charles of a

²Quoted from Gordon Marshall, *Presbyteries and Profits: Calvinism and the Development of Capitalism in Scotland, 1560-1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981; repr. 1992), p. 110.

Scottish Book of Common Prayer which was to be ‘as close to the English mode as possible’ (Ian B. Cowan, p.20). In the Scottish version, however, ‘the Kalendar contained more saint’s days than the corresponding English version, the position of the minister during communion recalled the mass, and references to ornaments were likewise liable to arouse hostility’ (Ian B. Cowan, p.20). This not only threatened the ‘subversion and ruine of the true Reformed Religion’, but also the ‘Liberties, Lawes and Estates’ of all Scots (*SB*, III, p.102). By appealing to the law to uphold their grievances the Covenanters signified that they were not defending the religious purity of the Protestant Church only for the sake of religion. Upholding the ‘true Religion’ was co-determined with the maintenance of the ‘Kings Majesty, his Person and Authority’ (*SB*, III, p.102) with the qualification that,

if they [the Parliamentary statutes] be innovated or prejudged ... such confusion would ensue, as this Realme could be no more a free Monarchy, because by the fundamentall lawes, ancient priviledges, offices, and liberties, of this Kingdome, not onely the Princely Authority of his Majesty’s Royal discent hath been these many ages maintained, but also the peoples security of their Lands, livings, rights, offices, liberties, and dignities. (*SB*, III, pp. 99-100)

For the Covenanters, as with the Reformers, subjection to the Royal authority was mutually bound up with the legally instituted manner for reforming any aspect of the Church. Thus far, the National Covenant is a reaffirmation of Protestantism as the ‘true Religion’. The real innovation within the text of the National Covenant is to be found within the concluding section where the signatories bound themselves in a mutual contract with God:

And because we cannot look for a blessing from God upon our proceedings, except with our Profession and Subscription we joine such a life and conversation, as beseemeth Christians who have renewed their Covenant with God. (*SB*, III, p.103)

The signatories of the Covenant pledged themselves to become new people, ‘to keep ourselves within the bounds of Christian liberty, and to be good examples to others of all Godliness, Sobernesse, and Righteousnesse’ (*SB*, III, p.103), in the same way that a person turning to Christianity pledges to ‘put on the new man’ (Eph. 4:24) in an act of self-denial before God. They pledged however, not only themselves, for they promised to ensure the same blameless life of ‘our selves, our followers, and all other under us’ (*SB*, III, p.103). This New Testament form of mutual contracting was radically different from all previous bonds and oaths which had ended with the signatories ‘cast[ing] the burden of our cares’ upon Him in a collective demonstration of faith that God would act on their behalf (*Declaration of Arbroath*). This final section of the document when read in conjunction with the legal assertion of their right to question the King’s authority reveals that Sir George Maxwell of Pollock’s contemporary description of a Covenanter as a ‘Politick Christian’ was accurate.³ It was this combination of two inconsistent modes, the secular and the Christian life, that was to prove difficult for the Covenanters to promote effectively and ultimately, to live.

Subscribing to the National Covenant was not compulsory in the first year of the Covenanting movement and it was therefore imperative that the Covenanters propagated a persuasive image to those noblemen, clergymen, and lairds whose support they needed. It was possibly as a result of this that the Covenanters consistently contended throughout the declarations and proclamations that they issued between 1638 and 1639 that they were acting defensively, ‘only [for] religion’ (for example, J. Leslie, Earl of Rothes, *A Relation of Proceedings Concerning the Affairs of the Kirk of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1638), p.76). In the *Information to all Good Christians Within the*

³ *SRA*, Maxwell of Pollock, *Diary of Sir George*, MS T-PM 114/7, quoted in Margaret Steele, ‘The ‘Politick Christian’: The Theological Background to the National Covenant’, in John Morrill, ed., *The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context: 1638-1651* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988), pp. 31-67.

Kingdome of England, and *A Remonstrance of the Nobility* (both published in Edinburgh, in 1639, but as they were designed to enlist English sympathy they were spread throughout England) they claimed, for example, that they acted only in defence, and in the latter pamphlet which ‘was probably the first published piece explicitly to warn the English that the popish plot which had scourged Scotland boded ill for them’, they urged the ‘common cause of true religion’ (Peter Donald, *An Uncounselled King* (1990), p. 131). The Covenanters simplified the many different and conflicting grievances of the laity and the clergy to the issue of religion whereby they hoped that if this problem was addressed then all else would fall into place. In doing so they appeared to all non-Covenanters as hypocritical and corrupt. The apparently blatant attempt to deceive the Scottish populace through the pulpits was seized upon by their opponents and used rhetorically against them in the ensuing logomachy.

Charles countered the Covenanters’ propaganda with a number of Proclamations issued by the Privy Council of Scotland, now sitting in Stirling. These were printed in London, although many of them were inscribed as being by the ‘King’s printer in Edinburgh’, and gave the impression that the King still controlled some aspects of the press in Scotland. Walter Balcanquhal, a clergyman who had taken part in the proceedings of the Glasgow Assembly of 1638, published a pamphlet entitled *A Large Declaration concerning the Late Tumults in Scotland, from their first originals: together with a particular deduction of the seditious practices of the prime leaders of the Covenanters, collected out of their own foule acts and writings: By which it doth plainly appeare, that Religion was onely pretended by these leaders, but nothing lesse intended by them*, By the King (London, 1639), which was designed to appear as if it was the official justification of Charles, written for the English. Balcanquhal

animadverts on the recently published Acts of the 1638 Glasgow Assembly, together with correspondence from leading Covenanters, and presents them as proof that the Covenanters have lied, threatened and deceived the people of Scotland into signing the National Covenant. At times Balcanquhal is explicitly sarcastic for example, he proposes that the Tables, ‘by wise men have been accounted rather stables of unruly horses, broken loose and pulling downe all they can reach, than Tables for the consultations of wise and rationall men’ (p.54).

Balcanquhal’s main charge within the *Declaration* is that the Covenanters have misused the church, ‘both in their pulpits and out of their pulpits’, to promote their cause by ‘blind-folding the eyes of the people’ (p.405). He also claims that the clergy in particular have abused their position as ‘many ministers would not admit to the Communion those who had not subscribed their Covenant’, and that they denounced these people as ‘adulterers, slanderers, and blasphemers’ (p.404). One curious piece of evidence produced is that of the ‘Maid Michelson’, a young woman prone to fits who speaks prophetically of the Covenant in commendable terms. It is described as ‘a notable tricke of forgerie’, where the Covenanters,

finding, that out of her blind zeale shee was wonderfully affected with their Covenant, and that in her raving fits her words tended all, or for the most part, to the admiration of it, and detestation of the opposers of it; and perceiving, that shee was well skilled in the phrases of the Scripture, and had a good memorie, so that she could remember the bitter invectives, which both in the pulpits and elsewhere shee had heard made against the Bishops and the Service Booke, they thought her a very fit instrument to abuse the people, and cryed her up so much that the multitude was made beleieve her words proceeded not from her selfe, but from God. ... Noblemen, Gentlemen, Ministers, women of all rankes and qualities ...did admire her raptures and inspirations, as coming from Heaven. (pp. 226-7)

For the most part, the *Declaration* denounces the Covenanting movement as a whole. In some sections, however, the attack becomes personal. In the above story, for example, the Covenanting divine, Henry Rollock is charged with being 'her speciall favourite', and Balcanquhal implies that it was he who was coaching her in an underhand effort 'to perswade their ends with the people' (p.227). Balcanquhal does not deny the self-image of the Covenanters as 'Politick Christians'. He boldly asserts that

the specious pretence used by the contrivers of the Covenant to the people was Religion, but that which was intended by them was a Rebellion, grounded upon the discontents of some few. (p.403)

Through his condemnation he reveals the paradox inherent within the twin aims of the National Covenant and uses it as a rhetorical weapon whereby he concludes that their political aspirations are disguised as religious fanaticism.

Alongside the Royalist propaganda machine that churned out proclamations and counter-declarations there was also an underground literature of manuscripts, letters and 'addresses' or open letters that were circulated privately. William Drummond of Hawthornden, for example, was a minor Scottish Laird who published poetry and prose early in the seventeenth century. In 1638, 'he turned directly to polemics, and produced a number of tracts and satires on the civil troubles' (Robert H. MacDonald, ed., *William Drummond of Hawthornden: Poems and Prose* (1976), p. xi). *Irene: or A Remonstrance for Concord, Amitie, and Love amongst His Majesties Subjectes* was written and circulated in manuscript prior to the Glasgow Assembly of November to December, 1638, which dismissed all of the 'innovations' passed by Charles since 1633, and whose actions ultimately led to the threatened invasion of the Royalist army under Charles in 1639. In September, 1638, Charles issued a proclamation which

appeared to concede to the Covenanters' demands. In *Irene*, Drummond solicits support for the so-called King's Covenant by directing addresses or open letters to the disparate signatories of the National Covenant, the noblemen, people of Scotland, and clergymen. The structure of the treatise reveals the multi-faceted nature of the Covenanting movement which Drummond ironically depicts as metamorphosing into 'a strange hideous grime pale Shadow of a new Governement [which] was begune to crawle abroad, putting up an hundreth heades', and it is clearly Drummond's intention to dispel the notion of homogeneity that the Covenanters were at this point at pains to promote (MacDonald, p179).

In his address to the nobility and gentry he overturns the Covenanters' arguments by emphatically stating that

Good Princes should be obeyed, yea, evill Princes should be tollerated. God who raised Kings above you, holdeth himselfe wronged in their wronges, and revengeth the injuries done unto them. Though they should in some things goe beyond their duteyes, they are not to be judged by their Subjects; for no power within their dominiones is superiour to theirs. (MacDonald, p.181)

He agrees with the Covenanters in so far as all place God at the head of the State. He departs from them, however, with his advocacy of complete submission to God's will in relation to the monarchy; as He appoints Kings and tyrants they should be equally tolerated as part of God's plan. Drummond, like Balcanquhal, ironically reveals the problems inherent within the Covenanters' stance. He asks the nobility, 'what can yee purchase by some few Monethes libertie of dauncing to your own shadowes?' (MacDonald, p. 181) and at this point, one feels that he is genuinely asking, rather than sneering.

Drummond's address to the people of Scotland condemns them for deserting the King, although he admits that they have been deluded by the subtleties of the Covenanters. He extends the shadow metaphor further as he states that the people 'take the Shadow for the Bodye, the Maske for the Face, the Smoake for the Fire, Lyes for Veritie, Veritie for Lyes', and he urges them to see through the sham of the Covenanting movement (MacDonald, p.182).

Drummond saves his most bitter attack for his address to the clergymen whom he accuses of usurping their position by imposing their will upon the people: with 'rheticke under pretence of pietie and devotion yee persuade a populace to cast off that obedience they have sworne to their native Kinges' (MacDonald, p. 185). He inverts Christ's words to the apostles in his sermon on the Mount as quoted in Matthew, Chapter 7: 15, and 9-10, in his accusation that the clergy are misleading the populace by mis-representing their true intentions:⁴

Our Maister said hee sent out his apostles as Sheep amongst Wolves, but now of manye Church-men it maye be said they come out as Wolves in the midst of Sheep: that for breed they have given stones to their children, and for fishes serpents. (MacDonald, p.185)

Overall, Drummond represents the Covenanting movement as a disunited, shadowy or insubstantial organisation that is rent by disparate elements each competing for control of the government of Scotland. Like Balcanquhal, he claims that the Covenanters are deceiving the populace to overthrow the King for their own ends, and using religion as the excuse, and like Balcanquhal, he singles out the clergy for his most vehement attack. It is his contention that they are morally bound not to abuse their powers of persuasion for political ends. *Irene* is thus a warning to the Covenanters of the ultimate ends of upsetting what for Drummond is the natural order of society; God, the King, the

⁴ 'Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves; What man is there of you, whom if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone, Or if he ask a fish, will he give a serpent?'

Nobility, the clergy and the laity, each promoting ‘*Concord, Amitie, and Love amongst His Majesties Subjects*’.

Although in control of the Scottish press the Covenanters also used the open letter form of address to propagate their image. Samuel Rutherford, for example, was a Presbyterian divine who strenuously supported the Covenant. He published tracts dealing with contemporary controversies such as the threat that both Arminianism and Independency posed to Presbyterianism, which are stated in *A Reasonable and Temperate Plea for Paul’s Presbytery* (1640), and the relationship between the King and his people which he outlined in *Lex Rex* (1644). He was a prolific letter writer who corresponded with noblemen, their wives, whole congregations and individual parishioners, ‘the church in Ireland’, a colonel in the west country division of the army of the Covenanters, and individual clergymen of the Church of Scotland, all of whom were influential (or were related to influential people) in secular, or ecclesiastical government. He encouraged his correspondents in both spiritual and political matters and was concerned to spread the gospel message of universal salvation whilst attacking the return to Episcopal practices, and denouncing the rise of ‘Romish’ practices in Scotland.

Rutherford’s letter sent from Anwoth to the parishioners of Kilmacolm in August, 1639, is an example of how the Covenanting leadership promoted the purely religious aspects of the Covenanting ethos. He adopts a reverential, yet authoritarian tone in the Pauline epistolary style of the opening lines, ‘Worthy and well-beloved in Christ Jesus our lord,-Grace, mercy, and peace be to you’ (Andrew Bonar ed., *Letters* (1984), Letter

CCLXXXVI, pp.559-565, p. 559). Like Paul he offers words of wisdom on both spiritual and secular issues concerning rules for living a Christian life in an unchristian world. However, the letter is more than a general call to Christianity, it concerns also the issues of early seventeenth-century Scotland, in particular, the control of the church liturgy. Although unpublished in printed form for some twenty-seven years, the letter would have been copied many times and circulated to as many parishioners in Kilmacolm as possible. Furthermore, consideration would have been made for those non-literate members, perhaps the letter being read in one of the many secret prayer meetings which were especially strong in the west of Scotland throughout the seventeenth century.

The letter consists of replies to questions put to Rutherford in two previous letters from Kilmacolm, as he states, 'I cannot but answer the heads of both your letters' (Bonar, p.559). This indicates that there was frequent correspondence between distant churches of the same temper or state of disquiet concerning current ecclesiastical issues. The letter is one of exhortation and encouragement, as well as admonition, as he urges that 'rest should not be taken, till we know that the disease is over, and in the way of turning, and that it is like a fever past the cool' (Bonar, pp.559-60). The image of sickness is a metaphor for the state of the church in Scotland. According to Rutherford, the encroachment of Episcopacy and what he saw as Roman Catholic practices are literally killing the church. The parishioners have to remain faithful to Presbyterianism by which ends they will cure the church, or purge it of illness. They are in 'Christ's camp on earth', and must expect to go through many trials but should also take strength from each other as 'our weakness maketh us the church of the redeemed ones' (Bonar, p. 560). The paradox is that through this weakness they are made strong in Christ, and ultimately, 'that a Christ bought with strokes is sweetest' (Bonar, p.564).

Rutherford, whilst not overtly warning against any specific action that is against Presbyterian practice, such as listening to Episcopalian ministers, or hearing the Service Book, (as he did, for example, in Letter CCXXV to his parishioners at Anwoth which he wrote whilst in enforced exile in Aberdeen, an Episcopalian stronghold, in 1637, Bonar, pp. 438-444) urges them to continue as best they can in the present circumstances. For example, his reply to their complaint that they have a ‘dead ministry’, which could mean that they have no minister, or an imposed one, is to urge them to ‘remember that the Bible among you is the contract of marriage; and the manner of Christ’s conveying His love to your heart is not so absolutely dependent upon even lively preaching’. Instead of ‘lively preaching’, they must ‘make Christ your minister’, [as] He can woo a soul at a dykeside in the field’. Finally, he recommends to them ‘conference and prayer at private meetings’, and gives fifteen scripture references as proof of their validity. (All quotations in this paragraph are from Bonar, pp. 561-4). Contrasted with anti-Covenanting and Royalist publications Rutherford’s letters propagated and affirmed a positive image of unity and mutual suffering under the guidance of the National Covenant.

Following the breakdown of diplomatic negotiations between the Court and the Tables, and the subsequent threatened invasion of a Royalist army to quell them, the Scottish Covenanters created a formidable army. ‘Between 1639 and 1651 the Covenanters raised over a dozen armies ranging in size from 2000 to 24000 men’ (Edward M. Furgol, ‘Scotland Turned Sweden’, in John Morrill, ed. (1988), pp.134-154, p.140). According to Rutherford’s depiction, the Covenanters belonged to a church militant in the sense that they were contending spiritually against spiritual

encroachments. However, as the Scots marched into England and occupied the Northern region in an act of war the metaphorical spiritual battle became literal military action. Thus, when Zachary Boyd wrote in his 'Four Letters of Comforts for the deaths of the Earl of Hadingtoun and of the Lord Boyd' (Edinburgh, 1640), 'our life is a warfare, at death we receive the pay' (p.12), he was writing both metaphorically of the Christian life spent in continual spiritual warfare against evil, and also of the physical battle that the Covenanting army had fought at Newburn against the Royalist army. This definite step from the figurative to the real confirmed the rebellious nature of Covenanting that their opponents had accused them of and was immediately seized upon as irrefutable evidence of their treachery.

In a pamphlet entitled *The Epistle Congratulatorie of Lysimachus Nicanor, of the Societie of Jesu, to the Covenanters in Scotland, wherein is paralleled our sweet Harmony and Correspondency in divers materiall points of Doctrine and Practice* (Dublin, 1640), written by John Corbet, a deposed Episcopalian minister, but published anonymously, Corbet singles out particular Covenanting leaders for ridicule including the Covenanting divine, David Dickson, and the Covenanting General, Alexander Leslie. For example, David Dickson's appearance in arms for the Covenanting army ranged against Charles during what came to be known as the Bishop's Wars is ironically likened to the David of the Old Testament who defeated Goliath.

[He] went so stoutly to the camp upon his horse with two carabins at his sadle, two pistols at his side, with a broad Scottish sword; those five weapons were like unto David's five smooth stones which he tooke out of the brooke to kill Goliath with. This David no doubt would have killed five English at the first encounter with his five deadly weapons and would have returned with triumph, saying with Paul, I have fought a good fight: for, should such a man as he flie? (p. 15)

Corbet's amusing description of Dickson's exaggerated military preparations makes a serious point and denigrates both Dickson and the Covenanting movement. The moral

of the biblical story is not simply that a weaker vessel can overcome a mightier one with God's help but that 'the Lord saveth not with the sword and spear; for the battle is the Lord's' (1 Sam:47). Corbet indicates that as the Covenanters claim to have the 'Lord of Hosts' on their side they should have had no need of such armaments. Thus contrary to their self-image Corbet's biblical parody portrays the Covenanters as faithless, hypocritical manipulators.

Supporters of the National Covenant included members of the gentry. Sir William Mure of Rowallan, for example, was committed to the National Covenant on both secular and religious grounds. A major landowner in the south-west of Scotland, he was a member of the Parliament from 1643 to 1646 and saw action as a soldier at Marston Moor and Newcastle, in 1644. In 1640, his poetic output of mainly religious verse turned to vindication of the Covenanting movement in his refutation of Corbet entitled, *A Counter-Bluff to Lysimachus Nicanor; calling himself a Jesuite, by Philopatris*, published with the full assent of the Covenanting committee and printed in London. The poem is an assertion of a 'triple vision of Protestantism in Scotland, peace in Britain, and Charles's reconciliation with his God', the sentiment of which forms the concluding statement of the National Covenant (Ronald D. S. Jack, 'Sir William Mure and the Covenant', *RSCHS*, 17, Pt.I (1969), 1-14, p. 8). Mure justifies the Covenanters' invasion of England by insisting that they are defending themselves not attacking the King.

Arm'd force repell, by force and violence:
 And so defend we should, being forc'd thereto,
 And in this case all's lawfull that we do.
 All faire means are assay'd, our Prince to please,
 We bend our thoughts the Lyon's wrath t'appease,
 And in most obsequious Sympathie,

We supplicat for peace, we call, we crie,
 Which if it please him flatly to refuse,
 By this necessity, we cannot chuse
 But rise in lawfull armes, and not neglect
 Religion, Laws, and Countrey to protect.

(William Tough, ed., *The Works of William Mure of Rowallan*,
 (1898), pp. 3-17, ll.228-238)

The overall tone of the poem is one of restrained aggression. In the above quotation Mure portrays the contention as a simplistic case of good against evil, or right against wrong, as he offsets the 'lawfull' and 'faire' means used by the Covenanters against the 'force' and 'wrath' of the King. Throughout the poem, and indeed throughout all of his subsequent poetry he stoutly denies that he or the Covenanters are inimical to monarchy. However, the final two lines of the above quotation portray Mure, and by association the Covenanting movement, departing from this. The final vision of Scotland portrayed in the concluding sentence of the National Covenant that 'Religion and Righteousnesse may flourish in the Land, to the glory of God, the honour of our King, and peace and comfort of us all' (*SB*, III, pp. 103-4), is replaced with a triple vision of a republican Scotland as denoted in his insistence that it is the Scottish Covenanters' right to protect their 'Religion, Lawes and Countrey'. Mure's poetry reveals that the aims of the Covenanters altered as each new event unfolded. The metaphorical spiritual battle against the evils of popery developed into a literal armed conflict against the Royalist army, however, rhetorically the Covenanters preserved tropes of spiritual warfare.

Writing of the relationship between England and Scotland prior to 1638,

Clarendon noted that

there was so little curiosity either in the Court or the country to know anything of Scotland, or what was done there, that when the whole nation

was solicitous to know what passed weekly in Germany and Poland and all other parts of Europe, no man ever enquired what was doing in Scotland, nor had that kingdom a place or mention in one page of any gazette, so little the world heard or thought of that people. (W. D. MaCray, ed., Vol I, pp. 145-6)

Circumstances in early 1639 altered this uninterested attitude. As news of the unfolding events of what became known as the Bishop's Wars spread so the details of the bloodless conflict appeared in broadside ballads, poetry and prose pamphlets that were composed by both Englishmen and Covenanters and published both in England and Scotland. For example, a ballad composed by the loyalist Martin Parker, entitled 'A True Subjects Wish, for the happy successe of our Royall Army preparing to resist the factious Rebellion of those insolent Covenanters (against the Sacred Majesty of our gracious and loving King Charles) in Scotland', in contrast with Mure, portrays the battle as a national rather than religious issue (C. H. Firth, 'Ballads on the Bishop's Wars', *SHR*, 3, no. 2 (April), pp. 263-5).

If ever England had occasion
Her ancient honour to defend,
Then let her now make preparation,
Unto an honourable end
The factious Scot
Is very hot
His ancient spleene is ne'er forgot
He long hath been about this plot. (st. 1)

In the ballad of fifteen stanzas, written in two parts, Parker portrays the Covenanters as hypocrites and rebels, who, in spite of the 'milde and gracious' (st. 10, l.3) offer of the King to grant their commands, have risen in open rebellion. He compares the Bishop's Wars with the past national hostilities between the Scots and the English. He insists that the Covenanters have risen in a political war against England and gives details of 'a letter wrote [sic] to the French King' asking for assistance against Charles as evidence of their treachery (Pt. II, st.1, l.4), and also to rouse the English patriotically: 'Have we

not cause to be afraid?', he asks them (Pt.II, st.3, l.4). Parker represents the Covenanters as instigating, 'under the colour of religion,/With hypocriticall pretence', the hostile invasion of a neighbouring friendly country (st.2, ll.1-2).

That there was, nevertheless, English support for the Covenanters is represented, for example, in a ballad entitled, 'A New Carrell for Christmasse, made and Sung at Londone', where each of the nine stanzas ends with the repetitive refrain of 'Gramercie good Scot' (J. Maidment, ed., *Ballads and other Poetical Pieces* (1825), pp. 36-9). According to the ballad, England is in a state of 'famine and warre' (st. 4, l. 4), brought about by poor economic dealing (st. 2-3), Roman Catholicism (st.4), and politically motivated Bishops (st. 6-7). In the final stanza the balladist portrays the benefits that the invading Scots could bring:

The miser shall give away all to the poore,
The city shall coosen the countrey no more,
Oppression shall down, and Justice shall smile;
Force, ryot, and poperie be banisht this isle,
Religion shall flourish without any spot
If this come to passe, *Gramercie good Scot.* (st. 9)

In contrast to Parker's ballad, 'A New Carrell' portrays the Covenanting army on an Evangelical mission bringing Christianity as an antidote to the many evils of English society. There is no irony within the ballad. However, in the hesitant 'if' of the last line on the last stanza the balladist reveals a state of uncertainty on the efficacy of the Scots expedition.

Following the outbreak of the Civil War in England, in 1642, a committee of noblemen and clergy from both Scotland and England composed a document entitled the 'Solemn League and Covenant'. It was signed between September and October,

1643, in both countries, and later in the same year, in Ireland. This committed the Scots to supply an army to aid the Parliamentary Party against the Royalists in the Civil War. As in the National Covenant, the signatories pledged to 'amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real Reformation'. As with the National Covenant they entered into a mutual contract with God where the signatory promised to reform his or her person, in this case, not only for the upholding of the 'true Religion', but that 'the Lord may turn away his wrath, and heavy indignation'. (All quotations are from 'The Solemn League and Covenant', reprinted in *SB*, III, pp.122-5). The success of the Scottish National Covenant was thought by many sectarians and clergy alike to have been the direct result of the process of mutual bonding between the nation and God. Thus, at a time of rising religious schism, a threatened invasion of Irish Catholics and Royalist-Parliamentarian hostilities, the English Parliamentarians bound themselves to the same course that had appeared to guarantee the Scots 'virtually unmitigated success' (Edward J. Cowan, 'The Making of the National Covenant', in John Morrill, ed. (1988), p.75).

From its conception, subscription to the Solemn League and Covenant was obligatory. Those who refused to subscribe were forced into exile, had their lands forfeited to the State, or were imprisoned in the Tower of London. The political and religious ideals of the Solemn League and Covenant were denounced as anti-monarchical, and the Covenanting leadership, both clerical and laity, were portrayed as regicidal hypocrites. The Scottish clergy, in particular, were denounced as traitors and Jesuitical plotters against the King. Once the Scottish Covenanters became involved in the English Civil War their treatment at the hands of disaffected English writers on both

the Royalist and the Parliamentarian side followed the pattern of their Scottish counterparts of the 1630s. Through the revelation of what they felt was the damaging influence of the Scottish Covenanters on English religious and political affairs, the disaffected, as mildly censorious as Milton, or wickedly biting as Cleveland, sought to persuade the English of the dangers inherent within Covenanting principle and practice and hence against Scottish involvement in English affairs through the medium of satire. In Scotland, earlier Covenanting detractors such as Drummond now turned from subtle irony to scathing satire.

Milton's sonnet entitled 'On the New Forcers of conscience under the Long Parliament' (1646), derides prominent Scottish Covenanters such as Samuel Rutherford.

Dare ye for this adjure the civil sword
 To force our consciences that Christ set free,
 And ride us with a classic hierarchy
 Taught ye by mere A. S. and Rutherford?
 (John Carey & Alastair Fowler, eds, *The Works of John Milton* (1968), pp. 295-7, ll.5-8)

This compares with Drummond's concluding address to Charles in *Irene*, where he had ambiguously warned him,

the consciences of men neither should nor will be forced by the violence of iron or fire, nor will soules be compelled to beleeeve that which they beleeeve not; they are not drawne nor subdued but by reasone, nor persuaded but by evidence and faire demonstrationes. (MacDonald, pp.186-7)

Irene was written when it appeared that the threatening war against the King could be averted. Drummond urged toleration from *both* the King and the Covenanters as he exhorted his peers to subscribe to the King's Covenant, in opposition to the National Covenant. Milton is arguing against the statutes being passed by the Long Parliament which decreed that the Church of England should be directed by presbyteries modelled

on the Church of Scotland. According to the Independent Milton, the ‘new forcers of conscience’, or the dominant Presbyterian majority in the Long Parliament, were displaying similar signs of intransigence and intolerance that the first signatories of the National Covenant had. The similar anti-Covenanting tropes used by Drummond and Milton indicate that the arguments that were written against the Covenanters of 1638 were thought to be true of the later Solemn Leaguers. Milton’s concluding pronouncement, ‘New Presbyter is but old priest writ large’ (l.20), thus compares with Corbet’s claims that Presbyterians were pseudo Jesuits, and places this sonnet in the anti-Covenanting satirical tradition.

When the Royalist, John Cleveland’s first collected edition was published in 1647, ‘they found in London a new audience ... susceptible now to one of Cleveland’s dominant themes: the monstrous reversal of the natural order by unnatural alliances with zealots and Scottish traitors’ (Brian Morris & Eleanor Withington, eds, *The Poems of John Cleveland* (1967), p. lxxvii). Included in the collection were several poems in which Cleveland bitterly attacked the Scottish Covenanters. For example, the poem entitled, ‘The Rebel Scot’ (1644), is vehemently anti-Covenanter in both tone and content (Morris & Withington, pp. 29-32). Cleveland’s disbelief and denunciation of their religious intentions; ‘How? Providence? and yet a Scottish crew?’ (l.1) is an appeal to English patriotic anti-Scots feeling. This is further enforced in his famous couplet, ‘Had Cain been Scot, God would have chang’d his doome,/Not forc’d him wander, but confin’d him home’ (ll. 63-4). However, as he points out that Charles and Montrose are Scottish, and therefore, not ‘all the Nation hath these spots’ (l.53), the overall satire in ‘The Rebel Scot’ is directed against the Scottish Covenanting army who had entered England to assist the Parliamentarians against the King, for example, at

Marston Moor. In the later poem entitled, 'The Scots Apostacie' (1647), written after the Scots had handed Charles over to the English Parliament, Cleveland intensified his anti-Scottish, rather than anti-Scottish Covenanter attack. For their 'super-treason' (l.19) of giving up the King he pronounces an 'epidemick curse' (l. 32) upon the whole of Scotland, and invites a shower of plagues and disasters to befall the whole nation. 'May your scabbie land be all/Translated to a Generall Hospitall' (ll. 45-6), he spits venomously (Morris & Withington, pp. 67-8).

Drummond's later attacks on the Covenanting regime reveal his personal despair at events. The poem entitled 'A Character of the Anti-Covenanter, or Malignant' (composed, 1643, pub. 1716) is written from the pretended point of view of a Covenanter. Through self-revelation the supposed Covenanting poet exposes his character:

Slow they are our Oath to swear,
Slower for it Arms to bear;
They do Concord love and peace,
Would our Enemies embrace,
Turn men Proselytes by the Word,
Not by Musket, Pike, and Sword.
They swear that for Religion's Sake
We may not massacre, burn, sack.

(MacDonald, pp. 136-40, ll. 31-38)

No longer intent on provoking intelligent debate, Drummond's ventriloquial satire is unsubtle and uncompromising. He represents the Covenanters as brutal zealots who believe that they are on a perverted mission where in place of Christianity they bring destruction.

Before his death in 1649 Drummond was working on a vehement satire entitled 'Amauria' (the land of obscurity). Roughly drafted, and never published, the work

describes Scotland as a land ‘latlie turned most part Mad’ where they worship a ‘calfe anant’, a gold-coloured object that turns out to be paper (MacDonald, p.xv). Men from a place called Anticyra which represents England bring a cargo of hellebore to cure them of their madness. In ‘Amauria’ they witness the execution of ‘some of the wisest Amaurians’ (whom I take to represent Montrose), and the beheading of the King ‘by his owne subjects’. Drummond’s satirical attack on the Scottish Covenanting regime lacks the ironic thought-provoking bite that his earlier tracts, such as *Irene*, had and so it rather reveals his personal venom and despair at events than convinces that the Scottish Covenanters have become uncontrollable madmen. However, when compared with other pieces of anti-Covenanting satire that were published in the late 1640s and early 1650s, like Cleveland’s, for example, Drummond’s last tired and spiteful attacks serve to give the appearance that the Scottish Covenanters have changed, have become more intolerant and zealously vengeful than they were in the 1630s when some form of debate, however limited, was possible.

What had begun as ‘the general body of the Scottish people, arrayed in arms under the traditional leadership of the nobility, in what professed to be a Godly cause’, had by the 1650s collapsed in disintegration and disunity (Gordon Donaldson, *The Faith of the Scots*, p. 93). In the stunned aftermath of the execution of Charles, in 1649, and in the light of continual military defeat against the Parliamentarian army under Cromwell, where it appeared as if ‘the Lord of Hosts’ had deserted them, the Scottish Covenanters argued over the ultimate aims of the National Covenant, and of the interpretation of the Solemn League and Covenant. This culminated with the formation of a break away movement of Scottish Covenanters who continued to press for complete fulfilment of the original Solemn League and Covenant, and who argued that the reason that the

covenanted army was continually defeated was because they were not wholly committed to the religious nature of the cause. All remained Covenanters in that they did not rescind the Covenants. However, the 'Resolutioners' appear to have diluted the Covenanting ideal of a united Britain and Ireland, in religious and secular governments, in favour of a restored, un-covenanted monarch.

Following the restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660, and Charles II's favouring a nationwide Episcopalian form of government and worship for the Established Church, both the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant, (and thus Presbyterianism which these two documents upheld), were proclaimed illegal. The renunciation of the Covenants is related in an anonymous pamphlet entitled, 'The Work Goes Bonnelly On' (Edinburgh, 1661). The pamphlet comprises an ironic account of the over-turning of the Covenants, extracts from London news sheets, and a satirical pasquil entitled, 'The Execution of the Covenant, burnt by the Common-Hangman, Edward Dun, Presbyter, May, 22, 1661'. The pamphlet, which was written and edited by Thomas Sydserf, a friend of Montrose, and a noted Royalist who went on to become the Bishop of Orkney, takes its title from words imputed to a leading Covenanter, David Dickson, supposedly spoken during one of his sermons at the time of the executions for those convicted of treason after the battle of Philiphaugh.

God-a mercy, Good honest blew-beard, for giving a text at least (when funerall sermons were not in custome) to these glorious and illustrious martyrs sacrificed for their good conscience to God and the King, at Glasgow, St. Andrews and Edinburgh, hurried hence in seas of blood, with this your plaudite, 'the wark goes bonnelly on'.

But now, blessed be God, the Covenant and all belongs thereto hath catch't a fall, a fearfull fall, and the hideous impostures, in pretence of Reformation, being now ignominiously blasted, may change their tune, but keep the words, 'the wark goes bonnelly on, boys'. (p.1)

With the image of the over-turning of Covenanting ideology Sydsenf ironically over-turns the image of the Royalist traitors to that of martyrs. His exultant, mocking tone is conveyed through repetition and alliteration, and also in the inflated language which portrays the Covenanters as fraudulent tricksters acting out of self-seeking motives. Sydsenf's main irony is that in spite of their apparent failure the 'work' of Reformation will go on, with Episcopacy in the place of Presbyterianism. The triumphalist pamphlet also relates the events of the coronation of Charles II with accounts of celebratory bonfires and banquets, all of which serves to create the impression that the entire country was in a state of rejoicing for the elimination of Covenanting principles.

The pamphlet also includes a report on the burning of the Solemn League and Covenant by the Common Hangman, Edward Dun, written in the tropes of anti-puritan satire. In a parody of the solemn act of subscribing to, or taking the Covenant, Dun is reported to have acted in a pretended reverential manner when he 'cast each parcel solemnly in the fire' by 'lifting up his hands and eyes' (p.6). And in a master stroke of satiric inversion the Covenant is termed 'that fatal Oath' because [so they report] the number of words in the document amounted to 'that Beastly number of 666 words, neither more nor lesse' (p.6), aligning what was a Christian document with the antichristian Beast described in Revelation 13.

The pamphlet concludes with a pasquil entitled, 'The Execution of the Covenant, burnt by the Common-Hangman, Edward Dun, Presbyter, May, 22, 1661'. Dun is described as both a Christian and a Presbyterian through his act of taking and burning the Covenant. However, 'Christian', and 'Presbyterian', do not have their usual positive

values but are inverted to their opposites; evil and antichristian. Dun ‘took’ the Covenant when he was lifting it to throw it onto the bonfire. His hand, instead of being uplifted to honour and uphold the principles of the Covenant, is uplifted prior to its ultimate destruction. The words of the Covenant are literally burnt on the bonfire where the light of the flames, and by inference, the King’s coronation bonfires, exposes the true, and in this case, evil intentions of the Covenanters; ‘In which he shew’d himself a CHRISTIAN right,/To let the Works of Darkness come to light’ (ll.15-16). The Covenanters are described as mythological creatures, ‘PHANATICKS, who like Demophon,/Glow in the shade, and freeze still in the Sun’ (ll.17-18). In biblical imagery light denotes purity and also the revelation of God’s purpose through his Words. The inverted Christian imagery in the pasquil ironically says that the ‘true meaning’ of the Covenant is evil, and that light or exposure reveals its satanic intentions. Overall, the tone of the entire tract, edited by a Royalist at a time of excessive Royalist celebrations is vehemently anti-Covenanter.

Contrary to the sentiments in pasquils and polemical pamphlets such as ‘The Work goes Bonnely On’, the majority of the Scottish laity and clergy did not openly renounce the Covenants. In Scotland the Church settlement retained the presbyteries and synods overseen by lay patrons and Bishops. Presbyterian clergymen who had been appointed since 1649 were to leave their livings or present themselves to their former patrons ‘for collation from their diocesan bishop before 20, September, 1662’ (Ian B. Cowan, p.49). Approximately one third of the Scottish ministers resigned their livings rather than sign up to rule by Bishops. These joined those Remonstrants who had been outed for not acknowledging Charles II, and those Resolutioners who had voluntarily resigned at the Restoration. The compulsory nature of these acts forced the Scottish

Presbyterians and dissenters to openly denounce the Episcopalian rule, and the rule of the King over the Church, as they felt that they were being asked to break an irrevocable agreement with God.

Since the inception of the National Covenant it was part of Presbyterian practice to baptise infants into the Covenant and for these infants in later life to confirm the action with a verbal affirmation. Thomas Abernethy, for example, in 1638, had asked ‘non Covenanters’,

wilt thou not subscribe the contract which thy Parents, Godfathers, and Godmothers, as thy spirituall tutors made for thee at baptisme, and promised to make thee subscribe the same, being of perfect age, seing it is for God and his truth only. (*Abjuration of Poperie* (Edinburgh, 1638), p.41)

Abernethy portrays the Covenant as a continuation of the Presbyterian’s spiritual life that was mapped out during infant baptism. Now, in their ‘perfect age’ of discernment, or adult hood, they can continue to uphold the true Reformed Religion by ascribing to the Covenant. Moreover, for those who refused to subscribe to the Covenant he warned of the dire consequences of failing to uphold their part of the spiritual deal that their parents had bound them to. He concluded with a caution,

God is partie contractor, the angels were witnesses, and Hellfire the penaltie; take heed, and fight not against God, for he is Al-seeing, so is Hee Almighty, and as Merciful to have spared thee so long, so is Hee just, to punish thy inexcusable wilfulnesse. (pp. 41-2)

Abernethy depicted the Covenanters fighting a spiritual war with God and the Angels against Roman Catholicism and Satan. It is a battle for the souls of men as much as any secular liberty. According to Abernethy, the enemy was not the King who wished to reform their ‘true Religion’, but themselves. God was providentially commanding every moment of their lives and consequently those not on God’s side, that is those who did

not subscribe to the Covenant, were deemed ‘internall papists’, and destined for eternal damnation, or Hell (p.44). Considering the dangers involved, of having been already baptised into the Covenant, and risking their eternal soul if in later life they rejected, or failed to confirm acceptance of the Covenants, it is possible to understand why the Scottish people did not publicly denounce the Covenants, or accept wholesale the King’s mild Episcopalian settlement.

The government attempted to quash the resistance to Episcopacy by holding a number of show trials of the surviving leaders of the Remonstrants, or Protesters, along with politicians and noblemen who had played a prominent part in the Scottish Covenanted Parliament during the 1640s and 1650s. Between 1661 and 1663, James Guthrie, a Presbyterian minister, the Marquis of Argyll, a nobleman and military leader, and Archibald Johnston of Wariston, a politician, were tried for treason and publicly hanged or executed. Others of lesser stature were heavily fined, imprisoned, or banished from the country. The Covenanters’ reaction was to publish details of the trials, along with the last speeches, or dying testimonies of the condemned men.

In ‘The Last Discourse of the Right Honourable the Lord Warestone’ (n.p., 1664), Wariston confesses that his ‘natural temper hath been hasty and passionate’, and has led him into ‘self-seeking’ opportunism (p.4). He acknowledges both the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant and he asks for the repentance of those who have been ‘unfriendly’ toward the Covenanted work of Reformation (p.7). He goes on to ask for a blessing for his ‘poor afflicted wife and children, and their posterity’, and for ‘fervent prayers’ from supporters of the Covenants (pp.7-8). Finally, he denies any part in the death of Charles I, and asks for ‘the Lord to preserve our present King

his Majesty ... to give him good and faithful councillors ... to God's glory' (p.8).

Through testimonies such as these the Covenanters returned to the image that was propagated by the Covenanters in 1638 of loyal supporters of the monarchy who were suffering for their conscience and Presbyterian belief and who were neither rebellious nor revolutionary. Embodying the original features of the 'Politick Christians', he had been an able politician in the service of the Covenanters. Wariston's testimony, however, highlights his religious fervour and downplays his political activities, although he does accept personal responsibility for his political ambitions. His claims that his excitable temper is unique to himself may have been an attempt to dissociate the majority of the Covenanters from charges of fanaticism and over-zealousness that were being directed towards him in contemporary Royalist political squibs.

In England, the theatres which had been closed since 1642 were allowed to reopen under the new regime. Amongst the plays performed were topical political satires written against the Cromwellian Interregnum where dramatists sought to vent their spleen at the ousted government. 'The Rump; or the Mirrour of the Late Times', by the Royalist, John Tatham, depicts the last days of the Long Parliament prior to its dissolution (*The Dramatic Works of John Tatham* (1874), pp.189-279). Johnston of Wariston was a member of the ruling Committee of Safety, acting as chairman in 1659. He appears in 'The Rump', as a character named 'Stoneware', a self-interested sycophant who tells crude stories to the Committee, and who is constantly in search of money. For example, when the Committee first meet he interrupts their business with 'a blithe tale of a Scottish puddin' (III, i), and when they finally get down to rewarding 'service to the Commonwealth', he again interrupts, 'marry sirs, an ye gif so fast, yeel gi aw away fro poore Archibald Johnson' (III, i). In the closing scene, as the Parliament

dissolves into chaos he is still scrabbling for money and wailing out on the street ‘will ye buy a geodly [sic] ballad, or a Scott spur! Will ye buy a Jack line, a Jack Bertlam’s line, or a line for a Jack a Bertlam’ (V, i).

Wariston also appeared in a political prose satire entitled, *Don Juan Lamberto; or, a Comical History of the Late Times* by Montelion, Knight of the Oracle (London, 1661).⁵ He is characterised as ‘Seer Warreston’, who is chosen for a position on the Council of Safety by ‘Sir Lambert’ because of his ability to ‘shew treachery and falshood that politicians ought to use’ (p.126). He is ‘a right notable knave, and exceeding salacious’, who aggressively seduces a ‘lady’ who approaches him with a Supplication. At length he acquiesces but only on the agreement that she will ‘quench his desires with the spoils of her seeming chastity’ (p.126-7). Tatham’s representation resurrected the anti-Covenanting tropes which had depicted the Scottish Covenanters plundering England under the pretext of religious zeal. He portrayed Wariston as a man who was thought by his peers to be nothing more than an annoying interruption on the serious business of Parliament, whilst ‘Montelion’ depicted him as a violent rapist who abused his position, and yet he ‘was easily the most powerful and influential of Scots in London’ (Julia M. Buckroyd, ‘Bridging the Gap: Scotland 1659-1660’, *SHR*, 66, 1, No. 181 April, 1-23, p.3). Compared with his blunt and honest opinion of himself in his ‘Last Testimony’, Tatham’s portrayal thus bears only the slightest resemblance to the politically ambitious man that Wariston depicts, whereas Montelion’s brutal character assassination is nothing more than the spiteful sneer of the victor over a previous political opponent.

⁵ Reprinted in *Somer’s Tracts*, Walter Scott, ed. (1808) Vol. 8, pp. 104-155.

The repressive measures of the Cavalier government who sought to curb Presbyterian support and worship affected ordinary people as well as the clergy and the politicians. Conventicling, or religious meetings performed in places other than the local parish church gradually increased as whole congregations followed their deprived ministers into house meetings and barns, and later, as the numbers increased, into the fields. In 1665, in order to dissuade people from attending Presbyterian conventicles the government declared them seditious meetings, and the preaching of sermons was deemed 'prejudicial to the peace of the kingdom' (R. L. Greaves, *Enemies Under His Feet* (1990), p. 51). The conventiclers were dissuaded from attending the so-called rendezvous of rebellion with the imposition of heavy fines, prison sentences, and putting to the horn (or outlawing by reading out their names followed by three blasts of the horn at Edinburgh Cross), those who refused to comply with the government ordinances to worship at their local parish churches. The conventicle preachers were accused of preaching sedition and were intercommuned (barred from associating with others), declared traitors and rebels, and threatened with banishment and death. At these illegal gatherings Presbyterian clergymen would celebrate the Sacraments and worship according to Presbyterian practices. Whether or not baptismal Covenanting was still being practised is not clear but a cessation of the practice around this time could explain the decline in Covenanting support in the later 1680s as these infants attained adult-hood free from this responsibility.

The persecution of Presbyterians led to an uprising in November, 1666, which culminated thereafter in defeat in the Pentland hills. 'One of the most explosive Scottish works of the period' (Greaves, p.186), was first published anonymously in Holland, in 1667, and thereafter secretly imported and spread throughout Scotland and into

England. *Naphtali, or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland for the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, from the Reformation of Religion unto the year 1667*, contains a reprinting of the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant, some seventeen ‘last testimonies’ of those condemned for their part in the Pentland uprising, and also ‘A Solemn Acknowledgement of Public Sins and Breaches’ of Scotland. The main body of the work is entitled the ‘Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland’ and is an historical account of the rise of Presbyterianism in Scotland from the Reformation until its attempted extirpation in 1660. *Naphtali* is ‘the voice, testimony, and warning of all the sufferings of the Lord’s people; who though continually afflicted and persecuted in their bodies, and though their souls be exceedingly filled with the contempt of the proud, yet have not, nor dare not, deny the Lord, His work, nor His holy Covenant’ (repr. Kirkudbright (1845), p.243).

Naphtali contains also a defence of the Pentland uprising. The official view as stated in the ‘Proclamation against the Rebels in Arms’, dated November, 22, 1666, declared that the ‘said rebels’ acting ‘under the cloak of religion’ are pursuing ‘the ordinary colour and pretext of rebellion’. It goes on to ‘declare the said insurrection to be an open, manifest, and horrid rebellion, and high treason’ (Wodrow (1827), Vol.III p.20). The Scottish Privy Council thus represented the disaffected Presbyterians as dangerous malcontents intent on disrupting the stability of an otherwise peaceable country. This depiction of the uprising is in stark contrast to *Naphtali*.

That poor handful being come towards the west, and some hundreds there ... having, in the sincerity and simplicity of their hearts, joined themselves to that company, most harmlessly and inoffensively, without the least violence or exaction done to any, they march through the country until they come to Lanark. (p.204)

For documentary evidence they included in *Naphtali* a list of the fines exacted by Sir James Turner and his men, who had been ‘despatched to the south-west with 140 horse and foot guards to ensure conformity’ to the edicts of the Privy Council (Ian B. Cowan, p.60). Their actions included the imposing of exorbitant fines, quartering soldiers upon recalcitrant lairds and heritors, and generally attempting through military bullying tactics to impose the oath of allegiance to the King and a denunciation of the Covenants from the clergy, lairds and noblemen of Galloway and Nithsdale.

Like the first signatories of the National Covenant the disaffected Presbyterian dissenters claim that they are innocently resisting and defending their ‘religion and liberty’, although they are now ‘suffering’ physically as well as spiritually and as evidence they include ‘testimonies’ of those executed. Overall the self-image that the Covenanters of 1666 propagated through *Naphtali*, was similar to those of 1638; of Christians who were defending themselves against both earthly and spiritual enemies. However, they no longer claim to represent a unified, national movement, but are ‘a remnant, even a holy seed’, of ‘dying witnesses’ (p.73). There is a radical departure from the pre-Restoration Covenanters as Stewart and Stirling advocate making a clear distinction between earthly and spiritual kings; ‘Fix it therefore in your hearts, *first*, to love and fear the Lord our God, and *then* to honour and obey the king’ (p.246-7). The ambiguities inherent in the image of the ‘Politick Christians’ of 1638 no longer remain. There is a clearly defined, single-minded motive; the re-instatement of a Covenanted Presbyterian Church of Scotland. That ambiguities remained, however, is due to the Covenanters’ failure to publish anything other than apologia.

Around thirty men were hanged for their part in the Pentland uprising, thereafter, the government engaged in a series of measures which were for the most part repressive, although there were some tending towards leniency. For example, the Clanking Act, 1670, made preaching at conventicles a capital offence. However, in 1669, and again in 1672, the government offered the 'outed' ministers a series of indulgences which allowed them to preach and to operate as Presbyterian clergymen with restricted activities. By 1672, almost half of those who had left their parishes in 1662-3, had returned, or had accepted positions elsewhere in Scotland. Whether this meant that they had renounced the Covenants is unclear. According to Stewart and Stirling they were 'the voice, testimony, and warning of all the sufferings of the Lord's people; who ... have not, nor dare not, deny the Lord, His work, nor His holy Covenant' (*Naphtali*, p.243). This uncertainty has led to conflicting accounts of the activities of the Scottish Presbyterian dissenters from the period after the Pentland uprising until after Bothwell Bridge, in June, 1679. For example, I. B. Cowan suggests that those who remained in open defiance by preaching illegally, or attending illegal meetings, should be termed 'Conventiclors' rather than Covenanters ('The Covenanters: A revision article', *SHR*, 47, no. 143-4 (1968), 35-52, p. 46). More recently, Elizabeth Hannan Hyman has proposed 'Nonconformist Presbyterian or Presbyterian resistance' (*Sixteenth Century Journal*, 26, no. 1 (1995), 49-74, p.53, note). If modern historians have such difficulties, in the seventeenth century when misinformation, misrepresentation and satire dominated polemic publications, it was practically impossible to discern the true extent and nature of Covenanting support in Scotland.

For those who opposed the Covenanters, satire remained the most popular means to denigrate them in the second half of the seventeenth century. George Hicckes, an

Episcopalian clergyman, for example, published satirical pamphlets which were intended to reveal the immorality, inconsistency and deception of the followers of the Scottish Covenanters. In 1668, a Presbyterian cleric named James Mitchell attempted to assassinate Archbishop Sharp. Following his capture in 1672, he was imprisoned, tortured, tried and finally executed in 1678. In the same year, Hickee 'was employed by the duke [of Lauderdale] to write a narrative of the trial' (*DNB*). Consequently he published a satirical pamphlet entitled, *Ravillac Redivivus* (London, 1678), which, along with details of the trial, also included the re-printing, with animadversion and commentary, of Mitchell's scaffold speech and last testimony. *Ravillac Redivivus* is written in the form of a 'letter from a Scottish to an English gentleman', and purports to be a 'faithful narrative of the tryal, condemnation and execution' of Mitchell. However, through his discourse upon Mitchell's background and education Hickee takes the opportunity to deride Scottish Presbyterian learning and piety, and to assert that Scottish Presbyterian clergymen are spreading sedition and treasonable ideas through their illegal conventicles, or religious meetings (p.4).

According to Hickee, Mitchell developed 'his narrow capacity, and enthusiastical temper' from 'silly fanatical books' in the early years of his education at the 'Colledge of Edinburgh', and thereafter, under the guidance of David Dickson, 'a great apostle of the Solemn League and Covenant', he continued to read 'modern fanatical pamphlets' (p.11). From these polemic pamphlets Mitchell was taught to be

an able workman, and completely furnished with all those *canting* affected phrases, which discriminate a spiritual from a carnal preacher, among our Presbyterians, and are musick and charms to their enthusiastical ears. (pp.11-12)

Furthermore,

that he might add the practical to the speculative part of fanaticism, and be perfectly master of his trade, he frequented those private meetings, where conferences, prayers and sermons were spoken in that dialect, and where tone, grimace, and gesticulations are far more powerful than all the true learning and eloquence in the world. (p.12)

Hickes's depiction of the contrived nature of Scottish Presbyterian piety and their unnatural disregard for 'learning and eloquence' leads him to the conclusion that 'their insuperable ignorance in Divine and Humane learning is the mother of their murdering zeal' (p.13). Hickes compares pre and post Restoration Covenanters, for example, David Dickson and John Welsh, and accuses the latter of acting like fanatical, regicidal zealots who 'ransack the Old Testament for examples and precepts to perswade the giddy vulgar, that the rebels fought the Lords Battels, and that their cause was His' (p.43). He also claims that 'Presbyterian Logick and zeal ... makes our conventicle preachers ride about with guards, like petty Princes, and their followers, more like soldiers than Christians, come armed by thousands into the field' (p. 43). Furthermore, both in the title and later, in the text, Hickes compares Mitchell to the 16th century assassin named Ravailac, and further implies that the ultimate aim of the Scottish Presbyterian clergy is the downfall of the monarchy.

Hickes repeated these accusations two years later when he issued a counter-publication to the 1680 edition of *Naphtali*, in the form of a pamphlet entitled *The Spirit of Popery Speaking out of the mouths of phanatical-Protestants* (London, 1680). This was a reprint, with added commentary and animadversion of the 'Dying Testimonies of Kid and King' (n.p., n.d.), two Covenanting clergymen who had been captured at Bothwell Bridge, and whose testimonies were printed as a pamphlet in 1680, and were also included in an extended edition of *Naphtali* (Edinburgh, 1680). In 'The Preface', Hickes states that his pamphlet is addressed to the 'English Dissenters,

especially the Presbyterians', and asserts that his motivation for publishing is to 'inform' them 'what great reason the Clergy and their Patrons have to fear the Jesuited Presbyterians'. His purpose, then, is to warn the English dissenters who felt that they had the same grievances as the Covenanters that the Scots were Jesuitical in practice and principle, and therefore could not be trusted or believed. Hickes represents King and Kid as fanatical, seditious preachers, who 'before they engaged in the late Insurrection, they Preached Treason and Rebellion in the fields, to thousands of armed men'. Furthermore, he maintains that the original printed testimonies 'hath left out ... words', insinuating that the Covenanters had edited the testimonies to give a false portrayal. (All quotations in this paragraph are from the 'Preface').

Within the animadversions to the testimonies Hickes accuses the majority of Scottish Covenanters as the 'most ignorant, and wicked sort of people perhaps in the Christian world', and a 'murderer of souls... who make the people ignorant and then abuse their ignorance to the ruine of their Bodies, Souls and Estates' (pp.11-12). In the animadversions to John King, Hickes repeats anecdotes and accusations written against the Scottish Covenanters from the year of the signings of the National Covenant. He cites the example of the 'Maid Mitchelson' found in Balcanquhal's *Declaration*, he relates that David Dickson was the minister who preached that 'the work of Reformation went Bonnily on' at the execution of a Royalist in the aftermath of the battle of Philiphaugh, and throughout, he performs a character assassination on the most popular of the Covenanting preachers, including the contemporary story of Mr. Williamson and the maid of 'cherritry'. In his conclusion he 'protests' he is 'weary with raking in this dunghill', and implies that he could have given many more examples of 'ungodly Practices' by the Scottish Covenanters. He ends with the contention 'that if

ever there were a Sect of Christians, that were not the people of God, and in whom his Soul took no pleasure, then these Rebellious covenanters are such' (pp. 29-35).

The murder of Archbishop Sharp, at the beginning of the summer in 1679, was the beginning of a new and quickly repressed uprising of the Scottish Covenanters. Their victory at Drumclog, which was followed with their final military defeat at Bothwell Bridge within the space of a month revealed divisions between the Covenanting clergy and the more vociferous laity, and also gave their opponents a new opportunity to propagate the view that all Scottish Presbyterian Covenanters were rebellious fanatical regicides. The Printing Act of 1662, expired on the 10th of June, 1679. Amongst the 'swarm of Lying, Seditious treasonable and scandalous Pamphlets, Papers and Pictures which appeared' during the summer of 1679 was a series of pamphlets which sensationally described the events in Scotland, and the people who fought for the Covenanters (Edmund Bohun (1682), reprinted in Timothy Crist, 'Government Control of the Printing Press after the Expiration of the Printing Act in 1679', *Publishing History*, V (1979), pp. 49-77, p.51). These were circulated in both Scotland and in London.

The pamphlet entitled, 'A True Relation of the Inhuman Cruelties lately acted by the Rebels in Scotland' (London, 1679), accuses the Covenanters of 'the sin of rebellion, murder, and rapine, they likewise added that of sacriledg [sic]' (p.3). It describes the actions of the victorious Covenanters who entered Glasgow following their victory at Drumclog. They sack the Archbishop of Glasgow's house, making 'a miserable havock of all they found' (p.2), likewise the Bishop of Argyle's house, where they

went to the grave where some time since two of the foresaid Bishop's children were buried; took up the coffins, broke them open, and run their swords through them several times, and left the bodies of the poor infants above ground, as monuments of their inhuman villainy and cruelty. (p.3)

They then proceed to plunder the 'High Cathedral Church' (p. 3), and finally, 'they pulled down His Majesty's picture ... and then tore it to pieces, uttering those treasonable and horrid speeches against His Sacred Majesty that are not fit to be heard by Christian man' (p.4). The sensationalist tone and language of the pamphlet are intended to arouse disgust at the Covenanters who are described as acting like mad-men, performing unnatural and unholy acts against those regarded as 'untouchable'; the hierarchy of the Episcopal church, dead children, and the King. Accordingly, with these accusations they have become more than rebels. They are 'inhuman', un-Christian, and ungodly.

The Battle of Bothwell Bridge is described in a 'letter to a person of quality', entitled, 'A True Account of the Great Victory Obtained over the Rebels in Scotland' (London, 1679). It claims that the Covenanters 'stood upon a rising ground, drawn up in battalia' (p.1), and portrays them as a military fighting force rather than a dissenting religious movement who had armed themselves for protection. The success of the government forces are described as being due to 'the great deliverance God hath wrought' (p.1), which subtly uses the language of the Covenanters against them by implying that God is on the side of the government, and therefore against Covenanters. The description of the celebrations of the victory in Edinburgh where 'the inhabitants whereof as soon as they heard it, made bonfires, and nothing was heard there but joyful acclamations, ringing of bells, and roaring of canons from the castle' (p.2), suggests that the Covenanters are separated in ideology and principle from the majority of the

Scottish people. This adds weight to the government's claims that these are fanatics and rebels, and, as in the Proclamations of the 1660s, are a small minority opposed to the loyal subjects who support both the King and Episcopacy. The pamphlet concludes with a list of 'ministers that influenced them' (p.3).

The figurative language of the following 'letter from Edinburgh, June 24, at Midnight', entitled, 'A Further and more particular Account of the Total Defeat of the Rebels in Scotland' (London, 1679), strengthens the government's case against the Covenanters. It asserts that 'the Body of the Nation was not at all Tainted or Infected with the Rebellious poison, but upon all occasions are ready to express their Loyalty', and 'general abhorrence ... against these insolent Rebels, their Principles and Practices, and all that abet or comply with them' (pp.1-2). The Covenanting preacher, John Welsh, whom Hickee had singled out for attention in *Ravillac Redivivus* for his preaching at mass conventicles is described as 'that notorious Preaching Trumpet of Sedition' (p.3) which carries connotations of military action, insurrection and disorderly conduct. This is further exemplified with the description of the Covenanting ministers as 'a turbulent sort of Self-designing Kirkmen' (p.4). The metaphoric images of the Covenanters bringing illness and decay to an otherwise healthy nation reaffirms the government's claims that they were a minority movement with little popular Scottish support whilst the general description of the Covenanters as 'vile wretches', reinforces their portrayal as depraved outcasts (p.2).

These letters were often the source material of the numerous daily or weekly news sheets. James Sutherland states that 'the reliability of much of the news reaching London from the country is often questionable' (*The Restoration Newspaper and Its*

Development (1986), p. 99). The coincidental timing of the Bothwell uprising with the expiration of the Printing Act in June, 1679, proved detrimental to the popular image of the Scottish Covenanters. Throughout the unlicensed pamphlets the Covenanters are portrayed as a well-organised fighting machine who are utterly routed by the God-fearing, Royalist army, especially at Bothwell Bridge. Overall, the blame for the insurrection is directed towards the Covenanting clergymen whom the pamphleteers insisted were inciting their parishioners to rebel against recognised, legal government. They also claimed that the Covenanting ministers were self-interested, and misleading the population into rebellion and revolutionary actions, and furthermore, that this was against the wishes of the majority of the Scottish people.

The most common accusation against the Scottish Covenanters is that they incited the population to violence. For example, Hickes had claimed that

at these field conventicles would meet sometimes five or six thousand, sometimes eight or nine thousand at a time, as many of which as were fit to bear arms and could provide them, never fail'd to come appointed into the field. For this reason our laws and proclamations stile these field-meetings rendezvous of rebellion, which is as modest a name as they deserve. For most of the principle preachers among them, as Welsh and Arnott, are either attainted or declared traytors, and were actors in the rebellion of 66 and the harangues (for I will not call them sermons) which they make to the people, tend to nothing but to make them rebel, and possess them with hatred against the King and the Church. (*Ravillac Redivivus*, p.45)

'A Sermon Preached at Glasgow in Scotland, by Mr. James Kea, to the Rebels in Arms' (n.p., 1679?), purports to be a copy of a seditious sermon delivered by a Scottish Presbyterian clergyman at a conventicle. The pamphlet is a travesty of a sermon that was first delivered in 1638, in St. Giles Cathedral in Edinburgh, by a Presbyterian clergyman named, James Row. The sermon was later published in London in 1642-3 to

propagate the Covenanting cause prior to the implementation of the Solemn League and Covenant. The overall theme of the sermon is of the corrupt Episcopalian practices encroaching into the Church of Scotland and the necessity for subscribing to the National Covenant to counteract them. An examination of the differences between the two sermons indicates that they are two distinct versions, and also, that the second is written in the seventeenth-century tradition of mock anti-Puritan sermons.

Row's version is a stirring call to join with the National Covenant. He follows the usual pattern for seventeenth-century Scottish sermons in first giving a text, 'Jer.30', and then giving four examples, or heads from the text, which he then proceeds to expound. After giving the four ways that the Scottish Church has been 'wounded'; head, sight, hands, and feet, Row follows a step by step explanation of why the Church was 'wounded', and how she has been cured. Overall, the tone of the sermon is full of hope for a Kirk riding high with expectation of providential deliverance from 'the whore of Babylon', 'the Popes Idolatrie', and 'proud prelates'. The sermon culminates with Row's exultant glorification of the Presbyterian Church.

The Kirke of Scotland for almost forty years by past hath sate desolate in the wilderness, by you contemned, and rejected of all, and endured many temptations; and nowe in the end having overcome them, shee is riding to Jerusalem in Triumph. For now there is nothing in all mens mouths but *Hosanna*, crying blessed is he that comes in the name of the Lord. (All quotations are from 'The Red-Shanks Sermon: Preached at Saint Giles Church in Edenburgh, the last Sunday in April, by a Highland Minister', [London, 1642]).

In the edition which the *NLS* catalogue dates around 1679 the diction is altered from the printed version. The sermon is in phonetic Scots, 'talls', 'leved', 'hur', 'wurd', 'England', for example, which, along with making the preacher appear ridiculous and unlearned, also gives the appearance that the sermon was written up from notes taken

x
[I]

A

SERMON

Preached at *Glasgow* in *SCOTLAND*;

By Mr. *JAMES KEA*,

T O

The Rebels in Arms.

The **T E X T**, *Sion is wounded.*

Beluv'd in our Loard, before I gang any furdur, gee me leave, by the geate, to shew yee twa things, and then I's open my Text and hanle my pearts as they ligg in order. 1st. Beluv'd, wha is meant by *Sion* i my Text, that's ean the pure Kirk a *Scotland*, the hally Profet talls ye with a hoy hart, that *Sion* is wonded; but gen he had leved e thele weafow dayes a ours, he e plain termes wad a tall'd ye that te pure Kirk a *Scotland* is wonded. 2^{ly}. Wha has wonded her tro ye? To this purpose I's tell ye a tale, but I's nay say 'tis true; but be it true, or be it fauce, takt as I tink it a Gods benefon: When I was a young Laddy, thur was a warsom man a Student a Theologie in the Colledge of *Aberdeen*, an he was te make a Preechment before te Masters a this Colledge; an out au te hally Scripture o' God he weiled this Text: an he tall'd 'um, What will ye give me, an Is't betray her to ye? (and he cud basel it in Latine, *Quid dabitis?*) And tere was a honest auld man sitinge at te fuet of te Powpit, and he ses tull him, *Sir, gin yele betray him te me, Is't give ye a geud fat Bishoprick.* Now ye may here by this wha it is that betrays Crist, an wonds te pure Kirk a *Scotland*. But now te come te my Text, *Sion is wonded*; te pure Kirk of *Scotland* is wonded; wher is she

A

wounded

by a barely literate hearer. Furthermore, the sexual innuendo inherent in the introductory phrase ‘hanle my pearts’ is typical of anti-puritan satirical attacks on the supposed licentious lives of dissenting preachers (p.1). The ‘heads’ of the later version are different. ‘Head’, ‘hands’, ‘hart’, and ‘feet’, and the accusation of the ‘wounding’ of the Church is directed firmly at the bishops. They are ‘proud’, greedy (‘tha’l no gang te the Deelee we lean branes’), covetous (‘tha ha sea robbed, and sea hirried, and sea pillaged an plundered te peer Kirk a Scotland, than gan Gad will ne scarge um out o’th Land, as he did ye ance before, tha’l ne leave hur so mickle as yaw nale to claw hur sell withaw’), and undisciplined (‘we ha sike straung an uncouth Laws among us, weel anger us aul te heart before we geet rid o um’, pp. 2-4). Moreover, the later version is shorter. This alters the tone as the hopeful ending is lost in the abridgement. The sermon ends with ‘ya word o incorragment te all te gued people o Gad, that ha set thur heart an hans te renuing te auld an antient Solemn League and Cuvenant’ (p.4).

The two versions of the sermon also contain different contemporary references. For example, in the final paragraph of the 1642 edition Row addresses the ‘Provost, Baylies, and Doctors of Aberdeen, who sate in a gallerie by themselves’ and exhorts them particularly to ‘joine with the Kirke of Scotland and subscribe the Covenant’. In 1638, and indeed throughout the years of religious struggles within the Church of Scotland, the North-East remained an area resistant to Presbyterianism. The later edition ends with Kea addressing a ‘reproof to ye Collecters o ye Kings rents’ which is a reference to one of the major grievances in Scotland in 1679 which was paying the Cess to maintain a standing army (p.4). Finally, the concluding sentence of the later version all but incites the Scots conventiclors to violence against the prelates and Bishops:

‘there is but ya sort o folke between Gad an ye: tak away that sort o men, an ye may aw gang to heven, sheeke by shole, yan by another’ (p. 4). If the sermon was published after the murder of Archbishop Sharp, in May, 1679, this sentence would have been used as evidence that the Scots Presbyterian preachers were inciting violence. Thus, from the internal evidence of language variation, of the inverted tone from one of hope to despair, and of the explicitly seditious material, it is clear that the second and later edition is a mock version of a supposed Presbyterian sermon preached at a Scottish conventicle.

In his diary, John Livingston, an exiled Presbyterian minister, related how he composed his sermons:

I used ordinarily to write some few notes & left the enlargement to the time of delivery, I found yt much studying did not so much help me in preaching as the getting my heart brought to a spirituall disposition, yea sometime I thought the hunger of the hearers helped me more then my own preparation, many time I found that which was suggested to me in the delivery was more refreshfull to my self and to the hearers than what I had premeditated. (‘John Livingston: The Diary of a Covenanting Minister, 1626-1667’, pp.57-8)

Of his sermons, he states that he ‘never preached a sermon which I would be earnest to see again in writ but two’, and more importantly with respect to the premise that conventicle sermons were copied verbatim and circulated around the countryside, he asserts:

I could hardly ever get my own sermon repeated, neither could I get the same sermon preached twice although to other hearer, I thought it tasteless both to myself and others, I have sometimes after some years preached on the same texts, but then I behoved to make use of new notes. (p.58)

Presbyterian sermons were given extempore; the preacher was inspired by the Holy Spirit. Thus, only heads and notes of such sermons were written at the time of delivery.

Given Livingston's affirmation of Presbyterian principles governing the publication of extempore preaching the reliability of such printed or manuscript editions of conventicle sermons is therefore questionable. Kea's sermon, if taken at face value as preached before an armed gathering around the time of the Bothwell insurrection, would appear to support the government's accusations that the Scottish Covenanters were preaching 'seditious and factious principles'. However, the existence of the printed copy of 1642, together with Livingston's description of his method of composition and delivery makes the evidence of Kea's sermon dubious. Moreover, the paucity of published sermons by Scottish Covenanting or Conventicling preachers between 1660 and 1679 indicate that it was clearly not deemed proper conduct to write up and publish Presbyterian sermons.

A search of H. Aldis, *A List of Books Printed in Scotland up to 1700*, and Donald Wing, *Short Title Catalogue of Books ...1641-1700*, for entries of sermons by well-known conventicling preachers, for example, Blackader, Cargill, Cameron, Wellwood, Welsh, and Renwick, published between 1660 and 1679 reveals that there are none. There is one entry for Michael Bruce of 'A Sermon Preached in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh' (Edinburgh?, 1668), which, whilst being a contemporary published copy of a convicted conventicling peacher, is not an example of what was being preached daily or weekly at Scottish conventicles. After 1679, when the practice of conventicling had ceased there are more entries. However, out of the seven or more entries listed, only one, 'Mount Moriah ... a sermon preached by Mr Riddale' (n.p., after 1679), purports to be a contemporary version of a sermon delivered at a conventicle by someone who was still living and could either have verified or denied the contents. The entries for

John Welsh, William Guthrie, and John Guthrie, are for sermons preached up to ten years earlier and in all three cases they were published posthumously.

It would appear, then, that publishing sermons was not a priority of Scottish Presbyterian nonconformists during the middle of the seventeenth century. Although there are numerous editions of sermon series by pre-Restoration Scottish preachers such as Andrew Gray, Hugh Binning and James Durham, the lack of any published sermons would seem to indicate that John Livingstone was not unique with regard to writing and publishing his sermons. It also confirms the questionable stature of Kea's sermon. Clearly, when dealing with such material the date of delivery, publication and by whom, is as important as the scriptural text, heads and uses expounded.

According to Hyman, Scottish Presbyterian clergymen, both indulged and non-indulged constituted a 'Church Militant able to oppose strength to strength of the state-not the disorganised, divided, and ultimately ineffective force that figures in later histories' (p.73). Clearly, the kind of misrepresentation with regard to conventicling sermons played their part in propagating a distorted picture of Scottish Covenanters. Propaganda, however, constituted more than the mock sermon, the exaggerated misrepresentations that were published, with Lauderdale's consent by Hickee, and the unlicensed sensationalist newspaper articles published in the summer of 1679 in London. Misinformation by the Scottish Privy Council also played its part. Below is a discussion of an example of the propaganda that was printed with the authorisation of the King at the instigation of the Scottish Privy Council.

Richard Cameron, a Covenanter who broke with the Scottish Presbyterian nonconformists following the defeat of armed aggressive tactics at Bothwell Bridge in 1679, restarted the practice of conventicling in the fields in the summer of 1680 against the wishes of the majority of the Scottish Presbyterian clergymen. His anti-Establishmentarian attitude, and his militaristic zeal for enforcing Presbyterianism, led to government reprisals and the almost complete cessation of toleration in regard to Presbyterian dissent in Scotland. An examination of the two Covenanting documents issued by the Privy Council in Scotland in this year reveals the way that the government used extremist papers to further diminish support for Presbyterianism as a whole, and the consequent way that the remaining Covenanters' self-image then altered.

In June, 1680, a Teviotdale laird named Hall of Haughhead, together with a conventicling Presbyterian clergyman, named Donald Cargill, were surprised by an ambush at Queensferry. They had both been heavily involved in the preparation and fighting at Bothwell and were therefore sought after by the authorities. Following the skirmish in which Hall was killed and Cargill escaped, some papers were discovered which imputed treasonable principles to the remaining Covenanters. At first, the Privy Council did nothing. Eighteen days later, on the 22nd of June, Richard Cameron rode at the head of an armed gathering of some twenty men into the small market village of Sanquhar and posted a treasonable declaration to the mercat cross. When the Privy Council received a copy of it through their network of informants they decided to act. Firstly they sought authorisation from the King to publish the documents. On the fifth of July, the King replied to the Duke of Rothes.

Having seen your letter of 30th June to the Duke of Lauderdale with the new villainous and treasonable covenant and declaration of the fanatic rebels there, we both approve your proceedings in that affair and return you our hearty thanks, not doubting you will continue your care and

diligence to use all lawfull means for bringing those rougues to exemplary punishment; and to the end that our loyal subjects, being informed, may have a just abhorrence of the principles and practices of those villains, we hereby authorize you to cause print and publish the said new covenant and declaration, with such other papers as you see fit. (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1679-80, p.193*)

The papers were bound together and published the same year in Edinburgh, London, and Dublin. The title leaves no doubt as to their treasonable contents. It is entitled, *A True and Exact Copy of a Treasonable and Bloody Paper, called, The Fanaticks New-Covenant: which was taken from Mr Donald Cargill, at Queens ferry, the third day of June, Anno Dom. 1680. One of their Field preachers, a declared Rebel and Traytor. Together with their Execrable Declaration, published at the Cross of Sanquhair, upon the twenty two day of the said month of June, after a solemn procession, and singing of psalms, by Cameron, the notorious ring-leader of, and preacher at, their field conventicles, accompanied with twenty of that wicked crew* (London, 1680).⁶ By publishing the documents under a sensationalist title, and ascribing them to a well-known conventicle preacher, Donald Cargill, the Scottish Privy Council could present before the public written evidence of what they had always insisted, that the Covenanters were regicidal, over-zealous religious fanatics.

A comparison of the language and tone of the copy of the ‘Fanaticks New-Covenant’ with the ‘Sanquhair Declaration’, however, reveals that Cameron’s actions did not represent the Scottish Presbyterian nonconformists as a whole. The ‘Fanaticks New-Covenant’ was drawn up ‘that men may know our most inward thoughts, the rules that we walk by, and the outmost ends that we have before our eyes’ (p.3). In a series of seven articles it includes a reaffirmation of Presbyterian doctrine,

⁶ As the original document has not been printed elsewhere I have included a copy in Appendix I.

‘we take the only true and living God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be our God’, and purpose ‘[to] advance the kingdom of our Christ ... Righteousnesse, and the true reformed religion, in the truth of its doctrine, in the purity and power of its worship and ordinances, and in its discipline and government’ (I & II, p.4). They swear to ‘endeavour to our outmost, the extirpation of the kingdom of darkness, and whatsoever is contrair to the kingdom of Christ, and especially idolatry, and popery in all the articles of it, as we are bound in our National Covenant’ (III, p.4). They renounce the Royal succession: ‘seriously considering, that the hand of our Kings has been against the throne of the Lord, and that for a long time, the succession of our Kings, and the most part of our rulers with him, hath been against the purity and power of religion and godliness, and freedom of the church of God’ (IV, pp.4-5). This brings them to the conclusion that ‘we then being made free, by God and their doings ... are loosed now from all obligations, both Divine and Civil to them’ (V, p.6). They then outline a proposal for the establishment of a Presbyterian republic where they promise that they ‘shall no more commit the government of ourselves, and the making of laws for us, to any one single person, and lineal successor, we not being tyed as the Jews were, by God, to one family, government not being an inheritance but an office, which must be squared, not to the interest and lust of a man, but to the good of the commonwealth’ (V, pp.6-7). They finally denounce the Scottish Presbyterian clergymen who had accepted the latest Indulgence of June, 1679, and admit that although they ‘neither have, nor assumes to ourselves authority to give out definite and authoritative sentences of deposition and suspension against these ministers’, nevertheless, they ‘declare ... that we neither can, nor will hear preaching, nor receive sacraments from these ministers that have accepted of, and voted for that liberty’ (VI, p.8). They conclude by declaring that ‘a gospel ministry, is a standing ordinance of God ... [and] that we shall go about

this work in time to come, with more fasting and praying, and more careful inspection into the conversation and holiness of these men that shall be chosen and ordained; the want of which formerly, hath been a great sin' (VII, p. 9).

In contrast to this carefully constructed argument against Royal Supremacy over the Church the 'Sanquhair Declaration' is a short, brutal denial of the King's authority.

The Cameronians, as they became known after this date declared

although we be for government, and governours, such as the word of God, and our Covenants allows, ... [we] disown Charles Stuart. As also being under the standard of Christ, Captain of Salvation, we declare war against such a tyrant and usurper, and all the men of his practices, as enemies to our Lord Jesus Christ, and his cause and Covenants, ... As also we disown, and by this resents the reception of the Duke of York, a profest papist, ... We also, by this, protest against his succeeding to the crown ... To conclude, we hope that none will blame us for, or offend, at our rewarding these that are against us, as they have done to us, as the Lord gives the opportunity. (pp.10-11)

The 'Sanquhair Declaration', when compared with the printed edition of the 'Fanaticks New-Covenant' reveals that Cameron did not represent the majority of the Scottish Presbyterians. Cargill, and his associates, was attempting to organise the resistance to Episcopacy and to the threatened imminent succession of the avowedly Roman Catholic Duke of York through non-violent means. Hyman states that

ministers of the church militant could control and direct the resistance only so long as it stayed non violent and responded primarily to their leadership, also within the parameters of church organisation. (p.58)

The 'Fanaticks New-Covenant' is a reaffirmation of Covenanted Presbyterianism presented as a defensive and apologetic statement. Set alongside the harsh declaration of open war against the King, his son and heir, and the government, by men who were filled with righteous anger and aggression as was contained in the 'Sanquhair

Declaration', however, it became an example of Presbyterian radical writing. That the Privy Council did not perceive the document on its own as a threat to the stability of Scottish society is clear from their inactivity until after the report of the 'Sanquhair Declaration' had reached them.

When Wodrow was compiling the material for his *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland* in 1721-3, he noted that the 'Fanaticks New-Covenant' that was published in 1680 was not a radical document. In the eight years that it took him to compile material he had obtained at least six copies of this paper. As he noted Sir George Mackenzie had printed it in his *Vindication*, Shields had printed 'an abstract of it' in *Hind Let Loose*, and he had 'seen a copy of it, printed by Order of the Council, this year, at Edinburgh'. Moreover, he had 'three written copies of it ... said to be writ at the very time, and one of them bound up with some original papers which belonged to the clerk of the society people ... all these three agree exactly; and from them I have insert a copy' (Wodrow (1772), Vol. II, p. 136). The copy that Wodrow inserts is a radical paper. It is a much expanded version that is more openly aggressive towards the King. Most importantly, there is an additional eighth article where the signatories warn,

if we shall be pursued or troubled any farther in our worshipping, rights and liberties, that we shall look on it, as a declaring War, and take all the advantages that one enemy doth of another, and seek to cause perish, all that shall, in an hostile manner, assault us. (Wodrow (1722), Vol. II, 'Appendix' No. 46, pp. 43-7, p. 47)

Wodrow's notes to the publishers in his second draft of the *History* reveals that he noticed the marked differences.

The reader will observe a considerable difference 'twixt this copy and the printed copy and several passages left out in the print which are how. The

whole 3 paragraph is omitted, tho every thing which sticks at the King's Authority is carefully insert and the whole 8 paragraph is left out and a good part of the 7th. Whether by neglect or of designe these parts were suppressed I cannot say. But from the concurrence of the written copys, and one of them coming from a person who was much with Mr Cargill I am ready enough to think those passages are left out of designe. Had the whole of it been published the paper had clearly appeared not to be a deed of the suffering presbiterians, but of a few, for in the 7th section of it the author of this draught who ever it was, throws of all the indulged and such who heard them, and thus throws of by far the most part of the presbiterians in Scotland; and the inserting of this would have spoiled the jest of fathering the paper at the door of presbiterians ovalar. My jealousy in this is strengthened by two blunders I find in the title page of the printed copys. The title of the paper is made to be the Fanaticks New Covenant, whereas everybody will see they would never give such a title to their paper and its said to be taken upon Mr Cargill, whereas he was never seized or searched, and it was really found upon Mr Hall.

Wodrow appears to have had some difficulty with what to do with the different versions of the same paper. He inserted a note at the side of the above paragraph stating,

these remarks on the differences 'twixt ye print & the writt are not tanti, consider whither it may not be enough to insert ye copy in ye app. and take out from the 6th & 8th it discounts itself not to be a paper than can yt be charged on ye body of presbiterians.

Wodrow has then scored out the above paragraph and inserted new instructions; 'leave out this paragraph and say start a new line there are several passages how evidently shows yt this paper cannot be charged upon the body of the presbiterians & the publishers take in a grosse blunder yt they say it was taken upon Mr Cargill it being taken on Mr Hall'. (All quotations are from NLS MS Wod. Quarto XLVII, Wodrow's second draft of Book 3 that was being transcribed in November, 1716, p. 221). In the published edition of 1722 Wodrow states 'there are several passages here which evidently shew that this paper cannot be charged upon the body of the Presbyterians; and the publishers fall in a gross blunder when they say it was taken on Mr Cargil, it being taken on Mr Hall' (Vol.II, p. 36). He overrides his previous accusations of publishing duplicity in favour of accepting that the written copies possessed by the

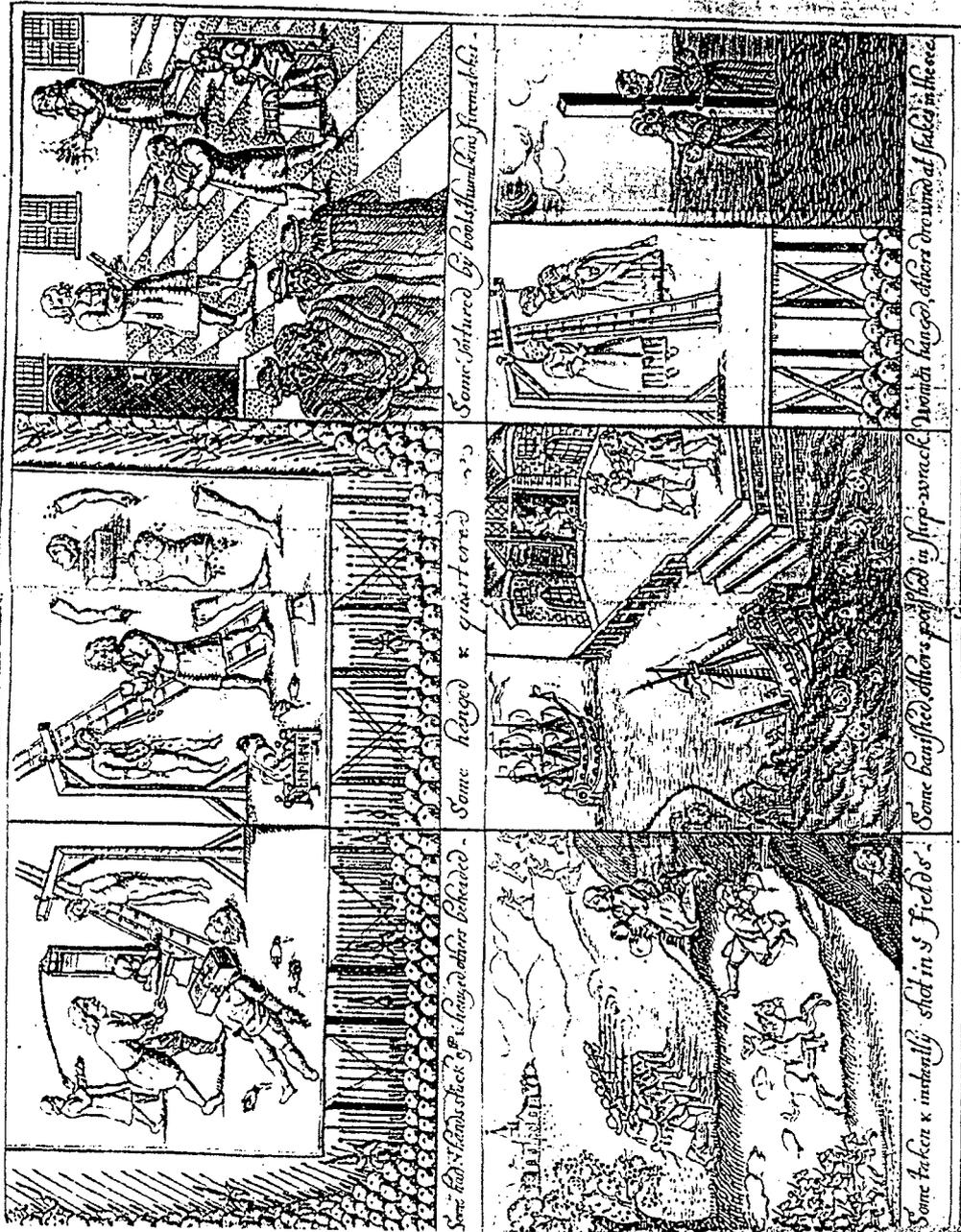
society people are the truer versions and inserts the radical version in place of the moderate one.

Wodrow thought that the Privy Council had deliberately left out passages from the printed copy to make the paper appear to be issued from the majority of Scottish Presbyterians. He failed to note that the differences amounted to more than a few scored out passages and that it would have been a monumental re-writing task for any publisher to have taken out or added to either of the versions of the document. For example, in the shortest article, I, there are 119 words in the printed copy, and 157 in the written copy. Whilst the alteration of 'take', in the printed copy to 'acknowledge and avouch' in the written copy is small, larger and more complex changes occur. For example, in the same article the phrase 'and betake ourselves to the merits and righteousness of his Son, as the alone righteousness that can justifie us before God' of the printed copy, is 'we close with his way of redemption by His Son Jesus Christ, and rely upon his righteousness, as that righteousness only whereby a man can be justified before God' (Appendix no. 46, p.44). They are clearly two different documents.

Wodrow's confusion and hesitancy over which was the most true copy distorts the significance of the existence of the two copies. Why are there two different versions? If the Privy Council wanted to suppress extremist views they would have surely suppressed this paper. It is my supposition that the 'Fanaticks New-Covenant' published by order of the Privy Council was a copy of papers taken from Hall and Cargill prior to their being written up into a formal declaration of Covenanted Presbyterian principles by the majority of the non-indulged Scottish Presbyterian clergy after Bothwell Bridge. The written copies (which I have not seen in manuscript) which

Wodrow received from the second generation of society people was a reworking of the printed document by radical Cameronian Covenanters *after* 1680-1.

In 1687, an exiled Presbyterian minister named Alexander Shields, published a book entitled *A Hind Let Loose* (Edinburgh), which was the final literary representation of the Covenanters prior to the 'Glorious Revolution'. On the first page he included sensationalist illustrations of the various methods of execution practised upon Scottish Covenanters (see illustration, p.53a), and in the tradition set by Stewart's *Naphtali*, from which same biblical quotation he had taken his title; 'Naphtali is a hind let loose, he giveth goodly words' (Gen.50:21), Shields sets the covenanting struggle within an historical context and finds biblical precedents for the Covenanters to follow. Thus, *A Hind Let Loose*, includes a 'compend' of the history of the Church of Scotland, beginning in Period 1, entitled 'The Culdees', and concluding with Part III, 'The Present Testimony'. Like Stewart and Stirling, Shields portrays the Scottish Presbyterian Covenanters as one of the tribes of Israel, 'Naphtali'. Similarly, his description of the Covenanters of the 1680s as a 'poor persecuted and wasted witnessing remnant', can be compared to the 'holy seed' described by Stewart and Stirling (A5). However, in stark contrast to previous representations of the Covenanters as people who deliberately separated themselves from the rest of society because of their spiritual purity, Shields contends that these men have become outcasts, driven into the hills and fields by government oppression, people who have been rejected by the rest of Scottish society. Indeed, Shields admits that one of the main reasons for publishing is to counter contemporary portrayals of the Covenanters as 'the wild folk of Scotland' (A3). Thus, the final representation to appear before Presbyterianism was accepted as the national form of worship portrays the Covenanters as a 'faithful



Some tortured by hoodlum and firemaker.

Some hanged & quartered.

Some had hands stuck off & hung where they behaved.

Some hanged, others drowned at stakes in these.

Some banished, others punished in ship-wreck.

Some taken & instantly shot in s' fields.

remnant' comparable to the 'righteous remnant', one of the exiled tribes of Israel who will return in the 'last days' to do battle with the Antichrist. The Covenanters have been forced into exile in their own country as they have become detested by their own countrymen and women.

In conclusion, from the publication of the National Covenant in 1638, both the Covenanting movement and their detractors were concerned to present a 'true' image of what it was to be a Covenanter. At the outset the Covenanters claimed that theirs was a national movement contending 'only [for] religion', and their detractors, the Royalists and anti-Covenanters counteracted ironically with charges which included treason, sedition, moral and religious hypocrisy, and deceit. The difficulties that the Covenanters found in maintaining the dual allegiance inherent within the National Covenant is revealed in their continual realigning of their aims as each new political event arose. The initial ironic representations, such as Drummond's *Irene*, revealed the inconsistencies of Covenanting principles. English satirical representations were both revelatory, as in Milton, or humorous, yet ruthlessly derogatory, as in Cleveland. However, it should be kept in mind that not all Englishmen were anti-Covenanter as is revealed in the sympathetic treatment of Scottish Covenanters in some contemporary popular ballads and broadsides. After 1660, the literary response was on the whole denigratory as the Scottish Privy Council, with the full support of the English government sought to prevent a repeat of the events of 1638. This is most evident in the work of George Hicke whose pamphlets were published during 'Popish Plots', when Britain as a whole was in a state of heightened anxiety over conspiracy theories which included Roman Catholics and Jesuits purging the land of Protestants. Ian B. Cowan

noted that 1678 marked a change in the tone and virulence of anti-Covenanting pamphleteers such as Hickee:

poems, pasquils and satires denouncing the execution of Mitchell were responsible for adding a new dimension to the conventicling struggle. Passions that were already aflame were further excited by the transmission among the masses of rumours and half-truths to which no ready reply could be given. (*The Scottish Covenanters* (1976) p. 90)

The overall impression of the Covenanters described by Hickee in his pamphlets is one that aligns him with pre-Restoration anti-Covenanting satire. Hickee fed the post-Restoration mood of anti-catholic frenzy by declaring the Scottish rebels to be nothing more than regicidal, fanatical Jesuits acting under another name. The representation of Scottish Covenanters in the crucial post-Bothwell/Popish plot/Exclusion crisis period suffered firstly through the misleading title that the Privy Council attached to their draft manifesto, 'The Fanaticks New-Covenant', and secondly, through their wrongly being associated with violent Cameronians. Finally, after fifty years of contending for true religion in the form of a Covenanted Presbyterian Church of Scotland the two disjunctive discourses of the anti-Covenanters and the Covenanters concurred as the few who remained declared war on the King and all who opposed them. Their historian, Shields, portrays the Covenanters of the 1680s in apocalyptic tropes as a 'suffering remnant' in exile within their own country. Viewed in retrospect the progression from the National Covenant, to the Solemn League and Covenant, and to the 'Sanquhair Declaration' and beyond, seems inevitable, and it appears a *fait accompli* to equate the 'Politick Christians' of 1638, and the 'holy seed of dying witnesses' of 1666, with the 'suffering remnant' of the later 1680s. As Hyman concludes, however, 'historians [have] failed to reopen the case and correct distortions left over from the sectarian propaganda wars' (Hyman, p.74). This contextual and

inter-textual study of just a small sample of the abundant logomachy reveals that the apparent concurrence in the previously competing narratives in the final representations of the Covenanters immediately prior to 1688, must be treated with the same degree of circumspection as the satirical and derogatory representations that appeared throughout the seventeenth century.

CHAPTER TWO

Discordant Discourses: Representations of the Scottish Covenanters in the eighteenth century

In the aftermath of the Revolution in 1688 those who had continued as Presbyterians throughout the Restoration period found ‘instant respectability’ (Julia Buckroyd, *Church and State in Scotland* (1980), p. 164). The restrictions concerning printing and publishing of anti-Caroline or anti-Jacobite works were lifted in the first half of the eighteenth century as the Williamites and succeeding Hanoverians sought to vindicate the overthrow of the Stuart dynasty, and with it the claims of hereditary right, Roman Catholicism and the threat that that had brought to national security. The works of both pre and post Restoration Covenanters who had been silenced but for the occasional pamphlet from Holland, or in the short break in Printing restrictions occasioned by the failure to renew the Printing Act in the summer of 1679 were published either in edited editions of printed works, or published for the first time from manuscript sources. For their part, Royalists turned Jacobites turned to the illicit form of publishing that the Covenanters had practised for the previous thirty years. The satire that had been directed specifically towards Scottish Covenanters now became a general attack on all Scottish Presbyterians as they repudiated the claims of Williamites that there had been any persecution on religious grounds and attempted to keep up the spirits of the party faithful by circulating satirical jibes in manuscript form. Thus, as persecuted became persecutor, the previously competing narratives of the Episcopalians and Presbyterians continued with each faction whether religious or political seeking to legitimise their present position through the exaltation or denigration of Scottish Covenanters.

In June, 1690, following the flight of James, and William and Mary’s acceptance of the Crowns of England and Scotland, the Church of Scotland was granted Presbyterian government. Whilst the Act of Settlement meant Presbyterian government

for the Church of Scotland, the Church of England maintained its Episcopal government. This factor, when combined with the fierce political debates concerning the Union between England and Scotland, the continuous threat of a Jacobite invasion (until 1745), and intermittent and imminent wars with both France and Spain, ensured that between the last decade of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century the paper war of words between anti-Scots and anti-English, Jacobites and Hanoverians, Episcopalians and Presbyterians, and non-Covenanted Presbyterians and Presbyterian Covenanters continued with each party determined to represent the recent past in such a way as to influence their present position.

In the first years of uncertainty following the Settlement, when it appeared that there was some hope of reintroducing Episcopal rule into the Church of Scotland the defeated Scots Episcopalians followed the satiric tradition set by their predecessors. The tone was more virulent, however, and the attack more violent than previously. Indeed, even moderately styled pamphlets turned to sarcasm when mentioning the Covenanters, as for example, Bishop John Sage's reductive description of the life and death of Richard Cameron.

Mr Richard Cameron, who being sometimes schoolmaster at Falkland and turn'd out of that employment for insufficiency, betook himself to the trade of field preaching, became wonderfully admired of the giddy multitude, was killed at last in open rebellion at Airdsmoss and so commenced martyr anno 1680. (John Sage, *An Account of the Present Persecution of the Church in Scotland in Several Letters*, 'Second Letter')¹

The most hostile attack upon the Scottish Covenanters was in a pamphlet entitled *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence: or the Foolishness of their Teaching Discovered from*

¹ Reprinted in David Reid, ed. *The Party-Coloured Mind: Selected Prose Relating to the Conflict between Church and State in Seventeenth Century Scotland* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1982), pp. 179-193, p. 180.

their Books, Sermons and Prayers; and some Remarks on Mr Rule's late Vindication of the Kirk (London, 1692). The anonymous author who signs himself, 'Jacob Curate', ridicules and vilifies Scottish Covenanters, beginning with Samuel Rutherford, in a sustained assault which is directed towards all Scottish Presbyterians, both past and present. The tone and style of the pamphlet are set in the mock dedication to the Earl of Crawford, and also in the corruption of quotations from Baxter and Rutherford. For example, Rutherford's admonition to his parishioners to 'follow not the pastors of this land, for the Sun is gone down upon them, as the Lord liveth they lead you from Christ and the good old way' (Title Page), becomes an attack on Presbyterian instead of Episcopalian clergy, and the 'good old way' comes to imply Episcopacy in place of Covenanted Presbyterianism. The Earl of Crawford, who had presided as Chancellor over the General Assemblies of 1690 and 1692 was 'a staunch Presbyterian and a well-meaning man [whose] piety and fanaticism made him the butt of the keenest satire of the Prelatists' (Cunningham, Vol. II, p. 168). Through satiric inversion 'Jacob Curate' first praises him for his championing the 'learned and elaborate discourses' of the Presbyterians, and then proceeds to denigrate him for it.

Some of the malignants, who have no tast [sic] for such spiritual sayings, as daily drop from the pens and tongues of the Covenanted Brethren, may accuse the books and sermons here cited as nonsense; but for as ill natured as the world is grown, they must own, that your Lp has been very long, and very intimately acquainted with the truest and best nonsense; so that being a complete master of it yourself, it must be allowed that you are also a very good Judge. ('Dedication')

The pamphlet is divided into four sections: 'the true character of the Presbyterian Pastors and people in Scotland'; 'some expressions out of their printed books'; 'notes of the Presbyterian sermons taken in writing from their mouth'; and 'some few

expressions of the Presbyterian prayers'; all of which follow the malicious tone of the opening dedication.

'Jacob Curate' follows anti-Puritan typology with accusations of sexual hypocrisy. He states, 'generally their conventicles produced very many Bastards' (p.5), and as evidence he repeats at length the anecdote concerning 'Dainty Davie' first mentioned by Hickes in *The Spirit of Popery*. He accuses them of drunkenness (they consumed 'many bowls of warm sack'), of enticing 'silly women, laden with divers lusts' (pp.38-9), and throughout, he uses the sexually connative phrase 'holding forth' in place of preaching.

In *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* there is a denial of the claims of the Scottish Covenanters that they had been persecuted for religion. This was first stated by the former Lord Advocate, Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, who had presided over interrogations and judicial torturing of suspected Covenanters, in an attempt to play down the brutal nature of both the Caroline and Jacobite regimes.

The Posterior Acts made against Field-Conventicles, were the necessary product of new accessional degrees of Rebellion; and were not punishments design'd against Opinions in Religion, but meerly against *Treasonable Combinations*, which exceeded what was attempted in England, or elsewhere, and the Governours (for the time) can truly and boldly say, that no man in *Scotland* ever suffer'd for his religion. (*A Vindication of the Government in Scotland during the reign of King Charles II against mis-representations made in several scandalous pamphlets* (London, 1691), p. 8)

Mackenzie rebutted the Covenanters' claims to martyrdom by accusing them of being politically, as opposed to spiritually motivated. His legal linguistic manipulation was picked up and repeated by other Episcopalian pamphleteers. 'Jacob Curate' asserts

one reason of their malicious and crabbed nature may be, that they never suffered affliction, for after they abdicated their churches in 1662, they began everywhere in their sermons to cant about the persecution of the godly, and to magnifie their own sufferings, by this means they were pampered instead of being persecuted; some of the godly sisters supplied them with plentiful gratuities to their families, and money to their purses; they really lived better than ever they did before by their Stipends. They themselves boasted they were sure of Crowns for their sufferings; and that Angels visited them often in their troubles, and both were materially true. (pp.32-3)

‘Jacob Curate’s’ sarcastic jibe is explicated with the revelation that in colloquial etymology a ‘crown’ is a coin, and an ‘angel’ is ‘a rich person who is an easy victim for those in search of money’ (*OED*).

‘Jacob Curate’ has a quotation from *Hind Let Loose* in support of his accusation that the Scottish Covenanters were not persecuted but ‘pampered’.

For all the harassings and persecutions &c. the poor wilderness-wanderers have look’d as meat-like and cloath-like as others that sat at ease in their houses, and drank their wine with strong drink.

‘Jacob Curate’s’ explanatory remarks, ‘the party finding such good fruits of their intinerary labours, continued to preach the unthinking mobile out of their money and senses, as well as out of their duty to God and man’ (p.33), reiterates his accusation that the Scottish Covenanters had extorted vast amounts of money from rich women. He misinterprets and misrepresents Shields’ description of the life of an outed clergyman and his followers by inverting Shields’ description of the Covenanters’ Pauline rejoicing in their suffering to one of ruthless deception.

The most serious of ‘Jacob Curate’s’ accusations was that the Presbyterians were abusing their position as pastors by preaching, in place of the Gospel, Antinomianism,

immorality, sedition, and were ‘preach[ing] men out of their wits and very often into despair and self-murder’ (p.19). He further accuses them of being unlearned and coarse:

the most of their sermons are nonsensic raptures, the abuse of Mystick Divinity, in canting and compounded Vocables, oft-times stuffed with impertinent and base similes and always with homely, course, and ridiculous expressions, very unsuitable to the gravity and solemnity that becomes Divinity. (p.22)

‘Jacob Curate’ has numerous quotations of their expressions in the third and fourth section that he claims were ‘taken in writing from their mouths’, and which appear to confirm his accusations. Two examples will here suffice.

I heard one Mr Selkirk in a sermon he preached in the church of Inverask, say, *Sirs, Drink, Whore, and Debauch, and run red wood through the world; yet, if you have but as much time as take hold of Christ in your last gasp, I shall pawn my soul for yours.* (p.110)

Mr. James Kirkton, preaching on Jezebel, said, *That well-favoured Whore, what has become of her, Sirs? She fell over a window, arse over head, and her black bottom was discovered, you may all guess what the beholders saw, beloved, a black sight you may be sure.* (p.111)

The sources of his information are vague, ‘as one of the Communicants told me’, ‘it is very well known in Perthshire’, and ‘it’s generally well known’. In the above mentioned story of ‘Mr Selkirk’ the source was ‘Jacob Curate’ himself. However, he presents the anecdote in such a way as to surround his accusation with the appearance of veracity:

It made such an impression on the peoples minds at that time, that I believe there is hardly one of them who have forgot it to this hour; and consequently, all of them will be ready to vindicate the truth of what I here relate. (p.110)

The denigratory presentation of Scottish Presbyterian clergymen in *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* reflects the changing religious climate of the late seventeenth

century. Since 1660 the Royal Society's influence upon reason and plainness in descriptive language, in religious discourse as well as in science and literature, meant that it was no longer acceptable to be perceived to be a religious enthusiast. Samuel Parker, in his 'attack on fanaticism in the name of reason', in *Discourse of Ecclesiastical Politie* (1670), saw 'the division between Anglican and Nonconformists in stylistic terms':

And herein lies the most material difference between the sober Christians of the Church of England, and our modern sectaries, that we express the precepts and duties of the gospel in plain and intelligent terms, whilst they trifle them away by childish metaphors and allegories, and will not talk of religion but in barbarous and uncouth similitudes ... Had we but an Act of Parliament to abridge Preachers the use of fulsome and luscious Metaphors, it might perhaps be an effectual cure for all our present distempers. Let not the reader smile at the oddness of the proposal: for were men obliged to speak sense as well as truth, all the swelling mysteries of Phanaticism would then sink into flat and empty non-sense. (Roger Pooley, 'Language and Loyalty: Plain Style at the Restoration', *Literature and History*, Vol. 6 (Spring, 1980), 2-18, p.7)

Taking the key phrases to be 'plain and intelligent', and 'sense as well as truth', then 'plain' stands for honesty, and 'sense' for reason. Parker can thus deduce from the evidence of the style and content of Nonconformist preaching that they were deceitful and irrational, and liable to upset the stability of the country.

Parker's argument was adopted by Hickes in his attack on the Scottish Covenanters in *Ravillac Redivivus* (1678) when he had accused them of practising a contrived form of spiritual divinity. His survey of Mitchell's education had presented the Presbyterian form of extempore preaching and prayer as false piety. Hickes's depiction of the Presbyterian's 'unnatural' disregard for 'learning and eloquence' had led him to the conclusion that 'their insuperable ignorance in Divine and Humane learning is the mother of murdering zeal' (*Ravillac Redivivus*, p.13). In contrast to the

encompassing and passionate religion of the early Covenanters such as Zachary Boyd, who had proclaimed, 'I live to die, that I might die to live' ('Four Letters of Comforts', [1640]), p.9, the terms 'enthusiast' and 'zealot', in the later part of the seventeenth century signified a lack of control, irrationality, and a deceitful nature. *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* concludes with a prayer that the Lord will 'evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blind zeal and over-bold devotion' (p.116). Language and the communication of ideas in 'plain' or unmetaphorical terms played a key role in determining the attitude towards enthusiasm. Seen in the light of the changing signification of descriptive religious terminology 'Jacob Curate's' attacks upon the Scottish Presbyterians, along with being read historically as part of the polemic of the turbulent 1690s, ought to be read contextually as part of the wider revolt against enthusiasm. Overall, *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* is the most sustained and virulent satiric attack upon Scottish Covenanters to come out of the pamphleteering campaign of the 1690s.

Whereas *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* had derided Scottish Presbyterians in a humorously exaggerated burlesque caricature, *The Grameid* (1691) an epic poem in Latin by James Philip of Almericlose, contained an intensely violent attack. It celebrates the indecisive battle between the Jacobite army under Claverhouse, now Viscount Dundee, and the Williamite Royalists under General Mackay, at Killiecrankie in the summer of 1689 as a victory for the Jacobites. Philip, who was Dundee's standard bearer gives a brutally descriptive account of the Highlander at war, 'through the thickets wet with blood he delights to go, and eagerly strips from off the dead bodies of the slain the spoils' (translated, Alexander Murdoch (1888), p.216). Moreover, he gives a first hand account of the combat which authenticates his account: 'And I, having been

sent forward in charge of a party of cavalry outposts to keep the fords safe with a detachment, led the warlike MacLean into the Highland camp' (Murdoch, p. 216). According to Philip's retelling prior to the final conflict at Killiecrankie, Dundee 'gathered to him his favoured company of chiefs and that great number of blood relations who followed him', and lashed the Scottish Presbyterians verbally before he attacked them physically with his swords and muskets (Murdoch, p.218). In a lengthy tirade over three hundred and twenty-five lines Dundee abuses Scottish Presbyterians, their Covenanting history, and Presbyterianism in general.

The miserable Presbyterian, the fatal fury of his country, hated by the Gods, the disturber of peace, prone to wrath, the student of avarice, earnest master of lust, wanton as a goat, infamous in guilt, a very Greek in deceit, and well known on Scottish shore for Grecian fraud, distinguished in artifice and in the arts of hypocrisy, like the crab of the sea or the tortoise, he directs his steps hither while he looks the other way ... While the deceiver seeks to impose upon the foolish common people, he assumes an expression of hope, and with palms spread open to the heavens he seems by mouth, eyes, and gestures to be uttering divine things, yet amid tears and sobbing words he skillfully lays his plots, and by his arts kindles strife. Presently you may see his face distorted, and his vast gaping mouth howling after the manner of hoarse wolves, and while he pours out long prayers, he raises up horrible wars upon his country and against his country's father. Thus in the feigned name of religion he plays upon the stupid people.

And the Scotch Presbyter, the most notorious in the world, presents the fatal specimen of the incorrigible tyrant whose sad name never comes with any note of joy -envious, cunning, lazy, faithless in friendship, unfilial, subtle, anointed Pharisee, a true disciple of Machiavellian guile, loving lies as a lawyer loves a lawsuit. He is a plague inflicted as a punishment by the angry gods upon miserable mortals, and never did Jupiter in all the ages send a worse monster on the earth. To kings he is a portent unspeakable, an omen evil, sad, stupendous, and powerful ...

I myself have thrice seen the presbyterians with great following making war against the native Stuart, convulsing all things wild in confusion. (All quotations are from Murdoch, transl., Book V, pp.187-235. Dundee's tirade is on ll. 423-748, pp.218-235)

Unlike, *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* which was continually republished with additional examples of 'Presbyterian Eloquence' throughout the eighteenth century *The Grameid* was not published until 1888. In manuscript form 'the first great work of Jacobite literature' would have remained uncensored and would have been circulated amongst Jacobite sympathisers (Colin Kidd, 'The Ideological Significance of Scottish Jacobite Latinity', (1991), p. 113). Thus, Philip's expansive and violent invective would have performed the function of cheering on the faithful rather than advancing the cause for a change in the religious settlement of the Church. Although Philip repeats the slanders that had been written about Scottish Presbyterians since the Reformation, the intensity and hatred of the invective is more deeply realised than elsewhere. For example, his presentation of Scottish Presbyterians as Machiavellian manipulators, although altered in tone, remains unchanged from the earliest Royalist detractors, such as Drummond. As the persecutors became the persecuted, however, Philip's Latinity reveals the move into a new form with which to attack the Presbyterians.

On the Covenanting side, some of those who strove to represent the Scottish Covenanters as heroic martyrs who had been persecuted for nothing more than their staunch adherence to their form of religion against tyrannous persecutors also turned to different forms to represent them. Alexander Shields, William Cleland, and Samuel Colvil wrote pro-Covenanting poetry in the late seventeenth century. Both Cleland and Colvil's ventriloquial inversion of Hudibrastic style, and Shields' description of the last Covenanting martyr, James Renwick, are examples of the new forms of expression that pro-Covenanting writers successfully employed.

Samuel Butler's anti-Puritan poem entitled, *Hudibras* was published in three parts in the second half of the seventeenth century, in 1663, 1664, and 1678. Two poets with pro-Covenanting sympathies, Samuel Colvil and William Cleland, adopted the anti-Puritan *Hudibrastic* form of octosyllabic rhyming couplets in their pro-Covenanting poetry. Perhaps they agreed with Andrew Marvell who had asserted, 'I dislike not Hudibras: For he is a man of the other Robe, and his excellent Wit hath taken flight far above these whiflers: that whoever dislikes the choice of this subject, cannot but commend his performance'.² *A Mock Poem on the Highland Host who came to destroy the Western Shires* (Edinburgh, 1697), as its title suggests, is modelled on Samuel Colvil's satire entitled *Mock Poem or Whigs Supplication* (London, 1681), where both, unlike *Hudibras*, direct the satiric attack at the Restoration Government. As Ralph Stewart has shown, *Mock Poem* is concerned with contemporary Scotland of 1679 when there was a 'possibility of influencing future events' (*SLJ*, 'The Whigs Supplication', Vol 18, no. 1 (May, 1991), 37-45). The same may be said to be true of *Highland Host*, which, although it concerns events of 1674, can be read in the light of the recent Jacobite rising which began at Killiecrankie, and ended in defeat at the hands of a company of Cameronians, in which Cleland was a Lieutenant-Colonel, at Dunkeld, in 1689. Thus, the representation of the Highlanders in *Highland Host* could be seen as a reflection of events both past and present which involved a conflict between Royalist supporting Highlanders, and Lowland, Covenanted Scottish Presbyterians.

In the years following the failed Pentland uprising of 1666 there had been a rise in the numbers of people attending illegal conventicles of Covenanting clergymen and also of many more people refusing to attend the church services of the Episcopalian

² *The Rehearsal Transpos'd*, D.I.B. Smith, ed. (Oxford, 1971), p.24. Quoted in Pooley, p.8.

curates. As a result, in 1677, the government reissued an earlier proclamation of 1674 which required all landowners to sign a bond that made them responsible for the actions of their tenants. One of the measures meted out to those who refused to sign the so-called 'Black Bond' was the quartering of government soldiers (amongst whom were some six thousand Highlanders) upon both the heritors and their tenants. Cleland's contemporary satire presents the grievances of the heritors and tenants of the Lowlands of Scotland and reveals the harshness of government policy towards Scottish Presbyterians.

Throughout *Highland Host*, an omniscient observer (who could represent Cleland's opinion) comments on the events. In the introduction, for example, he sets the time-scale of the poem to be some time after the failed uprising of Pentland;

It was not long from that time, when
The chaste and tossed Western-men
Were dissipat at Pictland fells
By Devils, Drummonds and Dalzells.
(*A Collection of Several Poems and Verses, Composed Upon Various Occasions* (Edinburgh, 1697), p.8)

The protagonists of *Highland Host* are a Royalist Squire who addresses the Highlanders prior to their descent into the Lowlands, and a Covenanted Presbyterian gentleman who is sent as a representative of the gentry and heritors of the western shires to the Committee of Estates to supplicate for the removal of the Highland Host. Through the problems encountered by the Squire when attempting to communicate his orders to the Host prior to their onslaught into the Lowlands, Cleland emphasises the Highland/Lowland culture clash.

E're to his reading he began,
He cry'd keep quiet every man,

Because they did not understand,
 He hosted and lift up his hand,
 And made signs they might hold still,
 Till he declar'd his Graces will;
 For all the pains that he had taken,
 Yet instantly he was mistaken,
 For these ignoramus fellows,
 Thought he desir'd to hear their hollows
 With one consent they rais'd a cry:
 Which echoed: from Sky to Sky,
 That so the Clouds did toss and rift,
 Then presently fell in snow and drift:
 The Squire this dumped stood amused,
 And glour'd as if he were confused,
 While they redoubled their cries,
 While hail and snow did blind his eyes.

(p.16)

Secondly, through the orders that the Squire gives to the Highlanders, and his assurances of government approval for their licentious actions, Cleland ironically reveals the temper of the government towards the Scottish Presbyterians:

It's like ye think if ye steal too much,
 And with your Durks the people touch:
 If the Country be to excess wrong'd,
 Ye'll be knut up like Doggs and hang'd:
 Tho there be many of the mind,
 That Hanging is good of your kind;
 The like of that should not demure you:
 It's not be so, I shall assure you:
 Your order is so vast and large,
 It will defend you like a Targe.

(p.28)

In contrast to the Royalist Squire who is described at length as militarily inadequate, physically grotesque, and an incompetent fool, the Covenanting gentleman is described as 'Grave, Sage, Pos'd and Moderat'. His supplication to the Committee of Estates for the removal of the Host reiterates both the savagery of the Highlanders and the injustice and severity of the government's policies towards the Lowland Covenanted Presbyterians.

Yea they more savage far than those were,
 Who with Kollkittoch and Montrose were,
 And sixtie times they're worse than they
 Whom Turner led in Galloway.
 They durk our Tennents, shame our wives,
 And we're in hazard of our Lives,
 They plunder horse, and them they loaden,
 With Coverings, Blankets, Sheets and Plaidin'.

(p.38)

The Covenanting gentleman compares the rapacity of the Highlanders with those who followed Montrose in the 1640s, and with the Royalist Commander, Sir James Turner, who had been over-diligent in enforcing fines and quarterings on recalcitrant heritors in the early 1660s, and whose capture by extremist conventiclers led to the failed uprising in the Pentland Hills in 1666. Overall, Cleland's depiction of the licentiousness and cruelty of the Host both verifies the comedic commentary of the first part of the poem and also represents the government as being overly severe on the Scottish Covenanting gentry, heritors, and their tenants. Moreover, in the aftermath of Killiecrankie and Dunkeld his depiction of the savagery of the Highlanders served to counter the heroism ascribed to them by Jacobite supporters.

In Colvil's *Mock Poem or Whiggs Supplication* (London, 1681), two Covenanters, a Presbyterian Squire, who represents the 'extreme group' of Presbyterian dissenters who wanted Presbyterianism restored in Scotland 'according to the Covenant of 1638', and a Knight, who represents the moderate wing of the Presbyterians who looked for a more limited form of toleration of worship are on their way to London to supplicate with the King on behalf of the Presbyterians of Scotland. Through their discussions Colvil ironically presents the views of both parties. For example, in his 'Supplication' the Squire explains why the conventiclers have armed themselves and

describes the confusion that the many Acts that had been passed by the government since the Restoration had brought to the West of Scotland:

Since we then arm for Conscience sake,
 May't please you, Sir, some pity take,
 And not by Bishops instigation,
 Inforce on us the Declaration,
 Nor make us give, beyond our reach,
 To keep's from hearing Hireling's preach;
 Who last year Preached Oaths to take,
 And this year Preacheth them to break:
 When they have forced men to take them,
 Then first of all, themselves they break them.

(p.65)

The 'Declaration' that Colvil refers to is the Proclamation of 1674 that preceded the final 'Black Bond' of Cleland's *Highland Host*. The 'hirelings' are the implanted Episcopalian curates who, according to the Squire, are preaching the hypocritical doctrines of the newly ordained Episcopalian Bishops, men who less than a decade earlier had been Covenanters. Both men eventually arrive at a compromise where the 'Supplication' is revised and asserts that they will accept toleration for all Scottish Presbyterian dissenters, which would have included Covenanted and non-Covenanted, and Indulged and non-Indulged.

As Stewart rightly notes Colvil is 'covertly supportive' of the Covenanters (*SLJ* (1991), 37-45). At a time when both written and verbal communications were scrutinised for seditious and treasonable sentiments both Cleland and Colvil's inverted anti-Puritan satire subtly represented the Scottish Presbyterians, both those who wanted to adhere to the strictures of the Covenants, and those who would accept a limited form of Presbytery, in a sympathetic light. Together they revealed the impossible situation that the Royalist government had imposed upon all Scottish Presbyterians.

Along with finding new forms to represent the Covenanters, those who remained convinced, if not committed, to the ideal of a Covenanted Church of Scotland played down the image of religious zealots in a manner that was in keeping with the post-Restoration anti-enthusiastic temper.

In ‘An Elegie Upon the Death of that Famous and Faithful Minister and Martyr, Mr James Renwick’ (Edinburgh, 1688), that was published immediately following Renwick’s execution in 1688, the anonymous poet (who was probably Alexander Shields) portrays Renwick as a moderately zealous Covenanter.³ Renwick, the poet claims, was revered amongst ‘Zion’s mourners’,

For uniform true Zeal and Moderation,
Of more than ordinary Elevation;
Which with an equal pace did still advance,
‘Gainst all defection and extravagance:
All Bastard Zeal opposing with all boldness,
As well as Laodicean coldness. (ll.201-6)

The middle position that the poet claims that Renwick adopted, between ‘bastard zeal’ and ‘Laodicean coldness’, rebuts contemporary claims of the Scottish Covenanters as the ‘wild folk of Scotland’ (*A Hind Let Loose*, ‘Introduction’, A3). As enthusiasm and excessive zeal had become terms associated with lack of control and mental or emotional instability, Shields’ dichotomous presentation of Renwick as a moderately zealous Covenanter was adopted thereafter by Presbyterian historians and apologists as the acceptable representation of the majority of the Scottish Covenanters.

Between 1714 and 1731 the history of Covenanting in Scotland between the years 1638 and 1688 was disputed by Jacobite and Hanoverian, orthodox and dissenting Scottish Presbyterian, and orthodox and Nonconformist Anglican. These polemical

³ Reprinted in *Biographia Presbyteriana*, II vols (Edinburgh, 1827), Vol. II, pp.301-315.

histories were published in response to contemporary political or ecclesiastical controversies or crises. *A Cloud of Witnesses for the Prerogative of Jesus Christ, or the last speeches and testimonies of those who have suffered for the truth in Scotland*, was published by the 'United Societies' in 1714 during the political uncertainty following the death of Queen Anne, and in an atmosphere of mounting anti-Roman Catholic hysteria surrounding the second attempted Jacobite rebellion in 1715. The editors state,

We know not what storms are abiding us. The Canaanite and the Perizitte are yet in the land: a restless Popish and Jacobite party, projecting a new revolution of affairs; as sanguinary and cruel as ever, and retaining much of the old malignity, and enmity against the Covenanted Work of Reformation as ever. ('Preface', p.xx)

Robert Wodrow's *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland* was a rebuttal of anti-Presbyterian Jacobite propaganda where he singled out Sir George Mackenzie's *Vindication*. He complained that it 'was reprinted, and carefully spread, with many other pamphlets, containing facts, assertions, and representations of things, perfectly contrary to the knowledge and experience of multitudes yet alive' (Vol. I, 'Preface' (1721), p.2). The chapbook biographies that were the work of the elusively unknowable Patrick Walker were published to counter what he deemed to be the political and ecclesiastical encroachments on to the Church by the State. They were designed to

discover the Sins, Snares and Defections of the present black infatuate Bargain of Union, Toleration and Patronages; but especially to rip up, and lay in Broad-band, the foul Moniplies of that bundle of these intricate, implicate, multifarious, and unnecessary Oaths, imposed upon this Nation and Ministers of this Church. (*Some Remarkable Passages of the Life and Death of Mr Alexander Peden* (1728), 'Preface')⁴

⁴ Reprinted in *Biographia Presbyteriana*, II vols (Edinburgh, 1827), Vol. I.

Englishmen had also an interest in representing or misrepresenting the record of Covenanted Presbyterianism in Scotland. For example, the Anglican dissenter, Daniel Defoe's *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland* were published to

support the parliamentary presentation of a delegation from the commission of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Two Edinburgh clergymen were again appealing the imposition of the Oath of Abjuration, the oath that required them to aid in barring all members of their own Church from the throne of Great Britain. Because Jacobites in England refused to take the oath, some people, especially after the rebellion of 1715 in Scotland, confused the Scots' objections to the oath with the Catholics' loyalty to the House of Stuart. (Paula R. Bakscheider, *Daniel Defoe: His life* (1989), p.405)

Finally, there were fake histories, such as Defoe's *Memoirs of a Cavalier* (1720), which Bakscheider perceives was 'a subtle and artful warning about the miseries of civil war', and Swift's *Memoirs of Captain Creighton* (1731), which 'reflects Swift's opinions on the anglican church, presbyterianism, Burnet and the Scots' (Ralph Stewart, 'Memoirs of Captain Creighton', *SHS*, Vol. 72-3, no. 193 (April, 1993), 80-6, p.85).

Along with responding to contemporary political and ecclesiastical issues the three above named discourses of history, hagiography, and fakestory disputed each other. A comparison of the treatment of one Scottish Covenanter in all three discourses, namely, *A Cloud of Witnesses*, *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, *Some Remarkable Passages of the Life and Death of Mr Alexander Peden*, and *The Memoirs of Captain John Creighton*, reveals the contested nature of Scottish Covenanting historiography in the early eighteenth century.

John Wilson had been a Captain on the side of the Covenanters at the uprising at Bothwell Bridge in June, 1679. His name appears on the 'Proclamation Against the

Rebels, June, 26, 1679', and in another for October, 1681, where he was listed amongst those 'forfeited in their lives, lands and goods'. In 1683 he was eventually captured and imprisoned. The record of his interrogation, his replies, reflections on his answers, and his last testimony were printed in the first edition of *A Cloud of Witnesses* (pp.185-197). This martyrology of those who had been executed since 1680, significantly, the year when the Cameronians split from the rest of the Scottish Covenanters, comprised a collection of dying testimonies, last words, letters from prison, and records of interrogations which were designed collectively to reveal both the extent of Royalist persecution and the Covenanters' resilient stance. The editors inserted a clause at the end of Wilson's testimony where they stated that as his testimony had been in 'several papers' and not 'reduced to order' they had altered it

a little from what it was in the ms, seing [sic] there is nothing in the sense, or phrase of the Author, changed, but only his additions put in their proper place of the testimony, some very few things less material being left out for brevities sake. (p.197)

Wodrow was aware that through the testimonies in *A Cloud of Witnesses* the 'United Societies' sought to legitimise their stance on separation from Church and State: 'their own party is strengthened, by picking out, and exposing to the world the papers in that book' (*History of the Sufferings*, (1722), Vol. II, p. 145). He took exception to the collection of testimonies 'wholly on one side' because 'the exposing of them ... will be of no service to themselves, considered as a party', or the image of Scottish Presbyterianism in general (Vol. II, p.145). He had John Wilson's 'original papers' from Wilson's son, and from these he noted that 'they differed in some things from what is published in the *Cloud of Witnesses*. ... Either their copy hath been very mank, incorrect, or they have taken more liberty in the changes they have made, than can be justified' (Vol. II, p. 299). To demonstrate the unreliability of the 'society'

editors Wodrow printed the omissions in full, and also noted any discrepancies from other parts of the papers. Moreover, as he was of the opinion from his own interpretation of the papers that John Wilson ‘was far from running these lengths a good many went whom they have chosen to make up their collection’, he also wanted to correct what he felt was a misrepresentation and a ‘slur on this worthy man’ (Vol. II, pp. 299-303).

Wodrow found four major faults with the treatment of Wilson’s papers as they were printed in *A Cloud of Witnesses*. He upbraided the ‘society’ editors for abbreviating Wilson’s answers before the committee of council. They were ‘so curt, that I could scarce understand it, till I consulted his own papers’. Secondly, he accused them of distorting Wilson’s meaning. His reply to the commonly asked question concerning the Covenanters’ abrogation of the Royal prerogative, ‘if he owned Authority?’, according to the copy in *A Cloud of Witnesses* was, ‘I had not seen through it’. Wodrow’s copy was different, ‘I had not seen through the denial of it’. The ‘alteration both of the phrase and matter’, according to Wodrow, represented Wilson as *not* denying the King his right to govern, and thus of having ‘other sentiments, than many the collectors have put together in this book’. Thirdly, he accused the editors of printing ‘a palpable untruth’ in their representation of him asking for a reprieve after being sentenced to hang. According to Wodrow, ‘he was prevailed by his friends to supplicate the council for a reprieve; and in his papers follow reasons ‘“why I refused to petition, as some advised, with a conference betwixt Sir William Paterson and me’. Wodrow placed the emphasis on the phrase ‘as some advised’, and took Wilson’s meaning to be that he was going to ask for a reprieve but not in the manner that he had been advised. The ‘society’ editors entitled this section ‘reasons why he refused at first

to supplicate the Council for a reprieve, being importuned by his relations to do it', and concluded with a paragraph where they stated that 'he [Wilson] regrets it that his relations induced him to supplicate twice'. From his reading of Wilson's papers Wodrow understood that Wilson did not regret asking for a reprieve as he had stated that he 'did it in faith, and had solid peace in what he did', and he printed the conference between Sir William Paterson and John Wilson to confirm his interpretation. This had not been included in *A Cloud of Witnesses*, for which Wodrow accused the 'society' editors of 'unfair dealing' ... 'I cannot easily imagine why the foresaid authors left [it] out; and I suppose there is somewhat more in it than their study of brevity'. (All quotations in this paragraph are from Vol. II, pp. 299-303)

Overall, Wodrow demonstrated through his scrutiny of Wilson's papers that there were alterations and deletions in the copy that was published in *A Cloud of Witnesses*. In his lengthy demonstration of the unreliability of the 'society' editors he re-presented Wilson as a pious quietist in opposition to the 'society' editors' portrayal as a militant extremist. Furthermore, he presented himself as an impartial interpreter of the documentation that went into the making of his history.

John Wilson is mentioned in Patrick Walker's *Life of Alexander Peden*, and also in Swift's fake autobiographical account of a Royalist Captain, *Memoirs of Captain John Creichton*. Both of these accounts are reprinted below.

1) *Some Remarkable Passages of the Life and Death of Mr Alexander Peden* (Edinburgh, 3rd ed. 1728).⁵

In the month of June 1682, he was in the house of James Brown in Paddockholm above Douglas; John Wilson in Lanark was with him, who suffer'd martyrdom, in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh the next year, May

⁵ Reprinted in *Biographia Presbyteriana*, II vols (Edinburgh, 1827), Vol. I.

1683. He lectured at night upon the 7th chap. of Amos, and repeated these words in the 9th verse three times, And I will rise against the house of Jeroboam with the Sword. He laid his hands on the said John, and said, John, Have at the unhappy race of the name of Stewarts; off of the throne of Britain they shall go, if all the World would set side and shoulder to hold them on. Afterwards, in that exercise, he broke out in a rapture about our martyrs, saying, They were going off the stage with fresh gales and full sails, and now they are all glancing in glory; O if you saw them! They would fley you out of your wits. He again laid his hand upon the said John, and said, Encourage yourself in the Lord, and follow fast, John; for you'll win up yonder shortly, and get on all your Bra's. That night he went to the Fields; tomorrow , about six a Clock, John went to seek him, and found him coming to the house. He said, John, let us go from this house, for the Devil is about it, and will take his prey with him. John said, We will take breakfast ere we go, 'tis a question when we get the offer again. He said, No, no, I will eat no more bread in this place, our landlord is an unhappy man, the Devil will get him shortly, for he will hang himself: which very shortly came to pass. His daughter Jean Brown was the first that got him, in her arms, hanging in the stable: she was reckoned by all to be a grave Christian lass, but from that day she had never her health, and died of a decay at last, after she had been some time in prison for her principles. This passage the said John Wilson reported several times to many, some yet alive can bear witness to the truth of it. (pp. 49-50)

This passage which recounts one night in the life of Alexander Peden, a Covenanting clergyman, encapsulates Walker's narrative style and reveals something of his method. He mingles factual, documented information such as the place, time, and manner of the death of John Wilson with an unverifiable anecdote that Peden predicted the suicide of James Brown. The factual information concerning John Wilson could have been taken from Wodrow or *A Cloud of Witnesses*. Peden's ecstatic 'rapture' concerning the martyrs is a partial quotation from one of Peden's two extant sermons which were published under the title *The Lord's Trumpet Sounding an Alarm against Scotland, by Warning of a Bloody Sword* (Glasgow? 1720?). The sermon reads:

O Sirs, if ye could be admitted to see and speak to them, they would tell you that it is nothing to suffer for Christ. They are all glancing in glory now; They would flee you our of your wits; to behold them with these

white robes and glorious crowns, and palms in their hands. ('Second Sermon', p. 21)

Thus, Walker's 'relation' relates little that is not already known of either Alexander Peden or John Wilson. The documented and previously published material lend authenticity to the unverifiable traditional anecdote which represented Peden as supernaturally empowered to predict the future.

This representation of Peden as prophet was not new. One of the small splinter groups of the 'United Societies' called the 'Cotmure folk', had published an apologetic of their stance denouncing the 'MacMillanites', a larger, more cohesive 'society' group. At the end of their pamphlet, entitled, *The Ravished Maid in the Wilderness* (n.p., 1708), they included what was purported to be Peden's 'Testament', along with four of his 'Prophecies'. In the copy which survives in the National Library of Scotland, only two of these prophecies are legible:

Thirdly he said they should ly in caves of the earth, and be fed with meat and drink, and they should look out of their hols [sic] and then they should look like those that had not tasted meat and drink, and yet they should not have freedom for stumbling on dead corps. (p.2)

Fourthly, he said, that the ston [sic] out of the mountain should come down, and God should be avenged on the great ones of the earth, and the inhabitants of the land, for their wickedness, but the Church should come forth with a bonnie bairn time at their back of young ones, his desire was that everie on [sic] should ly close as if they were not in the world, and so hid and shut up themselves for nothing will do it till once the Lord, appeared with his judgements. About two hours after this he departed his life. (p2)⁶

⁶ In the copy in the NLS the pamphlet ends at page 40. These two prophecies survive because they were inserted at the beginning of the pamphlet due to lack of space: 'they should have come in at the hinder part of the book, but because room would not suffer it, we were necessitat to put it in here' (p.2).

Wodrow disputed the ‘Cotmure folk’s’ representation of Peden as an interpreter of cosmic revelation: ‘as to those prophetic expressions of his, which are handed about in writ only ... by the tartness and bitterness of the stile, they evidently discover themselves to be far from his spirit’ (Vol. II, pp.603-4). He strenuously denied that several different prophecies that had been ‘injuriously fathered’ on him were authentic, and he had concluded,

both from the company he haunted, after he got out of his confinement, and some passages in the original records of the societies, that this excellent person was far from the heights at this time run to; which meanwhile, appear some way to be designed to be justified by the papers handed about under his name. This much I thought necessary to observe, for the vindication of the memory of this worthy minister, so much injured by fixing those papers upon him after his death. (Vol. II, p.604)

Whilst contesting the representation of Peden as prophet he did not dispute, however, in keeping with common seventeenth-century thought that God’s work could be seen in the every day, that Peden had been graced with providential assistance:

in the days of his youth, when he was under many sore depths, and much Soul Excercise, and had wonderful out-gates and deliverances, and some very singular attainments through his after-life; accounts of which would come more natively in upon an history of Providences, than here. (Vol. II, p.603)

Walker appears to have accepted Wodrow’s proposal. His portrayal of Peden comprised forty-five ‘relations’ which included local predictions, national prophecies, and many instances of providential assistance. These were given the appearance of veracity with supposed snatches of his conversations and sermons which appear to be based on misquotations extracted from his printed sermons. Overall, he authenticated his narrative with references to people whose records could be verified in, for example,

Wodrow, or *A Cloud of Witnesses*; people such as John Wilson. The chapbook lives published between the years 1724 and 1732 are therefore more than the gossipy, hagiographic anecdotes that they purported to be. They are a ventriloquial parody of such groups as the 'Cotmure folk', and are designed to reveal their wild and uncontestable statements.

Throughout the chapbooks Walker also undermined the separatist principles of those orthodox clergymen who would not subscribe to the Abjuration Oath, and also the complete separation of the 'United Societies'. He advocated a moderate form of Presbyterianism that was opposed to what he termed the 'left-hand defections' of the non-juring clergy, and the 'right-hand extremes' of the 'United Societies' ('To the Reader'). Read in this way, then, these chapbooks become part of the contested historiography between orthodox and dissenting Presbyterians.

2) *Memoirs of Captain John Creighton*.⁷

I happened to dream that I found one Wilson, a Captain among the rebels, at Bothwell Bridge, in a bank of wood upon the river Clyde. This accident made so strong an impression upon my mind, that as soon as I awaked, I took six-and-thirty dragoons, and got to the place by break of day; Then I caused some of them to alight, and go into the wood, and set him up as hounds do a hare, while the rest were ordered to stand Centry to prevent his escape. It seems I dreamt fortunately, for Wilson was actually in the wood, with five more of his company, as we afterwards learned; who all seeing me and my party advancing, hid themselves in a little island on the river, among the broom that grew upon it. Wilson had not the good fortune to escape; for as he was trying to get out of one copse into another, I met him, and guessing by his good cloaths, and by the description I had received of him before, that he was the man I looked for, I seized and brought him to my quarters; and from thence I immediately conveyed him to Edenborough, where he was hanged; but might have preserved his life, if he would have condescended only to say *God save the King*. This he utterly refused to do, and thereby lost not

⁷ Reprinted in Herbert Davis, ed., *Jonathan Swift: Miscellaneous and Autobiographical Pieces, Fragments and Marginalia* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1969), pp. 120-181.

only his life, but likewise an estate, worth twenty nine thousand marks Scots. (pp. 144-5)

Ralph Stewart has shown conclusively from the unreliability of the historical information in the *Memoirs* that what passed as Swift's edited version of an aged soldier's military memoirs were 'a successful fabrication'.⁸ This is borne out with a critical reading which takes the inaccuracies into account as part of Swift's satirical methodology. For example, in the 'Advertisement to the Reader' Swift had signified that the *Memoirs* were a fictional fabrication when he introduced the character of the aged 'Captain John Creighton' ironically as a reliable narrator on account of his good memory: 'the memory of old men is seldom deceived, in what passed in their youth and vigour of age' (Davis, p.122).

With the *Memoirs*, the orthodox Anglican Swift contested recent Presbyterian historiography with fake history. Like Walker, he authenticated his narrative with documented information. For example, in the above account the scant information is derived from Wodrow, and also from the recently published *Records of the Privy Council of Scotland* where he gleaned the information concerning Wilson's estate. In no previously published work had the details of Wilson's capture been mentioned. Indeed, Wodrow had drawn attention to the lack of information; 'the precise time of his being seized at Lanark, I know not' (Vol. II, p.299), which gave Swift scope to imaginatively write in the blanks.

Furthermore, in the above account of the capture of John Wilson, Creighton's 'dream' had directed him to Wilson. Swift, like Walker, parodied Wodrow's belief in

⁸ Ralph Stewart has conclusively shown that the *Memoirs* are a 'fabrication and [have] no historical validity', *SHR*, Vol. LXXII, 1, No. 193, April, 1993, 80-89, p. 81. My point here is not with Swift's authorship or with his historical accuracy, but his political bias.

providential interference. Alongside of his heavily documented history, Wodrow had accumulated a collection of 'Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences', and whenever possible in the *History* he included details of supernatural deliverance or rescue. For example, in his account of David M'Millan, he recorded that in his last testimony he had noted 'a strange preservation from a ball an Highlander shot, which hit him, and yet hurt him not' (Vol. II, p.299). Creichton's 'dream' had shown him where to find Wilson, thus, Swift's ironic parodying reflected the move towards rationalism based on reasoning which opposed such supernatural explanations as providence that became fundamental to Enlightenment teaching.

A study of the disputed testimony of one man, John Wilson, together with demonstrating the contested nature of Covenanting historical discourse, reveals the dichotomy which faced the anti-enthusiastic editors of seventeenth-century religious zealots. Orthodox Presbyterians like Wodrow revised previous representations of the Scottish Covenanters as political militants by depicting them wherever he felt justified as religious quietists. He also took care to distinguish between militant and not-violent Covenanters, as his treatment of Donald Cargill and the 'Queensferry Paper' as discussed in Chapter One demonstrated. The 'United Societies', according to Wodrow, selectively edited the last words of dying or doomed men to represent them as hard-line, militant extremists. And Walker and Swift ventriloquised remnant rhetoric in their polemic re-writing of Covenanting history. Overall, then, the dichotomy of the militant and the quietist Covenanter was one that could not easily be reconciled in the contested territory of Scottish Covenanting historiography.

William Hamilton of Bangour was a Jacobite poet and songwriter who attacked Wodrow's orthodox Presbyterian version of Covenanting history.

Others, again, by party rage inflamed,
Blindfolded zeal, and superstition dire,
Offspring of ignorance, and cloister born,
With undistinguished violence, assault
Both good and bad. Chief of these art thou,
Ill-fated Wodrow, who, with leaden pen,
By furies dipped in gall of Stygian lake,
Writ'st numerous follies; numerous as thy saints
Who or at Pentland or at Bothwell fought
For blind opinion, and laid down their lives
Near where the Cross its unicorn head
Erects aloft, and proudly shines adorned
On Brunswick's day, or where her weekly sale
Grassmarket sees of horses, have harangued
From theatres of wood, the listening saints
Below assembled, sad and discontent.

'To a Gentleman Going to Travel', ll. 58-73, pp.94-100⁹

Hamilton associated seventeenth-century militant Presbyterianism with eighteenth-century Presbyterian orthodoxy: the Royal Stuart Crest had been replaced upon the Mercat Cross by the Hanoverian Standard, under which the unhappy populace who once listened to the 'harangues' of the field preachers in their movable 'tents' or wooden shelters are now force fed the Presbyterian view of history written as polemic. He therefore disputed the authenticity of Wodrow's *History* by insinuating that he had purposefully distorted it for political purposes. Hamilton's portrayal of Wodrow as political propagandist, whilst true, is also a vitriolic attack on his learning, piety and influential position as orthodox clergyman of the Church of Scotland.

For as long as Jacobitism remained a serious threat the image of the Scottish Covenanters as unstable enthusiasts with a propensity for violence was propagated in

⁹ James Paterson, ed., *The Poems and Songs of William Hamilton of Bangour* (Edinburgh: Stevenson, 1850), pp.95-100. According to Paterson these lines were omitted from the first edition *Poems on Several Occasions* (Edinburgh, 1760), 'for prudential motives', pp.100-1.

anti-Presbyterian satire written in the Episcopal Royalist tradition. William Meston reclaimed the Hudibrastic verse form to satirise contemporary Presbyterians through his portrayal of Scottish Covenanters in his poems entitled, 'Knight of the Kirk: or the Ecclesiastical Adventures of Sir John Presbyter' (1723), and *Mob Contra Mob: or the Rabbler's Rabbled* (1738). *Mob Contra Mob*, is a satirical portrayal of a failed attempt early in the eighteenth century by the Presbytery of Old Deer, in Aberdeenshire, to install a Presbyterian incumbent in place of an Episcopalian priest.¹⁰ In his representation of the events the Episcopalians are

The people who this land possesses,
 Live quietly, and pay their cesses,
 They fear the Lord, and till the ground,
 And love a creed that's short and sound;
 'Tis true, their speech is not so pointed,
 Nor with screw'd looks their face disjointed;
 If scant of Theory, their Practice
 Supplies the want, which most exact is.
 They are not fond of innovations,
 Nor covet much new Reformations;
 They are not for new Paths, but rather,
 Each one jogs after his old father;
 In other things discreet and sober,
 Their zeal no warmer than October.

(Canto III, p.152)

The Presbyterians, meanwhile,

With zeal and avarice possess,
 Our Reformators could not rest,
 Till of this place they got possession,
 And forc'd on it their new Confession;
 When arguments could not prevail,
 And all their other acts did fail,
 Once more they rendezvous the rabble,
 To plant the kirk with gun and shabble ...
 Yet Pistols may be pious tools,
 And in the Kirk, when militant,
 There ought to be no swordless saint.

(Canto III, p.152)

¹⁰ Reprinted in, *The Poetical Works of the Ingenious and Learned William Meston*, 7th edition (Aberdeen, 1802), pp.146-166.

Meston's contrasting descriptions of the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians conforms to the Episcopal Royalist tradition which portrayed the Episcopalians as orderly, unenthusiastic and reasonable, and the Presbyterians as zealots who incited the populace into rebellion in order to impose their form of religion on others.

Alexander Pennicuik turned to ironic inversion in 'The Cameronian's Tooth' (1756) to denigrate hagiographic representations of the Scottish Covenanters. Through the comic portrayal of a 'grave holy sighing sister' (l.7), he compared the superstitious saint-worshipping iconography of Roman Catholics with that of the 'society people', and implied that Episcopacy was the *via media* of their extreme positions.

Papists, ye'er fairly foil'd, think shame and blush,
 Your various relicks, are not worth a rush:
 What's Mary's milk, St. Peter's rotten bones,
 When in procession born by human drones?
 What wonders can they do? Confess the truth;
 Their nothing to a cameronian tooth ...
 She shew'd to me the box wherein lay hid,
 The pictures of Cargil and Mr Kid;
 A splinter of the tree on which their slain;
 A double inch of major Weir's best cane;
 Rathillet's sword beat down to table-knife,
 Which took at Magus-muir a bishop's life;
 The worthy Welsh's spectacles who saw
 That windle-straws would fight against the law ...
 Don't think, she says, these holy things are fopery,
 They're precious antidotes against the power of popery.
 (*A Collection of Scots Poems on Several Occasions* (Edinburgh, 1756,
 pp.113-4)

Meston and Pennecuik are representative eighteenth-century Jacobite propagandist poets of the years between 1720 and 1750 when seventeenth-century anti-Covenanting typology was resurrected in a satirical rebuttal of the diverse forms of Presbyterian historiology. After 1750, when the Jacobite threat had diminished and its

supporters had retired to safe, sentimental, drinking societies the tradition of satirizing religious extremism through association with militant, unlearned Covenanters was adopted by those who advocated the ideals of the new intellectual climate being fostered throughout Europe under the umbrella title of Enlightenment. Those who opposed the rationalism and scepticism of enlightenment teaching tended towards a more emotional and outward display of religious piety, for example as displayed at the evangelical ‘awakenings’ at Kilsyth and Cambuslang in 1742. The Seceders, too, from the Church of Scotland, and the dissenters such as the newly constituted Reformed Presbyterian Church perceived themselves to be, and were reputed as, the inheritors of seventeenth-century militant Covenanting.

The Assembly: or Scotch Reformation, was a contemporary satirical portrayal of the first two General Assemblies that were held in Edinburgh after the Revolution, in 1690 and 1692. The anonymous author was probably an Episcopalian and Jacobite scholar, Archibald Pitcairne. Like Philip’s *Grameid*, *The Assembly* was not performed at the time of composition in the 1690s, but, as with his Hudibrastic satire entitled, *Babell*, was circulated in manuscript to cheer on loyal Jacobites with easily recognisable conventional anti-Covenanting satirical tropes.¹¹ There is no record of it having been performed although it was republished in 1752, 1766 and later, in 1816. In the second edition which was published in 1752, a ‘Preface’ was included which claimed to identify the major characters in the play. Terence Tobin proposes that it ‘is likely that Pitcairne wrote the play, but did not compose the preface. A key such as this introduction provides would not have been necessary for the doctor’s contemporaries’ (*Plays by Scots*, p. 13, n.6). A comparison of the treatment of the characters both

¹¹ *Babell; A Satirical Poem, on the Proceedings of the General Assembly in the year MDCXCII*, was not published until 1830 when it was edited by George Kinloch (Edinburgh).

within the play and in the 'Preface' confirms Tobin's supposition, and also reveals that the 'Preface' is more a reflection of the prevailing anti-enthusiastic attitude towards emotional religious observance of the mid-eighteenth century than the politically volatile uncertainties of the 1690s.

The historian, James Kirkton, is identified as the character named 'Mr Covenant Plain Dealer'. In the 'Preface', he is described as both 'a Comedian', and a 'plain-dealer'; the first because of his 'gesture[s], acting, and speeches', and the latter because 'he opposed the whole Assembly often, and stumbled into many sad truths' (*The Assembly*, Terence Tobin, ed. (1972), pp. 28-9). The first is confirmed with several examples of his supposed ridiculous expressions that are lifted directly from *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, and the latter are quotations of his expressions taken from within the play itself. Three examples from the 'Preface' set alongside *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, reveals it to be the source of the information.