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

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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*

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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

animadvert 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 Kinges 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', *RCHS*, 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

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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

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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

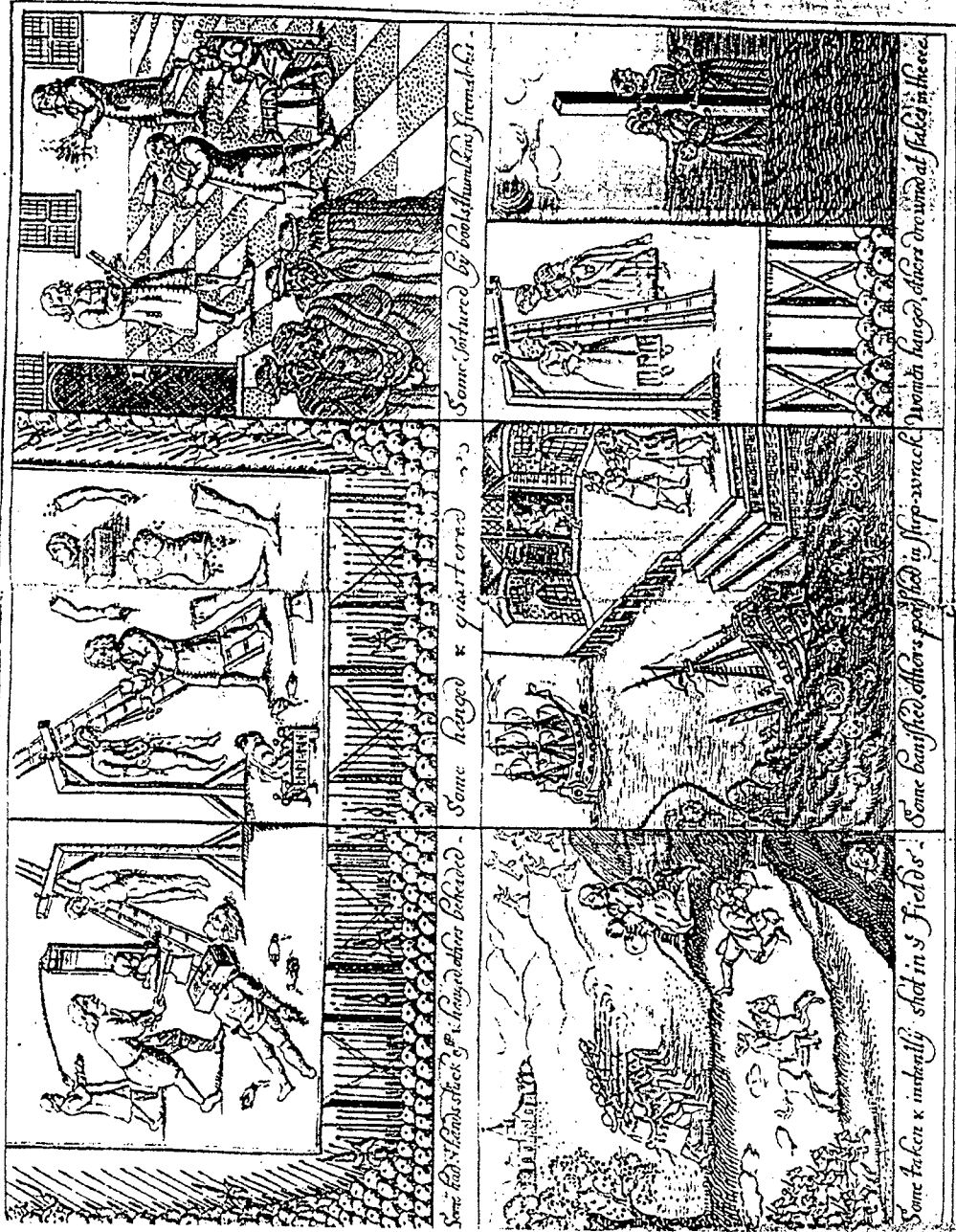
society people are the truer versions and inserts the radical version in place of the moderate one.

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 when beheaded.

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 Hickes:

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 Hickes in his pamphlets is one that aligns him with pre-Restoration anti-Covenanting satire. Hickes 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 cryes,
 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.

The Assembly, 'Preface'

He'll tell you, from any text, of five lost labours, three opportunities, three lamentations, three woes, three prophecies, three doubts, three fears, a proposal, and a word about Scotland, and another about a dog. (p.28)

The Virgin Mary, whom, he says, her husband Joseph felt the first night he bedded with her, and found her with child, immediately concluded she was a whore (as I would have done myself, says he), and was going to put her away: for who could have been jealous of the Holy Ghost? (p. 28)

He is as comical in giving the communion; for lately, at Cramond, he clapt a bit of bread in his next neighbours hand, and said, *Saint eat this, and your bread's baken.* (p.28)

Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence

Once in the monthly fast day, I heard him my self discourse to this purpose, after he had read his text, which if I rightly remember, was, *In that day I will not regard their prayers nor their tears, & c.* In speaking to these words, says he, I shall shew you five lost labours, three opportunities, three fears, three woes, three lamentations, three prophecies, and a word about poor Scotland: for the three fears, the first is a great fear, and that is, lest this King give us not all our Will, the 2nd, is a very great fear, and that is, if we should get all our Will, I fear we should not make use of it. The 3rd fear is the greatest of all, but I must not tell you that fear, Sirs, for fear it should fear you all to hear it. All the town knows that this is true, and that he never preaches but after this ridiculous manner. (p.110)

There are many in Edinburgh who heard Mr James Kirkton in a Sermon concerning Joseph and Mary, say, 'The first night', saith he, 'that they met together, he laid his hand on her belly, and found her with Bairn: the honest man turn'd very angry, and would have put her away, as any of us all would have done, had we met with the like; and who is it that ever would suspect that the Holy Ghost should have another man's wife?' (p. 105)

Another time giving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in Crammond, at the breaking of Bread, he told the Participants, *Take, eat, Sirs, your Bread is baken.* (p. 108)

These examples confirm that the ‘stories’ related in the ‘Preface’ to *The Assembly* as genuine examples of the supposed foolish form of preaching that James Kirkton practised, were gleaned from the *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*. The evidence of his paradoxical opposition to the General Assembly is derived from the debate within the Assembly, in Act I, scene iii. In reply to the Moderator’s commendation of their qualification for ruling the Assembly, Kirkton replies, ‘it’s your own Cause, and your own Interest, ay forsooth is’t’. Later in the same scene, in reply to the Moderator’s call for prayer ‘to drown the noise, and quiet our spirits’, he counters, ‘what needs all this fool praying?’ (*The Assembly*, pp.46-47). In its insistence on the veracity of the satirical representations through identification of the characters with real historical personages the ‘Preface’ distorts the inverted irony that is at the heart of Pitcairne’s satirical treatment of James Kirkton.

The character depicted by Pitcairne within the play conforms to the overall descriptions of a plain dealer, at the same time as he is ironically exposed as a hypocrite. This is most clearly realised in his denunciation of the character named, ‘Mr Solomon Cherry-trees’ which occurs several lines further in the same scene. In his metaphorical rapture on the Church of Scotland, ‘Solomon’ depicts it as

that pure Virgin, her lips are like threeds of scarlet, her speech is comely, her putting breasts are like two young roes that are twins, and feed among the lillies, her navel is like a round gobblet, and wanteth no liquor, her belly is a heap of wheat set about with lillies, she has been defloured these twenty-eight years by the Curates, I intreat you then brethren, for the mercies of Christ, get able men, with soul-refreshing and inbearing gifts, to do duty to her, to dress her seasonably and abundantly, ay, ay, forsooth. (Act I, scene iii, p. 47)

‘Covenant Plain Dealer’ berates him for this metaphorical blasphemy, ‘fornication with the Virgin, that’s as ill as the Curates hobbling on the whore of Babylon, and begetting

the fourteen blackbirds--no more about that' (Act I, sc.iii, p.48). He counters with his own metaphorical allusion which diminishes the image of a plain-dealer, or straight talker, that Pitcairne had built up earlier in the scene. And later in the play the image dissolves completely when he breaks out in his own highly ornate pronouncements:

the Curates are the Bulls of Bashan; and therefore I'll speak a word about Dogs and so have done, ye know where there are Bulls, there's a bull-beating, and where there are bulls-beating there are Dogs; Now there are two sorts of Dogs, God's Dogs and Devil's Dogs; now if we let in the Curates, the Devil's Mastives will worry God's own messens, no more about that. (Act III, scene iii, p. 66)

Whilst Pitcairne's rendition of Kirkton's preaching is similar, it is not directly quoted from the *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*. In the 'Preface' to *The Assembly*, it is stated,

the most part of the stories here related were said by one or other of the Presbyterian party. We have sometimes put these tales in the mouths of others than those who said them; but that very seldom, [and we] have attributed nothing to any but what is suitable and agreeable to his character. (ed. Tobin, p. 26)

The 'Preface' that was added to the original play thus distorted Pitcairne's caricature of contemporary Covenanters by purporting to lend veracity to what was originally a comic burlesque of 'Presbyterian humbug' (Reid, p. 193).

MacQueen noted that *The Assembly* was a 'sophisticated companion piece to the better-known *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*' (*Progress and Poetry*, pp. 4-5). Both are satirical works written during the polemically intense atmosphere of the 1690s, and both concern a denigration of Presbyterianism by Episcopalian Royalists, largely through the exaggerated treatment of their supposed 'canting' expressions which portrays them as foolish hypocrites who are unfit to govern. By 1752, Presbyterianism had been established as the officially constituted religion of Scotland for almost sixty years, and Episcopacy and Jacobitism no longer posed a serious threat. In the 'Preface' it is stated,

our design in this essay is to fully represent the villainy and folly of the fanaticks, that so, when they are in sober mood, they may seriously reflect on them, and repent for what is past, and make amends for the future, if it be possible; or else that the civil government may be awakened and roused to rid us of the impertinence and tyranny of this gang, who injuriously treat all good and learned men, and are enemies to human society itself. (Tobin, ed., p.33)

By accepting Tobin's supposition that the 'Preface' was not written by Pitcairne, and the evidence above would appear to confirm this, then it could also be supposed it was written in the mid-eighteenth century. Read in this way the reference to the 'good and learned men' concerns those who opposed emotional forms of preaching and worship, and the attitude expressed within the 'Preface' can be compared with other mid-eighteenth-century writing that was concerned to demonstrate that an excessively emotional religious temperament was harmful to society as a whole.

The philosopher and sceptic, David Hume's *History of England* (1754-62), together with the anonymous pamphlet, entitled, 'A Letter from a Blacksmith, to the Ministers and Elders of the Church of Scotland' (1758), like the 'Preface' to *The Assembly*, denounced what they regarded were contemporary Presbyterian religious excesses through the derogatory treatment of seventeenth-century Nonconformists. For the purposes of this Chapter I shall confine the study to their treatment of the Scottish Covenanters.

In his essay entitled, 'Of Superstition and Religion' Hume stated that enthusiasm and superstition were 'two species of false religion' (reprinted in Antony Flew, ed., *David Hume: Writings on Religion*, pp. 3-9). He identified Quakers, Levellers, Anabaptists, Covenanters, and French Camisads as enthusiasts, and Roman Catholics as practitioners of superstition, and through a series of logically reasoned steps he

demonstrated how the corruption of true religion by these had serious social and political consequences. Enthusiasm, according to Hume, was ‘founded on reason . . . , [as] it thinks itself sufficiently qualified to approach the Divinity, without any human mediator’ (Flew, p.6). This reasoning and ‘bold and ambitious temper, is naturally accompanied with a spirit of liberty’ (Flew, p.8). Thus, Hume logically reasons himself into the dichotomy that enthusiasm, on the one hand, was bad for society when ‘its fury is like that of thunder and tempest’, but that as it promoted an ethos of spiritual liberty, which in turn led to civil liberty once the excessive emotional outbursts were over, leaving ‘the air more calm and serene than before’, the bad effects were outweighed by the overall good (Flew, p7).

In *The History of England* (1762), however, Hume depicts religious enthusiasm as a subversive and dangerous force. This is revealed, for example, in his description of Cromwell’s republican government.

A base populace exalted above their superiors: Hypocrites exercising iniquity under the vizard of religion: These two circumstances promised not much liberty or lenity to the people; and these were now found united, in the same usurped and illegal administration. (Vol.V, p.440)

Hume’s belief that enthusiasm led eventually to civil liberty is here qualified. The civil liberty, according to Hume’s reasoning, that is derived from religious enthusiasm, is one that is founded on an unnatural distortion of what he regarded as the proper order of a society that was ruled from the King down. Particularly in the sections where he dealt with the Scottish Covenanters Hume represented the stance taken by authority of the lower orders in a sympathetic light, at the same time, however, as he maintained support for the monarchy. The main perpetrators of the tumultuous atmosphere, according to Hume, were the Scottish Privy Council and the Presbyterian clergy. Hume’s method is

revealed in his description of the state of affairs in Scotland at the time of the Pentland uprising.

Affairs remained in a peaceable situation, till the severe law was made in England against conventicles. The Scots Parliament imitated that violence, by passing a like act ... Military force was let loose by the council ... Representations were made to the King against these enormities. He seemed touched with the state of the country; and besides giving orders, that the ecclesiastical commission should be discontinued, he signified his opinion, that another way of proceeding was necessary to his service. This lenity of the King's came too late to remedy the disorders. The people, inflamed with bigotry, and irritated by ill usage, rose in arms. They were instigated by Guthry, Semple, and other preachers. (Vol. VI, pp.189-90)

By blaming the Privy Council and the Presbyterian clergy, Hume distances both the King and the ordinary Scots from the violence. Thus, at the close of his *History*, in his final analysis of the overall benefits that were brought to society from the revolutionary atmosphere that religious enthusiasm had engendered, he claimed that 'it may safely be affirmed, without any danger of exaggeration, that we in this island have ever since enjoyed, if not the best system of government, at least the most entire system of liberty, that ever was known amongst mankind' (Vol. VI, p.441). With the last burst of enthusiasm safely expired, and the monarchy (albeit Hanoverian in place of Stuart), returned to its rightful position at the head, Hume ends his *History* with a warning to the religious enthusiasts of his own time: 'extremes of all kinds are to be avoided; and tho' no one will ever please either faction by moderate opinions, it is there we are most likely to meet with truth and certainty' (Vol.VI, p. 443).

The anonymous pamphlet entitled, *A Letter from a Blacksmith, to the Ministers and Elders of the Church of Scotland* (1758), contested the mass displays of emotional piety that accompanied revivalist meetings and annual communion services through a

derogatory association of enthusiastic behaviour with irrationality, disorderly and immoral conduct, and rusticity. Writing in the Episcopal Royalist tradition he associated them with the seventeenth-century satirical representations of incendiary clergy. The 'Blacksmith' stated that 'the times [were] very wittily described by Butler in his *Hudibras*', and misquoted four lines which confirmed this.

When gospel trumpeter, surrounded
With long-ear'd rout, to battle sounded,
And pulpit drum ecclesiastic,
Was beat by fist instead of stick. (p.44)

Like Jacobite poets, such as Meston and Pennecuik, the 'Blacksmith' compared contemporary religious excess with the religious disorders of the seventeenth century, and concluded that the two were the same. Furthermore, he warned that the contemporary mode of politically inspired extempore prayer could lead to the disruption of the Church that occurred in the previous century.

Not (I say) to mention these days, whose history will be an eternal disgrace to our religion, and would furnish many instances of nonsense, and blasphemy vented in our public prayers, as would be sufficient to fill up a large volume; even in latter days, politicks have introduced gross absurdities into our public service ... Our publick worship, in the present way, has always been, and will always be tingured with the spirit of party, and made the property of faction in church and state. (pp. 44-5)

The above quoted examples from Hume's essay, 'Of Superstition and Religion', and his *History of England*, together with the anonymous *Letter from a Blacksmith*, are representative of the prevailing attitude towards enthusiasm, or emotionally demonstrative religion in Scotland in the mid-eighteenth century. Like the 'Preface' that was superimposed on to *The Assembly* in 1752, their derogatory representations of the Scottish Covenanters was intended as a warning to those who preached or practised

enthusiastic forms of piety to either reform themselves, or have reform imposed on them.

This is not to say that after Wodrow there were no positive representations of the Scottish Covenanters, or that only Jacobite satire was written in the second half of the eighteenth century. The Reformed Presbyterian Church has been scarcely researched since the eighteenth century. Adherents to Reformed Presbytery, such as William Wilson, and John Howie considered it their 'generation work' to publish a pamphlet, sermon or collected edition of the works of Covenanting clergymen to legitimise their continued separation from the Established Church. In 1775, John Howie, a Reformed Presbyterian, edited a collection of biographical accounts of Presbyterian martyrs in a volume entitled, *Biographia Scoticana* (Glasgow). Like Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, from which text Howie based the scope and plan of his collection, *Biographia Scoticana* is a hagiographic representation of Scottish Protestantism from the Reformation to the 'Glorious Revolution'. Thus, following the introduction which plots the progression of the history of the Church of Scotland from the ancient days of the Druids and the Culdees (who Howie implies brought protestantism to Scotland), his collection begins with an account of the life and execution of Patrick Hamilton who had been burned at the stake for heresy, in 1527, and ends with an account of the lives of the 'Messrs Robert Traill', a father and son whose maintaining and championing of Presbytery under the Covenants after the Restoration had resulted in imprisonment and banishment. Overall, Howie represented the years of Covenanting from 1638 to 1688 as a seamless narrative of Christian warfare:

The primitive Martyrs sealed the prophetic office of Christ, in opposition to Pagan idolatry.-The reforming Martyrs sealed his priestly office with

their blood, in opposition to Popish idolatry.-But last of all, our late Martyrs have sealed his kingly office with their best blood, in despite of supremacy and bold Erastianism. (1816, p. 21)

Howie derived his information from a variety of both manuscript and printed texts. Moreover, his information was derived from both Established and dissenting sources. For example, from *Naphtali*, Wodrow's *History*, Walker's *Lives*, *A Cloud of Witnesses*, and the unpublished copies of sermons of noted field preachers, such as Richard Cameron. His collection, therefore, brought together for the first time the previously competing narratives of Scottish Covenanting historiography.

Little is known of William Wilson. He was a Reformed Presbyterian who published poetry, history, and a collection of the sermons preached by James Renwick, together with several polemic pamphlets concerning contemporary theological disputes. It was his account of the Battle of Bothwell Bridge that Howie appended to the second edition of *Biographia Scoticana*, and it was from him that Howie derived some of the material for *A Collection of Lectures and Sermons* (1779).

Wilson's autobiography that was first published in 1816 is a record of his personal Covenanting where he portrays his life as a spiritual battle against the forces of evil. Beginning in 1719, Wilson issued a 'declaration of war against Satan', and annually thereafter he issued 'an invitation of Christ to return to Scotland'. In his 'particular account of the year 1745', he describes how his metaphorical spiritual war became a reality during the Jacobite rebellion;

In the beginning of this year, I was waiting to hear when the Lord would execute his long deferred, justly deserved judgements upon these apostatizing nations, and decide the controversy of Zion, fairly and honestly, in a way that may be for the glory of his great name, revival of

the decayed power of godliness, comfort of his people, and shame and confusion of his irrecoverable enemies. For I took it as a token for good, that this day is hastening on, since those who were up in arms, and warring against other, on both sides, were open enemies to the Lord Jesus Christ, his covenanted cause, interest and people. For since the war was not betwixt Michael and the Dragon, but betwixt different parties (for self interest) of those who are supporters and upholders of the kingdom of Satan; so that in this Satan's kingdom was divided against itself, and this is a sure evidence that his kingdom will not long stand, but be brought to desolation. The Lord hasten it, for his elect's sake. And I look upon the blood already shed at Preston, Falkirk, Culloden muir, and Carlisle &c., to be the beginning of the Lord's revenge upon his enemies in these covenanted nations. (*Memorials of Free Mercy* (1817), p. 718)

The above passage suggests that Wilson's personal covenanting was his way of dealing with the contemporary events. For those like Wilson who, despite the Enlightenment, still believed in a personal God and a real Devil, the revolutionary events of the Jacobite rebellion, the American Revolution, and the imminent war with France, were a personal vindication of everything he felt that he had been living his life for. And the defeat of the Jacobites was (for Wilson) the ultimate seal of approval. His vengeful rhetoric, taken in contemporary context, suggests that Wilson was attempting to understand the violent and revolutionary upheavals of the first half of the eighteenth century. The defeat of the Jacobites, according to Wilson, was God's punishment on Scotland for joining with England in 1707:

By union and by abjuration,
They changed the freedom of our nation:
Sacred and civil rights are sold,
For peace and ease and English gold.
Their bargain who did Scotland sell,
Is like cov'nant with death and hell.
(*A Meditation upon my natural state* (1723), p.20)

As part of his 'generation work', Wilson erected memorials at the sites of the places where known Covenanters had been killed. He also transcribed a number of the sermons of noted Cameronian preachers, such as Richard Cameron, and James Renwick. And in 1748, he published the first volume of a collection of Renwick's

sermons. Overall, Wilson's autobiography gives a fascinating and unique insight into the Covenanting mentality of the second generation of Cameronians of the mid-eighteenth century.

(The illustration on p. 100a is taken from a page of one of twelve rare manuscript books that Wilson transcribed, entitled, *Some excellent Sermons preached ... by William Guthrie, Adam Kae, Donald Cargill, Richard Cameron, James Renwick* (1723), in Mitchell Library, MS 92. These Wilson had copied from earlier transcriptions that Robert Hamilton had made at the end of the seventeenth century. Hamilton claimed to have derived his sermons from notes of hearers at conventicles.)

Overall, the Reformed Presbyterians, as illustrated by the examples above of Wilson and Howie resurrected the image of the Scottish Covenanter as a heroic martyr for the cause of religious and civil liberty that had been propagated, for example, by Stewart of Goodtrees in the seventeenth century, and by Wodrow, and Walker at the beginning of the eighteenth. Unlike the earlier Covenanting hagiographers such as Wodrow and the earlier United Societies, Howie avoided drawing distinctions between Cameronians and other Presbyterian nonconformists. Overall, the two examples above, demonstrate how those outside of the Established Church of Scotland continued to Covenant, and continued to promote a positive image of seventeenth-century Scottish Covenanters in the new, Enlightened atmosphere of the eighteenth century.

Alongside of those who continued to Covenant such as William Wilson and John Howie, there were others who did not go the lengths as they did, but yet who could see something worthwhile in the historiography of the Covenanting struggles of the seventeenth century. John Wilson's long poem entitled, *Clyde*, describes the scenery and history of the landscape through which the River Clyde passes. Fourteen lines concern the events surrounding the battle between the Covenanters and the Royalists at the bridge over the Clyde at Bothwell in 1679.

When Bothwell's Bridge connects the margins steep,
 And Clyde below runs silent, strong, and deep;
 The hardy peasant, by oppression driven,
 To battle, deemed his cause the cause of Heaven:
 Unskilled in arms, with useless courage stood,
 While gentle Monmouth grieved to shed his blood.
 But fierce Dundee, inflamed with deadly hate,
 In vengeance for the great Montrose's fate,
 Let loose the sword, and to the hero's shade,
 A barbarous hetacomb of victims paid.
 Clyde's shining silver with their blood was stained;
 His paradise with corpses red profaned;
 Which, when Bothwell's lofty banks we view,
 Shines with the leaves of Spring, and blossoms new.

(*Clyde*, Pt. I, ll. 862-875)¹²

Wilson's is an overall sympathetic depiction of the Covenanters, and of their enemy, the Royalist Duke of Monmouth. In his poetic retelling of the history of the battle, it is John Graham of Claverhouse who is portrayed as the prime agitator. With the anachronistic title of 'Dundee', Claverhouse is depicted as consumed with rage against the Covenanters for killing his descendant, James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, in the earlier Covenanting campaigns of the 1640s. As Wilson's 'Dundee' is a conflation of the middle and last years of Claverhouse's life, however, he is represented as both the villain who persecuted Covenanters, and the hero who raised the Highlands in support of the exiled King James. Overall, in *Clyde*, Wilson paints a favourable portrait of the figure of Montrose;

From Graham a fruitful race of heroes springs,
 Dreadful in war! and true to Scotia's kings;
 But great Montrose stands foremost of the line,
 A chief with ancient heroes doomed to shine;
 Fate in his arm, his very name an host,
 His conquering standards flew from coast to coast.

(*Clyde*, Pt. II, ll.239-334)

His depiction of the battle of Bothwell Bridge reinforces his romantic retelling of the history of the ill-fated house of Graham. Wilson sympathetically portrayed the Scottish

¹²Reprinted in *Scottish (sic) Descriptive Poems*, John Leyden, ed. (Edinburgh, 1803).

Covenanters as reluctant combatants whilst at the same time confirmed the dominant part played in the battle by Claverhouse. Wilson's literary depiction of an heroic grass-roots covenanting movement which is forced into taking up defensive arms against a tyrannic regime contested the derogatory treatment written in the Episcopal Royalist tradition and followed the hagiographic treatment of the Scottish Covenanters in Walker, and, to some extent, Wodrow. In his paradoxical representation of both the Royalists and the Covenanters, and his contrasting descriptions of the Clyde in the final four lines of this section,

Clyde's shining silver with their blood was stained;
His paradise with corpses red profaned;
Which, when Bothwell's lofty banks we view,
Shines with the leaves of Spring, and blossoms new.

he follows more closely that of Hume.

Finally, alongside of the resurgence of Covenanting hagiography a strain of anti-clericalism that owed its style and content to earlier anti-Covenanting satirical typology remained at the end of the eighteenth century. For example, in 1789, Burns appended a selection of anecdotes derived from *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* to his anti-clerical satire entitled, 'Holy Willie's Prayer' (noted by Alexander Scott, 'The Satires: Underground Poetry', in Low, ed. (1975), pp. 90-105). Surprisingly, however, Robert Burns, the great upholder of civil liberty did not publish any poem devoted entirely to celebrating the revolutionary stance of any of the Scottish Covenanters; neither the early revolutionary radicals such as Samuel Rutherford, post-Restoration upholders of spiritual liberty such as Alexander Peden, or the rebellious and violent Cameronians. There was published, posthumously an epigraph.

In Sinclair's *Statistical Account* for the Parish of Balmaghie in 1775, under the heading of 'Antiquities', the Rev. J. Johnstone had included a discussion of three gravestones of Covenanting martyrs. He stated

Several persons here suffered as martyrs, during the persecution which prevailed in the last century. In the church yard there are grave stones over three of them. One of these has an epitaph engraven on it, the author of which, no doubt, supposed himself to have been writing poetry. It is as follows:

...

Beneath this stone two David Hallidays
Doe lie, whose souls now sing their master's praise.
To know if curious passengers desire,
For what, by whom and how they did expire,
They did oppose this nation's perjury,
Nor could they join with lordly prelacy.
Indulging favours from Christ's enemies,
Quench'd not their zeal this monument then cries,
These were the causes not to be forgot,
Why they by Lag so wickedly were shot;
One name, one cause, one grave, one Heav'n to tie
Their souls to that one God eternally.

Such productions of the unletter'd Muse are not worthy of being preserved. They are not indeed to be considered as monuments of taste and genius; but they serve a better purpose, while they perpetuate the memory of those public measures, which in the last century rendered revolution necessary; and awaken in the minds of the people, those sentiments of satisfaction and gratitude, with which they ought ever to contemplate that great event, which completely supersedes the necessity of another, and to which, under God, we ascribe our glory as a nation and a church. (*Statistical Account*, 1791-1799 (repr. 1983), Vol. V, pp.33-4)

For Johnstone, a Church of Scotland clergyman, the benefits of the 'Glorious Revolution' outweighed the sacrifice of the lives of Covenanters. For him the inscription is a cause for celebration of present peace and stability. The inscription itself, however, in the age of the Enlightenment offended his refined 'taste'.

Burns wrote his epigraph alongside of Johnstone's account.

The Solemn League and Covenant,
 Now brings a smile, now brings a tear,
 But sacred freedom, too, was theirs;
 If thou'rt a slave, indulge thy sneer. (Kinsley, Vol. I, p. 512)

Burns's epigraph is a powerful commentary on both the Covenanters and on the clergy of the Church of Scotland. Firstly, he upbraids those like Johnstone who disregarded Covenanting traditions such as the hagiographic inscriptions and tales which are both moving and joyful, or bring 'smile[s]' and 'tear[s]'. Secondly, he directly addresses Johnstone: 'if thou'rt a slave', as he points out that both Johnstone and the clergy of the Church of Scotland, unlike the Covenanters, are not free from State control. Overall, these deceptively simple four lines show Burns at his satiric best. He defends the Covenanting tradition against Enlightenment clergy in the very style and language of hagiographic sentimentality that Johnstone was writing against.

In conclusion, as a result of the changing religious, political and intellectual climate of the eighteenth century representations of Scottish Covenanters underwent a revision in both pro and anti-Covenanting literature. The satirical attacks such as *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, when read in their contemporary context reveal that they were as much anti-Presbyterian as anti-Covenanter, and that they were political polemic, rather than a truthful portrayal of Scottish Covenanting clergy. Moreover, they were part of the wider revolt against enthusiasm that had commenced at the Restoration in 1660. On the Covenanting side, Cleland's poetry could also be read as a contemporary reflection of the savagery of the Jacobite Highlanders. Surprisingly, in an indirect way, the posthumous publication of his collection of sacred and secular poetry represented Cleland as something of an anomaly; a Covenanting, Cameronian poet. Colvil's *Mock*

Poem was frequently reprinted throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Cleland's collection of poetry, however, awaits its first reprinting. The main reason for this, I suspect, is that Colvil's covert sympathy for the Covenanters does not transfer easily from its contemporary context and it therefore was perceived to be part of the tradition of anti-Covenanting Hudibrastic satire.

In the contested territory of Scottish Covenanting historiography, a comparison of the three competing discourses of hagiography, history and fakestory that emerged between 1724 and 1733, reveals that the dichotomy of the militant and the quietist Covenanter which had troubled late seventeenth-century Covenanters was one that could not easily be reconciled in the changing intellectual atmosphere of the eighteenth century.

In the second half of the eighteenth century those who opposed enthusiastic forms of Presbyterian worship followed the Episcopal Royalist tradition of anti-Covenanting satire, and earlier satirical attacks such as *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, and Pitcairne's *Assembly* were reprinted to support their attack. The Seceders and evangelicals within and without the Church of Scotland sought legitimisation for their theological and political stance by reprinting sermons and biographies of Covenanters. Those in opposition, for example, the Moderate party within the Church of Scotland denigrated evangelical revivalism and emotionally excessive religious observance through the anti-clerical form of satire that had previously been directed at the Covenanters.

In Hume's treatment of the seventeenth century there emerged a new way of perceiving enthusiasm as the means to revolutionise society for the better, and hence the image that he represents is of Scotsmen persecuted by both the Scottish government and the Presbyterian Clergy who are saved from enthusiasm, violence and bigotry through the intervention of a benevolent King, whom they then accept as their legitimate ruler. That Hume's version was acceptable to some of his contemporaries is demonstrated by Wilson's sympathetic representation of the Scottish Covenanters in *Clyde*, that was clearly derived from his *History of England*.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century political and religious tensions were once again in the forefront. Britain was involved in conflict with America, and was on a continual war footing during the growing European agitations to the extent that a French invasionary force was expected to land on British shores any day. Howie, and Wilson who venerated the Scottish Covenanters as upholders of religious and civil liberty, issued hagiographical and uncritical histories, sermons and chapbook prophecies. Through these actions, and in these publications they attempted to justify present events with reference to how God had (as it appeared to them) dealt with Scotland in the past.

Overall, then, the literary representations of the Scottish Covenanters reflected the changing political, religious and intellectual atmosphere of eighteenth-century Scotland.

CHAPTER THREE

***“The Hoop of Rags”: Scott’s Notes As National
History***

In his periodical *The Spy*, Hogg published a series of articles entitled ‘Mr Shuffleton’s Allegorical Survey of the Scottish Poets of Our Present Day’, in which he presented literary criticism on some of the most influential poets of the first decade of the nineteenth century, including Scott, Thomas Campbell, himself, and James Grahame.¹ These poets appeared in the form of Muses. Whilst commenting on the Muse of James Grahame, the *Spy*’s ‘friend’ inquired about the ‘meaning of the huge bunches of trumpery which these ladies wear upon their rumps? That is surely a new fashion, and I think that every one of them, but particularly this decent, simple-looking girl, would have made a much better appearance without them’. ‘“These” ’ replied Mr. Shuffleton,

are worn merely for the sake of adding to their bulk: ... These things, Sir, the ladies call *notes*, and they are the very tip top of the fashion. If you saw of what trumpery they are made up, you would be diverted. In these are contained patches of every old cast garment that can be found in Edinburgh or London; coarse woolen (sic) clouts gathered in the country; scraps of old news-papers, and many rags taken from garments nearly 1000 years old: in short it is little matter what it be, if it bulk well.” “... in some instances, the hoop of rags is larger than the lady’s whole body.” (No. V, Saturday, September, 29, 1810, pp. 34-5)

Hogg’s humorous analogy between the female bustle and the literary fashion for appending copious annotation to poetical works was not directed at Grahame alone, although he had recently published a long poem entitled *British Georgics* (1810) which was annotated. There is also irony and self-mockery in Hogg’s allusion as he had participated in the ‘fashion’ with his heavily annotated collection of imitation ballads entitled *The Mountain Bard* (1807). The most obvious candidate for his comic deflation, however, was Scott, whose recently published, and hugely popular long poem entitled, *The Lady of the Lake*

¹ *The Spy: A Periodical Paper of Literary Amusement and Instruction* (Edinburgh: Constable, published between September, 1810 and August, 1811). ‘Mr Shuffleton’s Allegorical Survey of the Scottish Poets of Our Present Day’, appears in No’s II, V, and X.

(May, 1810), like his previous publications, was encircled with an over-sized ‘hoop of rags’.

Gerard Genette highlighted the importance of paratextual apparatus when he stated that the paratext was a ‘privileged place of a pragmatics and a strategy, of an influence on the public, an influence that- whether well or poorly understood and achieved- is at the service of a better reception for the text and a more pertinent reading of it’ (*Paratexts*, p.2). The following chapter examines through the treatment of the Covenanters by such contrasting editors as John Leyden, Walter Scott, James Grahame, and James Hogg, how in the paratextual apparatus traditional whig-presbyterian historiography was contested or supported in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

Wilson’s poem entitled *Clyde* was included in John Leyden’s anthology of Scottish poetry entitled, *Scotish [sic] Descriptive Poems* (Edinburgh, 1803). Leyden has some eight pages of annotation for the fourteen lines of description of the battle where editorially he opposes Wilson’s sympathetic portrayal of the Covenanters as reluctant, yet heroic combatants. Leyden’s notes include quotations from three satirical works: Cleland’s ‘On the Highland Host, who came to destroy the western shires in 1678’ (1697), Guild’s unpublished manuscript entitled ‘Bellum Bothwellianum’ (n. d.), and Meston’s ‘Knight of the Kirk’ (1723). In his annotation, Leyden quotes at length from Cleland’s description of the Highland soldiers and notes, wrongly, that

he (Cleland) alludes to the inhabitants of Clydesdale who had signed the bond of the Covenanters, in the following terms:

For Clisdale's bonders, as ye ken,
 Are scarcely reckoned amongst men:
 The tumid Earle, papist Haggs,
 An atheist Jew, to save his baggs--
 Bedla, with Towcorss and Woodhall,
 John Thomson's man, plague on them all. (p. 123)

'Highland Host' concerns the events between the battles of Pentland and Drumclog, at a time when the Restoration government was attempting to contain the rising numbers of Presbyterian dissenters. In 1669 and in 1672 Indulgences were granted to those Presbyterian clergymen who accepted certain conditions, for example, on the content of their sermons. Cleland's satire was clearly his attempt to gain support for the Covenanters, and for those who would not sign the 'Black Bond'. It is unlikely, therefore, that he would represent his fellow Covenanters in such an unflattering and hostile light, as 'scarcely reckoned amongst men'. Leyden has misinterpreted the word 'bond', which he states refers to the Covenanters and not, as Cleland intended, to those heritors and tenants who had bowed to the repressive government actions and had signed the 'Black Bond'. Through his misinterpretation of the poem, and his misquotation out of context, Leyden therefore presents Cleland as an angry and contentious soldier-poet. Following some forty-two lines of quotation from Guild's manuscript, where Leyden draws attention to Guild's partiality but does not comment on the historicity of his poem, Leyden concludes his annotation of *Clyde* with a long quotation from the Episcopalian and Jacobite sympathiser William Meston. His hudibrastic satire on the Presbyterian Church entitled 'The Knight of the Kirk', was composed after the failed Jacobite uprising of 1715, at a time when Presbyterianism was in the ascendancy and when Episcopacy was outlawed. Leyden notes that 'Colville, in his Scottish [sic] *Hudibras*, and afterwards Meston, in his 'Knight', both

allude to the spirit of resistance displayed by the Presbyterians'. To illustrate this he has the following quotation:

A pair of gauntlet gloves he had,
For boxing, and for preaching made,
With which he dealt his deadly blows,
And thumped the pulpit and his foes.
Well versed he was in both the trades
Of handling texts and rusty blades:
And many a head got contusions
By both these weapons, in confusions;
For when he killed not with the word,
He did it with the powerful sword. (pp. 127-8)

The quotation from Meston concurs with the final quotation from Guild concerning the actions of the Covenanters at Bothwell Bridge; 'Fama refert, stolidam captum vertigine coetum,/Sublimem erexisse crucem, de forte futura/Non dubium, qua hostes possit suspendere captos' (p. 127).² Both Guild and Meston are in stark contrast to Wilson's 'hardy peasant, by oppression driven/To battle [who] deemed his cause the cause of Heaven' (ll.864-5). Guild claims that prior to battle they erected a gallows for the torturing of prisoners, and Meston concentrates on the influence of the Covenanting clergy who, he claims, not only incited the Scottish populace into rebellion with vehement sermonising, but were themselves not opposed to violence. Meston's is the last word on the Covenanters, as Leyden allows his quotation to stand uncorroborated and unsubstantiated with further historical or traditional information.

According to Leyden,

The Notes that accompany the Poems, are chiefly intended to illustrate localities and obscure allusions. They are not, however, confined solely to this purpose; for in this Volume, the Editor proposed to himself a two-fold object: To rescue from oblivion some inedited or scarce poems, which merited a better fate; and to illustrate some facts of Scottish [sic] literary history, which

² Jane Stevenson and Peter Davidson have a very rough translation in their edition of *Old Mortality* (1993), pp. 545-6.

were either obscure, or had escaped general notice. To the latter object attention has been constantly paid, not only in the Notes, but in the Preliminary Observations prefixed to the different poems. (pp. v-vi)

He justifies the absence of accurate historical information by claiming that it has a purely literary function. Overall, then, in his annotation Leyden concentrates on predominantly anti-Covenanting satire, and in the case of Cleland's 'Highland Host', misinterprets Covenanting satire as bitter Covenanting invective, and in doing so he subverts Wilson's sympathetic portrayal of the Covenanters.

In his own poem entitled, *Scenes of Infancy* (1803) Leyden abandons his sardonic editorial tone. The long poem, in four parts, is a contemplative study of the Border regions where Leyden draws on both real and imagined personal memories to invoke his idealised portrait of feudalism and Scottish Border history, and to note his disappointment at what he views a disintegration of country society. In Part IV, he compares the altered relationship between country tenant farmers with the incoming landed elite, and the antagonistic relationship between the immigrant white settlers to North America with the Native Americans.

Gone are the peasants from the humble shed,
And with them, too, the humble virtues fled ...

The peasant, once a friend, a friend no more,
Cringes, a slave, before the master's door. ...

So the Red Indian, by Ontario's side, ...

Lords of the wilderness since time began,
They scorn to yield their ancient sway to man.

(Thomas Brown, ed., *The Poetical Works of Dr. John Leyden* (1875), pp.1-69, Pt.IV, ll.109-154, pp. 57-9)

Leyden's contemplation on the erosion of what he depicts are the virtues of good society involves a respectful regard for the memories that the peasant's value and this includes respecting their veneration of Covenanting heroes.

Cold are the selfish hearts that would control
 The simple peasant's grateful glow of soul,
 When, raising with his hands his heart on high,
 The sacred tear-drops trembling in his eye,
 With firm, untainted zeal, he swears to hold
 The reverend faith his fathers held of old. ...
 Hold firm thy faith! for, on the sacred day,
 No Sabbath-bells invite thy steps to pray.

(Brown, Pt. IV, ll.383-8, p. 66)

Leyden includes a long description of the 'peasants' recounting their version of Covenanting historiography.

Of those dire days the child, untaught to spell,
 Still learns the tale he hears his father tell;
 How from his sheltering hut the peasant fled,
 And in the marshes dug his cold damp bed;
 His rimy locks by blasts of winter tossed,
 And stiffened garments rattling in the frost.
 In vain the feeble mother strove to warm
 The shivering child, close cradled on her arm;
 The cold that crept along each freezing vein,
 Congealed the milk the infant sought to drain.
 Still, as the fearful tale of blood goes round,
 From lips compressed is heard a muttering sound;
 Flush the warm cheeks, the eyes are bright with dew,
 And curses fall on the unholy crew;
 Spreads the enthusiast glow:-with solemn pause,
 An ancient sword the aged peasant draws,
 Displays its rusty edge, and weeps to tell
 How he that bore it for religion fell,
 And bids his offspring consecrate the day,
 And dress the turf that wraps the martyr's clay.

(Pt. IV, ll.411-430, p. 67)

Leyden's pastiche of Covenanting hagiography rebuts his editorial reversal of Wilson's sympathetic portrayal of the Covenanters in *Clyde* of the previous year. Rather than correct the irrational, the enthusiastic, the hagiography, of Whig/Presbyterian historiography Leyden appears to be saying, it is valid and ought not to be re-interpreted. He compares the hagiographic memorising of the Scottish Border 'peasants' with the fire-side tales of the Native Americans, 'While streams descend in foam, and tempests rave,/They call their fathers from the funeral cave' (Pt. IV, ll.433-4, p. 68). Just as the Native Americans revere their forefathers, so the Scottish 'peasant' Borderers ought to be allowed to revere theirs.

Leyden included annotation to expand and explain some of the places, people, or events within the poem. To his description of Covenanting historiography he includes a quotation from Cleland's *Highland Host* to expand the description of the Borderers altered state, from lawless freebooter to religious enthusiast. He notes

in the reign of Charles II, and during the tyrannical administration of Lauderdale, a violent attempt was made to impose the forms of the English Church on the Presbyterians of Scotland. The attempt was resisted, partial insurrections were excited, and various actions, or rather skirmishes, took place, particularly at Pentland and Bothwell Bridge, and the country was subjected to military law. Many sanguinary acts of violence occurred, and many unnecessary cruelties were inflicted, the memory of which will not soon pass away on the Borders. The names of the principal agents in these tyrannical and bloody proceedings are still recollected with horror in the West and Middle Marches. They are dignified with the names of *The Persecutors*; and tradition, aggravating their crimes, has endowed them with magical power, and transformed them almost into demons.

(Brown, p. 297)

In contrast to his editorial subjectivity in the paratextual apparatus to Wilson's *Clyde*, he does not comment on Cleland himself or disagree with Cleland's viewpoint. Neither does he inject subjectivity into his recounting of the violent persecution of Scottish Presbyterians

by Royalists. His only subjective comment is on the nature of how tradition transposes men into demons. Overall, in *Scenes of Infancy*, Leyden's fusion of both paratext and poem, together with his lack of ironic tone and subjective editorial stance, presents Covenanting hagiography as both valuable and worthwhile.

II

Leyden states in his annotation to *Clyde* that 'this account of the different tempers displayed by Monmouth and Dundee in the battle of Bothwell Bridge, accords exactly with both history and tradition' (p. 121). The 'tradition' that Leyden claimed verified Wilson's fictional account was ' "The Battle of Bothwell Bridge" a traditionary ballad of the Covenanters, still current in Scotland, ... [which] will be included in the third volume of that excellent work, *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*' (p. 121). At the same time as he was editing his anthology, between August and December 1802, Leyden was assisting Scott with his work on the first two editions, or three volumes of *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. Below is an examination of the paratextual apparatus that surrounds the traditional ballads.

The paratextual apparatus in *The Minstrelsy* is considered to be essential to their reception. Scott's editorial strategy has been debated, however, by such critics as Jane Millgate and Penny Fielding. Noting that he 'deliberately exploits the mixture of modes: the texts are enhanced by annotation and illustration', Jane Millgate states that the overall effect of Scott's 'commentary' is 'parallel narration, expansion, and ornamentation' (*The*

Making of a Novelist, p. 8). Penny Fielding, on the other hand contends that rather than ‘enhance’ the ballads their ‘plurovicity ... was encased in and contained by the opinions of the editor’ (*Writing and Orality*, p. 59). Millgate proposes that the duality of the annotation and the traditional material in *The Minstrelsy* ‘constitutes a repossession of [the traditional material] by the educated, anglicized side of Scott’ (p.10). Fielding views Scott’s editorial practice as a political rather than a civilising act: he was ‘usurping the ballad’s potential role as National History’ (p. 59). Both agree that Scott’s apparatus is essential to the overall design of the *Minstrelsy*. Where they disagree is in the juxtaposition of modes: Millgate finds harmony where Fielding finds tension.

Although contradictory the above proposals are mutually compatible. Scott’s paratextual apparatus in *The Minstrelsy*, as well as displaying his breadth of antiquarian knowledge, and lending ‘a remarkable solidity’³ to the landscape (both temporal and local) of the ballads, also controls their reception. Robert Crawford stated of *Waverley* that ‘only by siting this text accurately in a Scottish historical and cultural climate, can we understand its motivation, which is bound up with the construction of a Scottish and British national narrative’ (*Devolving English Literature*, p. 10). This is also true of *The Minstrelsy*. Through his notes Scott became the cultural interpreter to the educated elite of both Scotland and England in a political response to the civil and social tensions in Scotland, Britain and Europe at the turn of the eighteenth century.

In the opening paragraph of the ‘introduction’ to *The Minstrelsy* which Scott describes as a ‘sketch of border history’ (p.38), he dismisses some thirteen hundred years

³ Thomas Crawford, ed., *Sir Walter Scott: Selected Poems* (1972), p.xviii.

of Scottish history. ‘We have no occasion to trace the state of the borders during the long and obscure period of Scottish history which preceded the accession of the Stuart family’ (p 17).⁴ According to Scott, Scottish history began in the Middle Ages. He concentrates on the reigns of the Stuarts and therefore avoids the politically sensitive debate over the origins of the Lowland Scots. According to Scott, they were neither Celtic, Pictish, or Irish but of mixed descent, including Anglo-Saxon, and French as he states,

the Saxon families who fled from the exterminating sword of the Conqueror, with many of the Normans themselves whom discontent and intestine feuds had driven into exile, began to rise into eminence upon the Scottish Borders. They brought with them arts, both of peace and of war, unknown in Scotland; and among their descendants we soon number the most powerful Border chiefs. (p.17)

Promoting Unionist sentiment, Scott highlights the mixed pedigree of the ancient border clans and promotes the past as a shared experience. He continues in a conciliatory tone to revise traditional anti-English triumphalism. There is no mention of Bannockburn instead he talks of the ‘civil wars betwixt Bruce and Baliol’ (p. 17). He plays down Scottish defeats at Flodden and Solway Moss. It was the ‘blazing zeal of romantic chivalry’ of James IV that occasioned the rash decision to take on the English at Flodden. Scott is keen not to apportion blame, however, as he asks, ‘why should we recapitulate the painful tale of the defeat and death of a high-spirited prince?’ (p.20). And he does not. The defeat of ten thousand men, or ‘the flower of the Scottish army ... by a band of five hundred English cavalry’ at Solway Moss was not down to English martial superiority but ‘by their [the Scots] own dissension’ (p.26). (All quotations are from *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, Thomas Henderson, ed.)

⁴ In the first edition of the *Minstrelsy* there are 22 historical ballads which are defined by their chronological setting, and some 26 romantic ballads which are undefined and therefore *timeless*.

Scott's reconciliatory introduction would appear to propose that he was an ardent Unionist. It ought to be remembered, however, that *The Minstrelsy* was compiled during years when Britain stood alone against invasionary threats from Europe and Ireland that brought a concerted campaign to unite disparate parties against their common enemies. In place of discussion on the politically sensitive topic of the Union of the Parliaments, he concludes his 'introduction' with an explanatory paragraph.

By such efforts, feeble as they are, I may contribute somewhat to the history of my native country, the peculiar features of whose manners and character are daily melting and dissolving into those of her sister and ally. And trivial as may appear such an offering to the manes of a kingdom once proud and independent, I hang it upon her altar with a mixture of feelings which I shall not attempt to describe. (p. 70)

Along with celebrating Scotland's proud independence that was obviously maintained through conflict with her neighbour, Scott emphasises that the Scots and English are now one nation, that old antagonisms have been reconciled and 'dissolved'. Scott communicates his sense of regret for Scotland's fierce martial heritage but as he also considers England as a 'sister and ally', he is forced into the dichotomy that was to inform his fiction beginning with *Waverley*. By acting as cultural interpreter through his notes, *The Minstrelsy* presents Scotland's traditional culture to the English in a form which does not threaten either the Union, or Scott's Britishness. Overall, Scott's evasion of some of the most politically sensitive topics in his 'brief sketch' of Scottish history from the twelfth to the sixteenth century is one that reconciles ancient hostilities through an erosion of anti-English triumphalism.

Anti-Scottish feeling had intensified in England at the Union of the Parliaments in 1707, and thereafter had become a staple of broadsides and caricatures where the Scots were depicted, for example, as drunkards and fools. To counteract this there were, rarely, some pro-Scottish publications. Crawford has shown how members of the literati such as Smollett and Boswell were also involved in promoting a favourable impression of the Scots to the English. *The Minstrelsy* is part of the ongoing campaign of promoting a positive view of Scottish identity: or, as Crawford states⁵ '[it was] geared to the central theme of crossing of the barriers of prejudice' (p. 72).

In his 'introduction' Scott revises anti-Scottish discourses by noting some of the borderers 'peculiar customs and modes of life' (Henderson, p. 40). He dispels the view of the Scots as religious controversialists. *The Scots Magazine*, for example, in 1800 commented that the Scots 'peasantry' were characterised both by a taste for 'controversial divinity', which helped to keep alive their 'fanatical spirit' and develop their 'polemical acuteness', and by excessive veneration for 'the same religious books which inflamed the zeal of their forefathers' and were 'connected with many traditional anecdotes of the piety of their ancestors' (Quoted in Brims, pp. 50-1). Scott proposes that the Scottish borderers did not concern themselves in the religious disputes during the Reformation as they 'cared little about speculative points of religion; but they showed themselves much interested in the treasures which passed through their country for payment of the English forces at Edinburgh' (Henderson, p. 30). Turning to the seventeenth century he emphasised the 'indifference' of the borderers 'about religious matters' with quotations from Patrick

⁵ Crawford's discussion is on Smollett's *Humphrey Clinker*, nevertheless, as I hope to show his remarks are also pertinent with regards to the *Minstrelsy*.

Walker's eighteenth-century hagiography of Richard Cameron. According to Walker it was the effects of Cameron's preaching in Annandale that turned many of the 'Annandale thieves' to religion, away from their former criminal pursuits when 'some of them got a merciful cast' (Henderson, p. 52). Scott concentrates on Cameron's character, describing him as a 'fanatical preacher during the time of what is called the persecution' (Henderson, p.52). This approach allows Scott to evade discussion of the civil wars of the seventeenth century. Furthermore, Scott does not discuss whether Walker was right when he (Walker) asserted that Cameron's preaching affected a change in the Annandale thieves for the better. His altered perspective counters the traditional hagiography surrounding Richard Cameron as venerable Covenanter and promotes the Scottish lowland borderer as a roguish, non-controversial figure.

The recent editors of the 1830 edition of *Old Mortality* state that

it would have been profoundly contrary to Scott's Unionist aesthetic to write about issues that were still contentious, still potentially actual. It is unlikely that he thought the religious fanaticism depicted in *Old Mortality* to be anything more than a historical fact, safely over and done with. (p.xxiii.)

On the contrary, Scott was keenly aware that in Scotland covenanting was not a dead issue consigned to what Stevenson and Davidson call 'the cherished delusions of popular history' (p. xxxvii). In a self-authenticating footnote to the passage about Cameron, Scott drew attention to the continued existence of covenanting non-conformists when he noted that Richard Cameron 'was slain in a skirmish at Airdsmoss, bequeathing his name to the sect of fanatics still called Cameronians' (Henderson, p. 52).

In the rapidly changing tempers engendered by events in France during the 1790s the dissenting and non-conforming congregations in both Scotland and England disrupted what should have been a universal incitement to patriotism and loyalty. The Unitarian clergyman, Richard Price, for example, published a sermon in support of the French Revolution under the title, *A Discourse on the Love of our Country* (1790). It was designed as part of the centennial celebrations of the 'Glorious Revolution', and he therefore drew parallels between the religious struggles of the seventeenth century for freedom of conscience against 'popery and arbitrary power' and the fall of the Bastille:

I have lived to see thirty millions of people, indignant and resolute, spurning at slavery, and demanding liberty with an irresistible voice; their king led in triumph, and an arbitrary monarch surrendering himself to his subjects.- After sharing in the benefits of one Revolution, I have been spared to be a witness to two other Revolutions, both glorious.- And now, methinks, I see the ardour for liberty catching. (Quoted in Marilyn Butler, ed. *Burke, Paine, Godwin, and the Revolution Controversy* (1992), pp. 31-2)

Edmund Burke's rejoinder to Price in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) compared him to a stereotypical Puritan zealot:

That sermon is in a strain which I believe has not been heard in this kingdom, in any of the pulpits which are tolerated or encouraged in it, since the year 1648, when a predecessor of Dr. Price, the Reverend Hugh Peters, made the vault of the king's own chapel at St. James's ring with the honour and privilege of the Saints, who, with the 'high praises of God in their mouths, and a two-edged sword in their hands, were to execute judgement on the heathen and punishments on the people; to bind their kings with chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron'. Few harangues from the pulpit, except in the days of your league in France or in the days of our solemn league and covenant in England, have ever breathed less of the spirit of moderation than this lecture in the Old Jewry. (Quoted in Marilyn Butler, p.37)

In his role as cultural interpreter and reviser of whig-presbyterian historiography Scott followed Burke in drawing a parallel between present day Cameronians and those of the

seventeenth century, and in finding in that parallel a potential threat to the British constitution.

What follows is a short historical outline of the position of the Presbyterian dissenters in Scotland at the end of the eighteenth century.

Whereas most Scots had accepted the terms of the Revolution Settlement of 1689 which established Presbyterianism as the religion of Scotland, Episcopalians, and more significantly for this dissertation, radical Covenanters or Cameronians did not. In 1743, the Cameronians constituted themselves into the Reformed Presbyterian Church. By 1750, the Associate Presbytery (as those Presbyterians who had seceded from the Established Church from 1730 largely on the grounds of patronage were collectively known) made the renewal of a modified form of the Covenants a term of Christian communion. Although it does not seem to have been generally or even widely enforced it signified to many that the Seceders, along with the numerically smaller Reformed Presbyterians were perpetuating the covenanting struggles of the seventeenth century against the monarchy and the Church. By 1795, Henry Dundas estimated that there were 150,000 Seceders which amounted to a significant minority of around ten per cent of the population. More specifically to Scott, by the 1790s some '70 per cent of the adult population of Jedburgh in the Borders had joined dissent' (Callum G. Brown, *Religion and Society*, p. 20).

In the same month that the second enlarged edition of *The Minstrelsy* was published Britain was under threat of invasion from France. War broke out in May 1803, and one way

of ensuring support for volunteering (as national conscription did not commence until 1807), was in the form of sermons and declarations from the pulpits. The Presbytery of Edinburgh, for example, responded to the national crisis by publishing an article entitled 'Defence of the Country', in the *Kelso Mail*, 4th of August, 1803. In it they

most earnestly recommend to all Ministers of the several Parishes within the bonds of the Presbytery, and of the Chapels of Ease, in connection with the Presbytery, to endeavour, as often as to them shall appear expedient, to represent to their people the dreadful calamities, with which the nation is at present threatened; ...with patience and cheerfulness to submit to their proportion of the public supplies, and to perform all the active duties which the defence of the kingdom, against our inveterate enemy, may render necessary; and to offer up frequent and fervent prayers to God, that he may be graciously pleased to bless his Majesty's counsels and arms, and to preserve our invaluable rights most sacred and civil. (pp. 1-2)

It was widely believed that the dissipation of a state controlled Church gave dissenting clergymen the opportunity to preach democratic principles and stir up society at large into open revolt against the Government. Propelled by an apparently real threat that the increasing occurrence of radical activity posed to the stability and structure of the legal, political and religious institutions of Scotland, in 1799 the 'New Lights' (a schism of the Secession) were accused of 'sedition', and although they were proved to have been the victims of 'groundless slanders', owing to their existence outside of the State church and the perceived potential for subversive activity they were still treated with suspicion (Meikle, p. 201, n.1). Recent studies have shown that the majority of Secession clergy did not preach anti-war statements from their pulpits.⁶ During the years of national crisis between 1793 to 1804, however, in government circles it was thought that they did.

⁶ Emma Vincent (1994), 'The Responses of Scottish Churchmen to the French Revolution, 1789-1802', *SHR*, Vol. LXXIII: No. 196 (October, 1994), 191-215.

Moreover, like their Whig counterparts, Seceders, and dissenters such as the Reformed Presbyterians found parallels in seventeenth-century sermons of events in the eighteenth. For example, in the introductory paragraph on the title page of a sermon purported to be by Richard Cameron it is stated that ‘the scope of the sermon is, a scriptural prediction of the terrible judgements that are coming upon Zion’s enemies, and the great and glorious deliverance that is coming to the Church and the people of God, in Britain, and Ireland’ (*Good News To Scotland*, 1788).

In the second, enlarged edition of *The Minstrelsy* Scott extended his short historical outline of the effects of religion upon the borderers in his ‘introduction’ to encompass the religious conflicts of the seventeenth century in the extensive annotation to five Covenanted ballads that were included in the third volume. Lascelles says that ‘rearrangement of the collection (after this second, enlarged edition) has obscured the original separateness of the Covenanted ballads’ (*The Story-teller Retrieves the Past*, p.5, n12). This is partly true. In the second edition of *The Minstrelsy* where these five ballads first appear together they follow a ballad entitled, ‘The Duel of Wharton and Stuart’ which concerns a duel between a Scottish knight and an English knight in the reign of James VI. Scott’s Covenanted ballads begin with ‘Lesly’s March’, a song on the Covenanted army that mustered to the defence of the English Parliamentary forces against Charles I at Long Marston Moor in 1644. They thus follow chronologically the historical time-scale of the preceding ballads. Subsequent rearrangement of the collection in the third edition of 1806 placed the covenanted ballads after a ballad entitled, ‘The Lads of Wamphray’ from the first edition which relates the events of a Scottish border feud in 1593, also in the reign of

James VI. The Covenanting ballads therefore consistently retained their chronological inclusiveness. The Covenanting ballads are separated from the others in the collection, however, with Scott's paratextual apparatus. First, an epigraph from Langhorne's contemporary poem entitled, *Genius and Valour* (1770) sets an elegiac tone,

But, O my country! How shall memory trace
Thy glories, lost in either Charles' days,
When through thy fields, destructive rapine spread,
Nor sparing infants' tears, nor hoary head!
(p. 141, 1803)

Secondly, as Millgate notes, the 'editorial framework of the group provides a continuous narrative within which the poems are set as illustrations, forming an historical sequence' (p.9). The focus in this section of *The Minstrelsy* shifted from the ballads themselves to Scott's annotation, as Millgate concludes, 'it is hard to escape the feeling that the emphasis has tilted slightly, that these ballads are included less for their own sake than for that of the surrounding commentary' (pp. 8-9). At a time when British patriotism and loyalty were once again being preached from the pulpit Scott's extensive paratextual apparatus to the sequence of Covenanting ballads constituted a continuation of his treatment of the Cameronians from the 'introduction' of the first edition.

In *Oral Tradition as History*, Jan Vansina states that 'oral traditions are not just a source about the past, but a historiology of the past, an account of how people have interpreted it' (p. 196). The following discussion below will focus on the juxtaposition of opposite modes in the five Covenanting ballads in *The Minstrelsy*; the traditional ballads themselves; and Scott's re-interpretation of traditional culture in the counter history he worked into the paratextual apparatus.

The ballads sequentially span the Covenanting conflicts from the 1640s to the 1680s. They are 'Lesly's March', concerning events of the 1640s; 'The Battle of Philiphaugh', concerning the defeat of Montrose by Lesly; 'The Gallant Grahams', also of the 1640s; 'The Battle of Loudoun Hill', concerning the uprising in 1679; and 'The Battle of Bothwell Bridge' which culminated in defeat for the 'Army of the Covenant', also in 1679. The first ballad in the sequence entitled 'Lesly's March', is not a traditional ballad but a fragment of two verses from a seventeenth-century song. Scott's annotation to the song is a long historical introduction which forms a context for his interpretation of the Covenanting wars. He traces the origins of the Covenanting movement from the Reformation where he notes that 'the disciples of Calvin could scarcely avoid a tendency to democracy, and the republican form of church government was sometimes hinted at, as no unfit model for the state' (p. 142, 1803). Charles I's excessive 'zeal for religion' is highlighted as one of the causes behind the 'hasty and arbitrary measures' which 'united [the] nobility, gentry and clergy ... into the Solemn League and Covenant' (pp. 145-6, 1803). Scott omits and evades historical facts in his synthesis of the effects of Calvinism in Scotland from the Reformation to the outbreak of the English Civil War. He omits, for example, any mention of the distinctly Scottish National Covenant of 1638, and focuses instead on the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 which joined the Scots, English and Irish in a politico-religious contract. Scott avoids the political nature of this Covenant and stresses instead the religious aspect. The Scots were 'bribed by the delusive promise[s]' of the English parliamentary commissioners into believing that the Covenant meant that Presbytery would be adopted in all three countries (pp. 148-9, 1803). Overall, through his representation of the Covenanters as the product of anti-monarchical, radical religious zeal

Scott implies a parallel between the Scotland of 1639 and the revolutionary atmosphere of the 1790s: the ‘civil dissension ... ceased not till the church was buried under the ruins of the constitution; till the nation had stooped to a military despotism; and the monarch to the block of the executioner’ (p.146, 1803).

The next ballad in the sequence is entitled ‘The Battle of Philiphaugh’. It concerns the defeat of the Royalist, James Grahame, Marquis of Montrose at Philiphaugh in the Borders in 1645, by the Covenanting General, David Lesly. The opening stanza has two functions; it names the exact place of the battle, and also sets the ballad within the border ‘Riding’ tradition.

On Philiphaugh a fray began,
At Hairhead wood it ended;
The Scots out o’er the Graemes they ran,
Sae merrily they bended. (st. 1)

‘Scots’ and ‘Graemes’ could refer to border clans which would promote the battle as a border feud, or as Scotsmen against English Graemes, which would set this in the cross-border Anglo-Scottish warring tradition. In either case, it is clearly in the Riding or Raiding tradition. Stanzas two to five introduce the hero, ‘Sir David’ (st. 2, l. 1), and asserts both his heroic status, as, ‘wi’ heart and hand came he’ (st. 2, l. 2), and that of his ‘three thousand valiant men’ (st. 3, l. 1). This section of the ballad adds tension with the repetition of local place-names, the ‘Shaw burn’ (st.4, l.1), and the ‘Lingly Burn’ (st.5, l.1), as Lesly nears the site of the conflict. Stanzas six to ten introduce an ‘aged father’ who engages in dialogue with Lesly, and through their conversation local hostility towards Montrose is revealed. This section of the ballad also adds to Lesly’s heroic status in the

exaggeration of the strength of Montrose's army as 'fifteen thousand armed men' (st.10, l.1). In stanzas eleven to thirteen the 'aged father' advises Lesly on his military strategy and in the two following stanzas Lesly confirms the military experience of the old man before accepting his advice.

"O were ye ever a soldier ?"
 Sir David Lesly said:
 "O yes; I was at Solway flow,
 Where we were all betray'd.

"Again I was at curst Dunbar,
 And was a pris'ner ta'en:
 And many a weary night and day
 In prison I hae lien". (st. 14-15)

In both the battle of Solway Moss (1542) and the battle of Dunbar (1293) the Scots were routed by the English. Taken in relation to the first stanza the allusion to other battles over a longer time period places the ballad firmly in the 'Border Riding' tradition and thus expands its narrow Covenanting theme. Stanzas sixteen and seventeen have a dual function. They frame what has gone before, and look forward to the end of the ballad, and the successful outcome of the battle. In stanza sixteen the 'aged father' warns Lesly of the fatal consequences that he would suffer if he does not 'lead his men aright' (l.1), or take his advice. Stanza seventeen ends the dialogue between Lesly and the ghost-soldier, and looks forward to the end of the battle where Lesly promises to 'banish' Montrose. Stanzas eighteen to twenty are a repetition, with grammatical variance, of stanzas eleven to thirteen. Lesly carries out the orders of the ghostly soldier to the letter thus ensuring his victory. The final stanza closes the ballad on a celebratory note.

Now, let us a' for Lesly pray
 And his brave company!

For they hae vanquish'd great Montrose,
Our cruel enemy. (st. 21)

Overall, the ballad is not merely concerned to detail the victory of the Covenanting forces over the Royalists, although that is one of the results. The names 'Scot' and 'Graeme', and the allusions to two former Anglo-Scottish battles indicate that the ballad was composed in the Border Riding tradition. The dialogue between the ghost-soldier and Lesly reveals the details of the battle from a local perspective. Finally, the ballad also reveals with 'cruel Montrose', the local hostility towards him.

Along with correcting the historical inaccuracies within the ballad, for example, the numerical strengths, Scott's annotation alters the perspective of the ballad and counters the traditional version. In his annotation he focuses on the figure of Montrose, and follows him from success at Tippermoor through his 'rapid and brilliant career of victory' during his year-long campaign in support of King Charles I against the Covenanters to his penultimate defeat at Philiphaugh. The victor of the battle and the hero of the ballad, David Lesly, merits barely a mention from Scott; forty two lines in five pages of annotation, thirteen of which are a refutation of the recently published historical researches of the Whig historian, Malcolm Laing.

The ballad does not indicate, except perhaps in the lines 'with head and heart came he', and 'that we should sing a psalm' (st. 2, l. 2; st. 4, l. 4), that the battle concerned religious conflict. Indeed, Scott represents Montrose's initial adherence to the Covenants as 'ambition, the sin of noble minds' (p. 154, 1803), and downplays the part that religion may have made in his decision to join the Covenanting movement. In contrast to his

de-religioning of Montrose, Scott stresses the hyper-religiosity of the Covenanters in the conclusion to his introductory dissertation.

For, gentle reader, this Montrose, who, with resources which seemed as none, gained six victories and re-conquered a kingdom; who, a poet, a scholar, a cavalier, and a general, could have graced alike a court, and governed a camp; this Montrose was numbered, by his covenanted countrymen, among ‘the troublers of Israel, the fire-brands of hell, the Corahs, the Balaams, the Doegs, the Rabshakahs, the Hamans, the Tobiahs, and the Sanballats of the time’. (p. 163, 1803)⁷

‘The Battle of Philiphaugh’, that Scott claims was ‘preserved by tradition in Selkirkshire [and which] coincides accurately with historical fact’ does not mention the violent behaviour of the Covenanting clergy that Scott promotes through his extensive annotation as an historical truth (p. 162, 1803). Through his altered perspective which ironically contrasts what he states are the heroic and gentlemanly qualities of Montrose with the over-exaggerated iteration of the bitter invectives of the Covenanters, Scott imposes a different reading of the battle and the combatants than the traditional ballad expresses.

The next ballad in the sequence, entitled ‘The Gallant Grahams’ records the successful anti-Covenanting campaigns of Montrose, at the same time as it laments his death.

Montrose again, that chieftain bold,
Back unto Scotland fair he came,
For to redeem fair Scotland’s land,
The pleasant, gallant, worthy Graham! (st. 17)

And the laird of Assint has seized Montrose,
And had him into Edinburgh town;
And frae his body taken the head,
And quartered him upon a trone. (st. 21)

⁷ I have yet to identify Scott’s source or sources but they do seem to be an exaggerated use of typical Covenanting phrases.

In contrast to his treatment of ‘The Battle of Philiphaugh’, Scott’s annotation complements the laudatory tone of the ballad. He includes a lengthy quotation of Montrose’s heroic approach to his death on the scaffold from Laing, who noted that Montrose ‘submitted calmly to an unmerited fate’ (p. 174, 1803). In keeping with his iconographic treatment of Montrose, however, Scott omits Laing’s overview of the life and death of Montrose:

his heroism was wild and extravagant; prone to vast and desperate enterprises, without consulting the necessary means; actuated rather by passion than virtue, by prejudices rather than regulated principles; and was less conspicuous during his life, than from the fortitude with which he sustained an ignominious death. (Laing (1800), Vol. I, p. 405)

In his footnotes to the ballad Scott re-encodes traditional Covenanting martyrology with a pro-Royalist martyrology. He notes that Nathaniel Gordon, named in stanza 13, ‘was one of ten loyalists devoted upon that occasion [Philiphaugh], by the Parliament, to expiate, with their blood, the crime of fidelity to their King’ (p. 184, 1803). He then goes on to separate the nobility from the charge of religious zealotry. ‘The covenanted nobles would probably have been satisfied with the death of the gallant Rollock ... had not the pulpits resounded with the cry, that God required the blood of the malignants to expiate the sins of the people’ (p. 184, 1803). Again, Scott presents the Covenanting clergy as provoking the nobility, this time into revenge killings of Royalists. And again, Scott imposes a religious reading of the traditional ballad.

‘The Battle of Loudoun Hill’ celebrates the victory of the Covenanters over the government troops under the command of John Graham of Claverhouse in the summer of

1679.⁸ The first four stanzas introduce the hero of the ballad, 'Burly' (st. 1, l.2), give an account of the numerical strength of the Covenanters 'sax and twenty westland men' (st. 1, l. 4), and denotes in the phrase 'the gospel lads' that it is a religious dispute (st.3, l. 1). From stanza five until stanza twelve the ballad alters from a direct re-telling of the events of the battle to a dialogue between Claverhouse and his cornet on the threatened insubordination of the latter. The cornet argues

There is not ane of a' yon men,
But wha is worthy other three;
There is nae ane among them a',
That in his cause will stap to die. (st. 7)

The verbal exchange reinforces the heroic status of the Covenanters whilst emphasising the 'wicked' and 'cruel' nature of Claverhouse's character (st. 3, l. 3). Stanzas 13 and 14 describe the battle as a small skirmish involving no more than a return of pistol fire, 'But the first time that bullets flew,/Ay he lost twenty o' his men .../ He gave command among his men,/And sent them back, and bade them flee' (St. 13-14, ll. 3-4, & 3-4). The penultimate stanza reinforces the heroic, resolute stance of the Covenanters that had been established through the Royalist's dialogue, and the ballad concludes with the Covenanters triumphantly chasing the Royalists into Glasgow.

There are no explanatory footnotes to this ballad, instead, Scott's introductory dissertation of some seventeen pages continues his evasive and dismissive treatment of whig-presbyterian historiography. Scott revises the traditional representation of the main protagonists in the battle, Balfour of Burly and James Grahame of Claverhouse. The ballad

⁸ 'The Battle of Pentland', concerning the events of the skirmish between Covenanters and government troops in 1666 was included in the 1806 edition of *The Minstrelsy*. Scott did not add new notes to this ballad that was sent to him by James Hogg. He separated the long introduction of the above ballad by moving the description of events of 1666 to the introduction to 'The Battle of Pentland'.

portrays 'Burly' as possessing heroic and gentlemanly qualities, 'An' as for Burly, him I know;/He's a man of honour, birth, and fame' (st. 8, ll. 1-2). Scott subverts the traditional account in his dissertation by inverting their virtuous qualities. He emphasises the secular ferocity of Balfour, 'Burly, one of the fiercest of the proscribed sect ... [was] less eminent for religious fervour, than for the active and violent share which he had in the most desperate enterprises of his party' (p. 196, 1803). Of Claverhouse, he states he, 'combined the virtues and vices of a savage chief. Fierce, unbending, and rigorous ... brave and steadily faithful to his prince ... a goodly person' (pp. 193-4, 1803).

Scott subverts the function of the cornet in the traditional ballad which was to emphasise the heroic determination of the Covenanters through his hesitancy to fight. Scott produces evidence in his historical dissertation which claimed that the cornet had been killed in the battle and that the Covenanters found the body and thought, with his name written on his shirt that he was Claverhouse, had 'treated it with the utmost inhumanity; cutting off the nose, picking out the eyes, and stabbing it through in a hundred places' (p.202, 1803). Scott supports Creighton's account with a lengthy quotation from a latin poem by Guild. Thus, he revises the traditional account of the heroic status of the Covenanters by accusing them of acting despicably on the battlefield, and backing it up with (inauthentic) historical proof.⁹

The ballad is permeated with a sense of determinism: 'And ay an ill dead may he die' (st. 3, l. 4), which is pronounced on Claverhouse, and, 'But they wha live till simmer

⁹ I have argued in Chapter Two that Creighton is a fictional account written by Swift. Guild's poem is a satire of unknown origin which Scott had partially translated in the 1790s.

come,/Some bludie days for this will see' (st. 4, ll. 3-4) which prophetically looks forward to Bothwell Bridge in the next month. In his dissertation Scott exhaustively portrays the Covenanters as inordinately [mis-]guided by prophetic insight.

If Messrs Kid, King, Cameron, Peden, &c. boasted of prophetic powers, and were often warned of the approach of soldiers, by supernatural impulse, Captain John Creichton, on the other side, dreamed dreams, and saw visions (chiefly, indeed, after having drunk hard). (p. 191, 1803)

The uneven comparison between Creichton's drunken hallucinations and the Covenanting clergy's belief in Godly assistance subverted popular belief in prophecy and determinism which underpinned the opinion that 'God was on their side'. In self-authenticating footnotes Scott overemphasises Covenanting prophetic and deterministic rhetoric. Peden, is reported by Walker to have foretold the approach of a Royalist colonel, 'flee, auld Sandie ... and hide yourself for colonel ___ is coming to the house ... which came to pass' (p.191, 1803). Alongside of predicting the future, according to Walker, the Covenanters could also expect divine retribution on their enemies. The above passage from Peden concludes with him calling for justice to be meted out to his aggressor; ' "for this night's work, God shall give him such a blow, within a few days, that all the physicians on earth shall not be able to cure", which came to pass' (p. 192, 1803).

As is noted in Chapter Two, Wodrow, in his *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, had strenuously denied that several different prophecies 'injuriously fathered' on Peden at the beginning of the eighteenth century were authentic. 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 last

quarter of the eighteenth century a chapbook entitled, *The Life and Prophecies of Alexander Peden*, was circulated alongside of contemporary and ancient millenarian prophecies which appeared to foretell the events of the 1790s, and which also predicted that the world was in its last days. Peden, it was claimed had seen ‘Frenchies marching with their Armies thorow (sic) the length and breadth of the land, marching with their bridle reins in the blood of all the ranks, and that for a broken, burnt and buried Covenant’ (repr. *Biographia Presbyteriana*, Vol. I, pp. 79-80). With a French invasionary force expected imminently Peden’s prophecies appealed to both secular and religious popular opinion, and fed the pre-millenarian atmosphere. Indeed, Scott himself had a copy of *Peden’s Life*.¹⁰

In his exhaustive treatment of Peden (incidentally, not a Cameronian), and indeed his treatment of Howie, and *A Cloud of Witnesses*, from which three Cameronian texts he has extensive quotations, Scott demystifies the traditional view of the Covenanters as divinely guided with providential assistance. He concludes (prophetically with regards to his treatment of the Covenanters in *Old Mortality*) ‘their indecent modes of prayer, their extravagant expectations of miraculous assistance, and their supposed inspirations, might easily furnish out a tale, at which the good would sigh, and the gay would laugh’ (p. 192, 1803). Moreover, by placing the quotations in a footnote they thus authenticate his authoritative, dismissive historical dissertation.

¹⁰ It is in Vol. 6, in a collection of chapbooks that Scott bound together around 1810. Corson, ‘Scott’s Boyhood Collection of Chapbooks’, *The Bibliothek*, 1959-62, Vol. 2-3, pp. 202-218, p. 217.

'The Battle of Bothwell Bridge' concludes the sequence of Covenanting ballads. It concerns the defeat of the Covenanting army, and indeed the end of any large scale support for Covenanting, at Bothwell in June, 1679 by the Royalists under the command of the Duke of Monmouth. Like the previous ballad of 'Loudoun Hill' there are sixteen stanzas. The action of the ballad proceeds through a set of three dialogues: between a lesser laird named Earliston and an unidentified other over joining the Covenanters at Bothwell, stanzas 1 to 2; between Monmouth and the Covenanters where he gives them the opportunity to turn back and avoid conflict, stanzas 6-9; and between Monmouth and Claverhouse during the battle, stanzas 12 to 13. The overall tone of the ballad is elegiac. This is determined with the traditional 'thrice farewell' of the fourth stanza, ' "now farewell, father, and farewell, mother,/An' fare ye weel, my sisters three" ' (ll. 1-2), and is continued with the repetition of a refrain in the 10th and 11th stanzas, 'they lay slain on every knowe' (l. 4). The final stanza highlights the finality of the Covenanters' last fight with Royal authority and through the elegiac tone, emphasises the futility of their stance.

Alang the brae beyond the brig,
 Mony brave man lies cauld and still;
 But lang we'll mind, and sair we'll rue
 The bloody battle of Bothwell hill. (st. 16)

In the introductory dissertation Scott continues to subvert the traditional material. Where the ballad portrayed the Covenanters as heroically determined to fight to the death for their cause, Scott portrays the Covenanters disunited and disorganised. He points out that there 'were actually two councils of war', and that whilst Monmouth diligently prepared for battle the Covenanters argued amongst themselves (p. 211, 1803). In the ballad Claverhouse is singled out as being particularly cruel and aggressive. In the introductory

dissertation Scott does not deny that the Royalists ‘made great slaughter among the fugitives’ (p.215, 1803). In a footnote, however, he indicates that the ‘Cameronians if successful would have been little less sanguinary than that of the royalists’, and he adds quotations from Creighton and Guild (the same lines which Leyden had printed) as evidence of their blood lust (p. 216-7, 1803).

In the paratextual apparatus Scott also contested the Whig historian Malcolm Laing, whose *History of Scotland from the Union of the Crowns, on the Accession of King James VI to the Throne of England, to the Union of the Kingdoms* had recently been published (1800). Laing stated that the Cameronians had not ‘appeared among the Presbyterians’ until after the insurrection at Bothwell Bridge. He considered that

the origin of this new sect must be ascribed to the rigours of government; its extravagance, to the sufferings which the intercommuned had endured. When proscribed and driven from their abode by government, they were pursued by the military like beasts of prey; and their fanaticism was daily exasperated and confirmed by their sufferings and despair. While they roamed or lurked throughout the country, heated and mutually inflaming each other, with religious frenzy, their preachers began to consider their king as a tyrant, and to separate from the great body of presbyterians. (Vol. II, pp. 99-100)

In his annotation to ‘The Battle of Bothwell Bridge’, Scott states that ‘the party, which defeated Claverhouse at Loudoun Hill, were Cameronians’ (p.210, 1803). The disparity between the two accounts is not mere hair splitting over the difference of a few months. Scott lays the blame for the religious conflicts of the seventeenth century at the feet of the Covenanting clergy. According to him, it was the propensity of both pre and post Restoration Covenanters for blood-letting that accounted for the continued hostilities. The Cameronians’

principles consisted in disowning all temporal authority, which did not flow from and through the solemn league and covenant. This doctrine, which is still retained by a scattered remnant of the sect in Scotland, is in theory, and would be in practice, inconsistent with the safety of any well-regulated government, because the covenanters deny to their governors that toleration, which was iniquitously refused to themselves. (p.210, 1803)

In a footnote to 'The Battle of Philiphaugh' Scott had compared his representation of the Covenanting clergy as blood-thirsty incendiaries with the executioners and regicides of the 'Terror' of 1793.

A covenanted minister present at the execution of these gentlemen, observed, 'This wark gaes bonnile on!' an amiable exclamation, equivalent to the modern *ca ira*¹¹, so often used on similar occasions. (p.161, 1803)

Scott's refutation of the Whig historian, Laing, reflected Scott's opinion on the influential part played by the clergy in revolution. More particularly in his assessment that it was the influence of violent Cameronians that led to the insurrection of the 1670s he warns of the dangers that dissenting from the Church could bring.

Scott admitted in a letter prior to publication of the second edition of *The Minstrelsy* that his editorial treatment of the Covenanting ballads was different.

As for my third volume ... I doubt you will find but little amusement in it as there are a good many old ballads particularly those of the covenanters which in point of composition are mere drivelling trash. They are however curious in a historical point of view & have enabled me to slide in a number of notes about that dark & bloody period of Scottish history. There is a vast convenience to an editor in a tale upon which the formality of adapting the notes very precisely to the shape & form of the ballad, he may hang on a set like a heralds coat without sleeves saving himself the trouble of taking measure & sending forth the tale of ancient time ready equipd from the Monmouth street warehouse of a commonplace book. (Scott to Anna Seward, March, 1803, *Letters*, Vol. I, pp. 179-182, p.180)

¹¹ The 'ca ira': things will work out, was a popular song of the French Revolution composed around the beginning of 1790. By the end of the same year the second line of the song was changed to 'let's hang the aristocrats from the lanterns'.

That Scott influenced Leyden's editorial treatment of the Covenanters in his annotation to Wilson's *Clyde* is unquestionable. Along with their inter-textual cross-referencing of identical sources and quotations, and including Leyden's direct reference to 'Bothwell Bridge', a letter of 1800 from Scott to Richard Heber confirms that Scott and Leyden keenly discussed the seventeenth century whilst working together on *The Minstrelsy*.

We work hard at old Ballads during the forenoon & skirmish in the Evening upon the old disputes betwixt the Cameronians and their opponents.- You know I am a bit of a Cavalier not to say a Jacobite, so I give his Presbyterian feelings a little occasional exercise. (19th October, 1800, *Letters*, Vol. XII, pp. 170-174, pp. 171-2)

The debating over the merits and demerits of the Cameronians and Royalists which Scott here describes was continued in the paratextual apparatus of two of the longer poems by James Grahame, *The Sabbath* (Edinburgh, 1804) and *The Birds of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1806), and to the imitation ballad entitled 'Mess John', in *The Mountain Bard* (Edinburgh, 1807) by James Hogg. Behind the paratextual duelling was the battle over whig-presbyterian historiography that was to culminate in three important Scottish novels: *Old Mortality* (1816), *Ringan Gilhaize* (1823), and *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (1824). These novels will be discussed in Chapters four and five. Below is an examination of both Grahame's and Hogg's early Covenanting verse, and of the paratextual apparatus that surrounds them.

III

The Sabbath (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1804) is a long poem written in Miltonic blank verse in the Georgic tradition of natural description and didactic moralising in a pastoral

setting. The subject of the poem is the Sabbath, and the theme of the poem is the rest in both a temporal and spiritual sense that the Sabbath allows. Through the theme of the Sabbath that allows freedom from toil, from oppression, from poverty, and from sickness, Grahame advocates his form of theological utilitarianism. He argues,

this benign institution [the Sabbath] is the grand bulwark of *poverty* against the encroachments of *capital*. The labouring classes *sell* their time. The rich are the buyers, at least they are the *chief* buyers; for it is obvious, that more than the half of the waking hours of those who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, is consumed in the manufacture of things that cannot be deemed either necessities or comforts. Six days of the week are thus *disposed* of already. If Sunday were in the market, it would find purchasers too. The abolition of the Sabbath would, in truth, be equivalent to a sentence, adjudging to the rich the services of the poor, *for life*. ('Preface', p. x)

Like Wordsworth, Grahame is not a leveller. He is sensitive to the harsh life of the poor yet he does not propose the abolition of poverty but the alleviation of unremitting drudgery through a sabbatical rest. Grahame's theological utilitarianism is at the heart of *The Sabbath*. In the poem he depicts inhumanity and cruelty of such contemporary social evils as the Highland Clearances and the trade in human slavery, and in his extensive annotation he suggests remedies for the evils that man does to man. For example, he describes the Highland Clearances as an act of capital opportunism, 'Thy children, SCOTIA, in the desert land,/Driven from their homes by fell Monopoly/Keep holy to the Lord the seventh day' (ll. 320-22). In the end note Grahame begins with a summary of the near 'depopulation' of the Highlands where he describes how landlords had substituted black cattle and the people who tended them, for sheep. He does not advocate a reversal of the process but warns that the same might happen in the lowlands, 'if there is invented a machine for turning up the soil ... the peasantry of this country would be nearly extirpated' (p. 73). The concurrent rise in urbanisation would be detrimental to society as a whole as 'the crowded towns [are

not] favourable either to health or to morals' (p. 74). He proposes a number of solutions to the problem, such as limiting the size of farms, tripling the land tax, and an 'equalisation of the right of succession' similar to England to 'check the rapid progress of a hideous Oligarchy' (p. 75). Alongside of 'a numerous peasantry', the benefits from halting the move from the country to the towns, according to Grahame, would be that

the landlords themselves would find more real comfort and enjoyment in contemplating a populous and happy neighbourhood, than in surveying large deserted domains, teeming with all the means of virtuous and happy existence, but barren of inhabitants to reap the benefits so liberally spread out by the Father of mercies. (pp. 74-5)

The overriding beneficial principle that Grahame invokes is spiritual enrichment. Thus, from an end note which began with didactic moralising on the depopulation of the Highlands Grahame moves to one which presents his form of theological utilitarianism as a cure-all for the evil that man inflicts on man. *The Sabbath* is Cowperian didactic-descriptive nature poetry. It is also Grahame's personal political manifesto for the physical and spiritual betterment of Britain.

In the first three lines Grahame imposes a sense of calm and sets the solemn tone of the poem. 'How still the morning of the hallowed day!/Mute is the voice of rural labour, hush'd/The plough-boy's whistle, and the milkmaid's song' (ll. 1-3). The Miltonic double syntax emphasises the stillness and the quiet that the poet 'hears' for the first time. 'Hush'd' refers to the 'mute' silenced activity, and the whistle and song of the typically idealised pastoral characters of plough-boy and milkmaid. Nature and man are here joined in a holy silence which gives man the opportunity to 'meditate on Him whose power he marks/In each green tree that proudly spreads the bough' (ll. 44-5). But the poem does not

paint a still-life pastoral idyl as the Sabbath also brings a welcome release from the daily grind of hard work, 'the pale mechanic now has leave to breath/The morning air pure from the city's smoke' (ll. 41-2). For this reason, the Sabbath is 'the poor man's day' (l. 40).

Grahame contrasts his idealised portrait of a peaceful Sabbath with the persecution of Presbyterians in Scotland in the seventeenth century.

O blissful days!
 When all men worship God as conscience wills.
 Far other times our fathers' grandsires knew,
 A virtuous race, to godliness devote.
 What tho' the sceptic's scorn hath dar'd to soil
 The record of their fame! What tho' the men
 Of worldly minds have dared to stigmatize
 The sister-cause, Religion and the Law,
 With Superstitions's name! Yet, yet, their deeds
 Their constancy in torture, and in death, _
 These on tradition's tongue still live, these shall
 On history's honest page be pictur'd bright
 To latest times. Perhaps some bard, whose muse
 Disdains the servile strain of Fashion's quire,
 May celebrate their unambitious names.
 With them each day was holy, every hour
 They stood prepar'd to die, a people doom'd
 To death;- old men, and youths, and simple maids,
 With them each day was holy; but *that* morn
 On which the angel said, "*See where the Lord
 Was laid,*" joyous arose; to die that day
 Was bliss. Long ere the dawn, by devious ways,
 O'er hills, thro' woods, o'er dreary wastes, they sought
 The upland muirs, where rivers, there but brooks
 Dispart to different seas: Fast by such brooks,
 A little glen is sometimes scoop'd, a plat
 With green sward gay, and flowers that strangers seem
 Amid the heathery wild, that all around
 Fatigues the eye: in solitudes like these,
 Thy persecuted children, SCOTIA, foil'd
 A tyrant's and a bigot's bloody laws:
 There, leaning on his spear (one of the grove
 That held at bay the invading Charles's peers,

Yet rang'd itself to aid his son dethroned),
 The lyart veteran heard the word of God,
 By CAMERON thundered, or by RENWICK poured
 In gentle stream; then rose the sound, the loud
 Acclaim of praise; the whistling plover ceased
 Her plaint; the solitary place was glad,
 And on the distant cairns the watcher's ear
 Caught doubtfully at times the breeze-borne note.
 But years still sadder followed; and no more
 The assembled people dared, in face of day,
 To worship God, or even at the dead
 Of night, save when the wintry storm raved fierce,
 And thunder-peals compelled the men of blood
 To couch within their dens; then dauntlessly
 The scattered few would meet, in some deep dell
 By rocks o'er canopied, to hear the voice,
 Their faithful pastor's voice: He by the gleam
 Of sheeted lightning oped the sacred book,
 And spake the words of comfort: O'er their souls
 His accents soothing came,- as to her young
 The heathfowl's plumes, when at the close of eve
 She, mournful, gathers in her brood, dispersed
 By the murderous sport, and o'er the remnant spreads
 Fondly her wings; close nestling 'neath her breast
 They cherish'd cow'r amidst the purple blooms. (ll.126-183)

His detailed and imaginative account of the Covenanters spans the years from the inception of the National Covenant of 1638 when they 'held at bay the invading Charles's peers', to the Restoration when the movement 'rang'd itself to aid his son dethroned', and through the rise of conventicles where the supporters of the Covenants 'sought the upland moors', to the 'killing time' of 1684-5 when all but a 'scattered few' remained. Grahame's Covenanters carry weapons (a 'spear') but for self-defence, rather than attack. Unlike Scott, his depiction of the Covenanting clergy is not of an homogenous group of violence-inciting zealots but of individual men with different tempers: 'Cameron thundered' and 'Renwick poured in gentle stream' (l. 161). Overall, Grahame's depiction

of the Scottish Covenanters follows traditional eighteenth-century Covenanting hagiography.

Grahame included both footnotes and endnotes to expand and clarify many of the issues that he raises in the poem. His annotation to his description of the Covenanters is particularly dense. To the fifty-seven lines of the poem where the Covenanters are depicted there are some four hundred and twenty-nine lines of commentary. Like Scott in *The Minstrelsy*, these notes were derived from a variety of partisan sources such as Wodrow's *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland* (1721-3), Burnet's *History of My Own Life* (1724-34), Laing's *History of Scotland* (1800), Walker's *Life of Peden* (1724), and *A Cloud of Witnesses* (1714). Unlike Scott, however, Grahame's sympathetic portrayal of the Covenanters as proud defenders of Scottish liberty is verified both by his historical data and his own commentary. For example, when he describes two Covenanting clergymen, Cameron and Renwick, in his annotation he does not indicate that they supported a more extreme form of dissent than other nonconforming presbyterians at the end of the seventeenth century. His expansive footnote on Richard Cameron is from *A Cloud of Witnesses*:

That morning a woman gave him water to wash his face and hands; and having washed, and dried them with a towel, he looked to his hands, and laid them on his face, saying, "This is their last washing; I have need to make them clean, for there are many to see them". At this the woman's mother wept. He said, "Weep not for me, but for yourself and yours, and for the sins of a sinful land, for ye have many melancholy, sorrowful, and weary days before you". (p. 16)

There is a very strong allusion to the last supper of Christ in this hagiographical description of the last night of Richard Cameron, yet Grahame does not comment upon it, deride it, or

alter the tone to suit the rational Moderatism that dominated all forms of discourse from the last quarter of the eighteenth century to the first decade of the nineteenth century.

The spatial arrangement between the poem and the paratextual apparatus combine to present the traditional sentimental view of the Covenanters. At times, Grahame's notes seem to be almost pushing the text off of the top of the page. (See illustration p.145a). For example, over pages sixteen and seventeen of the poem there are just six lines of verse. The footnoting to these lines are the conclusion to the 'The Case of James Stewart, a Boy' from *A Cloud of Witnesses*, the above quoted passage, and below this a description of James Renwick which compares him to 'another young David' (pp. 16-17). Overall, Grahame's representation is a seamless fusion of sentimental, descriptive poetry and traditional whig-presbyterian hagiography.

Grahame's rejection of the unsentimental Moderate view of the Scottish Covenanters as violent, anti-government incendiaries propagated by those such as Scott was not mere idealised portrait painting. In his earlier poetry he had attacked such bulwarks of the Establishment as the clergy of the Church of Scotland and the leaders of the Enlightenment. Grahame's first collection of poems and epigraphs that was published at the height of the French Revolution in 1794 displays his anticlerical, and anti-Enlightenment views. For example, the poem entitled, 'Epistle from a Poor Blind Cobler (sic) to a Rich Candle Maker', is a poor imitation of the Burnsian tradition of anticlerical satire.

You built a church and serve the cure,
And rail against the scarlet whore.

Yet rang'd itself to aid his son dethroned"),
 The lyart veteran heard the word of God,
 By CAMERON thundered †, or by RENWICK poured
 in

"of fact; I could never take the life of a chicken, but my heart shrank. But it is only for my judgement of things that I am brought here. I leave my blood on the Council and the Duke of York." At this the soldiers interrupted her, and would not allow her to speak any. — *Cloud of Witnesses.*

At Worcester and other places.

† The last night of his life, he was in the house of William Mitchell in Meadowhead, at the water of Ayr, where about twenty-three horse and forty foot had continued with him that week. That morning a woman gave him water to wash his face and hands; and having washed, and dried them with a towel, he looked to his hands, and laid them on his face, saying, "This is their last washing; I have need to make them clean, for there are many to see them." At this, the woman's brother wept. He said, "Weep not for me, but for my brother and yours, and for the sins of a sinful kind, which have many melancholy, sorrowful, and weary days before you."

The

In gentle stream *; then rose the song; the loud
 Acclaim of praise; the wheeling plover ceased
 Her

"The people who remained with him were in some hesitation, whether they should abide together for their own defence, or disperse and shift for themselves. But that day, being the 22d of July, they were surprised by Bruce of Earlshall; who, having got command of Airey's troop, and Strahair's dragoons, upon notice given him by Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree, came furiously upon them, about four o'clock in the afternoon, when lying

* "He was of stature somewhat low, of a fair complexion, and, like another young David, of a ruddy and beautiful countenance. Most men spoke well of him after he was dead; even his murderers, as well as others, said they thought he went to heaven. Malignant generally said he died a Presbyterian. The Viceroy of Ulster, one of the counsellors, one day in company with speaking of him, said, "That he was one of the chief maintainers of his principles that ever saw them. Others we used always to cause punishment to be done to; waver, but him we could never move. When he left him, there we found him. We would have made him yield or vary in the least."

B 3

But is this not to please your pride?
It is -the thing can't be denied: ... (ll.25-8)

Regardless of your time and pains
You stuff and cram your hearers brains,
While their poor empty stomachs grumble
With many a woful hollow rumble.
But know (ere long you'll know't too well)
That you may *build baith kirk and mill*,
That you may cant, and whine, exhort, and pray,
And yet be damn'd eternally.
Then, while you turn and toss in limbo,
I'll sit and smile with arms akimbo,
And when you ask a drop of water,
(You call this devilish - no matter),
I'll tell you tauntingly, go swallow
A ladelful of boiling tallow. (ll.35-45)

(*Poems in English Scotch, and Latin* (Paisley, 1794), pp. 53-5).

His epigraph to 'D---d H--e', or David Hume reveals his opposition to Enlightenment scepticism.

'Doubt everything', the sceptic cries;
'To men, to books, no faith is due:'-
His History's so fill'd with *lies*
It almost proves his doctrine *true*. (p. 50)

In the first edition of *The Sabbath*, Grahame depicts Sunday worship in an Episcopal Church as typical of a Scottish Sabbath. He focuses on the sublime blending of human voices and organ music,

Sublime
The thousand notes symphonious rise,
As if the whole were one, suspended high
In air, soaring heavenward: afar they float. (ll. 77-80)

The peace which had descended 'dove like' (l. 19) over the Burnsian village of cottars enables man to listen to nature and through this, to hear God. The poem ends as 'he, who

all the gloomy winter long/Has spent in city crowds' (ll. 691-2), returns to the countryside and enters into spiritual harmony with God through nature.

The first lark's note, faint yet, and short the song,
 Check'd by the chill ungenial northern breeze;
 But, as the sun ascends, another carol!
 Another upward springs, with chearful chaunt,
 And still another soars on loftier wing,
 Till all o'erhead, the joyous choir unseen,
 Pois'd welkin-high, harmonious fills the air,
 As if it were a link 'tween earth and heaven. (ll. 685-702)

Grahame's depiction of the Episcopal Sabbath worship has two functions. Firstly, the contrast between the harmonious blending of human and mechanical voices at the beginning of the poem with the harmony of bird song which links man's spirit with God in the closing lines brings the poem to a very effective, upbeat ending. Secondly, through his neglect to represent the contemporary Sunday service of the Church of Scotland Grahame signifies that he has not departed from the radical anti-Establishment views that his early poetry displays.

After 1690, the Episcopal Church of Scotland had decreased in membership and had split between those 'clergy and congregations who were willing to swear loyalty to the Hanoverian monarchs and those unwilling: respectively the juring or 'English' chapels and the non-juring or 'Scottish' chapels' (Callum C. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707*, p. 34). The stiff penalties that were imposed upon the Episcopal Church of Scotland in 1690 meant that the non-jurors although 'technically illegal' were still meeting freely in the north-east of Scotland up to the 1770s. In contrast, in the Scottish Lowlands 'the Church emerged in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with a varied social

composition but one dominated by an anglicising upper middle class' (Brown, p. 34). In 1792, the Repeal Act

gave the Church liberty of worship and removed all the penalties that had hitherto hung over lay people. However, some conditions were attached, and some disabilities remained. Subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion appended to the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England was required of the Episcopal Clergy. They were bound to take an oath of allegiance to, and to pray for, the royal family. The doors of all churches were to remain unlocked during the conduct of divine service. Clergy in Scottish orders were debarred from holding a benefice or curacy, or even from undertaking occasional duty, in the Church of England. (Edward Luscombe, *The Scottish Episcopal Church in the Twentieth Century*, p. 5)

Grahame's depiction of the Episcopal Church (in place of the Church of Scotland) is followed by his traditional representation of the Scottish Covenanters as heroic defenders of religious liberty. His choice of Church, therefore, as well as adding to the overall theme of social and spiritual harmony through the organ music (which the Episcopal Church was unique in making use of until the 1850s) also makes a political point about freedom. Thus, his apparent celebration of the present, 'O blissful days!/When all men worship God as conscience wills' (ll. 126-7), becomes one which questions contemporary impositions and penalties to freedom of conscience and of worship.

In *The Birds of Scotland*, Grahame's next long poem which, like *The Sabbath* included long didactic, moralising passages and reflective digressions where he renewed his attacks on, for example, slavery, he self-styled himself 'the poor man's bard';

Why should the falsely great, the glittering names,
Engross the Muse's praise? My humble voice
They ne'er engross'd, and never shall: I claim
The title of the poor man's bard: I dare

To celebrate an unambitious name.

(1806, ll. 455-459)

This passage contrasts with the preceding lines on Sir George Mackenzie whom Grahame depicts in over-wrought metaphorical excessiveness that is in keeping with traditional Covenanting demonology.

Perfidious minion of a sceptred priest!
 The huge enormity of crime on crime,
 Accumulated high, but ill conceals
 The reptile meanness of thy dastard soul;
 Whose favourite art was lying with address,
 Whose hollow promise help'd the princely hand
 To screw confessions from the tortured lips.
 Base hypocrite! thy character, portray'd
 By modern history's too lenient touch,
 Truth loves to blazon with her real tints,
 To limn of new thy half-forgotten name,
 Inscribe with infamy thy time-worn tomb,
 And make the memory hated as the man. (ll. 430-442)

Like *The Sabbath*, Grahame included expansive annotation to *The Birds of Scotland*. In the end note to the above passage Grahame compares Hume's depiction of the seventeenth century with Laing's, and he concludes that where Hume had drawn a 'likeness; but it is a profile portrait of a man who squints; the principal deformity cannot be discerned', Laing had 'dismissed that squeamish delicacy, so often at variance with the frank and unaffected dignity of historical truth, and has described the royal brothers in terms of suitable reprobation' (p. 220). Grahame signified that he 'dared' to champion those whom other poets would disdain or ignore. His hagiographic treatment of the Scottish Covenanters in *The Sabbath*, and his denunciations of Sir George Mackenzie in *The Birds of Scotland*, therefore, was his reply as the 'poor man's bard' to the Tory/Moderate version that was propagated by Scott in *The Minstrelsy*.

Moreover, in *The Sabbath* there is an implicit attack on Scott's editorial methods, 'What tho' the sceptic's scorn hath dar'd to soil/The record of their fame' (ll. 130-1). This is carried into the annotation where Grahame prints the same passage of Walker's *Life of Peden* as Scott on the death of a Covenanter named, John Brown. Scott had altered the Whig perspective of history through his annotation to one that undermined Brown's heroic status at the same time as vindicating Claverhouse from the accusations of cruelty: 'while we read this dismal story, we must remember Brown's situation was that of an avowed and determined rebel, liable as such to military execution; so that the atrocity was more that of the times than of Claverhouse' (*Minstrelsy*, 1803, p. 228). Grahame reverses Scott's perspective. Following the lengthy quotation from Walker he notes, 'in the catalogue of legalized butchers, Mr Laing mentions "Graham of Claverhouse, who chose to forfeit, in the blood of his innocent defenceless countrymen, the heroism so gratuitously ascribed to the Viscount Dundee"' (*The Sabbath*, p. 13). Like Scott, Grahame appears to present both sides of history but the strength of feeling intoned in 'murderer' and 'butcher' is decidedly biased in favour of the Whig interpretation, or more pointedly that of Malcolm Laing, and therefore in opposition to Scott.

Colin Kidd states that by the end of the eighteenth century 'only among the Seceders did a full-blown whig-presbyterian historiography survive' (*Subverting Scotland's Past*, p.200). Grahame was a Whig Advocate who represented the Church of Scotland as an elder at the General Assembly. His traditional depiction of the Scottish Covenanters in *The Sabbath*, and his denigration of Sir George Mackenzie and Grahame of Claverhouse was

therefore both unusual, and unique. Overall, the fusion of poem and paratextual apparatus of traditional whig-presbyterian sources reveals the irreconcilable attitudes of Grahame and Scott.

IV

Robert MacLachlan has traced Hogg and Scott's social and professional relationship beginning with their first meeting to discuss Hogg's contributions to *The Minstrelsy in Ettrick Forest* in 1802, where he demonstrated the extent of Scott's practical and theoretical involvement in Hogg's first major collection of songs and ballads in what became *The Mountain Bard; consisting of Ballads and Songs, founded on Facts and Legendary Tales* (Edinburgh, 1807).

Throughout the period up to ... [its] ... publication ... Scott was constantly attentive to Hogg's interests, suggesting new subjects for ballad imitations, and correcting each ballad as it was written ... indeed, Scott even had the responsibility of seeing the volume through the press ('Scott and Hogg: Friendship and Literary Influence', in *Scott and His Influence* (1983), pp.332).

That Scott was deeply involved in the planning and development of *The Mountain Bard* is revealed through their correspondence which records Hogg's replies to Scott's suggestions, for example, to the ballad entitled, 'Mess John'.

The verse you have scratched out of Mess John let it go to whom it concerns: I hate indelicacy. Your observations about the Grey-mare's-tale is d_d nonsense and enough to make a sow laugh at it. The cataract has no other name: and why will you make a quibble of antient names? The saving of the lass of Craigy burn would improve the story in one respect and hurt it in other two. In the former case it would exemplify the pleasing idea of an over-ruling providence protecting beauty and innocence and on the other it

would spoil the story as it is at present told and the death of the priest would be too severe a recompense for the intended crime however though it is far too long an alteration for me I shall think of it. (Hogg to Scott, 21st May, 1806, NLS MS 3875, ff. 172-3)

Hogg rejected Scott's suggestions on the naming of the waterfall, as the 'Grey Mare's Tail' appears in the notes to the ballad (p.90). He did alter the ballad, however, in keeping with Scott's suggestions.

I had quite forgot that you desired me to alter Mess John so as to save the lady but that you may be enabled to put it ... to the press until the rest arrive I will here send you the alteration which is trivial and which you may either adopt or not as you think proper. After 'And still on that returning day, Yield to a monster's hellish might' insert _ 'No, though harass'd and sore distress'd; Both shame and danger she endured; For Heaven kindly interposed; And still her virtue was secured' 'But o'er the scene we'l [sic] draw a veil, Wet with the tear of pleasing woe' & c. And a good way farther back to correspond with this it must be read 'O let me run to Mary's kirk, Where if I'm forc'd to sin and shame &c'. (Hogg to Scott, 1 October, 1806, NLS MS, 3875, ff. 230-31)

The following close study of the ballad entitled, 'Mess John', below reveals that while Hogg sought and readily accepted Scott's advice and suggestions on literary matters he did not always follow Scott's anti-Covenanting paradigm in his paratextual apparatus.

'Mess John' is written in the style of a pro-Covenanting ballad. It is set in the Borders in the 1680s and concerns the death of a Curate during the persecution of Covenanters that followed the insurrections of Loudoun Hill and Bothwell Bridge in the summer of 1679.¹² In the ballad the Curate enters into a league with the devil in order that he may fulfil his lustful

¹² Curates were Episcopalian clergyman who replaced Presbyterian clergyman after 1660.

desires with May of Craigyburn. A demon disguised as a beautiful maiden instructs him to make an effigy of May out of wax and he uses this to enchant or demonically possess her. Two Covenanters, 'Halbert Dobson and David Din' bravely waylay the screaming spectre of May on one of her ritualistic monthly enchanted journeys to meet with the Curate in the kirk using elements derived from witchcraft and folklore: 'armed with a gun, a rowan-tree rung,/A bible, and a scarlet twine' (st. 55, ll. 1-2). Taking these weapons with them they go with May to the kirk and see the Curate and Satan engaged in 'hellish rites, and orgies lewd' (st. 64, l. 4), whereupon they kill the Curate with the decidedly unfolkloric method of blowing 'his brains against the wall' (st. 66. l. 4), and thus break the Curate's Satanic enchantment. The Curate is buried under 'a mighty mound,/Called Binram's Corse' (st. 68, ll. 3-4), to a cacophony of Satanic 'jeering'; 'ha, ha, ha, ha, poor John's away' (st. 67., ll. 3-4). Overall, the ballad portrays the Covenanters as heroic defenders of virginal virtue in contrast with the morally weak Episcopalian Curate, whose weakness makes him susceptible to Satanic possession.

The ballad is a curious blending of historical fact, covenanting demonology, witch-lore, and stock elements from eighteenth-century Gothic. The discussion below will focus on each of these elements in turn in a close examination of Hogg's method of constructing his imitation ballad.

In the extended version of his autobiographical memoirs that introduces the 1821 publication of *The Mountain Bard*, Hogg states that it was after his failed attempt to settle in Harris in June, 1803 that he 'hired [himself] as a shepherd, with Mr Harkness of

Mitchelslacks, in Nithsdale. It was while here that I published *The Mountain Bard* (*MB*, 1821, p. xxvii). The Harkness family who owned the farm of Mitchelslacks were noted Covenanters during the ‘killing time’ in the west of Scotland between 1684 and 1685. Adam, James ‘Long Gun’, and Thomas ‘White Hose’ Harkness, sons and grandsons of ‘Fair Thomas’ Harkness of Mitchelslack[s] were accused of being involved in the attempted rescue of Covenanting prisoners at Kelt’s Linn in the Enterkin Pass in Nithsdale, in July, 1684. Colonel John Graham of Claverhouse was called to the Nithsdale area to help round up and capture the fugitives of the Enterkin Pass rescue. On the 9th of August, 1684, on his way to Thornhill he captured six men, amongst whom was Thomas Harkness junior. He claimed that he was innocent of the charge of being involved in the rescue but was executed, nevertheless, in Edinburgh on the 15th of August. His last testimony, which he wrote jointly with Andrew Clark and Samuel McEwan, was printed in Wodrow’s *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland* (1721-2). James ‘Long Gun’ Harkness was involved, along with Black James McMichael, in the murder of Peter Pierson (or Pearson) the curate of the parish of Carsphairn on the 11th of December, 1684. The events of the murder of the curate of Carspahirn were also detailed in Wodrow’s *History*.

Hogg was familiar with Wodrow’s *History*. For example, he cites Wodrow in a footnote to authenticate the fictionality of his novel of Covenanting times, *The Brownie of Bodsbeck* (1818), and in the posthumously published introduction to *The Brownie in Tales and Sketches* (1837), Hogg admits that ‘the general part is taken from Wodrow’ (*Brownie of Bodsbeck*, Douglas Mack, ed. pp. 47-8, & p. 170).

In his study of the history of the mound of earth and group of stones called ‘Binram’s Corse’ which Hogg claims the ‘traditional’ ballad is based upon Thomas Craig-Brown found scarce factual details of the priest/chaplain whom he re-named ‘Winram’, who was thought to have been buried on that spot. He noted, ‘nothing is known except that he was suspended for inefficiency; but it is a quite likely supposition that he may have been the last occupant of the vicar’s house near the chapel of the Lowes. His fate is not revealed by history’ (*History of Selkirkshire*, Vol. I, p. 373). In ‘Mess John’, Hogg transposes the action surrounding Carsphairn and the region of Nithsdale, to his home territory of Ettrick and St. Mary’s Kirk where he further superimposes the factually historical information of the killing of a curate in 1684 on to the traditional lore surrounding a mound and group of stones that lay (and still lie) outwith St. Mary’s Kirk ancient cemetery, called locally, ‘Binram’s Corse’.

In ‘Mess John’, Hogg appears to adopt the Covenanting convention of demonising adherents to Episcopacy within the Royalist regime to tell the ballad from a Covenanting viewpoint. Wodrow’s *History* reveals how seventeenth-century Curates were perceived by Scottish Presbyterians. For example, he has a quotation from Kirkton’s unpublished manuscript *History of the Church of Scotland* concerning a Curate named, Gideon Penman. He was ‘well known to be a witch. Divers eye-witnesses deponed they had many times seen him at the witches’ meetings, and that the devil called him ordinarily, “Penman, my chaplain” ’ (Burns, ed. (1827), Vol. I. p. 334). Wodrow authenticates Kirkton’s portrayal by appending the notice from the trial of ‘eight or ten witches’ in ‘Fountainhall’s *Decisions*’. At their trial the women were

permitted to name Mr. Gideon Penman, who had been minister at Creighton, and for sundry acts of uncleanness and other crimes was deprived. Two or three of the witches constantly affirmed that he was present at their meetings with the devil, and then when the devil called for him, he asked, "Where is Mr. Gideon my chaplain?" and that ordinarily Mr. Gideon was in the rear of all their dances, and beat up these that were slow. He denied all and was liberate on caution. (Burns, ed. (1827), Vol. I., p. 334)

Wodrow asserted that the Curates were so-called ironically because 'the most part of them were both unfit for, and very much neglected the cure of souls'. He further stated that they 'were as void of morality and gravity as they were of learning and experience, and scarce had the appearance of religion and devotion' (Burns, ed. (1827), Vol. I, p. 331). Hogg's Curate, in contrast to Wodrow's depiction of them as ineffectual and immoral, was an eloquent orator and was also popular with his congregation.

No priest nor bishop through the land,
Could preach or pray so well as he:

The words of peace flowed from his tongue,
His heart seemed rapt with heavenly flame,
And thousands would the chapel throng,
So distant flew his pious flame. (st. 1-2)

Once the morally upright Curate succumbs to his lustful desires and accepts and follows the instructions of the demon, however, Hogg warns against sympathising with his fall from Grace: 'Read how he used the bonny lass,/And count him human if you can' (st. 27, ll. 3-4). Hogg's literary treatment of the demonic possession of the Curate, therefore, does not follow traditional Covenanting demonology. Where Kirkton and Wodrow depicted Curates as characteristically evil, Hogg's Curate is not a demon in himself but he becomes one following his association with the evil spirit.

In his depiction of the enchantment or demonic possession of May of Craigieburn, Hogg blends elements from witch-lore with an allusion to Ramsay's description of witchcraft in *The Gentle Shepherd*. F. Marian MacNeill describes the 'sympathetic magic' art of using 'clay or wax figures to injure or kill an enemy ... an image was made to represent the doomed person, was pierced with thorns or pins, and was then dissolved in a running stream or melted before a slow fire' (*The Silver Bough*, Vol. I, p. 144). Act II, scene ii, of *The Gentle Shepherd*, opens with Bauldy contemplating his desire for Peggy:

What's this!- I canna bear't ! tis war than Hell,
To be sae burnt with love, yet darna tell. (ll. 1-2)

He decides to 'try some witchcraft art' (l. 21), which he graphically describes.

She can o'er cast the night, and cloud the moon,
And mak the deils obedient to her crune.
At midnight hours, o'er the kirkyard she raves,
And howks unchristened we'ans out of their graves;
Boils up their livers in a warlock's pow,
Rins withershins about the hemlock low;
And seven times does her prayers backwards pray,
Till Plotoch comes with lumps of lapland clay,
Mix with the venom of black taid and snakes;
Of this unsosy pictures aft she makes
Of ony ane she hates - and gars expire
With slaw and racking pains afore a fire;
Stuck fu' of prins, the devilish pictures melt,
The pain, by fowk they represent is felt.
(Alexander M. Kinghorn & Alexander Law, eds., *Poems by Allan Ramsay & Robert Fergusson* (1985), ll. 25-38)

In 'Mess John', the Curate is 'consumed' with his desire for 'the bonny Lass of Craigyburn' (st. 14-15, l. 3, & l. 4). This weakness opens him susceptibly to the temptations of an 'enticing demon' (st. 18, l.4). Her explicit instructions to him on how to enchant May owe more than a little to Ramsay's description of witchcraft.

'Then mould her form of fairest wax,
 With adder's eyes, and feet of horn:
 Place this small scroll within its breast,
 Which I, your friend, have hither borne.

'Then make a blaze of alder wood,
 Before your fire make this to stand;
 And the last night of every moon
 The bonny May's at your command. (st. 22-23)

...

A female form in melting wax,
 Mess John surveyed with steady eye,
 Which ever and anon he pierced,
 And forced the lady loud to cry. (st. 65)

In the same way that Hogg alters traditional Covenanting demonology, so he takes the elements of factual and literary witchlore and constructs his own Ramsayesque description of witchcraft.

Hogg blends folkloric elements into 'Mess John'. For example, to break the devilish spell the Covenanters arm themselves with red thread, a rowan tree, and the mystical 'white magic' potency of the Bible. MacNeill notes that 'red ... is the supreme magical colour. In Scotland, necklaces of red coral or red rowan-berries, strung on red thread, were worn as amulets' (Vol. I, p. 74). She illustrates her information with a traditional rhyme; 'Rowan tree and red threid/Gar the witches tynne their speed' (Vol. I, p.78).

Finally, Hogg applies stock elements from eighteenth-century literary Gothic, for example, pathetic fallacy to create a terrifying atmosphere, and to build suspense.

When nigh Saint Mary's isle they drew,
 Rough winds and rapid rains began;
 The livid lightning linked flew,
 And round the rattling thunder ran:

The torrents rush, the mountains quake,
 The sheeted ghosts run to and fro;
 And deep, and long, from out the lake,
 The Water-Cow was heard to low.

The mansion then seemed in a blaze,
 And issued forth a sulphorous smell;
 An eldritch laugh went o'er their heads,
 Which ended in a hellish yell (st. 61-3)

The over-playing of the Gothic elements, 'sheeted ghost[s]', combined with the alliteration, 'lived lightning linked flew,/And round the rattling thunder ran', almost turns the heightened moment of suspense prior to the Universal conflict between the forces of good and the forces of evil to farce. Hogg undercuts the tension by abandoning the supernatural elements in his description of the killing of Mess John.

Then Halbert raised his trusty gun,
 Was loaded well with powder and ball;
 And, aiming at the monster's head,
 He blew his brains against the wall. (st. 66)

According to Covenanting demonology a silver bullet would have been needed to kill the demonically possessed Curate and to break the enchantment. Hogg further departs from traditional Covenanting lore by reversing the hagiographic depiction of Royalist murderer and Covenanting victim. Hogg's departure from tradition in the final conflict brings added realism to the tale of otherworldly possession. Furthermore, as the period between 1684 and 1685 was one of increased intensity by Royalists in their persecution of Covenanters, and in Covenanting historiography the 'killing times' was repeatedly invoked to represent the

atrocities of the Royalists against the Covenanters, Hogg's time-specific setting of 1684 is therefore ironic.

Overall, an examination of the disparate elements that make up Hogg's 'traditional' Covenanting ballad reveals that he does not follow normal conventions. He takes the elements of historical fact, witchlore, folklore, Covenanting demonology, and Gothic and blends them into his unique tale of human weakness.

Edith Batho found that 'the most enjoyable things in *The Mountain Bard* are the footnotes' (*The Ettrick Shepherd*, p. 58). Like Leyden, Scott, and Grahame, Hogg includes copious annotation to the ballads and songs within his collection. Unlike his predecessors he has no quotations from either historical documents or contemporary Whig sources but illustrates the ballad with information on superstition, with extra details from local legend, tradition, and folklore, with fragments of old ballads, a quotation from Grahame's *Sabbath*, and with his own rationalist commentary. The imitation ballad is thus set within a framework that promotes tradition.

For example, Hogg expands his sketchy description of fugitive Covenanters on Polmoody with both factual information and 'traditional' balladry. In his annotation at the end of the ballad he expands his description of, 'Where wild Polmoody's mountains tower,/Full many a wight their vigil keep' (st. 34, ll.1-2), to explain how in the inaccessibility of Polmoody 'great numbers, from the western counties, found shelter on them during the heat of persecution'. He describes how they survived by 'stealing sheep',

and how the 'country people, from a sense that *Necessity has no law*, winked at the loss'. To authenticate this part anecdotal, part factual description, Hogg inserts a quotation from 'part of an old ballad ... still current in the neighbourhood, which relates their adventures'.

Had Guemsey's Castle a tongue to speak,
Or mouth o' flesh, that it could fathom;
It wad tell o' many a supple trick,
Was done at the foot o' Rotten-boddom;
Where Donald, and his hungry men,
Oft hough'd them up wi' little din;
And, mair intent on flesh than yarn,
Bure aff the buke and buried the skin.

He continues with further information on farming on 'Guemsey', and a supposition that 'the Donald mentioned may have been the famous Donald Cargill, a Cameronian preacher, of great notoriety at the period' (All quotations in this paragraph are from pp.88-90).

Hogg's blend of anecdotal, factual, and supposed 'traditional' material projects a traditional reading on to the ballad.

In his introduction to 'Mess John' Hogg appears to follow Scott's paradigm of anti-Covenanting, rational explanation when he 'venture[s] a conjecture at the whole of the story'. The frequent sightings of 'the lass of Craigyburn' on the road, and around the vicinity of the manse and the kirk, he supposes, were because she 'was some enthusiast in religious matters, or perhaps a lunatic; and that, being troubled with a sense of guilt, and a squeamish conscience, she had, on that account, made several visits to Saint Mary's Chapel'. He supposes that the death of the priest was murder perpetrated by the Covenanters of the latter quarter of the seventeenth century. Hogg conjectures that in the

traditional re-telling of the events over the years the murder had become part of

Covenanting historiography:

It is well known, that many of the Mountain-men wanted only a hair to make a tether of. Might they not then frame this whole story about the sorcery, on purpose to justify their violent procedure in the eyes of their country-men, as no bait was more likely to be swallowed at that time? (All quotations in this paragraph are from pp. 69 - 70)

Hogg's rationalisation of events in the paratextual apparatus to 'Mess John' imposes a Tory/Moderate perspective that undermines his own imitation of Covenanting demon-lore.

In both his introduction and in the ballad, therefore, Hogg follows Scott's depiction of violent Covenanters. In his annotation, however, Hogg has a quotation from Grahame's *Sabbath* that introduces an element of doubt to this one-sided perspective. Hogg states that 'one can scarcely believe, but that Mr. Graham had visited these spots, or was present on them, when he wrote the following lines':

O'er hills, through woods, o'er dreary wastes, they sought
The upland moors, where rivers, there but brooks
Dispart to different seas. Fast by such brooks,
A little glen is sometimes scooped; a plat
With green-sward gay, and flowers, that strangers seem
Amid the heathery wild, that all around
Fatigues the eye.

He undermines the veracity of Grahame's representation with reference to his own experience of the same area.

These lines, with the two following pages of the sweet poem in which they occur, seem to be literal sketches of these scenes, as well a representation of the transactions which then took place ... Thus it was high up in Ryskinhope where Renwick preached his last sermon, above the lakes, the sources of the Yarrow, where there is neither plat nor plain, but linns and moors.

Thus, although Hogg ironically dismisses Grahame's romanticised portrayal of the people and events of the seventeenth century by transposing his (Grahame's) orthography; 'plat', for his own Scottish words, 'linn' and 'moor', he does not dispute Grahame's sympathetic handling of pious Covenanters and their followers. By altering Grahame's orthography, and by claiming that his description is based on personal experience; 'my parents were well acquainted with a woman whom he [Renwick] there baptised', he builds realism into Grahame's account. Thus in his paratextual apparatus Hogg both accepts and departs from Scott's Tory/Moderate depiction of the Covenanters. (All quotations in this paragraph are from pp.91-2)

In 'Mess John', then, Hogg did not blindly follow the successful formula of opposing whig-presbyterian historiography that Scott had adopted in the paratextual apparatus to the five Covenanting ballads in *The Minstrelsy*. His imitation ballad appears traditional and folkloric yet a close reading reveals that he has blended several different genres, including historical fact, Covenanting demonology, folklore, witchcraft, eighteenth-century comic-drama, and Gothic. Furthermore, in his acceptance of Grahame's Whig/Presbyterian view of the Covenanters as heroic defenders of virtue and morality, blended with his own added realism, he signifies that he has taken his own middle line between either party. In 'Mess John', Hogg is his own man.

In conclusion, the above discussion has demonstrated that Scott wrote a counter-history of Scotland in the paratextual apparatus of *The Minstrelsy* which contested traditional Whig covenanting historiography in a political response to the civil and social

tensions in Scotland, Britain and Europe at the turn of the eighteenth century. Leyden followed Scott's lead in his editorial treatment to Wilson's *Clyde*. Within his own poetry however, he displayed an acknowledged acceptance of Covenanting tradition. Grahame's wholly sympathetic representation of the Covenanters in *The Sabbath* and *The Birds of Scotland* countered the viewpoint that was being propagated by the Tory/Moderate dominated literary elite. Moreover, both within his poetry and in the paratextual apparatus he explicitly opposed Scott. Hogg's pseudo-Covenanting ballad, 'Mess John', reveals the complex relationship between Hogg and Scott, as he appears both to accept and reject Scott's viewpoint.

Scott continued his subjective editing of Covenanting historiography in his annotation to Swift's *Works*, especially to *The Memoirs of Captain John Creighton*, which he presents as a truthful account by a Royalist dragoon. Surprisingly, in his annotation to Lord Somers's *Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts* (1809-15), which he re-arranged, edited and expanded he gives a sympathetic account of both Cargill's 'Fanatick's New Covenant', and Cameron's 'Sanquhar Declaration' (Vol. VIII). He prints the original version of Cargill's paper but fails to note that it differed greatly from that published by Wodrow, Mackenzie and the United Societies. Furthermore, in his annotation to *Ravillac Redivivus*, he states, 'this tract drew a great deal of notice when it was first published, and has been more founded upon than its partiality deserves' (*Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts*, Vol. VIII, pp. 510-553, pp. 515-6). *Somers' Tracts*, I would argue, did not represent Scott's paradigmatic anti-Covenanting viewpoint. In the following chapter I will argue that when he turned to prose fiction Scott consistently denigrated the Scottish Covenanting tradition.

CHAPTER FOUR
Scott's anti-Covenanting satire

In the conclusion to *The Anatomy of Satire*, Gilbert Highet states that

there is always one person, or one type, or one group, or one social class, or one national structure, on which the satirist focuses most of his amusement and his loathing, and from whom he derives the strength to generalize and vivify his work. (p.241)

Between 1814 and 1819 Scott published nine novels which were set in Scotland.¹

Throughout them, Covenanters and Presbyterian dissenters from the Church of Scotland, whom Scott continued to homogeneously term 'Cameronians', are satirised. Their emotional and intellectual capabilities are consistently held up to 'amusement' and 'loathing' through his representation of them as fools and hypocrites. The derision ranges in intensity from the mocking, ironic stance adopted by the narrator of *Waverley* (1814) towards Seceders and Cameronians, to the satiric treatment of the Covenanting movement as a whole in *Old Mortality* (1816), and through the undecidability in the characterisation of Davie Deans in *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818), to the partisan narratorial perspective of *A Legend of the Wars of Montrose* (1819). Writing with reference to the French Revolution, the historian T. C. Smout commented,

the history of the years 1790 to 1820 in Britain is in some ways dominated by the fear that the mob might be used to effect a similar revolution for radical democracy in this country. (*A History of the Scottish People* (1972), p. 211)

Moreover, as H. W. Meikle has noted in his study on *Scotland and the French Revolution*, at the onset of the French Revolution both church dissension and evangelical preaching were considered to be linked with radical activity. Through his satirical treatment of Presbyterian dissenters in his novels Scott, who was an active supporter of Moderate principles in the Church of Scotland, not only upheld, he also furthered this claim.

¹ *Waverley* (1814), *Guy Mannering* (1815), *The Antiquary* (1816), *The Black Dwarf* (1816), *Old Mortality* (1816), *Rob Roy* (1818), *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* (1818), *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819), *A Legend of the Wars of Montrose* (1819).

To contextualise Scott's satirical view of the Covenanters it is necessary to understand the importance of the place of the church in Scottish society. From the beginning of the eighteenth century the kirk session of the Church of Scotland permeated all aspects of Scottish life, including the collection and distribution of funds under the system of Poor Law, education through public schools, and the control of both moral and social behaviour. As discussed in Chapter Three above a combination of a number of factors; political, social, and religious, led people to become dissatisfied with their local Established Church and thereafter to remove themselves to worship elsewhere, or indeed not at all. Both the Reformed Presbyterian Church and the Secession Church grew in number continuously throughout the eighteenth century and the first part of the nineteenth century to the extent that 'forty per cent of the population of Glasgow by 1819 were said to be dissenters' (Smout, p.218). By the nineteenth century they also included the Associate Synod and the Relief Presbytery. Independent churches such as the Baptist Church, and lay preachers, for example, the Haldane brothers, were also active and growing in popularity at this time. Moreover, within the Church of Scotland itself some of the ministers, like for example, Thomas Chalmers, were turning to a more evangelical style of preaching in contrast to the Moderates who, 'became more and more associated with power, respectability, and worldliness. They ceased to represent, in the eyes of an increasing number of people, any genuinely religious or any genuinely Scottish feeling at all' (Daiches, *Paradox of Scottish Culture*, p.49). Furthermore, Callum G. Brown has noted that it was those dissenters who held to Covenanting such as the Antiburghers (those who refused to sign an oath of allegiance to the 'erastian' King when taking up political positions of power) 'who were in the vanguard of social and religious dissent from the rule of the gentry' (*Religion and*

Society (1997), p.78). It was against this democratising impulse, that Scott wrote his anti-Covenanting satire.

James Hogg, in his *Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott* revealed how Scott felt strongly that religious dissent, if unchecked, could lead to revolt and anarchy.

[Scott] was a complete and finished aristocrate and the prosperity of the state was his whole concern which prosperity he deemed lost unless both example and precept flowed by regular grades from the highest to the lowest. True he wrote two very indifferent moral sermons but he was no religionist. He dreaded it as a machine by which the good government of the country might be deranged if not uprooted. With regard to this feeling I may mention one or two laughable anecdotes. One day Laidlaw and he were walking together in the garden at Abbotsford. The western portion of the mansion was then a building and the architect I think was a Mr. Paterson.

“Well, do you know Laidlaw”, said Sir Walter “that Paterson is one of the best natured intelligent fellows that ever I met with? I am quite delighted with him and he is a fund of continual amusement to me. If you heard but how I torment him! I attack him every day on the fundamental principles of his own occupation. I take a position which I know to be false and stand by it and it is quite amazing with what good sense and good nature the fellow maintains his points I like Paterson exceedingly.”

“O he’s a fine fallow”, said Laidlaw. “An extrodnar fine fallow; an’ has a great deal o’ comings an’ gangings in him. But dinna ye think Mr. Scott that it’s a great pity he should hae been a preacher?”

“A preacher?” said Scott. “Good lord! what do you mean?”

“Aha lad!” said Laidlaw, “He’s a preacher I assure ye. A capital preacher! He’s reckoned the best methodist (or Baptist I have forgot which) preacher in Galashiels an’ preaches every Sunday.”

Sir Walter wheeled about and halted off with a swiftness which Laidlaw had never seen him before exercise, exclaiming to himself, “A preacher! G_d d__n him!” From that time forth his delightful colloquays with Paterson ceased. (Jill Rubenstein, ed. (1999), p. 14)

The west wing of Abbotsford was constructed between 1816 and 1818, immediately after the cessation of the Napoleonic Wars: a time of rising food prices and concurrent agitation for political Reform amongst artisans and weavers. Hogg’s anecdote confirms that at the time of writing his Scottish prose fiction, between *Waverley*, first published in 1814, and the series entitled *The Tales of My Landlord*, which was completed in

1819, Scott equated enthusiasm in religion with revolutionary principles. As indicated, Scott consistently depicts the Covenanters and their descendants the Presbyterian dissenters, as foolish madmen and ludicrous hypocrites. Taken in its political context, he satirises the contemporary Seceders, Independents, and Evangelical clergy in a way that conveys the dangers that the Tory Establishment thought they posed to the stability of society.

Waverley, or 'Tis Sixty years Since, is set in the year 1745, and Scott satirises the Covenanters through their descendants, the Secession Church and Praying Societies who appeared to cling to the seventeenth-century ideals of a covenanted, Christian nation headed by a covenanted, Presbyterian King. In *Waverley*, the clergymen of the Secession churches, namely the Associate Church or Synod, and of the Prayer Societies who joined together in 1743 to become the Reformed Presbyterian Church, are represented as ineffectual, foolish spiritual leaders, and their congregations as ridiculous enthusiasts. This can be seen, for example, in the contrasting descriptions of the hypocritical dissenting inn-keeper, Ebenezer Cruikshanks, and the Cameronian soldier/preacher called 'Gifted Gilfillan'.

The spiritual pride, which, in mine Host of the Candlestick, mantled in a sort of supercilious hypocrisy, was, in this man's face, elevated and yet darkened by genuine and undoubting fanaticism. (*W*, Vol. II, Ch. XII, p.171)

Where Cruikshanks is a comic caricature of a hypocritical over-reacher, Gilfillan's rigid adherence to Covenanting principles is darker, and potentially threatening. Implicit within the scenes where the Seceders and dissenters appear is that separation from the Established Church subverts the Church/State power base, and ultimately leads to anarchy.

Douglas Gifford singled out Scott's depiction of the hypocritically excessive religiosity of the Lowland Presbyterians in *Waverley*, as a 'nice satire on Lowland Presbyterianism'. He perceives that Scott, through his examination of 'the sick state of Scotland' satirises enthusiastic religion to reveal its hypocritical double standards ('The Search for Mythic Regeneration', in *Scott and His Influence* (1982), pp. 181-2). According to Hight's definition of satire, however, 'the type of subject preferred by satire is always concrete, usually topical, often personal' (p. 16). Taken that Scott's 'nice satire of Lowland Presbyterianism' is reflexive of contemporary society, it is more than the gently ironic characterisation that Gifford describes. Preceding their arrival into the village of Cairnvreckan, Waverley and his new companion, the inn-keeper, Ebenezer Cruikshanks, are described in a way that alludes to the anti-romantic satire *Don Quixote*.

[Edward] mounted Dermid accordingly, and sallied forth from the Golden Candlestick, followed by the puritanical figure ... [on the] back of a long-backed, raw-boned, thin-gutted phantom of a broken-down blood-horse, on which Waverley's portmanteau was deposited. (*W*, Vol. II, Ch. VI, p. 149)

The phrase 'sallied forth', the exaggerated use of compound adjectives, and the description that compares Cruikshanks with Don Quixote, indicates that the realistic tone has altered. The allusion to Cervantes, at a key moment in the novel, as the protagonist moves from Highland to Lowland society, indicates that he has moved into satire. Scott's echoing of Cervantes occurs throughout the text. For example, in defining the nature of the novel, the narrator denies that it is 'an imitation of the romance of Cervantes', and that Edward Waverley, in contrast to Don Quixote who is not in touch with reality, 'apprehends occurrences indeed in their reality, but communicates to them a tincture of its own romantic tone and colouring' (*W*, Vol. I, Ch. V., p.18). This

definition serves to portray the narrator as the rational observer, and the corrective to Waverley's romantic perspective of the world.

The courteous respect accorded to the religious and political principles of Edward Waverley, both at Tully-Veolan and Glennaquoich, is juxtaposed to the hostility and religious hypocrisy that he meets in the village of Cairnvreckan. Amongst the dinner guests invited to Tully-Veolan, is a non-juring Episcopal clergyman named Mr. Rubrick. The non-jurors were members of the Episcopal clergy in both Scotland and England who had refused to sign the Oath of Allegiance to William and Mary in 1689, and who had continued to remain supporters of the exiled Stewart monarchy. Following the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715, in which the Episcopalians were implicated, 'many of their meeting houses were closed ... and new and more stringent oaths were required [of which] ... the penalties for non-compliance with the Abjuration Oath of 1719 were six months' imprisonment and the closing of meeting-houses' (William Ferguson, *Scotland 1689 to the Present* (1990), p.127). The quotation from Dryden's *Character of a Good Parson*, 'who, undeprived, their benefice forsook', together with Mr. Rubrick's description as having 'much the air of a sufferer for conscience sake', alludes to the historical background of his religious conviction (*W*, Vol. I, Ch. XI, p.44). However, there is no ironic connotation and both reinforce the depiction of a practitioner of the 'Divine Right of Passive Obedience'. He is a 'pensive and interesting old man', who is good-humouredly mocked by the Baillie for 'the nicety of his scruples', and reported to have been designated by Davie Gellately as being 'a particular good man, who had a very quiet and peaceful conscience' (pp.44-5). The concurrence between the narrator's description and that reported by Davie Gellately, of a man who has suffered much for

his principles, and yet who lives on peacefully with others, gives an overall sympathetic representation of quiet religious piety.

The village of Cairnvreckan is the first that Waverley encounters on leaving Tully-Veolan. Here, the collective religious hypocrisy of the Presbyterian villagers is contrasted with the quiet piety of the Episcopalian clergyman. The Secession Church of the typical Scottish village that Waverley encounters on his travels, is also the village inn. The scriptural allusion of 'The Seven-branched Golden Candlestick' (*W*, Vol. II, Ch. VI, p.144), elevates the simple meeting house to one of the apocalyptic churches of Revelation. This ironically diminishes its religious significance and ridicules the piety of those who worship there.

The proprietor of the inn, Ebenezer Cruikshanks, and in the following scene, the blacksmith, John Mucklewrath, both debate the moral proposition of working on an official 'fast day'. The hypocritical standards adopted by both men who go on to provide the services required, and indeed, to charge double rates, is imputed to the influence of the local Secession clergy. Cruikshanks declares:

I cannot enter into any carnal transactions on sic a day, when the people should be humbled, and the backsliders should return, as worthy Mr Goukthrapple said; and moreover when, as the precious Mr Jabesh Rentowel did well observe, the land was mourning for covenants burnt, broken, and buried (*W*, Vol. II, Ch. VI, p.144).

Cruikshanks's repetition of the stock phrases of the local clergymen reveals, with the references to 'covenants burnt, broken and buried', that they are dissenters from the Church of Scotland, whilst 'said' and 'observe' indicate the extent of the influence of the clergy over the populace as a whole.

The self-revealing character names of the clergymen, 'Mr. Jabesh Rentowel' (**jabesh:** [hebrew], *dry*), and 'Mr Goukthrapple' (**Gowk:** [Scots], *fool, deceive*; **thrapple:** *throat*), represents the Secession clergy as preachers who are 'dry', or spiritually barren, and have 'foolish throats', or are 'deceitful'. This is in contrast to Mr. Rubrick, whose aptronym, (**rubric:** *liturgical direction, CD*), has no satirical connotation and merely denotes his religious calling. Their description as 'worthy', and 'precious' reveals that the villagers do not recognise the hypocrisy or human fallibility of their preachers. Furthermore, the upturned porridge bowl that serves for church bells at the inn is described as being 'the size and shape of a parrot's cage' (*W*, Vol. II, Ch. VI, p.144). In this, and the following scene, the Secession clergy are satirised through the language that is repeated 'parrot-fashion' by the people who blindly follow them.

Cruikshanks tells Waverley that as John Mucklewraith 'was a professor, he would drive a nail for no man on the Sabbath, or kirk fast, unless it were in a case of absolute necessity, for which he always charged sixpence each shoe'. The hypocritical nature of the principles aside, Waverley thinks that by 'professor' Cruikshanks means that Mucklewraith is a 'veterinary professor'. The narrator supplies a different definition, where 'the word was used to denote any person who pretended to uncommon sanctity of faith and manner' (*W*, Vol. II, Ch. VII, p.150). The irony of the anonymous narrator, who is the authoritative voice within the novel, reveals a disjunction between what Waverley thinks and what is suggested by the narrator to be real. This disjunction provides the ironic tone to this chapter, and to wherever Seceders and dissenters appear. It is through this mocking tone that the hypocritical actions of men such as the blacksmith and the inn-keeper are portrayed as being the natural outcome of the

overwhelming influence of the Secession clergy on the social and religious life of the community.

The comic scene between Mucklewrath and his wife that is played out in front of Waverley ironically parallels a scene from Roman mythology. The blacksmith is described as the ‘Vulcan of Cairnvreckan’, and his wife, who was ‘dressed as if her clothes had been flung on with a pitchfork’ as ‘his Venus’ (*W*, Vol. II, Ch. VII, p.151). The similarity between Mucklewrath’s wife and Venus, is that her husband is unable to control her passions, in this case political rather than sexual, whilst the only similarity between the blacksmith and Vulcan, is their trade. His wife raves at the villagers who attempt to stop her from singing Jacobite songs, ‘what d’ye think the lads wi’ the kilts will care for yere synods and yere presbyteries, and yere buttock-mail, and yere stool of repentance?’ (*W*, Vol. II, Ch. VII, p.151). She implies that the real reason for their opposition to the Stewart monarchy, and their support for the Hanoverians, is that they are trying to impose what she sees as the impossibly high moral standards of the Presbyterian Church on to the Highlanders, whom she associates with Jacobites.

The blacksmith ‘interposed his matrimonial authority, “Gae hame and be d___, (that I should say sae) and put on the sowens for supper” ’ (*W*, Vol. II, Ch. VII, p.152). Contrary to Cruikshanks’ description of him, the ‘professor’ is more concerned to uphold his own reputation, than to uphold the tenets of the Church. He is as ineffective in controlling his wife, who turns her wrath on him. She upbraids him for working for the government, ‘hammering dog-heads for fules’ instead of earning a living (*W*, Vol. II, Ch. VII, p.152). The ironic revelations of the narrator, for example in the way that his is seen to be the true depiction of Mucklewrath, together with the inverted allusions

to classical literature which infuse a mocking tone, conveys the impression that the upholders of religion in Cairnvreckan are hypocritical, and have become so, through the influence of the local Seceding clergymen.

Some of the villagers, paralleling the Greek Chorus, interrupt the verbal tongue-lashing and Jacobite song-chanting of Mrs. Mucklewrath, to preach at her.

Is this a time, or is this a day, to be singing your ranting fule-sangs in?—a time when the wine of wrath is poured out without mixture in the cup of indignation, and a day when the land should give testimony against popery and prelacy, and quakerism, and independency, and supremacy, and erastianism, and antinomianism, and a' the errors of the church. (*W*, Vol. II, Ch., p.151)

Their invective is taken partly from Scripture, 'the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation' (Revelation, 14:10), and partly from the titles of the printed declarations and pamphlets of post-Bothwellian Covenanters. For example, 'An Informatory Vindication of a poor, wasted, misrepresented Remnant of the suffering, Anti-popish, Anti-prelatick, Anti-Erastian true Presbyterian Church of Christ in Scotland', written by Alexander Shields and James Renwick, and first published in Scotland in 1687.

The scriptural quotation from the Book of Revelation refers to the eternal fate of those who worshipped the 'beast and his image'. This is interpreted by the 'senators' to allude to Charles Stewart, the exiled Roman Catholic Prince, as representing, in the eyes of the Seceders of Cairnvreckan, 'the beast', and the Jacobites, as those who worship his image. This suggests that the Secession clergy are preaching anti-Jacobite propaganda from their pulpits, portraying Charles Stewart as the Anti-Christ. According to Lenman,

the Presbyterian clergy were totally hostile to the '45, and they carried with them the overwhelming bulk of Lowland opinion, at least to the point of ensuring that Prince Charles received little positive assistance. (*Jacobite Risings in Britain*, p. 257)

The suggestion from the depiction of the Secession clergy and their followers in *Waverley* is that it is they alone who are inciting the people to oppose the Jacobites, and not the Established Church. Moreover, the senators's mirroring of the title of a radical Covenanting pamphlet or declaration, suggests that they cling to the Covenanting ideals of a separate, covenanted Established Church. However, as this is 'some sixty years since' the declarations were first published, it further implies that their views are non-progressive, or stunted. Thus, through the hypocritical double standards of the so-called 'professors', and the rodomontade of the so-called 'senators of the village' (*W*, Vol. II, Ch. VII, p.151), where their denunciations are suggested as denoting the everyday language of the majority of the villagers, the implication is that the Secession clergy have an unnatural, all-pervasive influence on the local populace.

The timely appearance of Mr. Morton, the 'pastor of the parish', saves *Waverley* from harm at the hands of the over-enthusiastic villagers. In his description as a 'venerable clergyman', and a 'worthy man (none of the Goukthrapples or Rentowels)', the narrator draws a clear distinction between him and the Secession clergy (*W*, Vol. II, Ch. VII, pp.153-4). The reductive aside in ellipses, together with his non-pejorative name and the serious tone, denotes that Mr. Morton is different, indeed better than the others. He

preached the practical fruits of Christian faith, as well as its abstract tenets, and was respected by the higher orders, notwithstanding he declined soothing their speculative errors by converting the pulpit of the gospel into a school of heathen morality. (*W*, Vol. II, Ch. VII, p.154)

Mr. Morton practices the Christian tenets of 'faith and practice' of the New Testament; 'faith if it hath not work is dead' (James 2:17). In this way, he is delineated as a Christian, rather than as a supporter of either the Moderate or Evangelical party. The difference between Mr. Morton and the Seceders is that he remains aloof from political propagandist sermons; he preaches 'practical' religion alongside of the Gospel of repentance and salvation. Following a list of the qualities of 'good Mr Morton', the narrator states:

I have never been able to discover which he belonged to, the evangelic or the moderate party in the kirk. Nor do I hold the circumstance of much moment, since, in my own remembrance, the one was headed by an Erskine, the other by a Robertson. (*W*, Vol. II, Ch. VII, p.154)

The fictional Mr. Morton is likened to real people who were revered for their ability to hold an amicable relationship even though they held opposite religious principles. Scott refers to the same people in *Guy Mannering*, when Pleydell and Mannering attend a service in Greyfriar's Church:

"And yet that reverend gentleman", said Pleydell [of Robertson], "...has nothing of the souring or pharisaical pride which has been imputed to some of the early fathers of the Calvinistic Kirk of Scotland. His colleague and he differ, and head different parties in the kirk, about particular points of church discipline; but without for a moment losing personal regard or respect for each other, or suffering malignity to interfere in an opposition, steady, constant, and apparently conscientious on both sides". (P.D. Garside, ed. (1993), Vol. II, pp. 212-3)

In his notes to the 1830 edition of *Waverley* Scott stated that

the Rev. John Erskine, D.D., an eminent Scottish divine, and a most excellent man, headed the Evangelical party in the Church of Scotland at the time when the celebrated Dr Robertson, the historian, was the leader of the Moderate party. These two distinguished persons were colleagues in the Old Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh; and how ever much they differed in church politics, preserved the most perfect harmony as private friends, and as clergymen serving the same cure. (*W*, p.399)

Scott's persistent reference, both in fiction and historical annotation, to the lives of Erskine and Robertson as an illustration of the case for moderation in religious principles, emphasises his distaste for enthusiasm and extremism. Furthermore, in *Waverley*, the credibility of the narrator increases with this reference to actual figures from Scottish ecclesiastical history, and also with the added detail of historical research.

With the credibility of the narrator asserted, and with the character of Mr. Morton delineated as a good and pious man, both of their comments on the soldier/preacher called 'Gifted Gilfillan', must therefore be regarded as trustworthy. Mr. Morton tells the Hanoverian army Major, called Melville, that 'Mercy and long-suffering are the grounds of the doctrine I am called to teach'. (*W*, Vol. II, Ch. IX, p.162). Later, in the same chapter as they debate the fate of Waverley, it is decided to transport him to Edinburgh under the guard of a company of 'armed volunteers' commanded by Gilfillan. Mr. Morton states ' "Gilfillan, the Cameronian. I wish the young gentleman may be safe with him. Strange things are done in the heat and hurry of minds in so agitating a crisis, and I fear Gilfillan is of a sect which has suffered persecution without learning mercy." ' (*W*, Vol. II, Ch. IX, p.165).

Morton's fears are grounded on the fact that Gilfillan belongs to a sect called Cameronians. Contrasted with his prior assertions that as a religious pastor 'mercy' is one of the tenets he is required to teach, his comments on the Cameronians as not practising mercy is what induces him to worry for Waverley's safety. His statement is credible because his character has been portrayed as sincere, and any further comments on the Cameronians are clouded by his views.

The chapter heading, 'A Volunteer Sixty Years Since' (*W*, Vol II, Ch. XII, p.171), which introduces the most radical Covenanting descendant is tinged with irony. This alludes to the title of the novel, to the Covenanting campaigns of 1679, of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge, and also to the age of 'Gifted Gilfillan'. At sixty years old, Gilfillan is too young to have participated in the Covenanting campaigns, yet he is dressed and armed in a similar way to his ancestors. He is characterised as a mirth-provoking figure through his inappropriate dress, and actions, and also by his scripturally laden language. The narrator states:

there was something in the affected precision and solemnity of his deportment and discourse, that bordered upon the ludicrous; so that, according to the mood of the spectator's mind, and the light under which Mr Gilfillan presented himself, one might have feared, admired or laughed at him. (*W*, Vol. II, Ch. XII, p.172)

Although claiming impartiality by giving three ways of viewing Gilfillan, the narrator subtly influences this choice with '*affected precision*', and '*ludicrous*'.

The regimented, orderly and progressive Hanoverian army of Major Melville, is juxtaposed with the 'irregular and mobbish appearance' of the Cameronians (*W*, Vol. II, Ch.XII, p.172). Similarly, Gilfillan's inability to communicate with the Major denigrates those who adhere rigidly to their religious principles, whilst at the same time, portraying the Major as the norm by which all others are to be judged. For example, when Melville is surprised at the reduced size of Morton's escort, Gilfillan replies using an elevated style of diction, "some of the people ... hungered and were athirst by the way, and tarried until their poor souls were refreshed by the word"'. The 'wordly' Melville does not understand his allusions, and wonders why they could not have 'refreshed' themselves at Cairnvreckan House, to which Gilfillan answers with a 'smile

of contempt', that they are ' "waiting upon the precious Mr Jabesh Rentowel for the out-pouring of the afternoon exhortation " ' (*W*, Vol. II, Ch. XII, pp. 172-3). That they are so 'spiritually dry' that they have gone to hear a 'dry' preacher, adds to the irony of the representation. Furthermore, although it is the Major who misunderstands, the humour is directed towards Gilfillan, and his inappropriate diction.

Melville's reaction is one of disbelief that in the midst of an impending rebellion part of the army takes time to attend a Sabbath meeting. Due to Gilfillan's refusal to take the Major's advice, the Cameronians are militarily ineffective, and eventually overwhelmed. This reveals the danger of such a distracting form of total religious observance, as the Major is portrayed as educated, worldly wise and in control of the situation, whilst Gilfillan is portrayed as spiritually proud, and therefore militarily weak. By contrasting the competent Major, and the moderate Mr. Morton, both the products of an 'enlightened' eighteenth-century education, with the ineffectual Gilfillan, the implication is that there is no difference between the earlier Covenanters, and the next generation called in the novel, Cameronians. In the 'sixty years' since the covenanting campaigns of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge, the Cameronians have not progressed in the positive way that both the Major and Mr. Morton have.

As they entered the first village, Waverley had 'asked Callum Beg, if it were Sunday' (*W*, Vol. II, Ch. VI, p.144). Elsewhere in the novel, Waverley is represented as well-educated and moderate. His disregard for the Sabbath, although not for private religious observance, denotes that strict Sabbatarianism, as advocated by the Church of Scotland in the eighteenth century, and which was extolled as part of the Christian life early in the nineteenth century by the dissenters, Seceders and Evangelicals, has no

place in his 'civilised' society. The implication is that Gilfillan's strict form of religion is hindering him from progressing into the kind of person who can fit into such a society, that it blinds him to the futility of his faith by trapping him in a faction-ridden view of society.

The function of the fictional Cameronians is to act as a contrast to the orderly and disciplined Hanoverian army, as contrast is the basis of Scott's anti-Covenanting satire within *Waverley*. Thus, the quiet piety of Mr Rubrick, a 'remnant' of the persecuted Episcopalian Church of Scotland who practices the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, is starkly contrasted with the militant Covenanting 'remnant', represented by the Seceders and Cameronians. Similarly, the religious hypocrisy and ludicrous enthusiasm of the Seceders and dissenters is juxtaposed with the positive representation of religious piety ascribed to a parish minister of the Church of Scotland. The negative and positive models of Christianity proposed within the novel indicate that Evangelicals within the Church of Scotland, and those outwith the Established churches, the Seceders and militant Cameronians, are a dangerous, subversive movement.

In the final chapter of *Waverley*, entitled 'A Postscript which should have been a Preface', the narrator elucidates the background sources for the characters within the novel. Of the villagers of Cairnvreckan,

the Lowland Scottish gentlemen, and the subordinate characters, are not given as individual portraits, but are drawn from the general habits of the period, of which I have witnessed some remnants in my younger days, and partly from tradition. It has been my object to describe these persons, not by a caricatured and exaggerated use of the national dialect, but by their habits, manners, and feelings. (*W*, Vol III, Ch. XXV, pp.339-341)

The narrator claims that the hypocritical actions of the villagers, and the pulpit propagandist Biblical parallelism of the Seceding clergymen, together with the Scriptural invective and military inefficiency of the Cameronians, are *not* exaggerations or caricatures, but derived from representative types. With this end-note of proclaimed veracity the Lowland characters are delineated as part of a realistic representation of Scottish life in the middle of the eighteenth century. This suggests that the events and characters portrayed in *Waverley* constitute one partial view of history. Thus Scott reveals through the anonymous 'Author of Waverley' that this is partial story-telling, or the 'Tory-fication' of Scottish history.

II

Tales of My Landlord

In 1816, Scott changed both his publisher and his prose style. He declared in the 'Advertisement' to *The Antiquary* (1816), that 'the present work completes a series of fictitious narratives intended to illustrate the manners of Scotland at three different periods' (David Hewitt, ed. (1995), p.1). That same month he was negotiating for a '4 volume work a Romance totally different in stile [sic] and structure from the others', as he moved from the Whig publisher, Constable, to the Tory supporting Blackwood (*The Black Dwarf*, P.D. Garside, ed. (1993), p.129). Disregarding, for a moment, the financial implications, Scott's move to Blackwood may indicate that Scott was intending to publish a completely new type of work which Archibald Constable would not consider publishing, and moreover, that Blackwood might object to if he had time to properly evaluate it. Their negotiations concerned Scott's next series of novels entitled *The Tales of My Landlord*, which opened with *The Black Dwarf*, a novella, published

along with the more conventional three volume novel entitled *Old Mortality*.² This last contains Scott's most virulent satire of evangelical clergymen and enthusiastic preaching.

To categorise a work as satire James A. Parr proposes six key areas of definition, along with a variety of more loosely termed 'satirical signals' (*An Anatomy of Subversive Discourse* (1988), p. 137). By using his study of *Don Quixote* as an exemplar, *Old Mortality* can be clearly identified as a satire.

'First, the work generally identifies itself from the outset as satirical in nature' (Parr, p. 133). In his anonymous self-review of the novel published in the *Quarterly Review*, in April, 1817, Scott drew particular attention to the paratext. These are the title, the epigraphs, and Jedidiah Cleishbotham's 'Introduction'.

They are entitled 'Tales of my Landlord:' why so entitled, excepting to introduce a quotation from Don Quixote, it is difficult to conceive: for Tales of my Landlord they are *not*, nor is it indeed easy to say whose tales they ought to be called. (Reprinted in *The Prefaces to the Waverley Novels by Sir Walter Scott*, Mark A. Weinstein, ed. (1978), pp.13-29, p.26)

The review highlights the anomalous title, for they are not the tales told by the Landlord of the fictional Wallace Inn, but the tales collected by a clergyman turned usher in the village school. The analogy between the *Tales* and the quotation from *Don Quixote* is suggested as being the derivation of the title. In its context, the quotation from Cervantes concerns a debate between a priest and an innkeeper about the merits and demerits of chivalric romance and historical narratives. They turn aside from both to a manuscript of unknown generic quality entitled 'The Novel of the Curious Impertinent',

² I have used throughout Douglas S. Mack's 1993 edition of the novel which reinstates Scott's original title, *The Tale of Old Mortality*. When discussing the novel in its contemporary context, however, I will revert to the published denomination of *Old Mortality*.

a novella which significantly concerns a crisis of conscience. The first epigraph of the series is the first verse from Burns's poem entitled, 'On the Late Captain Grose's Peregrinations thro' Scotland, collecting the Antiquities of that Kingdom', which appears under the ambiguous title. This humorous poem ironically celebrates the 'real' life of the antiquarian writer Captain Grose. However, it contains such exaggerations as 'Of Eve's first fire he has a cinder/And Tubalcain's fire-shool and fender' (ll. 37-8).

The quotation from Cervantes's anti-romantic satire *Don Quixote*, is placed immediately prior to the dedication by Jedidiah Cleishbotham. With echoes of Swift, Defoe, and Smollett, the series is introduced by a pedantic schoolmaster with the self-revealing name of 'Cleishbotham'. He narrates the introduction and conclusion in each of the three series entitled *Tales of My Landlord*. Of the 'proem' which introduces the first series, Scott stated in his review, 'we shall only say that it is written in the quaint style of that prefixed by Gay to his Pastorals' (Weinstein, p.126).

Cleishbotham's diction and ironic stance are identical to the hyperbolic style and archaisms in the 'Proem' to *The Shepherd's Week in Six Pastorals* (1714), by John Gay. Scott has adopted more than Gay's style, however. Gay concludes, 'Gentle Reader, turn over the Leaf, and entertain thyself with the Prospect of thine own Country, limned by the painful hand of thy Loving Countryman, John Gay' (Dearing, ed. (1974), p. 92).

The 'proem' of the *Tales* concludes with a similar proposal, 'so, gentle reader, I bid you farewell, recommending you to such fare as the mountains of your own country produce' (*Black Dwarf*, 'Introduction', p.9). Scott indicates that the *Tales*, like *The Shepherd's Week*, will 'illustrate' the 'ancient Scottish manners and ... traditions' of the four corners of Scotland (*TOM*, 'Dedication'). Taken collectively, the ambiguous title, the dedication, epigraphs and 'proem' with their echoes and allusions of satirical or ironic works, set the series within a literary tradition of satire.

The chapter headings, or epigraphs at the beginning of each chapter are integral to the anti-Covenanting strain. In *The Tales of my Landlord*, part of the new 'structure', is the development regarding the epigraphs. The chapter tag or epigraph in previous Scott novels sets the scene, or anticipates the action, and conveys the tone. However, within *Old Mortality*, quotations from Johnson, Butler, Shakespeare, and Burns at key moments in the novel also serve to inter-textualise the anti-Covenanting satire.

Chapters 2, 3, and 5 of volume II which detail the build up to the battle of Drumclog, the battle itself, and the euphoric post-battle preaching in the Covenanting camp, have epigraphs from *Hudibras*. Whilst these quotations both anticipate the events of the chapter, and describe the action, for example, 'With many a stout thwack and many a bang,/Hard Crab-tree and old iron rang' (*Hudibras*, I.2.831-2), heads Chapter 16 which describes the battle of Drumclog, the quotation from Butler's definitive anti-Puritan poem, serves to *contextualise* the scene. Butler, and by allusion Scott, describes the characteristics of both warring sides, but from a Royalist perspective. Taken literally, the epigraph describes the combatants, where the Scottish Covenanters are the farmers using wood, (or more precisely apple-wood, an apt defensive weapon considering the Clyde Valley setting) against the might of the Royalist army using more sophisticated weapons of war. Contextually, however, it becomes a derogatory detailing of an important Covenanting victory. Furthermore, the epigraph heading chapter 5 describes the sermons of Kettledrummy and MacBriar following the Covenanters' triumphant defeat of the Royalists at Drumclog; 'When pulpit, drum ecclesiastic,/Was beat with fist instead of stick' (*Hudibras*, Pt.I.I.11-12). Again, the contextualisation of the Royalist, anti-Puritan perspective dominates the following scene, and serves to denigrate, rather than admire the Covenanting movement. Ian Jack notes of *Hudibras*:

Butler's object in these lines, the essential satirist's object, is to kill any sympathy which the reader may feel for the subject of his satire, moving him instead to amusement and contempt. (*Augustan Satire*, 1953, p.23)

Therefore, along with anticipating the action, the quotations from *Hudibras* sets these key chapters in an established, recognisable tradition of anti-Puritan satire. The epigraph is thus clearly intrinsic to the text as a whole.

The contextualisation of the epigraphs is central to the satiric impulse of *Old Mortality*. For example, the epigraph which heads chapter 9, vol II describing the Covenanters' argumentative council of war prior to the Battle of Bothwell Bridge in a 'miserable cottage' (*TOM*, Vol. II, Ch. 9, p.176), is from Act I. sc.3 ll.79-80, of *Troilus and Cressida*; 'And look how many Grecian tents do stand/Hollow upon this plain - so many hollow factions'. 'Hollow', is repeated in the first line of the chapter, 'in a hollow of a hill, about a quarter of a mile from the field of battle, was a shepherd's hut' (*TOM*, Vol. II, Ch. 9, p.176). This reinforces the depiction which follows of the Covenanters as 'a doubtful and disunited body' (p.177), and further, it implies that they speak 'hollow' words. Contextually, it is Ulysses, the Commander of the Grecian army who comments on the 'hollow factions' within his own camp. He argues prophetically that the disunity within their councils will lead to disorder and defeat on the battlefield. Within *Old Mortality*, it is Morton, the moderate, rational symbol of compromise, who 'was surprised ... at the multifarious confusion of sounds' (p.176) coming from the cottage.

The purpose of these epigraphs, then, is to reinforce the irony already imposed by the characterisation and the language. They are structurally integrated within the text, and as such form an important element in Scott's anti-Covenanting satire. As Berger notes, 'this is no longer a casual, ornamental use of the motto, it is the structural

integration of the tradition he is writing in' ('Damn the Mottoe: Scott and the Epigraph', *Anglia* (1982), 100, p. 386)

'Second, the target or butt of the satire is often some contemporary and near-at-hand issue' (Parr, p. 133). It is by now a critical commonplace that Scott wrote *Old Mortality* out of fear of mob violence generated by post-revolutionary spiralling inflation following the end of thirty decades of European war. Angus Calder noted that there had been a demonstration of support for Napoleon following his escape from Elba, in June, 1815, by thousands of radical weavers and artisans at the historical site of Drumclog (*Old Mortality*, ed. (1975), p.10). For Calder, and more recently for Ina Ferris, the symbolic re-enactment of an historic Covenanting victory had been a major stimulus in Scott's writing (*The Achievement of Literary Authority* (1991), pp. 142-3). That Scott keenly followed the activities of the 'mob' is evident from his correspondence. For example, to John Morritt, he wrote on the 16th May, 1816, 'I fear we shall have riots, which is a serious concern where there is so slender a military forc[e]', and on the 14th December of the same year, he wrote to the Duke of Buccleuch that the 'Artillery is off for Glasgow & also the arms to be deliverd to the Elite of the volunteers. I believe Government are in possession of the plans of the discontented & that they are very extensive' (*Letters*, Vol. IV, p.235, and p. 315). In October, 1816, a large meeting gathered together at Thrushgrove, on the outskirts of Glasgow agitating for political reform. The trials which followed the arrests of those suspected of treasonable activity included that of the Secession minister, the Reverend Neil Douglas, 'a bold and entertaining preacher, whose eloquence frequently outsoared his understanding' (Ferguson, p. 281). He was tried for sedition, in May, 1817, 'accused of having in the course of one of his sermons compared George III to Nebuchadnezzar

who had been driven “from the society of men for infidelity and corruption”’, and further, he ‘had apparently castigated the house of commons where “seats were sold like bullocks in a market”’ (Ferguson, p. 281). Although acquitted of the charge, his arrest is indicative of the mood of Britain, as described by Thomas Chalmers in a letter to R. Tennant, dated 31st July, 1816:

in towns all is clamour and noise and broad manifestation. Out of a single case a world of alarm and exaggeration is constructed, and a fraction is magnified into a whole. (*Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*, Rev. William Hanna, ed. (Edinburgh: Constable, 1850), pp.76-77)

In the heightened and alarmist post- revolutionary atmosphere, radicalism appeared to be reviving under the influence of the Secession clergy. Both Scott’s distrust of dissenters, Seceders and Evangelicals, and the Tory Establishment’s fears were now proved to have been well-grounded: the dissipation of a State- controlled Church gave dissenting clergymen the opportunity to preach democratic principles, and thereby stir up society into open revolt against the Government.

Within the Church of Scotland, the Evangelicals were rising in popularity. In Glasgow, congregations were flocking to the Tron Church to Thomas Chalmers’ ‘Astronomical Discourses’, that he preached every eighth Thursday throughout 1816, and in Edinburgh, Andrew Thomson, ‘one of the ablest and most dashing of the evangelical preachers’ was building up a huge following for his passionate style of preaching the gospel (quoted by David Groves, in ‘Scott, Mr. A.T., and *The Edinburgh Christian Instructor*’, ‘The Scott Newsletter’, No. 17, (Winter, 1990), p. 11). Moreover, between 1814 and 1816, the majority of the debates that came before the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland concerned the morality of Patronage and

Pluralities. From 1806 onwards, there was continuous conflict between the Evangelicals and the Moderates within the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland over these two questions. The General Assembly had the final say on the choice of Minister being inducted into a Parish. As the Moderates, in support of the government, held the majority in the General Assembly, there was constant tension between them and the Evangelicals who thought that it should be decided by the individual congregations and according to a Ministers' calling. Similarly, the placing of Ministers in Universities and other positions of civil power was within the control of the General Assembly. By 1816, it appeared that the Evangelicals were gaining the ascendancy to the extent that they were beginning to gather support from amongst the Moderates. Thus, at a time of rising radical political activity that appeared to be encouraged by the Secession clergy, the Tory/Moderate Establishment was simultaneously under attack from Whig/Evangelical ecclesiastical reformers.

‘Third, the language of satire tends to be comical, cruel, familiar’ (Parr, p. 134).

All of the clergymen have satirical names, for example, John Halftext, Gabriel Kettledrummle, Peter Poundtext, Rumbleberry, Gumblegumption and Habakkuk Meiklewrath. This is in keeping with the anti-Puritan tradition of self-revealing characters, which included names such as Johnson's ‘Zeal -of -the Land Busy’ (*Bartholomew Fair*), and ‘Tribulation Wholesome’ (*The Alchemist*), who represent dissenting clergymen. The impression derived from their names alone is that these men are not to be taken seriously. Moreover, the characters are developed from their satirical names. Thus, ‘Gabriel Kettledrummle’, is in itself an apt name for a fiery Covenanting preacher, and its use could denote mild irony with no satire intended. However, his actions during the battle of Drumclog, where he shelters behind a cairn whilst the battle

rages around him despite being reprimanded by Mause Headrigg to ‘up and be doing, to cry loudly, and to spare nought’ (*TOM*, Vol. II, Ch. 4, p.145), reveals his cowardly nature. Once the raging battle is over, and the enemy have fled, he emerges as one of the victors when he speaks up for his ‘fellow prisoners’.

He laid claim to no small share of the merit of the victory, appealing to Morton and Cuddie, whether the tide of battle had not turned while he prayed on the Mount of Jehovah Nisi, like Moses, that Israel might prevail over Amalek. (*TOM*, Vol. II, Ch. 4, p.150)

The language of the Covenanters is depicted as a continuous stream of archaisms, scriptural allusions and biblical quotations. Kettledrummle’s notion that he can influence Providence as Moses had, reveals, through the disjunction between the mimesis and the diegesis, or the narration and the action, that he is either self-deluded and not in touch with reality, or a liar. He is thus ironically represented as a hypocritical coward, and not the ‘*hero of God*’, that the name Gabriel suggests. The Covenanters won this battle, yet they are ridiculed through the narrative perspective. Their obfuscatory language ironically exposes them as hypocrites, liars and fools, dissociating them from society, and thus revealing a dangerous side of religious extremism.

‘Fourth, the classical recourses of the satirist are irony, violence, exaggeration, obscenity, scenes that offend propriety or aesthetic sensibilities, parody and paradox’ (Parr, p. 135). *Old Mortality* is suffused with violence. The main action is centred on two bloody battles, there is also a prolonged siege, several trial scenes, torture and an execution. The majority of the clergy could be described under ‘exaggeration’ and ‘paradox’, as their actions almost never coincide with their dialogue, as in the example of Kettledrummle above. The novel parodies Cameronian literature, for example, Howie’s *Biographia Scoticana*, and also Wilson’s *Memorials of Free Mercy* both of which were published in 1816, through the exposure to hypocrisy of the high morals

and sincere principles of the Covenanters, for example, in the blood-thirsty opportunism of Burley, and also with the deflation of MacBriar's moment of heroic death at his execution. When the inexperienced Morton admires his 'marvellous firmness and gallantry ... what a pity it is that with such self-devotion and heroism should have been mingled the fiercer features of his sect', the war-hardened Claverhouse reminds Morton that the previous evening MacBriar would not have hesitated to execute him:

"You mean" said Claverhouse, "his resolution to condemn you to death? - to that he would have reconciled himself by a single text; for example 'And Phineas arose and executed judgement'; or something to the same purpose." (*TOM*, Vol. III, Ch.6, p.283)

Claverhouse echoes the Covenanters' practice of reasoning their defensive principles with recourse to certain scriptural texts. His derogatory tone indicates that their ideals and principles are flawed and nothing short of barbaric. As parody 'is the principle underpinning of the entire satiric structure' (Parr, p.135), MacBriar's moment of glory is cynically undermined.

'Fifth, the satirist attempts to offend the reader's sensibilities by having him experience vicariously certain disagreeable features of reality with the object of making manifest things that one might rather overlook, in order, ultimately to produce a sense of protest at conditions' (Parr, p. 136). 'Old Mortality', in the first chapter, alludes to the political and ecclesiastical unrest that was surfacing in Britain following the end of thirty decades of war. He declares,

"We ... are the only true whigs. Carnal men have assumed that triumphant appellation, following him whose kingdom is of this world. Which of them would sit six hours on a wet hill side to hear a godly sermon? ... I trow an hour o't wad staw them ... And now they are gripping to the bow and the spear, when they suld be mourning for a sinfu' land and a broken covenant. (*TOM*, Vol. I, Ch. 1, p.11)

This meeting between Old Mortality and Peter Pattieson, alludes to the Whigs and evangelical clergy of the early nineteenth century who were rising in status and power. In the words of Old Mortality, Scott reminds the contemporary Whigs from whom and under what circumstances their name is derived, and ironically declares that they should be praying for peace, or performing their pastoral duties, rather than provoking unrest.

Humma notes,

Scott's strategy of narration, then, in linking that former time with the present through Old Mortality, (by way of Peter Pattieson) is not to distance us from but to assert the immediacy of that threat of fanatical extremism which formerly had so bloodily divided the Scots. ('The Narrative Framing Apparatus of Scott's *Old Mortality*', *Studies in the Novel* (Winter, 1980) pp.301-315, p.310)

'Sixth ... the emotional response sought from the reader is a mixture of amusement and aversion' (Parr, p. 136). Gabriel Kettledrummle and Mause Headrigg are stock anti-Puritan comic caricatures, and the ironic representations of the martyr Ephraim MacBriar and the charitable widow Bessie McClure deflects admiration from extremist religious views. Following the 'Glorious Revolution', Bessie reveals the personal cost of persecution and war.

"I was anes better off, that is, wordly speaking, ever since I lost them; but that was before this last change' ... [Morton] 'I should have thought the Revolution would have brought you nothing but good.' 'If ... it has brought the land gude, and freedom of worship to tender consciences, it's little matter what it has brought to a puir blind woman like me.' (*TOM*, Vol. III, Ch. 12, p. 328)

Her act of Christian Charity to the Royalist supporter Evandale causes her to be shunned by the Presbyterians and harassed by the Episcopalians. She is forced to live on the fringes of the new society where her physical blindness symbolises the blinkered view of extremism.



Biographia Scotiana;

OR,

A BRIEF HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF

THE LIVES, CHARACTERS, AND MEMORABLE
TRANSACTIONS.

OF THE MOST EMINENT

SCOTS WORTHIES,

NOBLEMEN, GENTLEMEN, MINISTERS, and others, from Mr
PATRICK HAMILTON, who was born about the year of our
Lord 1509, and suffered Martyrdom at St Andrew's, Febru-
ary 1527, to Mr JAMES REEVES, who was executed in the
Grassmarket of Edinburgh, February 17, 1688.

TOGETHER WITH

A Succinct Account of the Lives of other seven eminent Di-
vines and Sir James HAMILTON of Preston, who died a-
bout or shortly after the Revolution.

AS ALSO,

An Appendix, containing a short Historical Hint of the Wick-
ed Lives and Miserable Deaths of some of the most Remark-
able Apostates and Bloody Persecutors in Scotland, from
the Reformation to the Revolution.

*The rights reserved shall be held in executing Translations, Ital. edit. 6.
And of Zoon it shall be said, 724 and that men bear down in their part. 1327. 6.*

GLASGOW:

PRINTED BY EDWARD NISBET, AND CO. 5, SAATCHIE STREET;

FOR

W. SOMMERVILLE, A. TULLOCH, J. MACGILL, & CO.
BOOKSELLERS,

1816.

W. Somerville

Finally, from the numerous ‘other satirical signals’ listed by Parr, ‘the stylization of the main characters by reliance of the theory of the bodily humours, the ridicule of pedantry, [and] the lack of congruence between ... utopian vision and quotidian reality’, can also be identified within *Old Mortality* (p. 137). According to Jonson’s theory of humours characterisation, a predominance of one of the four humours; phlegm, cholera, blood and melancholy, affects the personality.

It may, by Metaphore, apply it selfe
Unto the general disposition:
As when some one peculiar quality
Doth so possesse a man, that it doth draw
All his affects, his spirits, and his powers,
In their confluxions, all to runne one way,
This may be truly said to be a Humour.

(*Ben Jonson: Every Man Out of His Humour*, II.105-190, C.H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, eds., 11 vols (1925-52), II. 103-119)

Excess in any one ‘peculiar quality’ upsets the natural equilibrium that constitutes ‘disposition’, (temperament, or personality). The Covenanting protagonist called Burley, is stylized as a humours character.

In the younger part of his life he had been wild and licentious, but had early laid aside open profligacy, and embraced the strictest tenets of Calvinism. Unfortunately, habits of excess and intemperance were more easily rooted out of his dark, saturnine, and enterprising spirit, than the vices of revenge and ambition, which continued, notwithstanding his religious professions, to exercise no small sway over his mind. Daring in design, precipitate and violent in execution, and going to the very extremity of the most rigid recusancy, it was his ambition to place himself at the head of the presbyterian interest. (*TOM*, Vol. II, Ch.8, p.171-2)

Although the leader of the Covenanters, he is not motivated by religious principles, as his spiritual conversion was not accompanied with a concurrent alteration in his temperament. His ‘dark, saturnine, and enterprising spirit’ or disposition, rather than his religious principles, control his actions.

Finally, the seeming Utopian evasionism of the nineteenth-century Whig supporters who promoted the re-publication of such works as Howie's hagiographical accounts of the Covenanters as a model of liberated religious principles, is offset by the novel's gritty account of bloody warfare, and the revelation of the self-seeking motivation behind it. Their selective biographical compilations portrayed the Covenanters as a homogenous group who heroically struggled against the tyrannical oppression of the State and the Crown to win religious and civil liberty for all classes of people in Scotland.

Overall, the satirical depiction of the Covenanting movement in *Old Mortality*, is Scott's interpretation of the failure of the clergy in Scottish history to lead the people away from factionalism into moderation. Propelled by an apparently real threat that the increasing occurrence of radical activity posed to the stability and structure of the legal, political and religious institutions of Britain, Scott turned from a slightly mocking tone, in *Waverley*, where, for example, the comic blacksmith, 'John Mucklewrath' and the Whig dissenters are contrasted with 'good Mr. Morton', the Moderate Church of Scotland Minister of the Parish, to biting satire in the first of the series entitled *Tales of My Landlord*, where the fanatical haranguing and biblical prophecy of the mad Covenanting preacher, 'Habakkuk Meiklewrath' is juxtaposed with the moderate Presbyterian, Henry Morton, who attempts to lead the Army of the Covenant out of factionalism and into toleration.

III

The Heart of Midlothian, the second in the series of the *Tales of My Landlord*, continues the strain of anti-Covenanting satire. From its publication in December, 1816,

Old Mortality had been denounced by Whig supporters in the law, the Established Church, and the press. The most consistent and lengthy attack was in a series of articles written by the Reverend Thomas McCrie, a Seceding minister, which were published in the *Edinburgh Christian Weekly Instructor*, between January and March, 1817. The entire 'prolegomenon' to the *Heart of Midlothian* (1818), concerns the ongoing 'paper battle' over the historical veracity of the incidents and characters portrayed in *Old Mortality*. Cleishbotham complains ironically that the critics have 'impeached my veracity and the authenticity of my historical narratives', even although he has been 'cautelous in quoting mine authorities' (*HoM*, p.8). "Cautelous", means both 'cautious', **and** 'insidious', or 'artful' (*CD*).

Moreover, the introduction is purported to have been written on the '1 April, 1818' (*HoM*, p.10). The first of April is traditionally 'All Fool's day', or 'Huntiegowk' in Scotland, a time of harmless fun, when people trick their friends and try to make them look foolish. In 1816, Scott had played an 'April Fool' on his patron, the Duke of Buccleuch in the form of a letter. Dated, 'March 31 1816', it was addressed to the 'Duke of Buccleught [sic]', written in a 'feigned hand', and signed with the name 'Sanders McLaugh'. The letter concerns 'a new and excellent system' of planting trees, where

the acorn instead of being deposited in the Ground as is the usual custom should be laid for the space of 3 months in wet straw and to prevent the plant from shooting up to [sic] quick and thereby becoming delicate and Slender, it should be always kept exposed in the Coldest weather of Feby. (*Letters*, Vol. IV, pp. 196-7)

Scott clearly relished the 'April Fool'. Thus, the significant date, together with Cleishbotham's exaggerated protestations of impartiality and veracity serve to satirise the contemporary debates over the historical accuracy of the series.

The character of 'Douce Davie Deans' has aroused much critical debate. Where Gifford finds him 'an arch-compromiser of his ideals and beliefs', Sutherland sees his portrayal as a sympathetic reply to the critical reviews of *Old Mortality*. He states that

a more positive response, and one which tacitly confesses contrition, is the favourable depiction of the Cameronian fanaticism in the characters of Davie and Jeanie Deans, in the next series of the Tales. (*Life of Scott* (1995), p. 200)

The apparent undecidability of the character stems from the disjunction between the mimesis and the diegesis; Deans's 'practice was sometimes a little different from his theory' (*HoM*, Ch. 44, p.443). Scott follows the pattern of characterisation for Deans that he had deployed for the Covenanters in his earlier novels, in *Waverley* and *Old Mortality*, and in doing so, he ironically portrays a self-deluded man who finds difficulty in living up to his extremist principles.

The Heart of Midlothian is set between the years 1736 and 1751. In 1733, clergymen like Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine began to question more openly the rights of the State to interfere with a minister's calling, in what they deemed was the abuse of Patronage. Although they were not formally ejected from the Church of Scotland until 1741, the intervening years saw many Ministers, together with their congregations, seceding from the national church on matters of conscience and principle. In the character of Davie Deans, Scott portrays these inner struggles. His satire against the Covenanters continues, however, as Deans's principles are depicted as backward

looking, and divisive, and derived from his experiences as one of the 'persecuted remnant'.

His attendance at a meeting of the Society People at the latter end of the seventeenth century was a critical moment in his spiritual development.

His brain, however, had been thoroughly heated by the noise, clamour, and metaphysical ingenuity of the discussion, and it was a controversy to which his mind had often returned; and though he carefully disguised his vacillation from others, and perhaps from himself, he had never been able to come to any precise line of decision on the subject. In fact his natural sense had acted as a counterpoise to his controversial zeal. (*HoM*, Ch. 18, p.202)

The points of 'controversy' under discussion at 'Talla-Linns', ranged from the Revolution government's rejection of the Solemn League and Covenant, the lawfulness of recognising such a government, for example, through payment of taxes, or the signing the Oath of Allegiance to the Crown, which all civil 'servants' and clergymen were obliged to do. Deans's inability to either reject or concur with any or all of the points of dispute is reflected in his relationship with his daughters, and with others, where he is revealed as self-deluded, and of deluding others. Yet, although he is a hypocrite, according to the narrator, it is not of his own making, but due to the overwhelming influence of Covenanting doctrine.

The Covenanting conflicts of the seventeenth century are ingrained into Deans's character as he replays the Covenanting battles of 'sixty years since' (*W*). Every event in his life is paralleled with his Covenanting past, as for example, in the narrator's description of his struggles to pay rent to the 'Laird of Dumbiedikes':

Citations by the ground officer, decreets of the Baron Court, sequestrations, poindings of oversight and insight plenishing, flew about

his ears as fast as ever the tory bullets whistled around those of the Covenanters at Pentland, Bothwell Brigg, or Airdsmoss. (*HoM*, Ch.8, p.79).

It is this Covenanting heritage which destroys rather than binds his family. At the critical moment when Effie might confide her relationship with Staunton/Robertson to Jeanie, Deans intervenes with his harangue against the word 'dance':

I bless God (with that singular worthy, Peter Walker the packman at Bristo port), that ordered my lot in my dancing days, so that fear of my head and throat, dread of bloody rope and swift bullet, and trenchant swords and pain of boots and thumkins, cauld and hunger, wetness and weariness, stopped the lightness of my head, and the wantonness of my feet. (*HoM*, Ch.10, pp.102 -103)

Deans's personal view of Scottish history depicts the persecution of Covenanters as a Providential ordering of his life against such 'carnal pleasures' as dancing. He heightens and exaggerates his suffering, however, in the too-numerous paralleling of examples. This throws doubt on to his past, as it is left unstated whether he undertook these trials or merely read of them in pamphlets such as *The Life of Alexander Peden*, by Patrick Walker. Moreover, through this undecidability and exaggeration, his overly-extended harangue appears petty.

Deans's Covenanting principles alienate him from both his family, and the rest of society, to the extent that he is 'Quixotically' deluded. For example, he describes the Laird of Dumbiedikes in terms that are the opposite of his character; 'he was na like his father-he was nae profane company-keeper-nae swearer-nae drinker'. Moreover, the narrator emphasises his delusions by ironically stating 'all this honest Davie said and believed' (*HoM*, Ch. 9, p. 88). Similarly, 'he never suspected' the pseudo-legal expert, 'Bartoline Saddletree', 'of being an ass as he was, but considered [him] as one really endowed with all the legal knowledge to which he made pretension, and only liked him

the worse for possessing it' (*HoM*, Ch. 10, p.105). By contrast, Reuben Butler, the symbol of the rising generation of moderate, rational clergymen can discern the true nature of those around him. When Dumbiedikes asks him, '“ken ye if Mr Saddletree's a great lawyer?”', he ironically replies with tact, '“I have no person's word for it but his own ...but undoubtedly he best understands his own qualities”' (*HoM*, Ch.13, p.135).

The juxtaposition of Deans with Butler highlights the tensions between the Seceders or dissenters, and the Moderates within the Church of Scotland that continued into the nineteenth century. Scott's depiction of Deans, as one of the *potential* originators of the Secession, (he is gradually subsumed into the Established Church, albeit in the microcosmic world of 'Argyle-land'), satirises contemporary dissenting clergy, as he reveals that they were, and implies that they still are, a destabilising force. *The Heart of Midlothian*, is thus Scott's fictional reply to the critics who had denounced his portrayal of religious fanaticism in *Old Mortality*.

Although Scott replied to the critics in his anonymous review that was published in the *Quarterly Review*, in April, 1817, the critical debate surrounding the historical inaccuracies and the fictional misrepresentation of the Covenanters in *Old Mortality* continued 'for two years', and was 'one of the most acrimonious in memory' (Donald G. Priestman, 'Old Battles Fought Anew', *Wordsworth Circle*, Vol XII, no.2 (Spring, 1981), p. 120). For example, Constable published 'A Vindication of the Scottish (sic) Presbyterians & Covenanters, against the aspersions of the author of "Tales of My Landlord"', by a member of the Scottish [sic] Bar' (Glasgow, 1817). It was composed of

three previously published articles which had severely criticized the literary depiction of persecution in *Old Mortality*. The pamphlet concludes,

he has a keen eye and a nice hand for the perception and delineation of subtlety, extravagance, and all the combinations of vulgarity; but the simple elegance of nature he seems unable to comprehend ...the venerable *Cotter* presiding 'with patriarchal grace' over his family devotions, forms a noble picture in the hands of Burns, who exalts our conceptions of humanity, by showing how the grandest and tenderest emotions of our nature expand and bloom in the humblest circumstances of fortune. But such personages as these would be totally uninteresting to our Novelist, unless he might describe one of them yawning at a sermon, and the other wrangling about the orthodoxy of a minister. (p.31)

The Mid-lothian cowfeeder called 'Douce Davie Deans', is Scott's satirical depiction of a 'venerable Cotter'. Instead of 'showing how the grandest and tenderest emotions of our nature expand and bloom in the humblest circumstances of fortune' (p. 31), Scott reveals how extreme religious views corrupt and distort one's 'natural sense' (*HoM*, Ch. 18, p.202). Thus, where the 'priest-like' Cotter presides with 'patriarchal grace'³over his family in scenes of social harmony and mutual love, Deans's 'controversial zeal' (*HoM*, Ch. 18, p.202) dominates the lives of his daughters, and is stated as the reason for Effie's moral downfall. Davie Deans, the vacillating Covenanting veteran is therefore Scott's satirical reply to the critical taunts of the 'Vindication'.

IV

A Legend of the Wars of Montrose (1819), concluded Scott's series of *Tales*, and also (until 1823, when he published *St. Ronan's Well*) novels with a predominantly Scottish setting. It is also his final fictional depiction of the Covenanters. Those of his later novels, for example *Woodstock* (1826), and *Pevekil of the Peak* (1822), which

³ 'The Cottar's Saturday Night', st.XII, l. 3; st.XIV, l.1, in *Robert Burns, Selected Poetry*, Angus Calder & William Donnelly, eds (London: Penguin Books, 1991), pp. 191-7, p.194; p. 195.

were set in England in mid to late seventeenth century continue his satirical treatment of Puritan characters.

The narrative perspective in *A Legend of Montrose* is wholly from the Royalist side, in contrast to the pseudo-middle view of *Old Mortality*. The ironic representation of Argyle and the Covenanters is therefore implicit within the political bias. In contrast to the earlier satire there are no individual representations of Covenanting zealots, nor are there caricatures of fanatical clergymen inciting the soldiers to acts of violence and blood-shed. Instead, the action is narrated in the third person. For example, at the Battle of Tippermuir, where

the presbyterian clergy had not been wanting in their efforts to rouse the spirit of their followers; one of them, who harangued the troops on the very day of battle, hesitated not to say, that if ever God spoke by his mouth, he promised them, in his name, that day a great and assured victory. (*LWM*, Ch. XV, p. 124)

At the end of the description of this battle the narrator verges on the comic when he states that ‘a great many fat burgesses ...broke their wind in the fight, and thus died without stroke of sword’ (p.125). A footnote (by the editor, or Jedidiah, it is not stated by whom), gives the source of this remark as ‘Baillie’s *Letters*, Vol. II, p.92’. This lends realism and veracity to an otherwise ironic comment, and serves to distance the narrator from his more controversial statements on the Covenanters.

As in *Old Mortality*, the epigraph defines Scott’s satirical depiction of the Covenanters as ‘a doubtful and disunited body’. For example, the epigraph to the chapter which is set in Argyle’s camp at Inverary Castle is from Dryden’s *Absalom & Achitophel*; ‘For close designs and crooked counsels fit/Sagacious, bold, and turbulent

of wit/Restless, unfix'd in principles and place/In pow'r unpleas'd, impatient in disgrace' (ll. 152-55). The quotation is from Dryden's description of Shaftsbury, a leading Whig political activist of the turbulent 1680s. Contextually, he represents Argyle and the earlier Covenanting struggles thus implying that both the later and the earlier Covenanting parties were led by men of similar excessive principles.

In conclusion, the representations of the Presbyterian dissenters such as Covenanters and Cameronians in Scott's prose fiction are consistently derisory. Scott's form of satire is an amalgam of elements gleaned from the traditions of anti-clerical satire, from the stock Jacobean anti-Puritan characters, to the hypocritical clerics in Restoration comedy, and from the Augustan satirical attacks on religious hypocrisy and enthusiastic preaching which ranges from Butler, in the seventeenth century, through Swift, to Meston, and Burns at the close of the eighteenth century. Gifford perceived *Waverley*, *Old Mortality* and *The Heart of Midlothian* to be part of 'Scott's attempt to forge a new kind of mythic pattern for Scottish history, in which reasonable compromise is to replace perpetual polarisation' (p. 183). This is partly true. What Scott also did was to satirise contemporary society through this re-invention of Scottish history to reveal the dangers posed to the status quo from ideological principles taken to the extreme.

CHAPTER FIVE

***Unquiet Graves: Representations of the Scottish
Covenanters from 1817 to 1835***

After 1816, increasingly, Scottish writers adopted Leyden's earlier mode of incorporating a traditional, uncritical view of Covenanting hagiography, and of perceiving Scotland's Covenanting tradition as both valuable and worthwhile. Francis Hart noted that the Scottish novelist, John Galt, 'shared with others an impulse to correct Scott's satiric distortion of Scottish presbyterianism'. Hart further explained that 'the Blackwoodians, touched by a new nationalism and by the evangelical revival as well, may be seen in reaction against the cosmopolitan enlightenment to which Scott belonged' (*The Scottish Novel*, pp. 49-50). Hart's attempt to account for the significant change within Scottish prose and poetry in the representation of Scottish Covenanters and Cameronians is partially true. It could also be argued that in the public furore that Scott's novel generated market forces played their part in the move from satirical denunciation. The novel, *The Brownie of Bodsbeck*, by James Hogg, also contributed to the changing attitude. In this chapter, I will argue that in his novels entitled, *The Brownie of Bodsbeck* (1818), *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (1824), and the collection of short stories entitled, *Tales of the Wars of Montrose* (1835), Hogg not only challenged Scott but that through his fictional narrators and editors, and in the deliberately fragmented structure of his novels he was the intermediary who found a way forward out of the truth/fiction dialectic over representational veracity in fiction that Scott's anti-Covenanting novels had generated. This paradigm, I will argue, was taken up by the contributors to *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. Another of the major Scottish novelists writing at this time was John Galt. In his pro-Covenanting novel, *Ringan Gilhaize* (1823), Galt challenged Scott's fictional reconstruction of Covenanting fanaticism through his depiction of the spiritual growth of Ringan Gilhaize, the Presbyterian tenant farmer who single-handedly ensures the success of the 'Glorious Revolution'. Galt insists through

the Gilhaize family memoirs that everyone's history is relevant and worthy of telling in their own words. As with the previous four chapters, I will follow a chronological scale beginning with 1817 and Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe's edition of Kirkton's *History*, and concluding with James Hogg's collection of tales set in the period of the Scottish Civil War entitled, *Tales of the Wars of Montrose* (1835).

As discussed in Chapter Four, a fierce debate between the Edinburgh literati and the Reverend Thomas M'Crie was conducted in the critical reviews of Scott's novels following the publication of Scott's *Old Mortality* in 1816. Along with this reply to M'Crie by way of debate through the pages of the *Quarterly Review*, the Tory satirist, Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe in his capacity as Kirkton's editor upheld Scott's subjective representation of the Scottish Covenanters. In 1817, Sharpe's edition of the seventeenth-century Covenanted clergyman, James Kirkton's manuscript history of the Church of Scotland was published under the title, *The Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland, from the Restoration to the Year 1678* (Edinburgh). In his capacity as editor, Sharpe encased Kirkton's text with an effusion of paratextual material that was derived chiefly from anti-Covenanted sources. For example, to Kirkton's comments that the Covenanted divine Samuel Rutherford was 'eminent ... for his heavenly gifts', Sharpe reductively notes that 'his sermons and letters are replete with blasphemy, obscenity, and nonsense' (p. 41). Overall, Sharpe's annotation serves to undermine and denigrate rather than illuminate or expand Kirkton's text. Like Scott's subjective editing of the Covenanted ballads in *The Minstrelsy*, Sharpe destroys the authenticity of Kirkton's historiographical account and asserts control over his text through satirical denunciation.

The correspondence that passed between Sharpe and Scott in 1817 regarding Kirkton's manuscript reveals the extent to which Scott had become involved in retaining his position as translator of traditional Covenanting historiography.

Scott to Sharpe, January, 1817:

I saw Ballantyne to-day, and gave your note to him before I had yours. He is quite agreeable to do what is reason; and, for my part, I think it would be most scandalous to let the godly carry it off thus. If they are virtuous, shall there be no cakes and ale? Ay, by our lady, and ginger shall be hot i' the mouth too.

I have one or two ill-arranged ideas to cut the back sinews of their impudent undertaking ... All that is done in the matter of Jedidiah, depend on it, you shall see. It is very odd the vol. of Wodrow, containing the memoir of Russell concerning the murder, is positively vanished from the library. Neither book nor receipt is to be found. Surely they have stolen it in the fear of the Lord. And yet it does look extremely queer. (*Letters from and to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe*, Vol. II, pp.142- 143)

Scott to Sharpe, January, 1817:

It was not without exertion and trouble I this day detected Russell's MS., also Kirkton, and two or three others which Mr Macrie had removed from their place in the library, and deposited them in a snug and secret corner. Now I think you should apply either to Sir William Hamilton or some other of the curators, and borrow Kirkton, which, on their receipt, will be given to you. I intend to borrow Russell when I return from Abbotsford on Wednesday. Meanwhile, I have set my amanuensis at work on him, with the view to run him on to the end of Kirkton. If you think fit to defer the application till I come back, you may, but I called to-day to say no time should be lost. I have given an infernal row on the subject of hiding books in this manner. You must push on as fast as you can. (pp. 143-4)

Sharpe to Scott, February, 1817:

By chance I learnt last night that the villanous biographer of John Knox is about to edite Kirkton, after having (I believe) obtained a sight of my copy. Now it was ever my intention to offer Kirkton to Ballantyne after the Queensberry Letters were published, and I am somewhat piqued both as an editor and a Tory in this matter. So I intend to convene Ballantyne on the subject; and if he hath no objections to my plan, should we not advertize the book immediately, and thereby put a stop to the encroachments of the Covenant? I have a good many notes ready, and a Memoir of Kirkton; and at all events, print him who will, my comfort is that I know more about him than that canting rogue M'Crie doth ... Pray, whatever is written on the subject of Whiggery as to 'Old Mortality',

would it be asking too much to obtain a sight of it before it goes to press? My heart is in that matter; and having dabbled so long in the loathsome puddle of Presbyterianism, perhaps I may be able to suggest some useful hints. (pp. 144-5)

These exchanges between Scott and Sharpe reveal the animosity and intense rivalry between the Tories and the Whigs over whig-presbyterian historiography that found its more concrete expression in the annotation to Kirkton's *History*. The letters also disclose Scott's close involvement in Sharpe's edition with his suggestions for Russell's account to be 'run ... on to the end'. Furthermore, Scott's heavily ironic comment of having 'one or two ill-arranged ideas to cut the back sinews of their impudent undertaking', and his allusion to 'Jedidiah', together with his slight mis-quotation from Act II, scene iii of *Twelfth Night* where Malvolio's ultra-Puritanism is mocked by Sir Toby and the Clown, suggests that Scott was at this moment forming the ideas for the next novel in the series of *Tales of My Landlord* which was *The Heart of Midlothian*.

Scott's references to Russell's narrative is particularly telling as a source for the novel. In the novel, Deans's attendance at the meeting of the United Societies at Talla-Linns is a critical moment in his spiritual development. Here, the Cameronians dispute such contemporary controversies as the lawfulness of paying allegiance to the government, for example, through payment of taxes and tolls. In his introduction to Russell's account in the appendix to Kirkton, Sharpe includes lengthy quotations from the Cameronian apologia *Faithful Contendings Display'd*, by Michael Shields, which includes a description of Russell's attendance at this meeting:

he, being *a man of a hot and fiery spirit*, bred strange confusion in the assembly, by the strictness of his questioning as to their proceedings, and more particularly *if they or their society were free of paying customs at*

ports and bridges, which base compliance with law Russell held in abomination. (The emphasis is by Shields. *Secret and True History*, pp.399-400)

In *The Heart of Midlothian*, Scott elides Shields's account into the narrative,

His [Deans] brain however, had been thoroughly heated by the noise, clamour, and metaphysical ingenuity of the discussion, and it was a controversy to which his mind had often returned; and though he carefully disguised his vacillation from others, and perhaps from himself, he had never been able to come to any precise line of decision on the subject. In fact his natural sense had acted as a counterpoise to his controversial zeal. (*HoM*, Ch. 18, p.202)

According to the narrator, Deans becomes a vacillating hypocrite due to the overwhelming influence of Covenanting doctrine. In the novel, as events unfold it is this destructive influence that disables Deans's ability to enter into effective relationships. These letters, then, confirm, in Scott's desire not to 'let the godly carry it off', that *The Heart of Midlothian*, as discussed in the previous chapter, is anti-Covenanting satire.

Overall, the exchange between Sharpe and Scott demonstrates how the paper war of words between *The Edinburgh Christian Instructor* and *The Quarterly Review* became a physical battle over access to Covenanting manuscripts and documents as both sides denied or 'hid' the evidence that could have convicted or absolved the competing Covenanting historiographies. Moreover, the battle for ownership of Kirkton's manuscript, signifies the battle over authorial control that became the central concerns of Hogg and Galt.

The genesis of *The Brownie of Bodsbeck*, is the imitation ballad entitled, 'Mess John', that Hogg had included in *The Mountain Bard* (1807).¹ The novel expands the

¹'Mess John' is fully discussed in the final section of Chapter Three.

central action of the ballad which had been the murder of an Episcopalian Curate in the Borders in 1685 by two ‘champions of the Covenant’. In the novel John Grahame of Claverhouse is called to the Border region to investigate the murder of this same Curate. Like the ballad, the novel is a polyvocal blending and at times juxtaposing of omniscient and traditional narrators, or more particularly, nineteenth-century editors and seventeenth-century tenant farmers, with printed records. As discussed in Chapter Three, in ‘Mess John’, Hogg drew on Scott’s paradigm of juxtaposing subjective annotation and traditional balladry to develop his unique tale that derived elements of Covenanting demonology and Episcopalian satiric denunciation yet which paradoxically maintained a sympathetic representation of the Covenanters as upholders of virtue and morality. In *The Brownie*, Hogg subverts the traditional tale through the tension that he creates between the omniscient narrator, or editor of Walter Laidlaw’s tale, and the tale that Walter Laidlaw ‘was wont to relate’ (Ch. III, p. 18).

The novel begins *in medias res* in balladic style as an omniscient narrator describes the events inside Chapelhope farm, ‘“It will be a bloody night in Gemsop this,” said Walter of Chapelhope, as he sat one evening by the side of his little parlour fire, and wrung the rim of his wet bonnet into the grate’ (Ch. I, p. 1). The narrator, it becomes clear at the beginning of the second chapter does not live, or belong to the Border peasant life. He interrupts the narrative to explain his unusual mode of narration. He states, ‘before proceeding with the incidents as they occurred, which is the common way of telling a story in the country, it will be necessary to explain some circumstances alluded to in the foregoing chapter’ (Ch. II, p. 10). The narrator thus dissociates himself from traditional tale-telling in the ‘common way ... in the country’.

The narrator also takes on the role of editor and translator. At the beginning of chapter three, the narrator allows Walter to relate his meeting with the Cameronians on the hillside. His introduction to Walter's story, however, reduces it to a literary specimen rather than promoting it as an accurate account of events:

it may be haply acceptable to the curious, and the lovers of rustic simplicity, to read it in his own words, although he drew it out to an inordinate length, and perhaps kept his own personal feelings and prowess too much in view for the fastidious or critical reader to approve. (p. 18)

At the end of the same chapter the narrator interrupts Walter, as

he never went farther with his story straight onward than this; for it began to involve family concerns, which he did not much like to recount. He had a number of abstract stories about the Covenanters and their persecutors; but as I must now proceed with the narrative as I gathered it from others, these will be interwoven in their due course. (p.24)

There is irony in 'straight' from a narrator who continually disrupts the narrative with 'diffuse and miscellaneous matter' (Ch. XI, p. 112). Moreover, it is from this point that the narrator turns editor as he interweaves Walter's tale with material that he 'gathered ... from others'.

The 'story', then, is not only Walter Laidlaw's but an amalgam derived from fire-side tales, Church of Scotland historiography (in Hogg/the editor's footnote from Wodrow, Ch.V, pp.47-8), Cameronian historiography (in the footnote from *A Hind let Loose*, by Alexander Shields, Ch.IV, pp. 25-6), and Cameronian biography in the form of a pamphlet entitled, *A Cameronian's Tale, or The Life of John Brown, written by himself* (Ch.XVII, p.168).

In *The Achievement of Literary Authority*, Ina Ferris noted that the narrator lets 'Walter tell his story' (p. 189). *The Brownie* is not just Walter's fire-side tale, it is

everyone's history: Church of Scotland apologia, Cameronian hagiography, and nineteenth-century subjectively-edited texts. Further, Ferris notes 'Hogg ... adds textual authorities to support the reports of orally based tradition' (p. 188). I would argue that in *The Brownie*, Hogg values the oral above the printed text. Douglas S. Mack notes in his notes that Wodrow's account 'differs considerably from the one described by Hogg, and the words which Hogg quotes are not taken from Wodrow' (p. 185). Furthermore, the *Life of John Brown*, that the editor claims will clear up any mysteries unresolved by the end of the 'Tale' does not exist (p. 168). Hogg subverts the oral tale with inauthentic records and thus questions those who would value recorded and edited printed texts over orally transmitted 'rural and traditional tales'.

In *The Brownie* the murder of the four Royalist soldiers and their guide is never fully explained within the text as the incident remains shrouded in secrecy and does not enter into the 'official' records. On hearing of the murder Claverhouse 'concealed from the privy council the loss of these five men, nor did they ever know of it to this day' (Ch.II, p.17). Later in the novel, the editor/narrator adds a footnote to the Cameronians' protestations that they were in any way involved. Following a quotation from an actual Cameronian pamphlet entitled, *An Informatory Vindication*, the editor/narrator notes that the phrase 'other offences' from the pamphlet

unquestionably refers to the slaughter of the Highland soldiers; about which, there was great stir and numerous conjectures in the country; although, owing to the revolution that immediately followed, the perpetrators were never taken, nor the cause tried in a court of justice, nor indeed was the incident ever generally known. (Ch.IV, p. 26)

The editor/narrator relates an unverified account of the 'secret history' of the unexplained murder of Royalist soldiers, and gives authenticity and historicity to an

otherwise unrecorded, and therefore un-historical event. He creates history from orality and invests it with truth.

The Brownie of Bodsbeck was published along with two shorter tales, 'The Hunt of Eildon' and 'The Woolgatherer'. Crouty, the 'stupid' shepherd in Hogg's short story entitled, 'The Hunt of Eildon', asks, 'should the truth be tauld or no tauld? That's the question. What's truth? Ay, there comes the crank! nae man can tell tha -for what's truth to ane is a lee to another. ... Truth's just as it is ta'en' (Vol.II, pp. 235-6). In *The Brownie*, too, and his later fiction, *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, and *Tales of the Wars of Montrose*, Hogg questions the translators of oral tradition: Presbyterian apologists, Cameronian hagiographers, and nineteenth-century 'enlightened' Editors.

Joan Milne and Willie Smith's article entitled, 'Reviews and Magazines: Criticism and Polemic', emphasises the significant role of the periodical in nineteenth-century Scotland. They state that 'the periodical of late eighteenth to mid nineteenth century, particularly in Scotland, demonstrates exactly a process, not just a commenting on the whole surge of change in society, but actively becoming a more important agent itself in that change' (in *The History of Scottish Literature*, Cairns Craig, ed., Vol. III, pp. 189-202, p. 189). The articles that were published in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* that take Scottish Covenanters as their theme increased in the period following the publication of *The Brownie of Bodsbeck*. Between 1819 and 1822 Thomas Gillespie, Allan Cunningham, and John Galt, contributed a number of factual, fictional and pseudo-fictional poetry, ballads, tales and biographies where they drew on Hogg's paradigm in *The Brownie* that celebrated the Covenanters for heroic resilience in the

face of tyranny as it also abhorred the Cameronian descent to violence. Below is an examination of a few of these articles published in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* between 1819 and 1822.

Thomas Gillespie, was a Church of Scotland clergyman who in 1839 was appointed to the professorship of humanity at Saint Andrews University. He contributed several articles to *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, including poetry, and biographical and historical description of Covenanting 'worthies' derived from manuscripts, traditional informants, and from Wodrow and Walker. His articles included, 'John Brown, or The House in the Muir', and 'Scraps of the Covenant: Alexander Peden, The Cock o' the North' (November and December, 1822, Vol. XI, pp. 663-667 & pp. 695-701). These were later reprinted in a collection entitled, *Tales of the Borders* (n.d.). In September 1819, he published, anonymously, in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* a history of the town of Saint Andrews in verse (Vol. V, pp.634-638). 'Sanctandrews' has forty stanzas of nine lines in heroic couplets rhyming ababcdcd. Through the poem Gillespie vigorously promotes a sympathetic representation of Covenanting historiography. Over stanzas 10 to 18 he represents the different phases of religion in Saint Andrews, 'let me muse on all this motley crew,/That graced or shamed this memorable place' he says (st. X. ll.1-2). In the repetition of the refrain, 'and let it pass', Gillespie highlights each distinct period as he moves from the destruction of the 'once splendid' cathedral prior to the Reformation under John Knox, to the 'inhuman act' of the burning of Wishart by the 'accurst' Cardinal Beaton (sts. x-xiii). He compares the assassination of Beaton and Sharpe and regrets that the cruelty of Sharpe's murder brought 'obloquy and blight/[to] the

covenanted cause' (st. xiv, ll. 8-9). In the two following stanzas he invokes an heroic memorialising of the Covenanters:

And died the Shepherd at his sheiling door,
 And gasped frail womanhood amidst the flood,
 Did Scotland grieve from east to western shore,
 Her glens and mountain-wastes besmeared with blood?
 Hast *thou* on every free-born feeling trod,
 With unrelenting malice urging on,
 Condemned the guiltless, and betrayed thy God,
 Till all the cup of crime was overrun,
 And must we own, at last the deed was foully done?

Not all the sympathy thy fate demands,
 And every human heart will mourn the deed
 Which stained with priestly blood unholy hands,
 Nor revered a parent's hoary head,
 But in a daughter's presence, saw him bleed!
 Not all the power, that party can attest,
 That even *this* lying monument can plead,
 Can wipe one drop from thy mitred crest,
 Nor of eternal shame thy memory divest. (sts. XV-XVI)

Gillespie's insistent rhetorical questioning at the beginning of the fifteenth stanza resorts to an inversion of the condemnation he states has been imputed to all Covenanters. As parents, the Covenanters can empathise with Sharpe's daughter who had witnessed the brutal murder which proves, according to Gillespie's reasoning, that they are not all inhuman or murderous. Gillespie is partly ironic, partly rhetorical when he asks 'and must we own, at last, the deed was foully done?' He calls for an acceptance of the violence of the past of both sides in order for the reconciliatory process to begin. But this process, he insists, means accurately recording the events and characters of the past, even on the tombstones of the dead. To emphasise this point Gillespie notes that the monument to those men who were executed for allegedly taking part in the murder, 'was lately re-erected by a friend of ours, who wrote the following lines on the occasion'. The last stanza of the four which Gillespie quotes dispels the

view of the Covenanters as rebels and completes their re-instatement into a Scottish rather than purely whig-presbyterian historiography:

And never from the Scottish heart,
Escape the grateful feeling true,
To those who lived the Patriot part,
And died the Patriot Martyr too! (p. 635)

Gillespie also contributed a series entitled, 'Sketches of Village Characters', to *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. Alan Strout notes that these are 'powerful and caustic pictures of contemporary types' (*A Bibliography of Articles*, p. 17). Gillespie noted 'my sketches are not poetry-but pray so consider them, and print them as such' (Strout, p.17). In one 'sketch' entitled, 'Adam Harkness', Gillespie describes the descendant of the Harknesses of Locherben (from where Hogg had derived his source material for 'Mess John'). Gillespie depicts Harkness in terms of his relationship with the past; 'his are the habits of a former day-/A bonnet blue, a coat of Parson gray;/Opinions too, he owns of kindred hue-/He loves the old but deprecates the new' (*Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. VIII, pp.620-4, ll. 3-6). As in his poem of 'Sanctandrews', Gillespie revises the view of the Covenanters as unpatriotic:

None were more loyal-approved than he,
When faction braved the throne in ninety-three-
'Twas then he spoke, of rights so dearly bought-
Of British rights, for which his fathers fought.
'Twas *then* he put his influence abroad,
To serve his king, his country and his God. (ll. 31-7)

Over the following lines Gillespie reiterates a traditionally hagiographic account of Royalist persecution and pious Covenanting in the 'sad years'; 'when wives stood weeping by, whilst Husbands bled,/And screaming children bent the knee and pled' (ll.55-6). In his concluding lines Gillespie directly addresses the present reader as he

compares his own patriotism and reverence for traditional Cameronian hagiography during the contemporary revolutionary atmosphere of 1821 with that of ‘Adam Harkness’ during the events of the French Revolution.

I prize my charter’d rights, nor would forego
My British liberty for Gallic shew:
No airy plans I hatch of Government,
Nor stickle for an annual Parliament;
Of Ministers, the topic of the day,
Or good or bad, I’m seldom heard to say.-
I pity much, despise, and ever shall,
The guilty and misguided “Radical”.
But should I ere forget this Shepherd’s tale,
Oh let not aught on earth my peace avail. (ll.71-82)

Gillespie’s emphatic dual alliance to patriotism and veneration of perceived seventeenth-century ‘radicals’ alludes to the uprising of artisans and weavers in Scotland in April, 1820. William Ferguson has noted that from the time of the ‘Peterloo Massacre’ in England, in 1819,

not only was radical literature, such as Wooler’s periodical *The Black Dwarf*, being widely disseminated, but numerous local radical unions were also springing up in the manufacturing counties of the west and with a central committee in Glasgow. There a plot of some kind was undoubtedly being hatched which its projectors hoped would be co-ordinated with risings in England; but it was scotched by the arrest of its leaders in February, 1820. (*Scotland: 1689 to the present* (1990), p. 284)

An attempted uprising, of sorts, did happen in April, in the same year when ‘a small band from Strathaven in Lanarkshire, which included an old jacobin James “Perley” Wilson, marched on Glasgow; but on the outskirts they could not find the promised reinforcements and dispersed quietly to their homes’ (Ferguson, p. 284). In a pamphlet published in the same year as ‘Adam Harkness’, William Aiton, Sheriff-Substitute of Hamilton claimed that these ‘Radicals’ had aligned themselves with Covenanters. He noted,

when the Strathaven party set out in arms to join their Brethren at Glasgow, upon 5th April, 1820, some of them were heard to declare, that they would not give their chance of that day's booty for £1000; and the oldest man of the party roared out on the Street to his brethren in arms, like the commanders at Drumclog, "*Now mind Lads that no quarter is to be given*"!! ('A History of the Rencounter at Drumclog', p.129)²

In 'Adam Harkness', Gillespie insists that his veneration of the Covenanters does not implicate him with radicalism. Furthermore, the publication of the poem in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* at such a politically sensitive time reveals how far the representations of Scottish Covenanters had changed since Scott's satirical depiction in *Old Mortality* in 1816.

Between October, 1819 and January, 1821 Allan Cunningham published a series of twelve lengthy tales in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, entitled, 'Recollections of Mark Macrabin, the Cameronian'. The Cameronian protagonist undergoes a variety of adventures in the Scottish countryside where he encounters Border shepherds, farmers, a religious sect who named themselves Buchanites, gypsies, and Highlanders. The series was published throughout the intense atmosphere of the early 1820s when, as noted above, anyone associating with Covenanting tradition was suspected of fostering radical reforming tendencies. Through these 'tales', Cunningham portrays the Cameronians of the later eighteenth century and early nineteenth century as harmless, if eccentric. He emphasises their unattractiveness to the present age. He states in the first of his 'Recollections', 'the Cameronians make few converts ... there is a falling off among the flock' (Vol. VI, p. 174). Cunningham's purpose with his series of 'tales' appears to be to diminish the perception of the Cameronians as radicals. They have moments of slight humour but this is not generally directed at the Cameronians. This is

² Angus Calder noted in his edition of *Old Mortality*, that Aiton also made a similar comparison between the protestors of 1815, p.10.

revealed, for example, in the exchange between ‘Miles Cameron’, the narrator of the tales, and ‘Mr Marmaduke Grunstane’;

[Grunstane] ‘may I never finger a rate more, if this same suspicious sort of a man is not become more dangerous than ever ... since this same Mark Mack-what d’ye callum-and his shop came among us, evening and morning-he utters the strangest things-sings seditious songs, reads seditious books, and prays treasonable prayers. I have heard him sing cursed strong things, sir- “The Lord’s my shepherd, I’ll not want,” which means more, sir, than meets the ear’. (‘Recollections II’, February, 1820, Vol. VI, p. 513)

The ‘treasonable books’ are disclosed as ‘cheap tracts, or *Peden’s Prophecies*, or Zachary Boyd’s last battle’, while Grunstane’s ‘misunderstanding’ of Macrabin resolves around his name, ‘an outlandish name and an old one; but a name good enough for all that: and you write after you[r] name, “Cameronian”, some radical designation, I presume’ (p. 514-5). Overall, in the twelve ‘Recollections’ the Cameronian point of view is represented as regressive and unusual, but not rebellious or revolutionary, and certainly not radical.

‘The Cameronian Ballads’, also contributed to *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* by Cunningham, in contrast to the ‘Recollections’, are satirical. The article begins with Cunningham reiterating his reverence and noting their particularities. He begins, ‘the Cameronians are a pastoral, a poetical, and an enthusiastic people; great lovers of mountain solitudes, and the fresh green gifts of country nature’. He goes on to distinguish the Cameronians from ‘the vulgar and mechanical sectaries of the South, with whom they have been compared, and by many confounded’ (‘Cameronian Ballads’, August, 1820, Vol. VII, p. 482). Indeed, Cunningham’s article details at length the numerous differences between the English dissenters and the Scottish Cameronians, or Reformed Presbyterians. Furthermore, he notes that ‘it has been the

custom to laugh at the simplicity and singularity of the Cameronians', and he cites the 'mimickries of the graceless and the profane' poets such as Meston, and

the Mighty Warlock of Caledonia, [who] has shed a natural and supernatural light round the founders of the Cameronian dynasty; and as his business was to grapple with the ruder and fiercer portion of their character, the gentler grace of their nature were not called into action, and the storm, and tempest, and thick darkness of John Balfour of Burley, have darkened the whole breathing congregation of the Cameronians, and turned their sunny hill-side into a dreary desert. (pp.482-3)

This statement becomes ironic with the ballads that Cunningham publishes. The first is an extract of a ballad that begins, 'A bloody hand and a bloody brand/I loose on thee, thou false Scotland!/A cruel heart and an unsparing sword/I loose on thee for rejecting the word' (p. 484). The violence-inciting rhetoric jars with Cunningham's introduction of 'pastoral and poetical' Cameronians. This, I would argue, is part of Cunningham's satiric design.

In his introduction Cunningham notes his role as editor/translator of the traditional ballads that he has collected. He states,

however much some of the ballads may be modified and modernized in their oral passage from the period of the persecution, that something of the ancient spirit still remains to hallow them-that the ore is the same, though the stamp is different. I have also, with the usual sagacity of an editor, hazarded sundry emendations, and even ventured to supply some lines where the treacherous memory of the reciter left the sense imperfect. If these remain undiscovered, I shall feel rewarded. (p. 483)

Following his admission of interpolation and 'emendation' of the traditional ballads, Cunningham reveals within his introduction that the ballads are not genuine.

Overall, there are six ballads with such titles as, 'The Cameronians rejoice in the Discomfiture of the Godless at Drumclog', and each ballad is as hate-filled as the first extract. In this article, then, Cunningham adopts the convention of satiric inversion,

where he says the opposite of what the texts themselves reveal. The disjunction of the editorial-style introduction reveals both that ballads are satirical hoaxes and that the editor is a fraud. In the same month that the article was published 'a movement for Royal Mercy' was set up to attempt to overturn the sentence of execution passed in July of 'a sixty-three year old weaver' named 'John Wilson' for his part in the radical uprising of April.³ Cunningham's satiric inversion suggests that it is wrong to accept at face value everything that was published as being representative of the Cameronians, and contextually, he separates the Cameronians from radicals.

From February, 1821 to December, 1822 John Galt contributed a series of short stories entitled, *The Steamboat; The Voyages and Travels of Thomas Duffle, Cloth-Merchant in the Saltmarket of Glasgow, to Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. Thomas Duffle's voyages between London and Glasgow are used as the framework for the tales which are related to him by his fellow-travellers. 'The Covenanter', which is a biographical account of the Covenanter, John Blackader, is related to Duffle by 'a young man of a demure and clerical look' who proposes that he will give a tale, 'suitable to the place and the objects around him' (in December, 1821, Vol. X, pp.661-5, p. 661). The 'object' in view was the Bass Rock, an island off the east coast of Scotland which had been used as a prison during the second half of the seventeenth century.

Interwoven throughout the story that the young man relates is criticism of Scott's treatment of the Covenanters in *Old Mortality*. He states, 'of late a spirit seems to have

³P. Berresford Ellis & Seumas Mac a'ghobhainn, *The Scottish Insurrection of 1820* (London: Pluto Press, 1989), pp.268-9.

gone abroad, at war with that reverence which Scottish hearts were once taught to cherish for the martyrs of their national religion' (p. 661), and later, he comments:

in this backsliding age, it is a proud thing for Scotland to have witnessed the late breaking forth of the good old spirit; for when the GREAT UNKNOWN, as some call him, put out his tale of Old Mortality, true Presbyterians conceived that he had laid an irreverent hand on our great national cause, the Covenant; and, animated by the spirit of ancient zeal, immediately began to repair the tombs of the martyrs in almost every place where they had fallen into decay. (p. 662)

Finally, following a quotation from the Scottish Privy Council Records which noted that Blackader had been accused of 'unlawfully convocating the subjects in fields and private houses every Sabbath, where they were in the custom of baptizing the children of disloyal persons', he triumphantly claims, 'romance is beggared when history records the follies of statesmen' (p. 664). This statement which can be construed as a direct attack on the justice of Scott's romance does not appear in the reprinting of 'The Covenanter', in *The Steamboat*, 1822.

Through his short story Galt accused Scott of committing two major faults in his representation of the Covenanters in *Old Mortality*: he was disrespectful, and 'Romance' was not the best form for representing history. In 'The Covenanter' Galt epitomised the debates from the previous five years where M'Crie had accused Scott of denigrating the Covenanters, and Scott had countered by 'saying that he was writing romances' (Ferris, p.151). It was a debate in which Galt later engaged with his novel entitled, *Ringan Gilhaize*, which was neither 'irreverent', nor 'a romance'.

Overall, a study of the articles from *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* reveals three significant things. Firstly, Hogg's, rather than Scott's, was the paradigmatic

structure that was adopted by authors and poets; secondly, that increasingly the traditional notion of the Scottish Covenanters and Cameronians as heroic that previously had been the property of Seceders and dissenters became more widely acceptable with others, including those within the Church of Scotland; and thirdly, the fact that the Tory supporting *Blackwood's* published pro-Covenanting literature at all suggests that it was both receptive and responsive to its readership, and that that readership could accept Hogg's paradigm of whig-presbyterian historiography.

Increasingly, then, from the period after *The Brownie of Bodsbeck* was published, Cameronians, who had figured largely in Hogg's novel, became acceptable subjects for fiction that was not satirical. While the contributors to *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* appeared to engage in a programme of rehabilitation one of the side effects was the emergence of a new strain of sentimental, ultra-hagiographic poetry and prose. The chief purveyor was John Wilson, the Tory editor of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. In 1822 in his anonymously published collection of short stories entitled, *Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life; A Selection from the Papers of the Late Arthur Austin*, Wilson integrated the Cameronian hagiographic tradition of pious resistance to tyrannous authority into his idealised portrait of Scottish rural simplicity. Andrew Noble has argued of Wilson that 'his main device was to present an ahistorical, apolitical image of a nation of pious, peasant communities' ('John Wilson (Christopher North) and the Tory Hegemony', p. 135). A short extract from 'The Covenanter's Marriage Day', confirms Noble's assessment:

The bridegroom was sitting there with his bride, and her bridesmaid; and by and by, one friend after another appeared below the natural arch that, all dropping with wild flowers, formed the only entrance to this lonely Tabernacle. At last they all stood up in a circle together- shepherds

decently apparelled,- shepherdeses all dressed in raiment bleached whiter than the snow in the waters of the mountain-spring, and the grey-headed Minister of God, who, driven from his kirk by blood-thirsty persecution, prayed and preached in the wilderness, baptized infants with the water of the running brook, and joined in wedlock the hands of those whose hearts longed to be united in those dark and deadly times. (p.257)

The scene is reminiscent of Grahame's idealised portrait of the Covenanters in *The Sabbath*,

and no more
 The assembled people dared, in face of day,
 To worship God, or even at the dead
 Of night, save when the wintry storm raved fierce,
 And thunder-peals compelled the men of blood
 To couch within their dens; then dauntlessly
 The scattered few would meet, in some deep dell
 By rocks o'er canopied, to hear the voice,
 Their faithful pastor's voice: he by the gleam
 Of sheeted lightning oped the sacred book,
 And spake words of comfort: O'er their souls. (ll.67-77)

Grahame's poem was sounding a note against the Establishment through his ironic inversion: the Church was still intolerant; people could still not worship as they pleased. Wilson's depiction is a sanitised tableau of a country wedding that happens to take place during 'those dark and deadly times'. There is no metaphoric straining to unite the bride-bridegroom with Christ and the Covenanting Church. Moreover, the clergyman's only purpose is to tend his flock where the shepherds are 'decent' in more than their apparel. Overall, through his overly-sentimental representation of the Covenanters in his short stories Wilson defused the image of the Covenanters as violent incendiaries and re-presented them as both unradical and unthreatening.

Ina Ferris stated that John Galt's epigraph to *Ringan Gilhaize* from Grahame's *Sabbath* was a 'challenge to Scott' (*Achievement of Literary Authority*, p.178). Galt's

opposition to Scott, she suggests, is in his treatment of the history/tradition dialectic. In *Ringan Gilhaize*,

we have a telling of the past that illustrates the working of one kind of popular memory and uncovers the degree to which it depends on a totalizing imagination that renders time, in a sense, always present. (The discussion of *Ringan Gilhaize* is on pp. 178-165)

Whilst this is true on one level on another the epigraph signifies more than Ferris acknowledges. In her annotation, Ferris does not take into account Grahame's early satirical poetry or his attack on Scott's treatment of the Covenanters in *The Minstrelsy*. She notes only that Grahame 'was a lawyer and a clerk in the Church of England' (p.178). In the novel, the epigraph is noted as '*Grahame's Sabbath*', which unites the poet and poem and recognises its anti-Establishment context. With this signifying framing device, *Ringan Gilhaize* is both an attack on Scott's treatment of Covenanting historiography, and also on the contemporary 'Tory hegemony' of those such as John Wilson. Galt re-presents the Covenanting struggles of the past as an ongoing battle, but the battle has moved on from 1816. Now, some seven years later, Galt upholds traditional whig-presbyterian historiography in a rebuttal of Scott's ongoing anti-Covenanting satire (Scott's *Novels and Tales* were reprinted in 1822 and in September, 1823), and also the 'unconvincing picture of humanity' propagated by John Wilson (Douglas S. Mack, 'Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life: James Hogg's *Three Perils of Woman*', *Scottish Studies* (1985), p. 15).

Ringan Gilhaize appears to directly counter Wilson's 'Covenanter's Marriage Day'. When Ringan's wife and two daughters are murdered by Royalist soldiers he suffers a mental collapse during which he loses all sense of time and place; 'all is

phantasma that I recollect of the day of my return home'. He is brought back to his senses by the sight of their grave.

When I left Ayr the leaves were green, and the fields gay, and the waters glad; and when the yellow leaf rustled on the ground, and the waters were drumly, and the river roaring, I was somehow, I know not by what means, in the kirk-yard, and a film fell from the eyes of my reason, and I looked around, and my little boy had hold of me by the hand, and I said to him "Joseph, what's yon sae big and green in our lair?" and he gazed in my face, and the tears came into his eyes, and he replied-

"Father, they are a' in the same grave." I took my hand out of his; - I walked slowly to the green tomb;- I knelt down, and caused my son to kneel beside me, and I vowed enmity for ever against Charles Stuart and all of his line; and I prayed, in the words of the Psalmist, that when he was judged he might be condemned. Then we rose; but my son said to me-

"Father, I canna wish his condemnation; but I'll fight by your side till we have harlt him down from his bloody throne." (Vol. III, Ch. 15, p.366)

Galt counterpoints his highly emotive description of Ringan's personal anguish and turmoil with the unadorned simplicity of young Joseph's reply, 'they're a' in the same grave'. From this moment on Ringan purposefully pursues the Royalists in what he terms, 'the warfare', which culminates in the defeat of the Stuart cause, and with it the 'Glorious Dundee' myth that had been (and was yet) propagated by Scott (Vol. III, Ch.15, p.367).

In contrast is Wilson's melodramatic burial-scene of the new bridegroom and his bride.

A bier was soon formed of the birch tree boughs; and with their faces meekly looking up to Heaven, they were borne along in sobbing silence, up the hills and down along the glens, till the party stood together in the lone burial-ground, at the head of St. Mary's Loch. A grave was dug for them there, but that was not their own burial place. For Mark Kerr's father and mother lay in the church-yard of Melrose, and the parents of Christian Lindsay slept in that of Bothwell, near the flow of the beautiful

Clyde. The grave was half filled with heather, and gently were they let down together, even as they were found lying on the green before their shealing, into that mournful bed. The Old Man afterwards said a prayer-not over them-but with the living. Then sitting down on the graves, and on the gravestones, they spoke of the virtues of the dead. They had, it is true, been cut off in their youthful prime; but many happy days and years had been theirs-their affection for each other had been a pleasant solace to them in toil, poverty, and persecution. ('The Covenanter's Marriage Day' p. 270)

Wilson's pathetic description is dull in comparison to Galt. Through the monotonously repetitive 'grave', and 'burial', he attempts to portray an affecting, traditional hagiographic scene but fails to evoke a sense of feeling, or of place. Moreover, the 'virtues' that he speaks of the dead do not conjure images of horrific, or tyrannous persecution in the way that Galt does. Wilson defuses any sense of vengefulness through the metonymic 'Old Man', who signifies calm, aged reason. His description is a tableau or montage of still-life figures from the kind of hagiographic paintings that Duncan or Hervey would paint later in the century. Galt's reverential, anti-Romantic novel, then, sought to reclaim traditional whig-presbyterian historiography from the two pillars of the Establishment, John Wilson and Walter Scott. That he did so from Wilson, is clearly evident from the contrasting passages above. Below is a discussion of Galt's anti-romantic counterpoint to Scott.

The novel purports to be the 'household memorial' of the Gilhaize family that was written in 1696 by Ringan Gilhaize. The three volume novel has two separate parts. The first part comprises of 'the stories' that Ringan's Grandfather 'was wont to tell', and the second is a straight autobiographical account of Ringan's life as a Covenanter in Scotland (Vol. I, Ch.1, p. 3). The two narratives are married together with a single anecdote of Ringan's Father, one that Ringan claimed 'I have heard him often tell'

(Vol. II., Ch. 9, p. 188). Thus, oral tradition, anecdote, and autobiography function as the authoritative discourses within the novel.

Orality, too, is the foundation for the second of the ‘tales’ in the first series of *Tales of My Landlord*. The ‘anecdotes’ that the Cameronian, Old Mortality, relates to Peter Pattieson, however, are not, in turn, related by him. He proudly insists that rather than repeat the ‘style’, ‘opinions’, or ‘facts’ of the stories he has taken from Old Mortality, he ‘has endeavoured to correct or verify [them] from the most authentic sources of tradition, afforded by the representatives of either party’, in order to remove from them any ‘party prejudice’ (Vol. I, Ch. I, p.13). The final ‘tale’ in the third series entitled, *A Legend of the Wars of Montrose*, that Pattieson ‘extracted’ from Dugald Dalgetty, the aged soldier, claims to have a ‘basis of truth’ (Vol. III, Ch. I, p. 7). Scott, however, distances the reader from the tale. Pattieson claims, ‘I do not in the least object to the reader treating with disbelief, providing he will be so good as to give implicit credit to the natural events of the story’ (Vol. III, Ch. I, p.7).

In comparison, Galt’s ‘family memorial’ is a one-sided, prejudiced account that imposes disbelief on to the reader, for example, in the way that Michael Gilhaize is coincidentally present at all the major events in Scottish Covenanting history. Moreover, I would argue, Ringan is not the self-deluded, unconsciously ironic figure that Micah Balwhidder is in *Annals of the Parish*. In the destruction of the Cathedral of Saint Andrews, for example, Ringan recalls with minute attention to detail an event that his grandfather told him when he was a very young boy: ‘the zeal of not a few was, even in the midst of their dread solemnity, alloyed with covetousness. My grandfather himself saw one of the town-council slip the bald head, in silver, of one of the twelve

apostles into his pouch' (Vol. II, Ch. 24, p. 126). In his hiding place in the Bishop of Edinburgh's house he overhears a conversation that he misinterprets. He summarises what each of the members had said:

thus did I obtain a glimpse of the inner mind of the Privy Council, by which I clearly saw, that what with those members who satisfied their consciences as to iniquity, because it was made seemingly lawful by human statutes, and what with those who, like Lord Perth, considered the kingdom the King's estate, and the people his tenantry, not together with those others who, like the Bishop, considered mercy and justice as expedients of state policy, that there was no hope for the peace and religious liberties of the presbyterians, merely by resistance. (Vol. III, Ch. 22, p. 400)

This is contrasted against, for example, the Bishop of Edinburgh, who actually says,

I could wish ... that some experiment were made of a gentler course than has hitherto been tried. It is now a long time since force was first employed: perhaps, were his Royal Highness to slacken the severities, conformity would lose some of its terrors in the eyes of the misguided presbyterians; at all events, a more lenient policy could do no harm; and if it did no good, it would at least be free from those imputed cruelties, which are supposed to justify the long-continued resistance that has brought the royal authority into such difficulties. (Vol. III, Ch. 22,p.400)

But this is not to say that Galt reveals the unreliability of Ringan's memory to denounce his remembering. Official documents and historical records are (arguably) truthful accounts of past events; memory, by contrast, can and often is unreliable. Yet, at moments where the recorded documents would add details that were not part of the Gilhaize family history Galt keeps the two opposite discourses separate; 'I must refer the courteous reader to the histories and chronicles of the time - while I return to the narrative of my grandfather' (Vol.II, Ch.4, p.163). In the time-period immediately prior to the murder of his family, Ringan declares he will

hasten forward to the fate and issue of this self-consuming tyranny, I shall leave all generalities, and proceed with the events of my own case; and, in doing so, I shall endeavour what is in me to inscribe the

particulars with a steady hand; for I dare no longer now trust myself with looking to the right or to the left of the field of my matter. I shall, however, try to narrate things just as they happened, leaving the courteous reader to judge what passed at the time in the suffocating throbs wherewith my heart was then affected. (Vol. III, Ch, 13, p. 354)

Ringan's mis-remembering paradoxically imposes veracity. In the above passage he iterates an awareness of the limitations of his mode of narration; there will be gaps that the reader must discern. Nevertheless, he realises his is a 'self-consuming tyranny', not the historiography of Scottish Covenanting. It is truthful according to his remembrances. The overall implication is that rather than *competing* narratives there are many *different* narratives: recorded, documentary, oral, anecdotal and autobiographical. And that each one is valuable and worthwhile for the people whose history it is. Even those people who remain 'out of history'.

I have found no record of Scott's critical opinion or printed reply to *Ringan Gilhaize*. Perhaps his own family memorial, or the tales of Scottish history that he related to his grandson, Hugh Littlejohn, and which he published for the instruction of the young as *Tales of a Grandfather* in 1827 was his reply to Galt. If this is true, then Scott appears to have modified his opinion on the Scottish Covenanters since his satirical denigration in his annotation to *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. He reiterates, at length, the persecutory aftermath of the Battle of Philiphaugh that he had discussed in *The Minstrelsy*. At the end of his account, however, before he moves to a discussion of the Civil War in England, Scott corrects his one-dimensional viewpoint:

such are the terrible scenes which civil discord gives occasion to; and, my dear child, you will judge very wrong if you suppose them peculiar to one side or other of the contending parties in the present case. You will learn hereafter, that the same disposition to abuse power, which is

common, I fear, to all who possess it in an unlimited degree, was exercised with cruel retaliation by the Episcopalian party over the Presbyterians, when their hour of authority revived. (*Tales of a Grandfather*, p. 186)

According to Alan Strout, James Hogg was the author of ‘A Letter to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq. On his Original Mode of editing Church History’, that appeared in *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, December, 1817, Vol. II, pp. 305-9 (*A Bibliography of Articles*). In the letter Hogg denounces Sharpe for his subjective method of editing. He accuses him of ‘raking together, out of old musty records and profane jest books, all the aspersions that all their [the Covenanters’] enemies have ever uttered against them’ (p. 307). Furthermore, Hogg criticises Sharpe for the simplicity of his methodology. He writes, ‘I can never believe you capable of taking such a foolish and boyish method to accomplish a purpose in itself so absurd’ (p.306). In his introduction to the Canongate Classics edition of *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, David Groves proposed that in the dialectic between the Editor’s narrative and the Sinner’s Memoirs, Hogg was mirroring the contemporary row over Sharpe’s subjective editing of Kirkton’s manuscript history, a row in which Hogg himself engaged.⁴ I would like to advance David Groves’s thesis that based on its relationship with the contemporary debates over subjective editing, *Confessions* is an ironic text. Hogg’s novel appears to share a close relationship with the late-seventeenth-century satirical pamphlet entitled, *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence: or the Foolishness of their Teaching Discovered from their Books, Sermons and Prayers; and some Remarks on Mr Rule’s late Vindication of the Kirk* (London,

⁴Groves discusses Kirkton’s *History* in the introduction, pp. xiii-xvi (Edinburgh: Canongate Classics, 1991).

1692). Below is an examination of the similarities between *Confessions* and *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*.⁵

The Revolution Settlement of 1689-90 ensured that the Church of Scotland would be Presbyterian rather than Episcopalian. Nevertheless, some of the defeated Scots Episcopalians followed the tradition set by their seventeenth-century predecessors of undermining their political and religious opponents through satire. The tone was more virulent, however, and the attack more violent than previously. The most hostile attack was in a pamphlet entitled *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence: or the Foolishness of their Teaching Discovered from 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 Presbyterians 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 a quotation from Rutherford on the Title Page. 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', is inverted so that it 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 puritanism made him the butt of the keenest satire of the Prelatists' (Cunningham, Vol. II, p. 278). Through satiric

⁵There is a more lengthy discussion of *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence Display'd* in Chapter Two. The main points are here reiterated to highlight the similarities between the texts.

inversion ‘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 not 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’. These follow the malicious tone of the opening dedication.

‘Jacob Curate’ follows anti-Puritan typology with his accusations against the Presbyterian clergy whom, he claimed, were abusing their position as pastors:

the Preachers themselves (who would have the world believe they only are the Powerful and Soul-refreshing Gospellers) have not been industrious to draw the likeness of God upon the Hearts of their Hearers, but meerly to impress their own Image there; that is, they labour’d not to make good Christians, but rigid Presbyterians. (p. 1)

Within the pamphlet he accuses them of preaching Antinomianism, immorality, and sedition, and he contends that they are un-learned:

as for their Learning, you shall find that it lies only in the study of some *Anti-Arminian* Metaphysics, and in the practical Divinity they pretend to draw from the Heads of Election and Reprobation, whereby they preach men out of their wits, and very often into despair and self-murder. (p. 19)

It is at this point that the relationship between the pamphlet and *Confessions* becomes apparent. Robert’s confessions trace his descent into ‘despair and self-murder’. I would

argue that both the Reverend Wringhim's and Gil-Martin's capacity to influence young Robert Colwan-Wringhim through their subversion of Scriptural terminology, and also the Editor's sardonic tone is derived from the satirical polemic of the late seventeenth century. Below are a few more examples of these similarities.

'Jacob Curate' claimed that the Presbyterian clergy were guilty of enticing 'a few silly Women, laden with divers Lusts, whose hot Zeal had no knowledge to guide it' (p.39).

In *Confessions*, the Editor states that Mrs Colwan 'had imbibed her ideas from the doctrines of one flaming predestinarian divine alone' (p. 2) . The Editor further asserts that the Reverend Wringhim and Mrs Colwan had 'a most enlightened discussion of nearly seventeen hours; in the course of which the two got warm in their arguments, always in proportion as they receded from nature, utility, and common sense' (p. 10).

'Jacob Curate' claims that Presbyterians,

are a People that will not Swear in common Discourse for a World, yet they may never scruple before a Judge, any Perjury that may seem to advance the Cause, nor stand in their ordinary dealings to cheat for a penny; nay, Murther it self becomes a Virtue when the work of the Covenant seems to require it, and the new Gospel which they profess is so far from condemning Lying, Cheating, Murther and Rebellion, when committed to fulfil the ends of the Solemn League, that many of these whom they reckon Martyrs, have at their Execution gloried in these Crimes as the sure Evidences of their Salvation. (pp. 3-4)

In Hogg's novel, Robert follows a path, in which, as 'Jacob Curate' puts it, 'Murther itself becomes a virtue when the work of the Covenant seems to require it'. The Reverend Wringhim and Mrs Colwan convince Robert that he is one of the elect, and therefore, 'no bypast transgressions, nor any future act of my own, or of other men,

could be instrumental in altering the decree' (p. 94). Gil-Martin uses his 'powerful eloquence' to 'fully convince' Robert that it was his 'bounden duty to slay Mr. Blanchard' (p. 109). And Gil-Martin also convinces Robert to murder his brother by telling him that he will advance his cause. He tells him, 'you ought to consider what great advantages would be derived to the cause of righteousness and truth, were the estate and riches of that opulent house in your possession, rather than in that of such as oppose the truth and all manner of holiness' (p. 119).

'Jacob Curate' accuses the Presbyterian clergy of unjust dealing:

they are generally Covetous and Deceitful; and the Preaching they are bred with, hath no tendency to work them into the contrary Virtues. They call Peace, Love, Love, Charity, and Justice, not Gospel, but dry Morality only. I once had very great difficulty to convince one of them, that it was a Sin for him to cheat and impose upon his Neighbour in matters of Trade, by concealing the faults of his Goods from the Buyer. He ask'd my Reason: I told him, Because he would not wish one to deal so with himself. *That is* (said he again) *but Morality; for if I shall believe in Christ I shall be saved.* I ask'd him, Was not this Christ's saying, *Whatsoever ye would that others should do unto you, that do you unto others?* Yes, he said, *that was good, but that Christ, because of the hardness of the Jews Hearts spake very much Morality with his Gospel.* The poor man spoke as he was taught and bred in Conventicles; for it will be very long ere they hear a Sermon upon Just Dealing, or Restitution of ill-gotten Goods. (pp. 2-3)

In the Sinner's Memoirs in *Confessions* he relates his attempts to discover how much money he owes in wages to the Cameronian, Samuel Scrape. Scrape's replies mirror the equivocation of *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*. First, he attempts to extract payment which he claims Robert had already paid, 'since you havena paid me ony wages, an' I can prove day and date when I was hired, an' came hame to our service, will you be sae kind as to pay me now?', he asks. Robert declines, stating, 'I should think that Penpunt and Cameronian principles, would not admit of a man taking twice

payment for the same article'. To which Scrape replies, 'In sic a case as this, sir, it disna hinge upon principles, but a piece of good manners; an' I can tell you that at sic a crisis, a Cameronian is a gayan weel-bred man' (p. 159). Furthermore, as Scrape does not know the meaning of the 'gouden rule', he reveals his hypocritical double-dealing (p. 166).

'Jacob Curate' relates that through their preaching the Presbyterian clergy drove their hearers to commit suicide:

it is known in the Shire of *Teviotdale* that *Mr. William Veach* murder'd the Bodies, as well as Souls, of two or three Persons with one Sermon; For, preaching in the Town of *Jedburgh* to a great Congregation, he said, *There are Two thousand of you here to day, but I am sure Fourscore of you will not be saved;* upon which Three of his ignorant Hearers, being in Despair, dispatched themselves soon after. (p. 20)

In *Confessions*, Robert is driven to take his own life to be rid of the relentless harangues of Gil-Martin.

Finally, 'Jacob Curate' lends veracity to his accusations by citing as evidence anecdotal information. In the section entitled, 'notes of the Presbyterian sermons taken in writing from their mouth', he has several quotations purported to have been taken down from the sermons of 'Mr. Kirkton'. His informants include, 'several Gentlemen, who told me the Story so soon as they returned from the Church' (p. 110). And to corroborate his anecdotes he states, 'all the Town knows that this is true, and that he [Kirkton] never preaches but after this ridiculous manner' (p. 110).

In the opening paragraph of *Confessions*, the Editor lends authenticity to his 'Narrative' by claiming: 'I am only relating to the greater inhabitants of at least four counties of Scotland, matters of which they were before perfectly well informed' (p. 1).

The above comparison of *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence Display'd* and *Confessions*, reveals a number of similarities between the texts. Overall, however, Hogg's satire is radically different and more complex than a simple malicious, anti-Presbyterian/Calvinist attack. Ralph Stewart, the most recent editor of Kirkton, stated in his introduction that 'the *History* is itself an answer to *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, partly because of the vigorous counter charges against Episcopalians but more importantly as an apologia for the Presbyterians' actions over the past thirty years' (*History of the Church of Scotland* (1992), p. iv). The complexity of Hogg's satire in *Confessions* is that at the same time as he satirises Calvinism and extremist religion as Sharpe had done through his subjective editing of Kirkton, he also undermines his own satire in a Defoe-esque counter-attack on those who would denounce and ridicule religious piety. Samuel Scrape, for example, as a Cameronian represents the most extreme form of Presbyterianism. Yet Hogg represents him both as a hypocritical double-dealer and also as a decent human being who cares for Robert.

David Groves is correct to emphasise the importance of contextualising the novel with reference to the debates over subjective editing to which Hogg had contributed in his letter to *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* in 1817. The importance of the novel's setting of the intense period that inflamed Scotland following the Revolutionary Settlement of 1689-90, I would argue, is as important. *Confessions*, then, relates to the 'rage of fanaticism of former days', of late seventeenth-century Scotland and the

pamphleteering polemics of rival religious factions, at the same time as it relates to the contemporary nineteenth-century debate over the subjective editing of manuscript texts.

A Cloud of Witnesses, also published during the ‘rage of fanaticism of former days’ has a significant relationship with *Confessions*. As discussed in Chapter Two this martyrology was published by the United Societies in 1714 and thereafter frequently reprinted. In Hogg’s novel, Robert thinks of the book when he is ‘cast into prison’ following his attempt at inciting a riot between the rival factions in Edinburgh. He records his experience in his Memoirs:

I was not sorry at being thus honoured to suffer in the cause of righteousness, and at the hands of sinful men; and as soon as I was alone, I betook myself to prayer, deprecating the long-suffering of God toward such horrid sinners. My jailer came to me, and insulted me. He was a rude unprincipled fellow, partaking much of the loose and carnal manners of the age; but I remembered of having read, in the *Cloud of Witnesses*, of such men formerly, having been converted by the imprisoned saints; so I set myself, with all my heart, to bring about this man’s repentance and reformation. (p. 122)

As Robert goes on to recount his conversation with his jailer he subverts the interrogations that were related in *A Cloud of Witnesses*. It is Robert, and not the jailer who interrogates.

Robert, ‘Now, friend, you must tell me if you pertain to this chosen number’. **Jailer**, ‘An’ fat the better wad you be for the kenning o’ this, man?’ **Robert**, ‘Because, if you are one of my brethren, I will take you into sweet communion and fellowship ... you belong to the unregenerate, I have a commission to slay you’. **Jailer**, ‘the deil you hae callant! ... An’ pray now, fa was it that gae you siccan a braw commission?’ **Robert**, ‘My commission is sealed by the signet above ... and that I will let you and all sinners know. I am dedicated to it by the most solemn vows and engagements. I am the sword of the Lord, and Famine and Pestilence are my sisters. Wo then to the wicked of this land, for they must fall down dead together, that the church may be purified!’ (pp. 122-3)

The ‘interrogations of James Robertson’, for example, are published alongside of his ‘Last Testimony’ in *A Cloud of Witnesses*. It consists of twelve questions and replies. For example,

Quest. 1. Is the king your lawful prince, yea, or not? **Ans.** Since ye have made your questions matters of life and death, ye ought to give time to deliberate on them; but seeing I am put to it, I answer, As he is a terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that do well, he is; or he is not. (1714, p. 159)

Robertson equivocates where Robert is emphatic. In the interrogation that he puts his jailer through Robert follows a direct line of question and answer. Furthermore, the Sinner’s last entry in his memoir can be compared to the ‘Last Testimonies’ of *A Cloud of Witnesses*. Robert writes,

September 18, 1712. Still I am living, though liker to a vision than a human being; but this is my last day of mortal existence. Unable to resist any longer, I pledged myself to my devoted friend, that on this day we should die together, and trust to the charity of the children of men for a grave. I am solemnly pledged; and though I dared to repent, I am aware he will not be gainsaid, for he is raging with despair at his fallen and decayed majesty, and there is some miserable comfort in the idea that my tormentor shall fall with me. Farewell, world, with all thy miseries; for comforts or enjoyments hast thou none! Farewell, woman, whom I have despised and shunned; and man, whom I have hated; whom, nevertheless, I desire to leave in charity! And thou, sun, bright emblem of a far brighter effluence, I bid farewell to thee also! I do not now take my last look of thee, for to thy glorious orb shall a poor suicide’s last earthly look be raised. But, ah! who is yon that I see approaching furiously-his stern face blackened with horrid despair! My hour is at hand. -Almighty God, what is this that I am about to do! The hour of repentance is past, and now my fate is inevitable.-Amen, for ever! I will now seal up my little book, and conceal it; and cursed be he who trieth to alter or amend! (pp. 196)

This can be compared, for example, with ‘The last speech and testimony of James Robertson’.

Now according to my blessed Lord’s command, I am not prepossessed with Malice, or a spirit of revenge, but can bless when curst: As for these men that are unjustly taking away my life, not only contrary to the law of God, and the ancient and fundamental laws of the land, but even contrary to

their own law; for what they are doing against me as I am in myself, I can freely forgive them and all others; but as they do it against the image of God in me, and upon his truth's account and so against himself, that is not mine to forgive, but I leave it to Him to whom vengeance belongeth, to deal with them as he may best Glorify himself. Now I rejoice in my Lot, for it hath fallen to me in pleasant places, and I have a goodly inheritance; I would not exchange it with the greatest monarch upon the earth. O! Let Heaven and Earth praise him, sun and moon praise him: O! all the creation praise him, Angels and glorified saints praise him, and my soul shall praise him through all ages of eternity. Now farewell all things in time, farewell Holy Scriptures, Farewell Prayer, Meditation, Faith, Hope, Farewell all true Friends. Welcome Heaven, welcome Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, welcome Angels and the Spirits of just men made perfect; welcome praises for evermore. (1714, pp. 172-3)

Robert's 'Farewell' is a corrupted rendition of the 'Covenanter's Farewell' that was appended to the majority of 'Last Testimonies' in Covenanting lore beginning with Hugh MacKail, whose trial and last testimony were published in *Naphthali*, in 1666. Set against the controlling 'Editor's Narrative', Robert's confessions are *his* 'testimony' for 'suffering for the truth' as he lived and felt it.

In *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, then, as in *The Brownie of Bodsbeck*, Hogg questions the translators of oral tradition: Presbyterian apologists, Cameronian hagiographers, and nineteenth-century 'enlightened' Editors. The major question that Hogg appears to be asking in *Confessions* is, whose truth gets to be told? In the dual narrative of the novel Hogg reveals the ambiguities, inconsistencies, and instabilities of both edited text and personal memoir. And he confirms Galt's insistence that everyone's history is worthy of telling, and of being told in their own words.

Between 1824, and 1835 when Hogg's collection of short stories entitled, *Tales of the Wars of Montrose* was published the majority of literary representations of Scottish

Covenanters in prose and poetry followed the sentimental pattern set by John Wilson. Robert Pollok, for example, was a probationer with the United Secession Church. Between 1824 and 1826 he published several short stories set in Scotland in the 1670s-80s. 'Helen of the Glen', 'Ralph Gemmell', and 'The Persecuted Family' follow the Wilsonian pattern of opposing innocent and pious Scottish peasantry with brutal and cruel English Royalist soldiers. Pollok's didactic moral tales depict the fortitude and perseverance of the Covenanters as representative of the Christian life exemplified through the home and hearth of the Scottish peasantry. In Pollok's address to his young readers at the conclusion of 'The Persecuted Family', for example, he contrasts the Covenanters' life of persecution with contemporary Christian life: 'If the persecuted Christian needs more of comfort, of steadiness in peril, of patience, resignation, and fortitude-he who lives in peace requires more of watchfulness of self-denial, and of resistance to temptation' (in *Tales of the Covenanters*, n.d., p. 288).

In England, too, the Covenanters' strength of conviction was depicted as a model for the present generation. Wordsworth included the Scottish Covenanters in his historical survey of 'the introduction, progress, and operation of the Church in England, both previous and subsequent to the Reformation', in his *Ecclesiastic Sonnets* (*Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*, p.557). The sonnet entitled, 'Persecution of the Scottish Covenanters', begins by extolling the actions of seventeenth-century English Protestants.

When Alpine Vales threw forth a suppliant cry,
The majesty of England interposed
And the sword stopped; the bleeding wounds were closed;
And Faith preserved her ancient purity.
How little boots that precedent of good,
Scorned or forgotten, Thou canst testify,

For England's shame, O Sister Realm! from wood,
 Mountain, and moor, and crowded street, where lie
 The headless martyrs of the Covenant,
 Slain by Compatriot-protestants that draw
 From councils senseless as intolerant
 Their warrant. Bodies fall by wild sword-law;
 But who would force the Soul, tilts with a straw
 Against a Champion cased in adamant. (*Poetical Works*, pp. 387-8)

In 1655, Cromwell had interposed on behalf of the Waldenses in Piedmont when French and Irish troops under the directions of the Duke of Savoy had mutilated, tortured and massacred some seventeen hundred Protestants. Wordsworth contrasts Cromwell's humanitarianism with the extreme cruelty of the persecution of Scottish Covenanters under the direction of 'councils senseless as intolerant', of the English government, and highlights the darker side of the 'operation of the Church in England'. As Mary Moorman noted of the entire series of sonnets, 'religious persecution is never excused' (*William Wordsworth* (1966), p. 398).

One of the more complex treatments of Covenanters is in Allan Cunningham's three volume novel entitled, *Paul Jones* (Edinburgh, 1826). The novel is based on the adventures of the Scottish-born American naval officer named, John Paul Jones. Jones fought in British waters on the American side during the American War of Independence, and later 'as Rear-Admiral of the Black Sea Fleet' he fought in the Russo-Turkish war of 1788-9. He died in Paris in 1792 (*Scottish Biographical Dictionary*). In Cunningham's imaginative treatment of his life, Jones heroically opposes the Establishment in a series of adventures on land and sea. Immediately prior to his departure for America Jones is embroiled in a confrontation between a Galloway landowner and the local Cameronians over the possession of a Covenanting flag. Like Henry Morton in *Old Mortality*, Jones joins the Cameronians in their quest, but it is out

of his own personal reasons and does not join them out of principle. Nevertheless, he accepts them with a 'grave humour', in the same way as 'Miles Cameron' had perceived 'Mark Macrabin', in Cunningham's series of 'Recollections', in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. Through the dialogic exchanges between the Cameronians that Jones overhears Cunningham suggests that they are capable of adapting.

Their present leader was chosen from necessity rather than affection; for, after an hour of solemn deliberation, they concluded that he alone, of all the brethren, could speak and act like a man of this world; and, moreover, that it was unlikely the wayward Lord would deliver the banner into any other hands save his own ... 'let us lift up our voices', cried one in the rear, 'and let our notes of gladness awaken this youth from the lap of silken dalliance, so that he may remember his promise, and restore us our banner, even as the ark was restored to the chosen children'. 'Even so let it be, Mark Macrabin', said another of the faithful; 'let us lift up our voices, so that a trembling may come upon those who dwell in strong-holds, and that the banner of our hope may return out of captivity'. And before John Cargill could interfere, they set up a song so tuneless, that the ravens flew from the castle top, scared with a noise more discordant than their own. 'Peace, brethren', said their leader; 'this is ill-timed, and may be ill-taken,- we must work warily in this matter if we wish to have our banner,- the fowl is still in the fox's mouth'. (p. 296)

In the above scene Cunningham suggests through the contrasting characters of Macrabin and Cargill that the Cameronians are slowly progressing from their violent past. Macrabin signifies the regressive, narrow-mindedness of the seventeenth-century Cameronians when he calls the flag 'a banner', and he claims that as the Israelites had recaptured the stolen 'ark of the Covenant', so they are on their way to rescue 'the banner' from 'captivity'. The fact of the case is that they are going peacefully to retrieve a flag from the present landowner, Lord Dalveen, who has already stated that he will give it to them to adorn their new meeting house. Cunningham's irony does not denigrate the Cameronians. Like his series of 'Recollections', Cunningham reveals what is worthy and distinctive about them rather than vulgarly humorous. John Cargill,

whose name suggests that he is a descendant of Donald Cargill one of the originators of the Cameronian movement, signifies their progression. He interrupts the 'tuneless', and 'discordant' song that the Cameronians triumphantly begin in anticipation of reclaiming their flag to urge caution, and he emphasises his point by adopting their Old Testament-style rhetoric, 'the fowl is still in the fox's mouth'. Nevertheless, the scene overall indicates that the Cameronians are coming in from the hills and softening both their violent actions and words in a deliberate move towards moderation.

Letitia E. Landon, the English poet and authoress published a poem entitled, 'The Covenanters', in *The Literary Gazette*, in 1823. The poem is related in the first person by an aged woman Covenanting survivor of the 'killing times: 'Mine home is but a blackened heap', she says in the second line, and the poem as a whole is an explanation of why she alone remains out of a family of ten (*Literary Gazette*, No. 357 (November, 1823) pp. 747-8). It is a simple tale of how 'those who in age would not forego their faith/They had grown up in', were cruelly oppressed by 'naked swords, and faces dark as guile' (ll. 49-55), and finally, murdered or driven from their burning homes.

The story is clearly derived from Galt's *Ringan Gilhaize*. For example, as she sees her cottage being razed to the ground, the woman cries, 'my own fair girl!/My only one!The vision haunts me still' (ll.64-5). This can be compared with the climactic prison scene where Ringan catches sight of his son's head through the prison-bars, 'I looked-I saw the ghastly features, and I would have kissed those lifeless lips; for, O! they were my son's' (*RG*, Vol. III, Ch.20, p. 392). Later in the poem the woman, like Ringan, endures the mental anguish of recounting the death of her entire family. Landon's poem, unlike Galt's novel, fails to convince that it is a depiction of extreme

suffering and misery imposed by one human being over another. She pursues her theme relentlessly so that, like Wilson's hagiographic montages, it becomes over-played and obvious. As Landon appears to be the only female author to portray the Covenanters in this period she is represented in this study. It would be untrue, however, to state that she represents the female perspective of Covenanting

By the first quarter of the nineteenth century, then, it had become usual to hold the paradoxical viewpoints that the historians, hagiographers and polemical satirists had kept apart: one could abhor and reject the violent rhetorical annunciations and destructiveness derived from self-obsessed religious fervour, at the same time as one could admire the patient endurance and fortitude of ordinary Scots men and women in the severest of circumstances. From 1822 John Wilson's paradigm of ultra-sentimental Christian fortitude diluted, and thus contained the image of the Covenanters as rebellious or revolutionary anti-government incendiaries. Meanwhile, as Wilson sought to confine the image of the Covenanters in a haze of hagiography, James Hogg continued to unsettle the 'Toryfication' of Scottish Covenanting historiography. Between 1822 and 1835, Hogg's prose and poetry offered an alternative view that countered Wilson, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, and indeed, Walter Scott. Below is a discussion of Hogg's projected Cameronian series, and *The Tales of the Wars of Montrose*.

In 1829, Hogg offered William Blackwood a Covenanting ballad entitled, 'A Tale of the Martyrs'. In his introductory letter he stated, 'the tale and ballad of the Covenanters are part of a series which I wrote last year for publication by themselves but I sent Allan Cunningham one Mr Hall another and this is a third so that the series is

fairly broken up' (NLS MS 4024, ff. 292-3). 'The Cameronian Preacher's Tale' was printed in *The Anniversary* for 1829, edited by Allan Cunningham, 'A Tale of the Martyrs' in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* in July, 1829, and 'A Tale of Pentland' in *The Amulet* for 1830, edited by Mr S.C. Hall. To these three can be added 'A Lay of the Martyrs', and 'A Cameronian Ballad', from *The Amulet* of 1830 and 1831 respectively, and finally, 'The Covenanter's Scaffold Song', from *The Remembrancer* of 1831. In the discussion below I will concentrate on one of the tales as representative of the six titles that would have constituted Hogg's 'Cameronian Series'.

'A Tale of the Martyrs' shares many similarities with Hogg's two other Covenanting works. Like 'Mess John', and *The Brownie of Bodsbeck*, 'A Tale of the Martyrs' is set in the aftermath of the rescue of Covenanters at the Enterkin Pass in Nithsdale, in 1684. Like *The Brownie*, the tale is related by a third-person omniscient narrator, and like *The Brownie*, the tale does not unfold directly. It begins at the height of the action as a Covenanter named, 'Red Tam Harkness' is pursued by a 'pack' of Royalist troopers into the protagonist, Jane Kilpatrick's farmyard where he gasps that he has information for her, but unfortunately he is hunted down before he can relate to her what the 'news' is (*Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol XXVI (July, 1829), pp.48-51). The spot where he falls is designated 'Red Tam's Gutter' (p.48). The narrator upsets the expectation that this tale will hinge on the revelation of his information by informing the reader in the next paragraph that Jane Kilpatrick's husband is dead. Further, the narrator upsets expectations of supernatural intervention when he immediately gives a rational explanation for Jane's mistaken belief that she overhears her dead husband's prayers: it is her brother-in law, and not her husband or her husband's ghost. Thus, from the outset, the narrator upsets the reader's expectation

of mystery and supernaturalism. Everything that could have had an unusual explanation is explicable, and there is no mystery to be solved.

The dialogue between Jane Kilpatrick and her sister, Aggie, however, turns the tale on its head. Aggie, who claims she has ‘no faith in dreams’ relates to Jane a dream in which she has spoken to the wraith of John Weir (Jane’s husband), at a place called, ‘Faith’s Hope’. In her account of the dream Aggie undermines the solemnity of the Providential symbolism that the dream is trying to convey, and humorously undermines the reverential air. The ‘living’ John Weir had explained that his purpose was to protect the corpse, ‘ “I’m just set to herd this poor man that’s lying here” ’. [Aggie] ‘ “Then I think ye’ll no hae a sair post, John”, says I, “for he disna look as he wad rin far away” ’ (p.49). Aggie’s pithy put-down of the supernatural agent adds unexpected humour to a pathetic moment, and also serves to add an earthy realism to her dream. When Aggie mentions the name of the place where the events took place, ‘Faith’s Hope’, Jane interrupts, and the tone of the tale becomes sombre:

‘I fear your dream has a double meaning’, said she. ‘For though it appears like a religious allegory, you do not know that there really is such a place, and that not very far from our house. I have often laughed at your dreams, sister, but this one hurries me from you today with a heavy and a trembling heart’. (p. 50)

She goes to ‘Faith’s Hope’ and finds her husband’s corpse lying just as the dream had predicted. Moreover, the allegorical part of the dream where the corpse was surrounded by ‘a hunder vile beasts, a’ stannin round wi’ glarin een, eager to be at the corpse o’ the dead John Weir’ (p.49) proves to be literally true, if exaggerated; ‘she perceived a fox and an eagle sitting over against each other, watching something which yet they seemed terrified to approach’ (p.50).

The complexity of Hogg's short tale is in the constant shifting between modes; the real and the unreal, the serious and the comic, and the literal and the figurative. For example, the very real presence of the animals who are afraid to approach the corpse invests the tale with truth. However, it remains allegorical through what they signify: the Royalist troopers who had hunted her husband, and above the tale, those like Wilson and the Blackwoodians who would possess traditional Covenanting historiography.

To Gillespie's poem of 'Adam Harkness' from his 'Sketches of Village Characters', he had included an endnote where he related several Covenanting traditions including several surrounding the Harkness family collected from 'Adam Harkness' himself. One of the traditions concerning a place called, 'Red Rob's gutter', bears a similarity to Hogg's tale:

Adam's grandfather, William Harkness-the brother of Thomas, who was executed, as formerly stated, at the Gallowlee,-had been surprised one morning by a party of Clavers' Dragoons, under the command of a zealous persecutor, and *then* well known character "Red Rob", (so called probably from the marked colour of his uniform), -and after arming himself with a blunderbuss, had been compelled to take to his heels, in the direction of a steep, and, to cavalry, altogether inaccessible rock, in the neighbourhood. William was seen, and closely pursued, and the zeal of Red Rob, who was besides always well-mounted, had urged him forward, so that the balls which he from time to time fired from his carabine began to whiz in the ears of the Covenanter. The rock was at hand-but Red Rob still nearer,- so William, finding no other way left of effecting his escape, to use the words of his grandson Adam, 'just faced about, raised up the blunderbuss to his cheek, and *wised* half a score o' slugs through the callant's shoulder-blade'. Rob immediately came down, 'like a winged gled', into the fore-mentioned '*gutter*', destined, like Simois and Scamander, to future notoriety. (*Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. VIII (March, 1821), p. 623)

Gillespie presents Adam's traditional tale as a specimen. He intersperses his own Standard English with Scots words that are in italics or in inverted commas to denote that they are Adam's own words, '*gled*', and '*wised*'. Through his differentiation

Gillespie signifies that he himself is outwith the tradition, he is an onlooker, or reporter.

He states at the beginning of the above endnote;

It is not unknown to those who are in any degree conversant about, or interested in the subject, that many instances of extreme cruelty, and even perhaps of murder, which occurred during the “eight and twenty years” persecution, in the west and south of Scotland in particular, have never yet, in any shape, been committed to writing; and have consequently fallen, and are every day falling, into total oblivion. To effect a pilgrimage through the mountainous districts of Galloway, Dumfries and Selkirk shires, and to collect from the few “Adam Harknesses,” which still remain, these traditionary notices, of which such aged individuals are alone in possession, would be a task worthy of “Old Mortality” himself. (*Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, March, 1821, p. 623)

According to Gillespie’s reported ‘tradition’, and in contrast to Hogg’s tale, the Covenanter is depicted murdering, admittedly in self-defence, a Royalist trooper. As discussed in Chapter Three, Hogg shepherded for Mr Harkness of Mitchelslacks in Nithsdale, in June, 1803 (*MB*, 1821, p.xxvii). Presumably, then, Hogg too would have heard at first hand the traditions of the Harkness family and their involvement in the attempted rescue of Covenanting prisoners at Kelt’s Linn in the Enterkin Pass in Nithsdale, in July, 1684.⁶ How then, does one account for the discrepancies between Gillespie’s gathered tradition and Hogg’s fictional tale that one could argue was also based on traditions he would have heard during his time at Mitchelslacks?

In ‘A Tale of the Martyrs’, I would argue, Hogg suggests through the dead and the undead corpse that there are two kinds of Covenanting historiography: an alive and vibrant traditional folk history, and a dead fictional Blackwoodian construction that was fabricated by Gillespie and Wilson. At the end of Hogg’s tale is a ballad that is there to represent Jane’s feelings at the time. The narrator states the ballad is ‘merely some of

⁶This is fully discussed in Chapter Three.

her own words versified, as she was sitting by his corpse in the wild glen, or rather the thoughts that she described as having passed through her heart' (pp.50-1). Where Gillespie was the outsider reporting what he heard, Hogg (as Galt had in *Ringan Gilhaize*) entered into the Cameronian spirit to know and feel as they did. Hogg's letter to William Blackwood reveals that Hogg had originally intended that his Cameronian work should be published together. Their publication in separate 'Annuals' should therefore not detract from their being considered as a series. In this light, through his 'Cameronian Series', Hogg was reinventing himself in the role of transmitter of traditional Covenanting historiography.

The Tales of the Wars of Montrose (Edinburgh, 1835) is, as the recent editor Gillian Hughes notes, 'one of Hogg's most important prose works, and a major contribution to the Scottish tradition of historical fiction' (*TWM*, 1995, p.xxxii). The *Tales* is composed of five stories of various lengths that are set in Scotland in the civil war occasioned when James Grahame, Earl of Montrose recanted his allegiance to the National Covenant and refused to sign the Solemn League and Covenant, and thereafter conducted a major campaign against the Covenanting army throughout Scotland in 1644-5. The *Tales* are derived from 'all possible records and traditions during the troubled reign of Charles the first',⁷ and share many of the features of Hogg's earlier Covenanting work, more particularly, *The Brownie of Bodsbeck* and *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*. 'Some Remarkable Passages in the Life of an Edinburgh Baillie Written by himself', is an autobiographical memoir edited by a nineteenth-century 'enlightened' editor; 'Colonel Peter Aston', is derived from documents that are, again, edited by an 'enlightened' editor; 'Julia M,Kenzie' is an oral

⁷'A Few Remarkable Adventures of Sir Simon Brodie' (*TWM*, pp. 154-190, p. 154).

tradition that includes frequent authenticating interjections; ‘A few remarkable Adventures of Sir Simon Brodie’ is a ‘tale’ that is authenticated by the insertion of a letter, and finally, ‘Wat Pringle o’ the Yair’ is a traditional tale that privileges orality over written history.

The Tales of the Wars of Montrose was published for the first time in 1835. Gillian Hughes, however, has demonstrated from an examination of the surviving manuscripts that what she terms the three ‘core’ texts of ‘Some Remarkable Passages in the Life of An Edinburgh Baillie’, ‘The Adventures of Colonel Peter Aston’, and ‘A Few Remarkable Adventures of Sir Simon Brodie’ were written around 1826. As discussed above around this time Hogg was also creating his projected ‘Cameronian Series’. I would argue, then, that through the narratorial strategy of the *Tales* that includes interjection, verification, authentication and disputation, Hogg engaged more fully and more consistently than previously in the truth/fiction dialectic over representational veracity in fiction. Below is a discussion of the different narratorial devices in two of the tales that comprise *The Tales of the Wars of Montrose*, these are ‘Some Remarkable Passages in the Life of An Edinburgh Baillie Written by himself’, and ‘Wat Pringle o’ the Yair’.

‘Some Remarkable Passages in the Life of An Edinburgh Baillie Written by himself’ (*TWM* (1996) pp. 1-98), follows closely the editor/author dialectic that Hogg had employed in both *The Brownie* and *Confessions*. The tale is purported to be the memoirs of Archbald Sydeserf, a real figure from Scottish history who was indeed at one stage in his life a baillie, and who was knighted for his services to the Covenanters. Hogg’s editor, however, does not relate any of the baillie’s political life. In his

introduction the editor explains his editorial practices on Sydeserf's manuscript memoirs,

I have abridged it more than one half retaining only the things that appeared to me the most curious for every thing relating to burrow politics appeared to me so low so despicable and pictures of such duplicity that I have cancelled them utterly although they might have been amusing to some. (p.1)

Hogg's editor signifies that he has ultimate control over the text. These are the baillie's memoirs but they have been expurgated according to the editor's decisions. These decisions mean that the reader is told off-handedly that Sydeserf,

was engaged by the Earl of Argyle as his secretary and assisted that nobleman with all his power and cunning in bringing about a reformation both in church and state. He was likewise tutor to his two sons and went once to Holland with lord Lorn and afterwards to London with lord Neil Campbell but in the tedious details of these matters although there is a portion of good sense or sly speciousness in its place yet there is very little of it so much better than the rest as to be worth extracting. (p.31)

'The Earl of Argyle' was one of the most important figures during Montrose's campaigns, and both 'Holland' and 'London' were key centres of Covenanting activity. The editor's decision to cut out these portions of Sydeserf's memoirs highlights the problem over historical veracity that Hogg had been contending against throughout his fictional prose since he first introduced the editor figure in a more limited capacity in *The Brownie of Bodsbeck*. Moreover, the editor presents Sydeserf's memoirs as tainted evidence. He states 'some of his personal adventures certainly bear tints of romance but every part of his narrative relating to public events may implicitly be relied on' (p. 2). Most of the memoirs that the editor presents are concerned with Sydeserf's 'personal adventures', thus, from the outset, the editor insists that the memoirs that he is presenting cannot be relied upon. Implicitly, then, the reader must rely upon the editor for the truth.

In 'An Edinburgh Baillie', Hogg reveals the extent of control an historian has over documentary material, and therefore, I think that it is wrong, in this case, to associate Hogg the author with Hogg the editor. In this tale the function of the editor is as important as Archbald Sydeserf: he is a contrasting character. For example, the editor disputes Sydeserf's own account of how he was wounded. The editor begins by separating this particular section of the memoirs from the rest. He notes, 'there is one anecdote which he pretends to give from report which appears a little puzzling' (pp.31-2). The editor goes on to relate Sydeserf's 'anecdote' concerning the marriage of the 'two lovely twin Gordon sisters, and of the 'strange gentleman' who was wounded by 'lord Strathblane'. Sydeserf's memoirs end by stating that 'the story was never rightly cleared up'. The editor interrupts at this point with his own conjecture, he states,

we do not much wonder at it considering how quickly the body or rather the wounded gentleman made his escape but even at this distance of time we have a shrewd suspicion that it might be the baillie himself especially as he says in another place 'The Marquis (of Argyle) would fain have had me putting on sword armour that day both for the protection of my own person and for the encouragement of the covenanters who had great faith in my witness. *But by reason of a wound in my right side which I got by accident more than a dozen years before I could never brook armour of any sort &c*'. (p. 32)

It is not made clear whether Sydeserf or the editor highlighted the final sentence with italics, nor does the editor make clear where in the memoirs 'the other place' is that Sydeserf mentions his wound. Hogg here highlights how conjecture and supposition based upon little evidence imposes a different or alternative reading of the same text. It is only the editor, after all, that claims that this part of the memoirs is an 'anecdote', and as the reader cannot see the whole of Sydeserf's unexpurgated memoirs, he or she has to trust the 'evidence' presented.

The editor reveals his partiality when he is surprised to find that the official records of the events that the Baillie describes are verifiable. Following Sydeserf's description of Argyle's conduct at the battle of Inverlochy, the editor notes, 'I had great doubts of the Baillie's sincerity in this, till I found the following register in Sir James Balfour's annals vol 3 p. 272-3' (p. 96). The 'register' confirms Sydeserf, and thus, the memoirs are re-invested with the veracity that the editor had denied them at the beginning.

In his commentary of 'An Edinburgh Baillie', Douglas Gifford complained that 'Hogg is so little a historical novelist that he employs the old device of an Editor to 'present' the account to us, and noticeably the Editor steps in whenever the narrative demands some political or historical perspective' (*James Hogg: New Assessments* (1976), p. 189). But that is Hogg's point. In the discussion above of Hogg's Covenanting work that includes *The Brownie of Bodsbeck*, *Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, and 'A Tale of the Martyrs', Hogg views history through those who were involved on both the inside and the outside of the Covenanting movement from its inception to its bloody conclusion. For Hogg, history is the view of ordinary people like Walter Laidlaw, Robert Wringhim, Jane Kilpatrick and Archbald Sydeserf, not of the large figures like Montrose who only shadows the five tales that bear his name.

In Hogg's short story entitled 'Wat Pringle o' the Yair', he gave his strongest defence of orality over historical records and historical fiction. The final tale in the collection concerns the battle in which Montrose was defeated. Hogg's tale follows closely the ballad entitled, 'The Battle of Philiphaugh' that was first published by Scott in *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* in 1803. As discussed in Chapter Three Scott's

annotation to the ballad altered its perspective and countered the traditional version. In his annotation he had focussed on the figure of Montrose, and followed him from success at Tippermoor through his year-long campaign in support of King Charles I against the Covenanters to his penultimate defeat at Philiphaugh. In 'Wat Pringle o' the Yair', Hogg reclaims the tradition from Scott's subjective editing practices by reinvesting the orally transmitted tale with truth. He states, 'now I must tell the result in my own way and my own words for though that luckless battle has often been shortly described it has never been truly so and no man living knows half so much about it as I do' (p. 197). Hogg's phrase, 'no man living' is given added potency with the realisation that by the time that *The Tales of the Wars of Montrose* were published, Scott was dead.⁸

In this tale the editor changes. He is no longer a spokesman for the nineteenth-century objective perspective but 'the Ettrick Shepherd', upholder of tradition. Gillian Hughes has noted that Hogg's advocacy of tradition over written history 'may represent a narrative strategy', and further, that 'his overt championship of oral tradition over written history in 'Wat Pringle o' the Yair' represents a distortion of his actual practice in writing the tale' ('Wat Pringle o' the Yair': History or Tradition?', *SHW*, No. 6, (1995) pp.50-3, p. 50). Hughes correctly identifies that Hogg in this tale as in all *The Tales of the Wars of Montrose* adopted a narrative voice. He is *not* James Hogg the author speaking directly to his reader but the 'Ettrick Shepherd', a character in this tale as much as the editor of 'An Edinburgh Baillie' is in that tale.

As the 'Ettrick Shepherd', Hogg upholds the value of tradition. He stated,

⁸Gillian Hughes noted, 'the manuscript of 'Wat Pringle o' the Yair' refers to Scott's final illness' (*TWM* (1996), p.xiv). Scott died in September, 1832.

it may be said and will be said that my account is only derived from tradition. True; but it is from the tradition of a people to whom every circumstance and every spot was so well known that the tradition could not possibly be incorrect and be it remembered that it is only the tradition of two generations of the same family. As I said my grandfather knew personally a number of eye-witnesses of the battle and I well remember him although it was his son my uncle who was my principle authority who pointed out all the spots to me and gave us the detail every night that he sung 'The Battle of Philliphaugh' which was generally every night during winter. I therefore believe that my account is perfectly correct or very nearly so. (*TWM* (1996), pp. 191-222, p.191)

Hogg's slippage in time through two generations of his family, from his Grandfather to his Uncle, signifies the slow erasure of memory. In the above statement, Hogg moves from an insistence on the veracity of the traditional view of the battle: 'it could not possibly be incorrect'; to an admittance that although his Grandfather had not been at the battle he had known several 'eye-witnesses'. Further, it was not his Grandfather who had related the tale to him but his Uncle, who had 'sung' the traditional ballad to him 'generally every night during winter'. Finally, Hogg subverts his own insistence on the incorruptibility of the traditional tale with his final four words: 'or very nearly so'. Through his slippage from absolute truth to 'near truth' Hogg enacts the slow erosion of memory. Like *Confessions* where both the Editor's Narrative and the Sinner's Memoirs are simultaneously true and untrue, and subvert as they support, so 'the Ettrick Shepherd', in *The Tales of the Wars of Montrose*, upholds tradition at the same time as he acknowledges its failure. Hogg implies what 'Croudy', the shepherd had stated, 'Truth's just as it is ta'en' (*Brownie of Bodsbeck and other Tales*, Vol.II, pp. 235-6).

In conclusion, literary representations of the Scottish Covenanters between 1816 and 1835 significantly altered from the previous bifurcation of the satirical and the sentimental of the previous two centuries. James Hogg's Covenanting novel, *The Brownie of Bodsbeck* was the first to develop the paradigm where one could admire the

resilience and fortitude of pious Scots while also abhorring their violent rhetoric and actions. This paradigm was adopted by Blackwoodians such as Thomas Gillespie and John Wilson. They presented a sanitised, ultra- sentimental view of the Covenanters which sought to contain the revolutionary nature of religious dissent. John Galt and Allan Cunningham, along with James Hogg, opposed the Blackwoodian school and through their articles in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, and in their novels, entered into an interrogation of the truth/fiction dialectic over representational veracity in fiction. This debate culminated in *The Tales of the Wars of Montrose*, Hogg's ingenious collection of tales that reveals through the different editors and narrators the paradox of historical fiction: firstly, the impossibility of truthful representation, and secondly, that orally transmitted tales are valuable resources of the past and as such they ought not to be dismissed because they are 'only derived from tradition' (*TWM* (1996), p.191).

CONCLUSION

The dissertation has examined various representations of the Scottish Covenanters in both published and unpublished discourses, and it reveals the instability of the previously held assumptions. For example, Chapter One calls for a reassessment of Covenanting sermons. It also calls for the rehabilitation of Donald Cargill, from violence inciting Cameronian to moderate Presbyterian. Chapter Two reveals that the satirical polemical pamphlet, *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* was part of the Enlightenment move away from enthusiasm as much as it was anti-Presbyterian polemic. This chapter also calls for a reassessment of the work of Patrick Walker, the anonymous 'packman'. An examination of his chapbooks questions their status as authentic Covenanting documents. Chapter Three closely examines Scott's editing practices to the Covenanting ballads in *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. It compares his treatment with his contemporaries; John Leyden, James Hogg, and James Grahame, and reveals a startlingly anti-Covenanting nature. This chapter also discusses in detail the anti-Establishmentarianism of James Grahame's poetry. Chapter Four is a close reading of Scott's novels that were published between 1814 and 1819. It reveals the extent and nature of his anti-Covenanting satire. Chapter Five examines the competing discourses of the Covenanting novels of Hogg, Galt, and Wilson. It also examines the periodical literature of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* who appropriated the sentimental, hagiographic view of the Covenanters in an attempt to contain and suppress their revolutionary appeal. Overall, this chapter reveals that James Hogg's Covenanting prose fiction, balladry and poetry innovatively discovered a new way of interpreting the Covenanting struggles of the seventeenth century. Through his different narrators and the deliberately fragmented structure of his novels he questioned historical fiction and subjective editors such as Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, and he drew attention to that part of Scottish history that was being silently eroded. That they were

positive images perhaps accounts for the fact that it is Scott's rather than Hogg's interpretation of Scottish Covenanting that survives today.

The latest historian to study Scottish Covenanting, Elizabeth Hannan Hyman draws attention to the inadequacies of previous studies when she states, 'historians [have] failed to reopen the case and correct distortions left over from the sectarian propaganda wars' ('A Church Militant: Scotland 1661-1690', *Sixteenth Century Journal* (1995), 26, no. 1, 49-74, p.74). Literary historians such as David Reid, editor of *The Party-Coloured Mind: Selected Prose relating to the Conflict between Church and State in the Seventeenth Century* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1982), have discussed the competing nature of the narratives but did not note that the propagandist nature of anti-Covenanting literature distorted the historical perspective. This contextual and inter-textual study of just a small sample of the abundant logomachy from 1638 to 1835 reveals that the satirical and propagandist competing narratives must be treated with circumspection. Like Hogg's shepherd, 'Croudy', this dissertation raises more questions than it answers: 'should the truth be tauld or no tauld? That's the question. What's truth? Ay, there comes the crank! nae man can tell tha -for what's truth to ane is a lee to another. ... Truth's just as it is ta'en' (*Brownie of Bodsbeck*, Vol., II, pp. 235-6).

APPENDIX

'The Fanaticks New-Covenant' (1680)

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 *Sanguhair*, 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.

Reprinted at LONDON by T. N. according to the Copy
Printed at EDENBURGH; and are to be sold by *Andrew Forrester* in *King-street Westminster*. 1680.

A True and Exact Copy of a Treasonable Paper, called, The Fanaticks New-Covenant.

WE Under-Subscribers, for our selves, and all that join with us, and adhere to us, being put to it by God, our Consciences, and Men; Do bind our Souls with a solemn and sacred Bond, lest on the one hand we should be carried away with the stream of the Apostacy and defection of the Church in this time, and on the other hand, lest we should (not being so engaged) vanish in vanity, and be without a right Rule in good Designs: We judged it our Duty again to covenant with God, and one another, and to publish this *DECLARATION* to the World of our Purposes, that Men may know our most inward-thoughts, the Rules that we walk by, and the outmost ends that we have before our eyes for this intent, that these who are lovers of God, zealous of His reigning in Glory, and desirous of Reformation, and the Propagation of his Kingdom, may have occasion no more to be jealous of our Intentions, and others may have no ground to load us with odious and foul Aspersions; but, that all knowing the truth of us, if they shall strive against us, and Truth with us, shall do it without excuse, and against conviction; and that these who shall join with us, may do it upon solid and undoubted-grounds, and both they and we may expect Grace from Him, Faithfully to persevere, and happily to be successful in so good Purposes.

It is true, We are not ignorant of the great unmindfulness, failing, counteracting, and mocking that has been in our former Vows and Covenants with God, and of the great Judgments that hath, and are like to follow such impious and sinful dealing with God in such weighty Matters, (for which we both ought and desire to be humbled before Him) which cannot but make us with great trembling of Heart enter into new ones, knowing both our own weakness and readiness to relapse, and the great hazard and danger of such relapses; Yet, the desire of recovering and preserving a remnant, and the conviction of this, as the most convenient mean, the zeal to God's Glory, and Christ's reigning, (which is the highest and most acceptable duty Man can perform to God) hoping for His Mercies, (who is witness to the integrity of our Hearts, and rightness of our Intentions) that he will instruct, direct, accept, and prosper us, we go forward, declaring, that nothing else but what we here express is our Design.

I. We

I. We Covenant and swear, that we take the only true and living God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be our God, and betakes our selves to the Merits and Righteousness of his Son, as the alone Righteousness that can justify us before God; and that we take his Scriptures and Word to be the object of our Faith, and rule of our Conversation in all things; and that we shall give up our selves to Him to be Renewed, Instructed, and in all things ruled by His Spirit, according to that Word; and shall earnestly endeavour by His Grace, to render to Him that Love, Worship, and Obedience, that His Word requires, and His Goodness engages us to.

II. That we shall to the utmost of our Power, advance the Kingdom of our Christ establish'd throughout the Land, (if at any time hereafter God shall give us this opportunity) Righteousness, 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, and free the Church of God from the Thralldom, Tyranny, Incroachment, and corruption of Prelacy on the one hand, and Erastianism on the other. And that we shall to our Power, relieve the Church and Subjects of this Kingdom, (we being called thereto, by His giving of us Power, Power being Gods-Call to do good,) of that Oppression that hath been exercised upon their Consciences, Civil Rights and Liberties, that Men may serve Him Holily, without Fear, and possess their Civil Rights in quietness, without disturbance.

III. That we shall endeavour to our utmost, 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; and Superstition, Will-worship, and Prelacy, with its Hierarchy, as we are bound in our Solemn League and Covenant; And that we shall with the same sincerity, endeavour (God giving us assistance) the overthrow of that Power that hath established that Prelacy and Erastianism over the Church, and exercises such a lustful and arbitrary Tyranny over the Subjects; seeking again to introduce Idolatry and Superstition in these Lands, contrair to our Covenants: And in a word, that we shall endeavour the extirpation of all the Works of Darkness, and the Relicks of Idolatry and Superstition, (which are both much enlarged and revived in our times,) and execute righteous Judgment impartially (according to the Word of God, and degree of Wickedness) upon the Committers of these things; but especially, Blasphemy, Idolatry, Atheism, Sorcery, Perjury, Uncleaness, Profanation of the Lords-Day, Oppression and Malignancy; that being thus zealous for God, he may delight to dwell among us.

IV. Seriously considering, that the hand of our Kings has been against the Throne of the Lord, and that now 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

of the Church of God, and hath degenerate from the Virtue and good Government of their Predecessors into Tyranny, and hath of late so manifestly rejected God, His Service and Reformation, as a Slavery, as they themselves call it in their publick Papers, (especially, in these last Letters to the King, and Duke of *Lauderdale*) disclaiming their Covenant with God, and blasphemously inacting it to be burnt by the Hand of a Hangman, governed contrary to all right Laws; Divine and Humane, exercised such Tyranny, and Arbitrary Government, oppressed men in their Consciences and Civil Rights, used free Subjects (Christian and Reasonable Men) with less Discretion and Justice than their Beasts; and so not only frustrate the great end of Government, (which is, that men may live Godly, Holy, and Peaceably under them, and might be maintained in their Rights and Liberties from injury and wrong) but hath also walked contrary to it; So that it can no more be called a *Government*, but a *lustful Rage*, exercised with as little right Reason, and with more cruelty than in Beasts, and they themselves can be no more called *Governours*, but *publick Grassators*, and *publick Judgments*; which all Men ought as earnestly to labour to be free of, as of Sword, Famine, or Pestilence raging amongst us; and besides, hath stopped (instead of punishing) the course of Law and Justice against Idolaters, Blasphemers, Atheists, Murtherers, Incestuous and Adulterous, and other Malefactors; and instead of rewarding the good, hath made Butcheries, and Murthers on the Lords People, sold them as Slaves; Imprisoned, Forfaulted, Bannished and Fined them, upon no other account, but for maintaining the Lords Right to Rule Consciences, against the Usurpations of Men; for fulfilling their Vows, and repelling unjust Violence; which innocent Nature allows to all; of all which, and moe particulars, we can give (we speak as before God) innumerable and sure Instances: Neither can it be thought, that there is hope of their returning from these Courses, having so often shewed their Natures, and Enmities against God, and all Righteousness, and so often Declared, and Renewed their Purposes and Promises of persevering in these Courses. And, suppose they should dissemble a Repentance of these Evils, and profess to return to better Courses, being put to Straits, or for their own Ends, (for upon no other account can we reasonably expect it;) and though it might be thought, that there might be Pardon for what is done, (which we cannot yet see to be, without the violation of the Law of God, and a great guiltiness on the Land, from which guiltiness the Land can never be free, but by executing of Gods righteous Judgments upon them, for omitting of so greatly deserved, and so necessarily requisite a Justice;) yet they cannot be believed, after they have violated all Tyes that Human Wisdom can devise to bind Men; and beside, there will be something of Folly found, to think to bind a King that pretends to absoluteness: and our Fathers, or rather our Selves, at first judged it not warrantable to receive Him, without consenting to, and swearing of the Covenant: And if so, the renouncing and disclaiming thereof, we ought at present to judge, to be a just and reasonable ground of rejecting Him upon these grounds, being assured of Gods approbation, and Mens, whose Hearts are not utterly byassed, and their Consciences altogether corrupted, and knowing assuredly, that

the upholding of such, is to uphold Men, to bear down Christs Kingdom, and to uphold Satans, and the depriving of Men of right Government, and good Governours, to the ruining of Religion, and undoing of Humane Society. We then seeing the innumerable Sins and Snares, that are in giving Obedience to their Acts; on the other hand, seeing, if we shall acknowledge their Authority, and refuse Obedience to their sinful Commands, the endless Miseries that will follow, and siding with God (whom we hope will accept and help us to a liberation from their Tyranny) against his stated and declared Enemies; do reject that King, and these Associates with Him; from being our Rulers, because standing in the way of our Right, free and peaceable serving of God, propagating His Kingdom, and Reformation, and overthrowing Satans Kingdom, according to our Covenant; And Declares them henceforth to be no lawful Rulers, as they have Declared us to be no lawful Subjects, upon a ground far less warrantable; as Men unbyassed may see; and that after this, we neither ~~own~~, nor shall yield any willing Obedience to them, but shall rather suffer the utmost of their Cruelties and Injustice, until God shall plead our Cause; and that upon these Accounts; because, they have altered and destroyed the Lords established Religion, overturned the fundamental and establish'd Laws of the Kingdom, taken altogether away Christs Church and Government, and changed the Civil Government of this Land: (which was by King and free Parliaments) into Tyranny, where none are associate to be partakers of the Government, but only those who will be found by Justice to be guilty of Criminals, and all others excluded; even those, who by the Laws of the Land by Birth had a right to, and a share in that Government, and that only, because not of the same guiltiness and mischievous Purposes with themselves; And also, all free Elections of Commissioners for Parliaments, and Officers for Government, are made void by their making those the Qualifications of admission to these Places; which by the Word of God, and the Laws of this Land, were the cause of their exclusion before, so that none can look upon us, or judge us bound in Allegiance, to them, unless they say also we are bound in Allegiance to Devils, they being his Viceroyents, and not Gods.

§ V. We then being made free, by God and their own doings, He giving the Law, and they giving the transgression of that Law, which is the cause that we are loosed now from all Obligations, both Divine and Civil to them, and knowing that no Society of Men that hath corruption in them: (which always is ready to beget disorders, and do injuries, unless restrained and punished by Laws and Government) can be without Laws and Government, and withal, desiring to be governed in the best way that is least lyable to Inconveniencies and Tyranny, We do Declare, that we shall set up over our selves, and over all that God shall give us Power, Government, and Governours, according to the Word of God, and especially according to that Word *Exod. 18. v. 21. Moreover, thou shalt provide out of all the People, able Men, such as fear God, men of Truth, hating Covetousness*; and that we shall no more commit the Government of our selves, and the making of Laws for us, to any one single

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 Common-wealth, and this kind of Government by a single Person, &c. being most liable to Inconveniencies, (as sad and long experience may now teach us,) and aptest to degenerate into Tyranny. Moreover, we Declare, that these Men whom we shall set over us, shall be engaged to Govern us principally by that Civil, or Judicial Law, given by God to His People of *Israel*, especially in matters of Life and Death, and in all other things also, so far as they teach, except only that Law, (*viz.* anent Slaves) which does not agree with that Christian Liberty, established in all Christendom, (only violated by our Tyrants, and some others of late,) and that of Divorces and Poligamy; the one being not a Law, but a Permission granted, upon the account of the hardness of their Hearts, the other being a sinful custom, contrair to the first Institution of Marriage, crept into the Church: We know that Men of Malignant and Perverse Spirits, that has not a higher God than a wicked King, which suits only with their lustful licentiousness, and it may be others with them that seemed to be of better Principles, will raise an ignorant clamour upon this, that it is a Fifth-Monarchy, and we Fifth-Monarchy-Men, and will labour to amuse the People with strange terms, and put odious names on good things to make them hateful, as their way is; but if this be their Fifth-Monarchy, we both are, and ought to be such, and that according to His Word.

VI. It being the work of the Ministers of the Gospel, to preach, propagate, and defend the Kingdom of God, and to preserve the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, Government, Liberties and Priviledges of the same, from all corruptions and incroachments of Rulers, and all others. And seeing, that the Ministers of the Church of *Scotland*, (at least the greatest part of them before) not only were defective in Preaching, and testifying against the Acts of these Rulers, for overthrowing Religion and Reformation, abjuring our Covenant made with God, establishing a Government in the Church, which that King calls His own Government, (and so not Gods) contrair to our Covenant; Against inacting of that blasphemous (so *Calvin* calls that Supremacy of *Henry* the Eighth, upon which this Prerogative is founded, and from which it is derived, and is no less, if not more injurious to Christ, and inflaving to his Church) and sacrilegious Prerogative given to a King over the Church of God, and against the other Acts and Incroachments of His Church, and hindered others also who were willing, and would have testified against them, and censured some that did it, (for which, together with the other Causes in their trust and administration, we may say, God hath left them to do worse things,) but also hath voted in that Meeting, (which they are pleased to call an Assembly of Ministers, but how justly, let Men judge,) an acceptance of that Liberty, founded upon, and given by virtue of that blasphemously arrogated and usurped Power, and hath appeared before their Courts to accept of that Liberty, and to be enacted, and authorized there as Ministers, and so hath willingly (for this is, an *elicite* act of the Will, and not an Act of Force and Constraint) translated the Power of sending out, ordering, censuring, (for as they accept of their Liberty from them,

them, so they submit to their Censures and Restraints, at least all of them who were yet tried with it, and others of them appeared and acknowledged before their Courts, that they would not have done these things that they were charged with, if they had thought it would have offended them) Ministers departing from the Court of Christ, and subjection to the Ministry, to the Courts of Men, and subjection to the Magistrate, (which had been impious and injurious to Christ and His Church, though they had been righteous and lawful Rulers) and by their changing of Courts, (according to Common Law) hath changed their Masters, and of the Ministers of Christ are become the Ministers of Men, and bound to answer to them as oft as they will; and as by the acceptance of this Liberty in such manner, they have translated the Power, so they have given up and utterly quit the Government, and a succession of a Presbyterian Ministry; for as these were not granted them of their Masters, so they exercise their Ministry without them, and so by this, as the Ecclesiastick-Government is swallowed up in the Civil, (if the rest had followed them) the Ministry should have also been extinct with themselves, and the whole Work of Reformation had been buried in Oblivion, not so much as the remembrance of it kept up: These, together with the other of their Commissions in Preaching, the lawfulness of paying that Tribute declared to be imposed for the bearing down of the true Worship of God, (which they falsely termed *Seditious Conventicles*) and their advising these poor Prisoners to subscribe the Bond, and consequently could not but so advise all others, if put to it, (for the hazard that Men were in, will not make a real change of the Morality of that Action) and beside, the rest may be put to it upon the same hazard, and so if the one should advise, (which consequently they must do) and the other should subscribe, this would altogether close that door which the Lord hath made use of in all the Churches of *Europe*, for casting off the Yoke of the Whore, and restoring the truth and purity of Religion and Reformation, and freedom of the Churches, and should have stopped all ingress for Men, when once brought under Tyranny, to recover their Liberty again. These Ministers then, not being followers of Christ, who before *Pontius Pilate*, gave a good Confession, which was, that he was a King, and no King, if he have not power to order his House and Subjects, and they not following him, nor his Ministers, if not asserting and maintaining of this his Kingly Power, against all Incroachers and Usurpers of it; and besides, we being commanded, *If any Brother walk disorderly, from such to withdraw*; and although in the capacity we now are in, we neither have, nor assume to our selves Authority to give out definite and authoratative sentences of Deposition and Suspension against these Ministers; yet we declare, which is proper for us to do, that we neither can, nor will hear Preaching, nor receive Sacraments from these Ministers that hath accepted of, and voted for that Liberty; and declares all who have encouraged and strengthened their Hands, by hearing and pleading for them, all those who have traffiqued for an union with them, without their renouncing and repenting of these things, all those that do not testify faithfully against them, and after do not deport themselves suitably to their testimonies, and all who joyn not in publick with their Brethren, who

who are testifying against them; we Declare, that we shall not hear them Preach, nor receive Sacraments from them, at least, till they stand in Judgment before these Ministers, and be judged by them who have followed the Lord, and kept themselves free of these Defections: And as our Hearts hath cleaved to these Ministers, while they were on the Lords side, and subjected our selves to them, so we shall still cleave to those that abide following Him, and shall be subject to them in the Lord.

VII. Then we do Declare and Acknowledge, that a Gospel-Ministry, is a standing Ordinance of God, appointed by Christ, to continue in the Church until the end of the World; and that none of us shall take upon him the Preaching of the Word, or Administring the Sacraments, unless Called, and Ordained thereto, by the Ministers of the Gospel: And as we Declare, that we are for a standing Gospel-Ministry, rightly Chosen, and rightly Ordained, so we Declare, 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, both in Ministers and People, which hath not been the least cause of this Defection.

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THE



THE
 Declaration and Testimony
 OF THE
*True-Presbyterian, Anti-Prelaticke, and Anti-
 Erastian, Persecuted-Party in*
 SCOTLAND.

IT is not amongst the smallest of the Lords Mercies to this poor Land, that there hath always been some who hath given a Testimony of every course of Defection which we were guilty of, which is a Token for Good, that he does not as yet intend to cast us off altogether, but that he will leave a Remnant, in whom he will be glorious, if they (through His Grace) keep themselves clean still, and walk in His Way and Method, as it hath been walked in, and owned by Him in our Predecessors (of truly worthy Memory) their time, in their carrying on of our Noble Work of Reformation, in the several steps thereof, from Popery and Prelacy, and likewise from Erastian Supremacy, so much usurped by Him, who it is true (so far as we know) is descended from the Race of our Kings; yet He hath so far deborded from what He ought to have been, by His Perjury and Usurpation in Church-matters, and Tyranny in matters Civil, as is known by the whole Land, that we have just reason to believe, that one of the Lords great Controversies against us is, that we have not disowned Him, and the Men of His Practices, whether inferior Magistrates, or any others, as Enemies to our Lord and His Crown, and the true Protestant and Presbyterian-Interest in their hands, our Lords espoused Bride and Church. Therefore, although we be for Government, and Governours, such as the Word of God, and our Covenants allows, yet we for our selves, and all that will adhere to us, as the Representatives of the true Presbyterian-Church, and covenanted Nation of Scotland, considering the great hazard of lying under such a sin, do by these presents, disown Charles Stuart, who hath been Reigning, or rather (we may say) Tyrannizing on the Throne of Scotland, or Government thereof, (forfaulted several years since by his Perjury and breach of Covenant with God and his Church) and Usurpation of his Crown and Royal Prerogatives there-

in, and many other breaches in matters Ecclesiastick, and by his Tyranny and breach of the very Leges Regnandi in matters Civil; for which Reasons, we declare, that several years since he should have been denuded of being King, Ruler, or Magistrate, or having any Power to act, or to be obeyed as such: 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, his Cause and Covenants, and against all such as have strengthened him, sided with him, or any ways acknowledged him in his Usurpation and Tyranny, Civil and Ecclesiastick, yea, and against all such as shall strengthen, side with, or any ways acknowledge any other in the like Usurpation and Tyranny, far more against such as would betray or deliver up our free reformed Mother Church, into the Bondage of Antichrist, the Pope of Rome.

By this we Homologate the Falsimony given at Ratherglen, the twenty ninth of May, 1679. and disown the faithful Testimonies of these that have gone before us, as of these also that have offered of late; and we do disclaim that Declaration published at Hamiltoun, June 7 1679. chiefly, because it takes in the Kings Interest, which we are several years since loosed from, because of the foresaid Reasons, and others, which may after this (if the Lord will) be published. As also, we disown, and by this resents the reception of the Duke of York, a profest Papist, as repugnant to our Principles and Vows to the most High God, and as that which is the great (though alace too just) reproach of our Church and Nation: We also, by this, protest against his succeeding to the Crown, and whatever hath been done, or any are effusing in this Land, (given to the Lord) in prejudice to our Work of Reformation.

And to conclude, We hope none will blame us for, or offend at, our naming these that are against us, as they have done to us, as the Lord gives the opportunity. This is not to exclude any that hath declined, if they be willing to give satisfaction to the degree of their offence.

Given at Sanquhair, the 22. of June, 1680.

These are the True and Exact Copies of the *Fanaticks New-Covenant*, and *Declaration*; Collationed with the Originals, which are kept amongst the Records of His Majesties Privy-Council; and attested by

AL. GIBSON Cl. Sti. Concilii,
And WILL. PATERSON, Cl. Sti. Concilii.

F I N I S.

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Abbreviations:

<i>ELH</i>	<i>English Literary History</i>
<i>MLR</i>	<i>Modern Language Review</i>
<i>PMLA</i>	<i>Papers of the Modern Language Association</i>
<i>SHR</i>	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i>
<i>SHW</i>	<i>Studies in Hogg and His World</i>
<i>SLJ</i>	<i>Scottish Literary Journal</i>
<i>SSL</i>	<i>Studies in Scottish Literature</i>

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