Lauderdale

1670-1682

THE political career of Lauderdale subsequently to the Restoration may be conveniently divided into two parts, widely differing in interest and capable of almost entirely separate treatment. The first, extending to the completion of his first period of viceroyalty, contains his successful struggle for supreme influence over Charles and over Scotland. In the second, we see him brutalised ever more and more by the rank exercise of irresponsible power, and lording it over his miserable country for twelve long years, until with senses shattered and reputation gone he sinks into the dreary decadence of his bad and baneful life.

It is this latter period which I propose now to relate in the light of the evidence afforded by fresh and unimpeachable sources. It will appear how determinedly he resisted all attempts to bind England and Scotland closer together; how, as the privileged *intime* of Charles, he first defied and then baffled the attacks of the English house of commons; how insolently, in the strength of the same influence, he met and triumphed over the formidable opposition which even among a nobility selfish, unsympathetic, and unscrupulous as himself, his arrogant misrule had at length formed against him in his own country; with what ruthless persistence he carried out the policy of suppression which culminated in a great historic crime, the joint shame of the Scotch nobles and the Scotch prelates, the invasion of the west by the Highland host. We warn our readers that it is a tragedy well nigh unrelieved by humour or heroism; a tragedy in which, as in the preceding drama, ferocious avarice and brute force and flippant cruelty play the leading parts. It is the story of a people, conscious indeed of a national existence, but without a king to rule them, without a nobility to lead and inspire their energies; a people torn by hatreds of class and religion and by personal enmities, harassed by oppressive laws, and impoverished by misgovernment as bad as, and more irresponsible than, that of the corruptest proconsulate of Rome. It is, however, a story without which the persistent patience, the stubborn tenacity, of the lowland Scotch of the middle class cannot fairly be understood, and which especially

and in the most vivid manner illustrates the power of that unwritten organisation of the people against the nobility which was the most interesting and the most enduring feature of the work of presbyterianism.

I have elsewhere¹ described the previous career of Lauderdale. I have shown how dexterously at the restoration he made use of the hold which in earlier years he had gained over Charles, to secure against the whole influence of Clarendon and the old cavalier party the coveted office of secretary for Scotland; how, aided by rare good fortune and by the unparalleled blundering of his opponents, he outwitted the rude and drunken cabal which in 1662 so nearly ousted him from his post of vantage; and how, in the strength of the devoted personal friendship of Charles, a friendship which never wavered for more than twenty years, he duped Rothes, checked Dalrymple, schooled Hamilton, and, having sounded all the shallows of James Sharp's knavery, formed of him an obedient though unwilling tool. I have related with what cool skill he broke up in 1669 the church-military ring which threatened his power; how he replaced the disbanded troops by a militia of 20,000 men, who were bound by act of parliament to march when and whither Charles might please; and how by the co-operation of Sharp he was able to place the episcopal church of Scotland fettered and voiceless at the king's feet. I left him at the moment when he was returning to Whitehall to enjoy, in payment for this yeoman's service, the reward which best suited his coarse and ambitious nature, the privileged intimacy of Charles alike in his projects and in his vices.

The establishment of an overwhelming armed force, prepared to do the king's utmost bidding, and the complete subjection of the church, were the two points of Lauderdale's instructions in 1669 that he had been ready and eager to carry out.

In a word (he writes to Charles), this church, nor no meeting nor ecclesiastick person in it, can ever trouble you more unless yow please; and the other act settles yow 20 thousand men to make good that power. . . . Not only this militia, but all the sensible men in Scotland, shall march when and where you shall please to command, for never was King soe absolute as you are in poor old Scotland.

Another article, however, stood in his eyes on a very different footing. He was ordered to do what he could to effect the union of the kingdoms, a design in which both Charles and James took a keen and intelligent interest; and an examination of his letters and despatches leaves no doubt that this was the very thing that he was determined not to do. Lauderdale was destitute of economic statesmanship; and every selfish sentiment was enlisted against

¹ *Quarterly Review*, April 1884.

the proposal. He was, at present, the most powerful and the most irresponsible of the king's servants. Upon his smile or frown appeared to depend the fame and fortune of every man in Scotland. He could raise or depress families, create or control civil war, frock or unfrock prelates, confer rewards or impose ruinous penalties. Scottish affairs were seen with his eyes and heard with his ears at Whitehall. But, were the union to take place, all this would be gone. He would become the servant of the English parliament, at which he now, alone among the king's ministers, openly laughed. From the position of viceroy he would fall to that of a constitutional minister; he would sink to the level of Arlington or Ashley.

There is little doubt that Lauderdale had the sympathies of his countrymen at his back. Charles had desired that Scotland should take the initiative by appointing commissioners to conduct the treaty, and by then requesting the English parliament to concur. Nothing could have been better calculated to rouse opposition among a people who were still smarting from their subjection at the hands of Cromwell and the English people. On the 2nd November Lauderdale wrote to Moray:—

Yow cannot imagine what aversion is generally in this Kingdome to the Union. The indeavor to make us slaves by garrisons and the ruine of our trade by severe lawes in England frights all ranks of men from having to doe with England. What is done is purely in obedience to his Ma^{ty}. But to press more before England take notice of the matter wold render the proposer most odious as the betrayer of his country.

Before this letter reached London an express had been sent ordering Lauderdale to hasten on the matter by inducing Parliament to appoint a blank commission to be filled up by the king. He at once summoned a small number from the Articles, of whom almost all were his relatives or personal adherents, and easily obtained from them a unanimous declaration that in the present temper of the country any proposal that Scotland should take the initiative would inevitably wreck the scheme. Their arguments, and Lauderdale's private views, were seconded with great tact and ability by Robert Moray when the discussion came on in the English privy council on the 13th November. The refusal of the English ministers to meet the Scotch views by introducing the proposal either in the lords or the commons, on the ground that it 'would both spoil the business infallibly, and every other publick business they have before them,' was the finishing stroke. The invertebrate wishes of Charles gave way, as usual, before resistance; and all action regarding the union was indefinitely postponed.

The first matter which engaged Lauderdale's attention after leaving Scotland was the revival of conventicles. Under the advice of Tweeddale, Kincardin, and Moray, he had forced upon

the church a partial measure of comprehension. The limits of this, however, should be noted. Some of the ousted ministers had upon strict conditions been admitted to vacant parishes; and Alexander Burnet, the consistent opposer of all attempts at conciliation, had been compelled to resign the archbishopric of Glasgow, which Leighton, the sole apostle of tolerance among the prelates, was inclined to accept. But this was all: it was no toleration policy, it was simply an attempt to see with how little the country might be quieted. The area of active discontent was probably diminished; but the discontent itself was intensified.¹ Rothes, writing to Lauderdale on 16 June, gives emphatic testimony to the temper of the people.

There was a party of my Lord Newburgh's troop had notice of one of their meetings and went to the place, but it being at a moss side they went in to the moss and laughed at the party, and told the officer at a distance that they were for the King, but so long as they had life, they should never be quiet so long as there were 14 bishops in Scotland: their number was about fifteen or sixteen hundred, most of them men.

But most of all the government was exercised by the Quakers, against whom all sects joined. The novelty of their views puzzled, and therefore alarmed, the coolest heads in the country. In England they were ranked with anabaptists, antinomians, atheists, and jesuits. But they were like to be far safer in England than in Scotland. The hatred which every true presbyterian had felt against independency was never more bitter than that which he felt against quakerism.²

Unaware of the intensity of this spirit, the Friends endeavoured to settle in the north, and even in Edinburgh. A few were captured on the 1st March; on the 3rd, at a general meeting of their body at the West Port, twenty-three were taken, with all their books. After their examination by the council, Kincardin reported that—

That which was found by the examination was little other than what was found by their bookes, that is that they are settling themselves into an order, by establishing their weekly, monthly, and quarterly meetings, their weekly for their devotions, their monthly for taking care of their poor, and of orphans, and of scandals, and what difficulties they meet with at these are carried to their quarterly meetings.

And that is all that we hear of this sect, of which Swinton was a 'wicked firebrand,' and which—and the phrase shows how

¹ In proportion as he cut off by comprehension the weak-kneed and waverers among the presbyterian malcontents, Lauderdale's hand was heavy upon the conventicles which were again springing up. As early as March 1870 the provost of Edinburgh was fined 50*l.* sterling for each conventicle reported within his jurisdiction. Mr. John Rae, who confessed to keeping conventicles and baptising children, and would give no promise to live orderly, became close prisoner in the Tolbooth.

² In the pages of Wodrow they are mentioned only to be execrated; and the lukewarmness of the government against them is severely blamed.

puzzled Kincardin was—‘may prove more dangerous than many are aware of.’

It is then, we conceive, a mistake to say that a change in favour of toleration had come over Lauderdale's policy. And now, before that ill-starred alliance with Lady Dysart which brought unnumbered woes upon Scotland, and to accomplish which there is some reason to suppose that Lauderdale hastened the death of his own countess, the genial influences which had brought about the scanty measure of comprehension which we have mentioned rapidly gave way. Under her evil influence the more brutal parts of his nature quickly asserted themselves. At her bidding he threw off the early friend to whose wise counsel and inexplicable devotion he greatly owed his fortunes, the high-minded and cultured Robert Moray; and to gratify her avarice he gave the rein to all the instincts of oppression. In the middle of July 1670 he came down with private instructions from Charles, drawn, of course, by himself, to crush conventicles, while allowing the utmost latitude of opinion to ministers who would submit. He lost no time. Finding that the ‘desperat phanaticks, when taken for feild conventicles, have got a new trick,’ that of refusing to be examined upon oath, he forced through parliament on the 5th of August a law, to be rigorously enforced, for fining and imprisoning defaulters, and, in cases of extreme contumacy, for banishing them to the plantations. On the 11th he reported to the king ‘a clanking act against conventicles,’ to emphasise the cruel provisions of which the last show of moderation was removed by ‘leaving the execution summarie without any process.’ In the articles a single voice, that of Cassillis, always true to the principles of his family, was raised in protest. In parliament, a mere court of registration of the Viceroy's will, the act was passed unanimously, being thought ‘to doe all that a law can doe.’ A short but grateful note from Charles welcomed Lauderdale back to Whitehall in September; but he left behind him eager ministers of the work. Rothés rejoiced that now they had ‘laws that could not be improved upon,’ if only they were carried out with promptness and unswerving rigour. Sharp, with the old sneer on his lips, added his Judas testimony to Lauderdale's attachment to the church. He and Rothés found themselves once more in partnership for their congenial work of oppression and outrage; and for a while no more complaints of conventicles are forthcoming.¹

Lauderdale was now at the zenith of his insolent career. There was not an office of power or emolument which was not filled either by himself or his dependants. Even Rothés had been compelled to

¹ To what well-merited depths of contempt Sharp had sunk, may be gathered from Kincardin's words: ‘St. Andrews brags of your letters and grows insolent. You need not be directed how to use him; you know cajoling looseth him, and that he is never right but when he is kept under.’

give up to him the presidency of the council. No one had yet dared to raise a note of opposition. His language and bearing were less those of the minister of a constitutional king than of the favourite of some oriental despot. He was the Lauderdale of Lely's well-known picture, swollen with gluttony and brutalised with vice, the type of all that was coarsest and worst at Whitehall. Upon him had lately fallen the sorrowful rebuke of Richard Baxter, the ancient friend of his purer youth, who wrote to warn him that—

It is given out in generall that you are so fallne from all that can be called serious religion, as that sensuality and compliyanse with sin is your ordinary course : in particular that you use to take your cups unto excesse and sometimes unto drunkenness, and that the sensualists are hardened by you, and that unto scorne, because of your former professions of piety : and that you are not only corrupted but a corrupter ; and they have made it too commonly half believed that you serve others in an odious vice which because of the quality of the persons, and the greatness of the sin, I must not name, but by this much you may understand : and that in your drunkenness (I must use their words) you have offered your service in such words, which are not to be uttered, but are thus secretly made the matter of your reproach.

Such was Lauderdale when in May 1672 he came once more to Scotland. Among his instructions was one which had, unless I am mistaken, a far-reaching significance. He was ordered at all costs 'to put the militia in a condition to be ready to go well appointed into the fields and to march wherever we shall command.' It is to England that we must turn for an explanation of this. The second Dutch war had broken out; the Cabal was in the thick of its work; the declaration of indulgence had been issued. The vague ideas of establishing the supremacy of the crown over the Anglican church by the help of the sects, which perhaps explain so much in this dark and crooked reign, seemed to be approaching realisation. How far Charles was really prepared to use force for this object we shall never know; he speedily put aside all such notions; but it is certain that in 1669 the army of 20,000 men whom Lauderdale had created had been looked to in case of a struggle; and had the influences for and against Charles been evenly balanced it is more than probable that the Scotch would now have been called in to secure the victory. It is significant that in the act passed by Lauderdale the utmost care was taken to purge the army of all discontented men.

To cope with the sullen disaffection which was brooding in the country, or, as it was euphemistically put in the instructions, to preserve the government of the church by archbishops and bishops, was the second part of Lauderdale's duty. Special legislation indeed was not necessary. As Rothes had noted, it was not new laws, but rapidity and certainty in their execution, that were wanted;

and to secure this a yearly account of their doings was now called for from all magistrates. Opportunity, however, was found for squeezing in one Act against irregular baptisms; the zeal of both informers and magistrates being quickened by the privilege of appropriating the fines exacted. And with it ends the dreary catalogue of repressive laws under Lauderdale's administration. The system of persecution appeared to its authors to be complete. But side by side with the increased severity there appeared on September 3rd, in accordance with the constant policy of the time, and with Kincardin's maxim of having a toleration 'given, not taken,' a fresh measure of comprehension.¹ The idea was steadily pursued of inducing the waverers to conform, and of so harassing at the same time the irreconcilable element as to reduce it to its smallest limits. The lapse of time and the gradual growth of a generation which could not remember the signing of the covenant were trusted to work in those lately comprehended a willing adhesion to the most Erastian church in Christendom. The contrast is striking between this policy, the policy of a church which felt itself an alien, with that of her haughty sister of England, whose purest ministers unhesitatingly and with absolute confidence in her strength refused to dissenters all thought of compromise or comprehension.

In spite of, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say in consequence of, this policy, conventicles again increased. As their numbers were diminished, the 'faithful remnant' became more and more stern in their protests. They came now to their meetings prepared to resist force with force. Within a year we find Kincardin, the coolest and the most tolerant of Lauderdale's supporters, writing to urge the necessity of further severity. Lauderdale instantly acted on the suggestion. The dispersion of the Cabal by the Test Act, while it had ruined the English ministers, had merely set him free from his temporary connexion with general politics. He came down in October 1673 to raise money for the Dutch war, and with unlimited powers to lay down 'effectual courses for curbing and punishing the insolent conventicles and other seditious practices.' There is little doubt that, had nothing occurred to stop him, he would, with no guide but his brutal instincts and the avarice of his duchess, have now begun the reign of terror with all its opportunities for extortion which was soon to follow.

Suddenly, however, he found himself for the first time checked in his arrogant march. He had not suspected that during the past years there had silently been growing up an organised opposition among the nobility. The repressive laws were working their own retribution.

¹ The precedent of the bishop's curates was now followed by the institution of the council's curates, who, under similar conditions to those laid down in 1669, were sent *in pairs* to vacant parishes.

By their action the small farmers had been numerous evicted; the land was lying waste; the landlords could get no rents. The monopolies, too, which had been bestowed upon Lauderdale's friends, had roused the utmost jealousy. Shaftesbury, there is little doubt, was industriously fanning the flame. The dispersion of the Cabal had led to the belief that the viceroy's influence at court was falling; and every nobleman whom he had depressed hastened to seize the opportunity of shaking off his yoke. It was not, however, until he actually opened parliament on 12th October that he realised what had occurred. Then, he says, 'I met with such a spirit as I thought never to have seen here.' For a while he could scarcely believe his own senses. The Scottish parliament, so long the creature of his will, was suddenly behaving like an English house of commons.

It was a stirring episode, this first attempt to break down the system of absolutism under which Scotland had been so long governed. Fortunately we have it preserved for us by Lauderdale himself. The flush of angry surprise was scarcely off his face when he sat down to write his despatch to the king. As soon, he wrote, as his opening speech was concluded, Hamilton had risen to move that no answer should be given to the king's demand for a supply until the grievances had been redressed. Morton, Eglinton, Cassillis, Roxburgh, and Queensberry supported him; Dumfries, who doubtless hoped now to pay back all the slights that had fallen to his share in past years, went further, and prayed for a committee of grievances. Sir Francis Scott, 'in a formal, wise, set speech,' inveighed against the absurdity of calling upon Scotchmen to raise money for a war which was for the sole benefit of England, and which was depriving Scotland of her best market. The speech, however, which most roused Lauderdale's wrath was that of Polwart, who moved that a committee of the house might be added to the Articles to consider bills before introduction. The full force of this proposal can only be understood by a reference to the constitution of that body as modified by Lauderdale in 1663. That modification, in which he took a special pride, made what had been intended to be a consultative committee simply a court of registration of the will of the crown, and at the same time gave its members a veto upon all questions to be submitted to parliament. Parliamentary discussion, in consequence, though theoretically as free as in England, was a mere name. It is not surprising that Lauderdale offered the frankest resistance to a proposal that would have destroyed the machinery of his power. He declared warmly that while willing at once to give up the obnoxious monopolies, he would not listen to any motion attacking the Articles, and again desired an answer to the king's letter. Upon Hamilton repeating his motion for delay, Lauderdale called for a vote, declaring at the

same time that if it went against him he 'knew well what to do.' This threatening language at once raised a storm. Polwart leapt to his feet and loudly demanded a vote 'whether they were a free parliament or not.' Lauderdale, in much passion, desired the house to record these words, and Polwart as heatedly replied that he would gladly own them. Hereupon Athol and Kincardin called upon the advocate to impeach Polwart. Hamilton, who henceforward took the lead in the opposition, rose to defend his follower, and the debate ran fierce and high. Lauderdale, noting the defection of his powerful kinsman Tweeddale, reluctantly gave way for the time. In undissembled anger he adjourned the house to the following Monday, and the next day invited Hamilton, Queensberry, and other leaders of the opposition to discuss matters privately with him. No conclusion being arrived at, he proposed a second meeting on the Saturday previous to the reassembling of parliament. Hamilton, who was anxious to face Lauderdale in the house only, coldly declined. 'All seemed satisfied,' Lauderdale reported to Charles, 'except that duke, who desires brouillerie, and to make himself popular, which he seems to take for the way to be a great man.'

Meanwhile important news had come from London. On the Sunday it was known that Shaftesbury had been dismissed from the chancellorship. Lauderdale notes with joy the consternation which this spread among the malcontents, who nevertheless 'were resolved to fly high in the Parl' with several motions tending to the subversion of that excellent constitution of the articles which is the security of monarchicall government heir.' Secure in the favour of Charles and James, he determined to carry matters with a high hand. In a short speech he declared that until the royal answer came to his request for leave to abolish the monopolies, parliament would be adjourned. Hamilton, who had risen to re-introduce Polwart's proposal, was compelled to sit down. A knot of angry men at once met in the lobby. Wild speeches were made; some declared that they would not come to the Articles until the constitution were reformed; others, who were not of the body, averred that they would attend its meetings and dare Lauderdale to turn them out. Lauderdale could afford to laugh at such threats. He bade his brother Charles Maitland assure the king that whatever happened he would by constant adjournments keep the constitution of the Articles intact and unquestioned. He understood that an attempt was to be made by Hamilton and his friends to get themselves named by parliament as a deputation to Charles; but he adds, 'If any will go to London they may, but they shall never, so long as I sit heir, have any authority to send Parliament Commissioners to the King to treat with him as the rebels did during the Covenanters' rebellion.' The letter in which on 1st December he explained his

action to Charles himself, and Charles's reply, are sufficient evidence of the bond between the monarch and his vizier. The king's letter ends thus:—

All I shall add at this time is to tell you that you may be most assured of my constant kindness to you, and that it shall not be in anybodies power to do you the least prejudice with me, for I have had too long experience of your abilities and faithfulness to serve me, ever to change from being your true frinde.¹

Lauderdale was not, however, altogether at ease. Hamilton, Tweeddale, Dumfries, Roxburgh, and others, had in his despite gone to London in their private capacity to urge their complaints, if possible, before the king himself, and to strengthen the attack which was brewing against the favourite in the house of commons. He on his side despatched Kincardin to maintain the king's constancy and to forward to himself timely intelligence. Kincardin's despatches are now of extreme interest. He applied himself assiduously to strengthening Lauderdale's interest with every one who had influence at court. Of the fidelity of Charles himself and his brother there was no doubt. Danby was ready to serve Lauderdale to the utmost. Rupert gave general assurances of support, though, he said bluntly, 'he never was of a faction, nor never should be, but would do whatever the king thought fit for his service.' Monmouth 'truely speaks very kyndly of your concerns, and so doth the Duchesse.' The latter was especially forward to inform Kincardin of Shaftesbury's efforts, of which this is the only evidence, to supplant Lauderdale by her husband. Henry Coventry, however, the secretary, though 'he talkt very faire in generall,' was, as might have been expected from the friend of Essex, 'but indifferently well inclined towards yow;' while Ormond, who projected into the sordid court of Charles the high-toned virtues of the old cavalier stock, received Kincardin's advances with the most chilling reserve.

Hamilton and his friends, the 'party' as they are henceforward called, soon found that they had come, for the present at least, on a fruitless errand. When after many delays they obtained an interview, Charles coldly requested them to submit their complaints in writing, a step which, with the penalties of 'leasing-making' before their eyes, they wisely forbore to take. At the same time the king let them know that he was cognisant of their league with Shaftesbury. They then turned to James, and urged the futility and expense of continuing the commissionership. The duke replied that he knew not the revenue, laws, or constitution of Scotland,

¹ The genuineness of these assurances was further confirmed by a most interesting letter from Lord Yester, the son-in-law of Lauderdale, to his father Lord Tweeddale. The letter, which was in sympathetic ink, was intercepted, held to a fire, and copied by Lauderdale, before being sent on to its destination. From it Lauderdale learned that the action of Hamilton's party had but strengthened his own position.

'but he was sure that all other kings in the world governed their kingdoms and territories where they could not be themselves by one man; and he thought it much the better way, for that which was every man's work was no man's work.' A direct attack upon Lauderdale himself only extracted from James an emphatic declaration that 'he was determined to stand by Lauderdale as a faithful servant of the king.' Of the genuineness of these assurances Lauderdale soon had clear evidence. On 13 January his enemies in the house of commons carried a motion for an address to the king praying for his removal. On the following day Charles and James each sent him a short reassuring note. That of Charles is characteristic. After bidding Lauderdale to be well assured of his affection,

which nothing shall alter, (he proceeds) My Lord K. will give you a particular account of what was done yesterday upon your subject, and though it is hot at present, yet I doe not despaire when they have taken their swing round, and come to examine particulars, that reason & justice will have the credit it ought to have. I assure you I find the honest country gentlemen begin to understand some of the great leaders.

In acknowledging this letter Lauderdale used language which well illustrates the irresponsible nature of his office. While Buckingham and Arlington are making their submission at the bar of the commons, he looks on in defiant security. His friends, he says, have urged him to address to the house a request that he may be heard in his defence personally or through his friends. This, he declares, he will not do. He reminds Charles that as Secretary for Scotland he is his private servant, not the servant of the parliament. His agent, Kincardin, similarly refused to reply to questions from a committee of the house regarding Scotch affairs on the ground that the English parliament could claim no jurisdiction in Scotland. At the same time Lauderdale sends Charles suggestions for the avoidance of all further troubles in Scotland. These were simple and drastic. They consisted of a wholesale application to the chiefs of the 'party,' of that ostracism from which in 1668 he had so nearly suffered at Middleton's hands, and against which he had so convincingly argued at Worcester house. Charles, however, was unexpectedly wanting in compliance. Firm as he was to Lauderdale personally, the political outlook was so alarming that he dare not carry things with a high hand. He declared that he could not afford to have 'troublesome business' in both kingdoms. 'Let us once be right here, and we can always do that when we will.' To turn out the malcontents, he said, would but make them beloved, and would thereby injure Lauderdale's prospects still more. In spite of Kincardin's urgent representations of the harm which even a nominal victory of the 'party' would do, he sent positive orders to adjourn the Scotch parliament at once.

To Hamilton himself, however, who became more pressing as Charles showed signs of yielding, the king gave 'snapper answers,' and pointedly refused his demand that Cassillis and others of his friends should be added to the Scotch privy council. After a struggle of several weeks, vividly described by Kincardin, the party lords felt that for the present they could accomplish nothing further. They returned at once to Scotland, concealing their defeat by an ostentatious entry into Edinburgh 'with a parade of 9 or 10 coaches, (diverse of them hackney ones),' and 'by insolently slighting your Commissioner.'

The storm came to a head in the following year. In February 1674 the commons brought up as a grievance those words of the militia act of 1669 upon which Lauderdale had so prided himself, whereby the forces were to be ready to march when and where the king pleased within his dominions; and it was intended to found upon them a charge of treason. Another matter, however, Kincardin declared, was still more serious. 'Everybody wonders that you have in all this time said nothing in answer to the accusation concerning the words said in Council that *the king's edicts are as good as Laws.*' He urges Lauderdale to take timely notice of this, and suggests a plausible, and possibly the correct, explanation, supposing he admits using the phrase. This, however, he thinks unlikely, for, though 'edicts' is pretended to be a Scotch word, he himself does not know it, and has never heard Lauderdale use it. He ends his letter with a sentence the humour of which his chief doubtless appreciated, especially when recollecting his late proposals to Charles for ostracising his opponents: 'And I am sure you have alwayes exprest that respect to the lawes, and that aversion to all arbitrarie proceedings in the affaires of Scotland, that I am very confident yow could hardly be otherwise in England.'

The sudden prorogation by which Charles on the 24th February rendered futile this and all other attacks by the English parliament, is an episode well known. At the same time the king in like manner checked all constitutional manifestations of discontent in Scotland. How welcome the news was to Lauderdale may be read in his own words of 5th March:—

I can no longer delay in acknowledging my joy for your prorogueing your P. of Scotland, where mad motions were prepared against y^r service, but you have like yourself dashed them in a moment. . . . As soon as the weather will allow it I shall come away, and when it please God that I have the happiness to see yow, yow shall find me readier than all your enemies to rid you of the trouble of Scots Parl^{ts} which I swear are now uselesse at the best.

He finished his letter by praying Charles to admit no more addresses from the 'party' until he reaches Whitehall, 'and then let them come when they please;' and he signalled his triumph by

inducing the major part of the council to send up a letter of thanks to the king full of extravagant compliment to himself, and containing suggestions for the curtailment of the parliamentary privilege of considering grievances.

The departure of Lauderdale at the end of April was the signal for renewed activity among the 'party.' At the first council meeting on the 6th May, Hamilton moved that a letter should be sent to the king expressing the miserable state of the country under Lauderdale's government. From every synod where he had influence he obtained an address to the council in support of his motion, and every member upon whom he could rely had been urged to attend. There was time enough, however, to warn Lauderdale's adherents. They mustered in full force, and Hamilton was defeated. Along with the news of these events Lauderdale received information that a serious agitation was on foot among the ministers for the meeting of a national synod. It was not to be expected that he would acquiesce in anything which would concentrate and embody the discontents which he well knew were only waiting a fit opportunity for expression. The letter in which on the 18th June 1674 he declares his views to Leighton, who had somewhat hesitatingly recommended the plan, and who in all these transactions displayed marked weakness of character, is very interesting. He forcibly points out how

Our Synod will be composed, according to their Act of Parl^t, of the Bishops, the Deanes, the constant moderators of each Presbytery, commissioners from the University, and one from each Presbytery. Will the Dissenters look upon that as a general assembly of Scotland? Will they give obedience to any decrees of it? As for the orthodox clergie, they are, or ought to be, satisfied with the government established by law, and what need they a Synod?

The addresses from the synods were, he says, got up 'to trifle with the council day in May, where it was earnestly urged that the council might send some solemn representation to the king of the great dangers of the country; and I think it was intended that some eminent persons (some of whom are come to court since) might have been the carriers of this solemn representation, & so might have come to court with a publick character, which would have made a noise here.' As to the petitions which had been sent up by several ministers independently of their presbyteries, he 'misliked' them,

because I too well remember what sad effects flowed from petitions of ministers in the year 1588, and for a General Assembly too. I doe also remember how the tumults at Edinburgh began by woemen, and now I find woemen more tumultuously petitioning. . . . The burned child dreads the fire, and I will not concur in the desires of a Synod from which I may fear evill but can expect no manner of good.

He recalls to Leighton his wish for indulgence to the soberest of the

dissenting party. Late events have, however, he says, cooled this desire until he see that the spirit of rebellion has been crushed. Nevertheless he does not absolutely discourage the archbishop's wish for yet one more attempt at conciliation; though he points out the failure of the last, and hopes nothing from a fresh one. There is little doubt that at the pass to which things had come Lauderdale was right. The only basis upon which he would consent to treat with the conventiclers was one which they could never accept. On the other hand, to look quietly on while the savage laws of the last ten years were being openly defied upon hundreds of hillsides did not commend itself to his masterful temper. Alarming reports were reaching him. Kincardin wrote on the 30th June that 'it is not to be imagined to what a height of malice and discontent people's spirits are raised not only amongst the foolish phanatick partie, but even amongst all sorts of people, and they know not for what.' Those who found their account in disorder, needy nobles like Rosse who fished best in troubled waters, were always ready to point out that conventicles increased with indulgence. A significant example of the discontent which was burning among others than the dissenters was given in the letter of remonstrance which, to the intense wrath of Lauderdale, Hamilton had induced the Burroughs to send to Charles. Athol's language in writing about this 'sawcy letter' illustrates perfectly the intense class hatreds that prevailed in Scotland. He is indignant 'that such vermine and mechanick fellowes dare offer such things to his Ma^{ty}, that has no interest in Scotland or the government:' he declares that

if this be not put to a stop speedily, and that his Ma^{ty} resent it as he ought to doe, and signifie his displeasure in such a manner as may reduce them to their first principles (which is worse than nothing) it will certainly encourage others to doe the like, which was never yet heard of in Scotland, for y^e gr: knowes that without the nobilitie such fellowes signifie little. . . . There is nothing in my humble opinion for his Ma^{ty} since he has begun to frowne upon that partie, but to continue the same way and prosecut vigorously what he has begun; there is nothing to clear up our Scotch mists but this way of procedour.

A significant circumstance now took place. Sick at heart at the failure of his attempts at conciliation, at the evils that he foresaw, and at the condition of the church of which so unwillingly he had become a prelate, Leighton sent in his resignation to Lauderdale in December 1674,

not from any pusillanimous impatience or weariness of the trouble of this employment, but rather from a great contempt of our owne unworthy and trifling contentions, of which I have little other esteeme than of a *querelle d'Alman* or a drunken scuffle in the dark, and doe pity exceedingly to see a poor church doing its utmost to destroy both itself and religion . . . not having of solemn and orderly publick worship so much as a shadow.

He probably felt that scenes were soon likely to take place of which his hands at any rate should be clean. Matters grew daily worse. Conventicles continued to increase; fighting had already taken place,¹ and blood had been shed. The zeal of the bishops waxed warm. Sharp, whose despicable vanity had been hurt by being publicly described by Mr. Cant as a great grievance to the church, summoned a meeting of his brethren to frame an address to Lauderdale, calling for prompt severity. Alexander Burnet again filled the see of Glasgow in the place of Leighton; and this oppressive man vigorously seconded Sharp's suggestion. The demands of the bishops produced a fresh proclamation against conventicles and a diligent application of the laws lately passed.² The monotonous tale of persecution went on throughout this and the following year. But it was evident that the temper of the people was being strained to breaking point. Crimes of violence, such as usually precede open revolt, were rapidly on the increase; and the government determined to make themselves secure. Lord Granard, who commanded in Ireland, was ordered to hold himself ready to go in force to Scotland at the first summons from the privy council; while the duke of Newcastle was placed on the English border with 1,000 of the Northumberland militia, supported by two troops of Oxford's regiment at Alnwick. The meaning of all this was kept secret. Even Shaftesbury, mentioning the movements of these troops, says they puzzle everybody, 'for it's generally believed that no cause arises from Scotland.'

But Lauderdale had, within Scotland itself, instruments of his will more potent and more willing than these. Every broken noble, every highland chief of desperate fortunes, was ready to join in any crime which promised booty. In December, for instance, the Earl of Perth wrote to offer to Lauderdale his utmost service—and he knew for what it was wanted—trusting that his 'poor despised family, now at so low an ebbe,' might be befriended.

There were probably good reasons for not calling upon the militia. It is very doubtful whether they would have lent themselves to the work now in hand. It was but a few months since a meeting had taken place in Ayr at which the gentry had, for the first time, called for indulgence rather than further severity. And now, when Lauderdale summoned the gentlemen of the two most disaffected shires 'to try their puls, and render them inexcusable,' they replied that they could not suppress the disorders. It was no doubt in view of this temper that he turned his thoughts to 'making readie a good body of Highlanders and others (if the Phanaticks in the west should rise

¹ At Bathgate in March 1675.

² A secret committee of the council was appointed in 1676 for the purpose, and the 'taking off' the hill preachers was vigorously entered upon, a beginning being made in July with Mr. James Kirkton.

in arms).’ In a few weeks Athol and Murray were prepared for immediate action at the head of 1,400 men. ‘Meanwhile,’ however, and he says it in a manner that betrays at once his disappointment and his deadly intent,

they doe not rise in arms in the west. How soone they may take arms no man can tell; for, as I have often said, they are perfittely fifth monarchs men, and no judgment can be made on the ground of reason what they may attempt; and therefore all preparations possible are to be made in case they rise; for this game is not to be played by halves; we must take this opportunity to crush them, so as they may not trouble us any more in hast, or else we are to expect to be thus threatened by them next year.

The sight of means to do ill deeds makes deeds ill done. The Highlanders had been raised in case the covenanters took up arms. No rising took place. It was necessary to feed and employ the men. Highland troops especially could not be kept idle. To these half-savage men—the ‘thieves’ as their more civilised neighbours emphatically called them—a descent on the lowlands offered irresistible attractions. Their leaders were worse than themselves. It was therefore coolly determined that, under the pretence of stopping conventicles, 8,000 men should be let loose at free quarters upon the devoted western shires.

Brutal and ruthless as was Lauderdale, selfish and unscrupulous as were the nobles, there was one set of men upon whom rests a darker and a more ineffaceable stain. It is indeed a humiliating thought that never since the Restoration had the Scottish bishops, with the one exception of Leighton, singly or collectively, let fall one word of Christian charity, one utterance of sympathy for the people. Now as ever these bad and bloodstained men were foremost in crime. They met together in December 1677, and drew up one of the most remarkable documents ever issued by a body of Christian men, their ‘Suggestions for the Suppression of Conventicles in the West.’ Fining, imprisonment, and banishing; the total disarming of the western shires; the forcible distraint of all horses above the value of forty pounds scots; the razing to the ground of all new meeting houses, and the ‘punishment’ of the builders; the exaction ‘with the greatest diligence’ of fines which should be ‘such as may be smartly felt by the transgressors;’ the imprisonment of the ring-leaders, if men of substance, and, if they be persons of no estate, ‘some notable corporal punishment to be inflicted upon them in terrorem;’ such are a few, and but a few, of their tender mercies.¹ They have, too, to answer for something yet worse. They raised no voice against the commission issued to Athol, Murray, Perth, and others, ordering them to take free quarters, and indemnifying them

¹ This and all other documents referred to will be found in the third volume of the *Lauderdale Papers*, Camden Society.

'for what they should do by killing, wounding, apprehending, or imprisoning such as should make any opposition or such as they should have any reason to suspect.'

Of the actual invasion of the west during the winter of 1677 and the spring of 1678, of the sufferings which it entailed upon an unresisting people, or of the part played in it by Lauderdale himself, we have in our papers no details. But the wail that went up from the stricken country soon became loud enough to be heard at Whitehall. It was vigorously seconded by Cassillis, upon whom Lauderdale had thrown the execution of the orders most odious to him, and who upon his refusal thus to turn his back upon all the traditions of his family had been declared an outlaw. He came to London, and in March placed in Charles's hands a paper relating the case. Its immediate effect was to draw from Charles an expression of his views which showed how hopeless was the chance of redress on the merits of the case. He declared—

That for his part he thought it a very silly paper, and that he could make a shift to answer it himself, although he was no lawyer, Yet he knew Scotland pritty well. Then he said that it was a strange thing, that he had been tormented for severall weeks, with horrible complaints of the cruelty and outrages, done in the west of Scotland, yet He had done them faire play, for he had cause send down to Scotland as many complaints as he could gett; and that he had now receaved a full account of the wholl proceedings in the west. and that it was from persons he wold trust, that he found all to be false as hell, and that there was nothing done there but what was done by law, and that things were not pushed so farr as the law allowed; that as he was a Christian he did not see what els could be done, to prevent open rebellion: that he approved of what was done, and that he thought himself obliged in duety not to fall in a snare a second tyme, that he was now resolved to be befor hand with the Phanaticks, that he was sure they made use of religion as a pretence only, that he understood their desseins, and to show religion was not there business, he had granted them indulgence, and allowed them there oun ministers, but that wold not serve turne, for they withdrew, and railed more at these ministers then they did against the Bishops, That now matters were come to that hight, that there was a necessity to use severity, for that now they kept feeld conventicles of 3 or 4 thousand men, most armed.

A little later in the same interview he expressed himself thus—

His Majesty said that there was no natione or kingdome in the world, where the tennants had so great a dependance upon the gentle men, as in Scotland, and he was glad it was so, and that therfor they must be answerable for there tennants, that all they were to doe was to punish them according to law, when they went to Conventicles, aither by delivering them into the hands of Justice or turning them out of there land, and that if evry body did so, they wold certainly be peacable, when no body could receive them, and I am sure, said the King, the Commons in

Scotland can doe nothing without a head, but there are some people, that because they are not In themselves, and have a prejudice at some who serve me in Scotland, and therfor they must fall upon me, and stir up these peeple to rebellion, but they are fools and know not there own Interest, for it is a foolish thing for scots men to complain or make worke heir, or to endeavour a Rebellion in scotland, for if it should begin there, and afterwards come into England, and that England should turne Common welth, Scotland wold be a province nixt summer after. He said he thocht they wold not leik that well, I said it was not very pleasant the last tyme the tryed it, and that those persons had as good estates and as much to loose as any body.

The king concluded this wonderful discourse by a vehement expression of his adherence to Lauderdale. Nevertheless, to pacify the public mind and to stop these complaints, the favourite was bidden to prepare for publication such a relation of the proceedings of and against the conventiclers as might best answer these ends.

A fortnight later there took place in the king's bedchamber another discussion on the same subject, of which we have fortunately a pretty complete account. Lauderdale, aware that the party lords were about to make another effort for his downfall, and no longer able to rely upon Kincardin, who had left him in disgust, had, to anticipate them, sent Moray, Foulis, and George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh accredited to Charles. Their first interview with the king is of interest as illustrating the position now taken up by Monmouth. The king had just referred to the 'strange reports of murders, raps, robreis, and uther abusis coñmitted by thes forcis in the west,' and Moray was giving 'full and satisfactorie answers,' when Monmouth entered the room. He at once began to call in question both the legality and the expediency of the bond by which landlords were bound for their tenants' good behaviour, and by the action of which the country was rapidly becoming a wilderness. Lauderdale's agents replied that the bond was not illegal, and that it was better for land to lie waste than to be a nursery for rebels. The discussion on this point was closed by the king's curt assertion that 'Scotland had the best lawes of any people in the world.' The complaints of free quarters were then considered. With cool mendacity, since he was aware of the bishops' suggestions and of the instructions actually issued, Moray declared that no free quarters were to be taken except in case of actual rebellion. How then, asked Monmouth, were the quarters to be paid for? The question had been foreseen, and evasive answers were forthcoming. In the midst of the conversation James entered and reported the arrival of Argyle. Charles, guessing that he came to strengthen the cause of the complainants, refused to admit him; and Moray seized the opportunity of urging the evil effects that must follow if complaints were permitted to be brought which had not previously been referred to the

council. To keep the real voice of the country from Charles was now the great object. 'But the 'party' was not to be denied. In defiance of the proclamation forbidding the Scotch nobility to leave their own country many of them came to London, and at once leagued themselves with the opponents of the court. The situation at this time was too alarming for Charles to despise such an accession of strength. He was compelled to give way so far as to inform the party lords that he would appoint some members of his council to hear them, provided they 'did deport themselves quietlie and honestlie, and not meddle with the French ambassador, nor with the members of the House of Commons.'

And now, as in 1673, began a two months' duel between the 'party' and Lauderdale's agents for the mastery with Charles. No means, fair or foul, were spared on either side. The conditions were far more equal than in 1673. It was really but one phase of the great contest that was raging between the opposition, supported by France on the one hand and by Monmouth and all the anti-catholic elements on the other, against the court, James, Danby, and Lauderdale. Moray, who appears to have been a *persona grata* to Charles, was incessantly on the watch. Not a word, not a look, of the king escapes him. He has daily conferences with Arlington, and with the duchesses of Portsmouth and Monmouth; hour after hour he patiently waits in the lobbies and anterooms to obtain an audience of five minutes with Charles; he 'lays out ways to pry into his countrymen's correspondence,' for 'the king would be pleased to find it out;' he urges Lauderdale to send up all papers which will help to vindicate him. On their side the 'party' were equally vigilant and active. With Monmouth they always found a ready welcome, and he offered to transmit their complaints. On 9 April Moray informed Lauderdale that after comparing notes with Maynard and Arlington he found 'all the paerty hear verry bussie tamperinge withe and misinforminge the House of Commons,' from whose 'unkindly humours' he has his sole but serious apprehensions.

Two days afterwards these apprehensions were verified. There is no reason to suppose that any step would have been taken for tempering the appalling iniquities over which Lauderdale and his duchess were presiding, had not the political complications in which Charles was involved again, as in 1673, come to the aid of the 'party.' Once more there was relief for the persecuted because, and only because, Charles could not afford to have 'trouble in England and in Scotland at once.' On the 13th April imperative orders were sent that, to avoid 'all noise which at this time may be raised here upon occasion of frequent marchings and quarterings of his forces in that kingdom,' the highlanders should quit the lowlands in a fortnight, and that the summonses requiring the party lords to

return to Scotland within sixty days should be delayed until further notice. Three days later Lauderdale heard that Athol and Perth, who through disappointment had joined the 'party,' had for once outwitted Moray. Through the good offices of the earl of Bath they had been secretly introduced into the king's dressing-room at the tennis court while Charles was at the game. Upon his coming out they easily, in the absence of the other side and by protestations of loyalty and sorrow for past offences, gained permission to kiss his hand. Scarcely had they left when Moray and Foulis, who had learned what was taking place, were vehemently remonstrating with Charles.¹ The king put them off by promises to admit none others, and by general assertions of his determination to uphold Lauderdale, 'and so he left us, and went to dinner.' There were, however, Moray said, only too many causes for anxiety, and in particular the fact that Monmouth had undertaken to present to Charles the papers containing the complaints of the party. His uneasiness is well depicted in the final sentence of his letter to Lauderdale: 'The King still and ever says as much as can be desired, yea, as our hearts can wish, yett we was much troubled at the admittance of these two lords: my Lord Kincardin will be ane busie agent for their folks, and knows of these heer who will assist him; bott our hoop is in God and the King.'

Lauderdale fully shared Moray's uneasiness. To strengthen himself against the storm which was brewing in the commons, he sent up the famous 'Narrative,' in which are described in the worst possible light the actions of the conventiclers and the party. From this Moray hoped much, and Charles at once ordered it to be printed and dispersed.

On the 23rd, however, came further unwelcome news. Charles had been driven to promise a formal hearing to the party, and to call up part of the Scotch council for the purpose. Moray's remonstrances had been met by Danby with the plea that it was necessary to be able to say, when parliament assembled, that all complaints had been duly heard. On the 25th he wrote that Secretary Williamson was now with the 'party,' and that Monmouth had visibly impressed Charles in Hamilton's favour; and 'although the King says so weall upon all occasions and expressis so kyind things of your Grace that I am confident he is verry firme to you, yet he is several ways pinched, and what the Parliament will do now is the question.' Free quarters, Moray added, were at once to be given up, 'not with his lykinge, but he is clamoured upon and

¹ They 'took occasion again to remember his majesty how prejudiciall the admittance of these persons who had come up heer in contempt of his authority might prove to his affairs in that Kingdom; the expectation the disorderly people would have of it, the use they would make of it, the incuradgment it would be to them and the discouradgment it would give his servants, that and much more to the purpose.'

pinched by the Commons' Resolutions.' Hamilton's horses, moreover, were not to be seized, 'altho the Kinge has no lykinge for him.' Danby, however, was firm to Lauderdale; the English prelates were eager in his behalf; and the intrigues against Kincardin had been so successful that he was to be discharged from the English privy council.

By the 2nd May Moray was still more confident. Danby was of opinion that the moment the storm in the commons was over Lauderdale should come to court; the king was staunch to him, and James had declared that all the 'party's' work would be like the Scots proverb—*Mekill dinne and littill dirdume*. On the 4th Moray related how Charles and James had sharply taken up Monmouth for his advocacy: 'God blesse the Kinge, he is firme and steadfast.' On the 7th the tide was still fair. The accounts which had reached England of the holding of conventicles, so well armed that the militia dare not attack them, had created a feeling in his favour, as showing the need of severity. The king had publicly sworn by the Almighty that he would stand by Lauderdale to the last.

There was, perhaps, some little exaggeration used in Moray's expressions of confidence, to balance the news of another complexion that he was obliged to send. In the same letter Lauderdale learned that the commons had at length voted that an address should be sent to the king for his removal from the royal presence for ever, and that the party lords were 'hugely cried up in the Houses for noble patriots, wyse and gentill persons.' Anxiety and hope rapidly alternated. Two days afterwards he heard that the storm had broken harmlessly. The address had been prepared, brought into the house, and, by a single voice only, thrown out. The account of the debates forwarded by Andrew Forrester is full of vigorous personal touches. The happy ending of the matter had not, it appeared, been brought about without some jockeying, aided, as we shall see, by the most unscrupulous exercise of court intimidation. The speaker, who had been gained by Charles, had by clever use of the forms of the house secured adjournment after adjournment, and the delay had been well used by Lauderdale's friends. When an attempt was made by the opposition to introduce the consideration of Scotch questions, they pointed out that the English commons were but wasting their time in discussing matters over which they had no jurisdiction. At the same time they were willing to accept the challenge. When Hamilton, Athol, and Perth were cited as witnesses to the excesses of the western invasion, it was fairly answered that that might well be, seeing they were the chief promoters of the crime which they now so loudly attacked. This preliminary skirmish being over, the court found itself strong enough to carry a motion that the address should be taken, not *en bloc*, but separately in its two parts of narrative and petition.

The first (we read) was soe very well debated on the parte of your freinds; that the party at last had not a word to say of reason, equity, or law, yet trusting much to their numbers, they prest the question to be putt, whether it should be expunged or not? and it was carried in the affirmative by 1 voyce, ther having been 152 for you and 151 against you. Then some of your friends, and the speaker in particular, sayd that the Narrative was gone and must no more be thought of; wherefor ther was a necessity to consider and rectify the Petitory Parte also, becaus it begunne with a 'Therefor,' which was nonsense when the premisses of the Narrative, upon which it depended, were taken away; so they fell hotly againe to their debates, which resulted at last unanimously into a question whether the House should approve of it or not? and it was carried by your freinds in the Negative by 4 voyces, ther having been 161 for you and 157 against you: for ther came in 15 members from eating houses, whereof ther were 9 for you and but 6 against you. So that the whole masse of the draught of the Adresse was turn'd out, and the Party looked extreamly out of countenance, who were so confident of their numbers as they thought it was impossible to carry a vote against.

Furious at seeing the whole of their labour lost, since the address now had no existence, and the original vote of the house (that there should be an address) alone remained, the opposition demanded that it should be recommitted. Candles were called for, and the debate went on far into the night. The opposition moved the adjournment of the debate. But Lauderdale's friends, secure in a majority, were 'resolved to give the Party their bellyful of it;' they insisted therefore either that the matter should be concluded then and there, or that the adjournment of the house—a course which carried with it the entire dropping of the motion—should take place. Shouts of 'Adjourn! adjourn!' at once filled the house; the speaker took advantage of the clamour and, without a division, adjourned the house. The second great crisis of Lauderdale's life was over. The reflections of Forrester are worthy of full quotation:—

We shall be able in few days to know more of their resolutions; which certainly will be soon reduced to a more sober & dutifull temper, if his Ma^{ty} will be graciously pleased to persist in his happy resolution to turne out of his service all that shall dare to oppose his interest, or that of his freinds; God's blessing upon his heart for what he has done already, which hath produced the greatest change that ever was seen in the House in so short a time. If his Maj^{ty} will be fixt in the course which he declares he will continue in all his life, his freinds in the House will ingage their necks that nothing relateing to his Ma^{ty}'s service shall goe amisse among them.

Forrester then goes on to describe to Lauderdale a scene which took place on the night of Tuesday, 7 May, on which day the adverse vote for an address had been carried, and which not only illustrates the force which Charles could exert in the face of the most

determined attacks, but presents the only known occasion on which the debonnair king is recorded to have fairly lost his temper.

Henry Saville being the only person of the King's immediate Domestic Servants that appeared openly and voted against you last tuesday, which having been told the King by severalls, and particularly by the Earl of Ancrum, who also told his Ma^{tie} some base reproachful words that Saville had sayd of you; the King was mightily displeased against him, and to so high a degree that when he was late that night going to bed, and Saville coming in after his ordinary way, the King upon the first sight of him fell into such a passion that his face and lipps became as pale (almost) as death, his cheeks and armes trembled, and then he said to Saville 'You Villayne, how dare you have the impudence to come into my presence when you are guilty of such baseness as you have showne this day, I doe now and from henceforth discharge you from my service, comfanding you never doe come any more into my presence nor to any place where I shall happen to be.' So that base villayne was immediately sent a packing, with a vengeance to him.

It was to this and similar instances of severity that Lauderdale's escape was owing. His victory, however, was complete, and there was nothing now left for the 'party' but to make the best of their way back to Scotland. They had deserved to fail. In all their opposition to Lauderdale it is impossible to discover a trace of honest desire for good government. In the old days Hamilton had been the colleague of Rothes and Dalrymple in robbery and outrage as bad as that which was at present being exercised by Lauderdale and his duchess. He had become a reformer now that his own lands were being wasted, his own horses were being carried off, and his own rents falling. Perth and Athol also were among the worst of the needy and ruffianly crew. They had been the eager agents of the western invasion, and were now in opposition through personal disappointment alone.

Unwilling to yield without a final struggle, they went in a body to the king, and harangued him for two hours. Charles, now completely master of the situation, coldly commented on the fact that they had not yet put their complaints in writing; expressed pleasure in finding that they had nothing new to add to what they had so often said to him before; and remarked that he did not clearly see how government was to be carried on if an appeal were allowed from the council, which itself was the governing power. He in his turn, however, had to listen to some plain speaking.

L^d Generall Drummond reserved his spitch till the King was ryseing out of his chear. Then he tould the King how he had been alwayes a loyal subject, and yit had suffered lyk a slaave: that he had been kipt a prisoner eightne monthes and to this houre kniew not for what: that he had waeted on the King's host in the west, and yit his burdinge was greater than any other's. He had come up to offer his service in the warr, and now iff ther was no imployment for him, if he was criminall.

his Maj^{ty} might hange him hear rather than he should retorne home and be persecut lyke a slaave.

The only result of these outspoken words was, we are told, that Charles 'came out in a huff.'

The 'party' lords now returned, to renew their opposition to Lauderdale in the convention of estates which Charles's financial straits rendered necessary. Once more they were completely foiled. A long and detailed account exists of the bitter debates, and of their prolonged and acrimonious obstruction. All was useless against Lauderdale's determination to bear down opposition. The vice-roy had recovered his old insolence of demeanour. He felt the ground safe under his feet; the convention had been packed with infinite care; the danger from the English house of commons was over; and he was secure of Charles's approval and support. After several days' hard fighting, Hamilton, who bore the heat and burden of the contest with courage and ability, at last fell back, baffled at every point. The business was carried through with the high hand; and on the 19th June 1678 Lauderdale received Charles's hearty congratulations and his welcome commands to come without delay to court.

And here ends the interest of Lauderdale's career. For two years more indeed, two years marked by the outburst and brutal repression of the second armed revolt against the government of Charles, he held the office which with incomparable boldness, dexterity, and unscrupulousness, he had maintained against all comers for twenty years. Nothing, however, occurred in which he played a part sufficiently marked to call for notice in this slight historical sketch. Once only, on the 4th July 1681, does he come before us, in a letter to James in which the broken handwriting tells its tale of rapidly failing strength. Worn out with the toils of his early life and with the debauchery of many years, the old adventurer lingered out at Bath and Tunbridge his last few months, ever hoping, as he writes to James, that he may be enabled with returning health 'to be more constant in my attendance upon his Ma^{ty}, and by it in any measure more significant to his service or to your Royal Highness; a blessing greater than I can expect.' He died at Tunbridge Wells on the 20th August 1682. Eight months elapsed before his last resting place was reached. The florid ceremony that then took place was in keeping with his life. On the 5th April, we learn from the account given to the duchess by his brother Charles Maitland, who succeeded him in the Scotch earldom—

being the day appoynted, the companie lords and others first had dinner in rooms provided for them. And the noblemen's room was hung with Blak, and garnished with thos scutchions that cam doune contening my lords armes and yours. After dinner about 2 aclok all went to sermon at Inveresk Kirk where the B. of Edenburch preached rare lernedly. The

bodie was placed in good order before the pulpet and the frends about it : At on of the klok the funerall, the bodie being in the Hearce covered with the pale or canobie, went in procession toward the church of Hadingtoun. And at 5 aclok that noble and extraordinarie person was placed in his Tumb nixt to his father's bodie bot raised higher upon a Basse of ston maid of purposs. Ther was present at the funerall two thousand hors at least ; insomutch that they filled the high way for full four meils in lenth. Ther was twenty-five cottes, and most of this companie cam to the grave, and so wele was he beloved that the whole cuntrie kindly gave ther presence to the assisting in this last dewtie.

We almost hesitate to say that, in spite of the baseness of his character and in spite of all the evil that he worked, we part with Lauderdale not without regret. He was a bad man, even for that bad time. Of patriotism, as of political virtue, he had no trace ; Scotland was but the sport of his lust of power, and he has left behind him but one monument, the just and abiding detestation of his countrymen. But, as an adventurer, he was essentially robust, capable. He fought for his own hand, brutally, but boldly ; he took his part deliberately and held it consistently against all opposing influences ; and by some qualities that we cannot now discern, he secured the willing service of men infinitely nobler than himself. Alone among the bad Scotchmen of the time, he had in him something commanding and great. He, like them, was utterly selfish, but he had qualities which at times make his selfishness take the second place. He boasted of his absolute and willing slavery to the king, who was at once his master and his boon companion ; but no instance can be found in his arrogant career where he quailed before his fellows. His character, with its undoubted intellectual gifts and the coarse *bonhomie* which secured Charles's affection, may be summed up in the words which in Marlow's play describe the qualities of the successful adventurer :—

You must be bold, proud, pleasant, resolute,
And now and then stab, as occasion serves.

OSMUND AIRY.