I.


An interesting chapter in Scottish history might be written regarding the origin and continuance of "bands" or bonds, leagues, mutual indentures, and covenants generally, having for their objects the protection of individuals, clans, or families, and the nation, or of certain rights, privileges, or possessions, personal or national, when these were menaced. Assurances of this character, given and received, in some simple manner, or by a binding writ, may be considered a primitive custom. The examples of the covenants referred to and recorded in the Holy Scriptures were copied in the era of Christian civilisation, and invested similar agreements with a more binding force supposed to be the result of this religious association. An early and important compact, fraught with very happy results for Scotland, was that of The Brus and three gallant outlaws, as referred to in Balfour's Annals (i. 89), under the year 1306, thus:—"This zeire ther was a mutuall endenture made betuix Sr Gilbert Hay of Erole, Sr Neill Campbell of Lochaw, and Sr Alexander Setton, Knights, at the abbey of Londers, to defend King Robert and hes croune to the last of ther bloodes and fortunes; wpon the sealling of the said indenture, they solemnly toke the Sacrament at St Maries altar, in the said abbey-churche."

For consolidating their personal power and influence as chieftains, heads of families, or heads of burghs, as well as to give them indisputable rights over the lives and possessions of their retainers and allies, the head-men, both in the Highlands and the Lowlands, exacted these bonds of manrent and indentures, so that their increased power as independent justices became a menace both to the Crown and to constitutional government. Consequently, the Estates of Scotland found it imperative, in 1424, by chapter 5 (Act, Parl. Scot., ii. 7), to make illegal
all bands, leagues, and risings of the commons in burghs under pain of confiscation of goods, and the offenders' lives being at the King's will. This enactment was extended in 1503 (c. 43; c. 33) to apply to landward districts; but afterwards, in 1584 (c. 4), and in 1585 (c. 6), this stringent enactment was modified so as not to apply to bands or conventions for the maintenance of those laws and liberties in church and state already declared to be lawful. This statute was again ratified on 16th January 1661 (Charles II., c. 12, Act. Parl. Scot., vii. 12). Thus the law stood till 24th June 1662, when the "Act (12, vii. 377-8) for Preservation of His Majesties Person, Authoritie and Government" embodied certain clauses declaring all leagues and covenants to be "rebellious and treasonable," and "The National Covenant" and "The Solemn League and Covenant," in particular, to be "in themselfs unlawful Oaths." By Act 5 (1685) the covenants were again made treasonable (Act. Parl. Scot., viii. 461). While this latter Act may be inferred to be annulled by certain restrictive Acts passed at the Revolution, that of 1662 (c. 12) was finally repealed by [6 Edw. 7] Statute Law Revision (Scotland) Act 1906 [c. 38].

It is also worthy of note that the Privy Council Minutes record many bonds and agreements entered into between parties which were referred to the Privy Council for their imprimatur, so that the principals might contract mutually to be considered dishonest, perjurers, and impious men, should they break the terms of the deed sanctioned by the law. The offender thus constituted himself a criminal punishable by law.

In all likelihood the early British Protestants, as Wycliffites, Lollards, Gospellers, New Testamentars, Sacramentars, Heretics, long held themselves together by secret bonds of communion, of which only the faintest traces are preserved. In George Wishart's day, Sir George Douglas brother to the Earl of Angus, the Earl of Cassillis, the Earl of Glencairn, and John Erskine of Dun, agreed to protect the feeble cause of Protestantism. Bothwell, too, broke his vow to honour the Ormiston bond entered into for the protection of Wishart (Knox, i. 134-141). The return of Knox to Scotland in 1555 made the framing of a bond,
both of a religious and political character, binding influential Scots Evangelical Protestants together, absolutely imperative. Their peril created the opportunity. Consequently Knox himself narrates that, after a tour of preaching in the winter of 1555–56, he went north to Dun, and there ministered "the Table of the Lord Jesus" to "gentilmen of the Mernse, who, God be praised, to this day constantlie do remane in the same doctrin, which then thei professed, to witt, that thei refuissed all societie with idolatrie, and band thame selfis to the uttermost of thare poweris, to manteane the trew preaching of the Evangell of Jesus Christ, as God should offer unto thame preachearis and oportunitie" (Knox, i., 250). Dr M'Crie concluded that this confederation originated the first covenant. Knox does not record its terms or say that it was a written deed.

Knox was again the inciter of the leaders of the Reform movement to meet in Edinburgh, on 3rd December 1557, and subscribe "The Common or Godly Band," of which a copy is preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities (Knox, i. 273, 274, vi. 674–6; Calderwood, i. 326; Keith, i. 154; National MSS. of Scotland, iii., plate xi., facsimile).

The extant example only bears the signatures of Archibald Erle of Ergyl, Glencarne, Mortoun, Archibald Lord of Lome, Jhone Erskyne. Knox, however, informs us that it was subscribed by "many otheris."

The next bond of similar import was that of the Congregation, subscribed "At Perth, the last day of Maij" 1559, by "Arch. Ergyle, James Stewart, Mathovv Campbell of Teringland, Glencarne, R. Lord Boyd, Uchiltrie" (Knox, i. 344, 345; vi. 24).

"A Generall Band," signed in Edinburgh on 13th July 1559, is recorded in The Register of the Kirk Session of St Andrews (i. pp. 6, 7; edit. Dr D. Hay Fleming (Scot. Hist. Soc.)). Other bonds for the protection of the Congregation were entered into, one of the most interesting being the Edinburgh-Leith Covenant, of date 27th April 1560, now preserved in the Hamilton archives.

After the Reformation the most important bond was that which
resulted from a scare caused by Popish intrigues in 1580. King James personally superintended its creation, which he entrusted to his chaplain John Craig. It appeared under the title “ane short and general Confessione of the true Christiane Fayth and Religione according to Godis Vorde, and Actis of our Parlament, subscryued by the Kingis Maiestie and his Houshold, with sindrie otheris, to the glorie of God, and good example of all men att Edinburght, the 28 day of Januare 1580, and 14 yeare of his Maiesties reign.” It was subscribed first by King James and by many nobles and gentlemen. The original is preserved in the Advocates’ Library (Booke of the Universall Kirk, ii. 515–518).

This bond is also known as “The King’s Confession,” “The Covenant,” “The National Covenant,” “The Confession of Faith,” “The Second Confession of Faith,” and “The Negative Confession.”

The National Covenant, published and subscribed in Greyfriars’ Church, Edinburgh, on 1st March 1638, is an instrument embodying the National Covenant of 1580–1, together with two supplements, the one specifying the Acts of Parliament suppressing Popery and establishing Protestantism, and the other declaring that its subscribers defended the established faith and forbore the innovations in the Church—canons, liturgy, etc.—introduced by Kings James and Charles, which were abjured as “heads of Papistrie” (Act. Parl. Scot., v. 294–298; Large Declaration, 57).

The Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 was a simple treaty between Scotland and England, “For Reformation, and Defence of Religion, The Honour and Happiness of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland.” Its object was the preservation of the Reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, and the reformation of religion in England and Ireland, “according to the Word of God, and the example of the best Reformed Churches.” The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland accepted this League on 17th August 1643, the Convention of Estates on the same date, and the parliament men of England, the commons, and some peers, on the

On 23rd June 1650, King Charles II. subscribed the covenants with a special declaratory oath thereanent, while he lay in a vessel at Spithead. The original document is preserved in the Bodleian Library, and is catalogued "Clarendon MSS., 40, fol. 80."

**EXTANT COPIES OF THE SCOTTISH COVENANTS.**

Dr David Laing, on 24th May 1847, read to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland a paper entitled "The Names of some of the Persons who have Original Copies of our Covenants, National and Solemn League." It was published in the Proceedings, vol. iv. 238–50 (Edin., 1863). The following notes supplement that catalogue of Covenants, some of which cannot now be traced:


It was found among the papers of the Erskines of Little Sauchy. Presented by Captain John Cunningham in 1877.

2. **The Edinburgh Bond, subscribed on 27th April 1560,** which Dr Laing did not trace, is preserved in Hamilton Palace. The skin on which it is written is abraded, wrinkled, and mutilated, having four holes through it. It measures 26 1/2 x 20 1/2 inches. It is signed by Chatelherault, Arran, Huntly, Argyll, Glencarn, Rothes, Morton, James Stewart (Regent Moray), the abbots of Kinloss, Cupar, and Kilwinning, and many others. Cf. Hist. MSS. Com. Reg. xlii, vi, 43, for text. A reduced facsimile appears in The Covenanters, vol. i. p. 28.

3. **1567 Bond in Glasgow University Library.** On a separate parchment sheet this document is described as "The Original Bond subscribed by the Earle of M. [letters defaced and rewritten Murray] Regent, with most of the Nobility, Gentry and Burgesses [at] the Coronation [in] Defence of King James 6th, anno 1567." Among many signatures appear Mortoun, Mar, James Stewart, Ruthven, Sanquhar, Methven, Tulibardin, Dalyell, Bargany, Fraser of that Ilk, Alexander, Bishop of Galloway, the Commendators of Culross and Cambuskenneth, and many others. The parch-
ment measures 46½ x 11¾ inches. It was one of three such deeds "Given to the library of Glasgow College by John C. [letters defaced], 1696," during Dunlop's principalship. The text is printed in Calderwood, ii. 378-83; the subscribers' names are also given there and in The Booke of the U. Kirk, i. 110.

(4) 1572-8 Bond in Glasgow University Library.

The above-mentioned parchment sheet indexed another deed entitled "Ane Original Bond containing ane Confession of Religion in the tym of Morton's Regency [1572-8] subscribed by Churchmen." This parchment, subscribed by six or seven persons—signatures difficult to make out—measures 21½ x 13 inches and is in a good state of preservation.

[1589 Bond. A third Covenant in the same folio is now lost. It was thus described: "Ane Bond of Association for defence of the Protestant Religion against the detestable Conspiracy, then called the Holy League, made by Foreign Papists, which was subscribed by King Ja., with a great number of the Nobility and Burgess, anno 1589." A copy of this document is preserved among the Wodrow MSS. in the Advocates' Library, fol. lxiv. 75. It is printed in Calderwood, Hist., v. 49-52.]

(5) The King's Concession, 1580-1. Cf. Proc. Soc. Antiq. of Scotland, iv. 243; National MSS. of Scotland, iii. lxx.; reduced facsimile in The Covenanters, i. 102. The original parchment deed is preserved in the Advocates' Library. Nine blots and a hole disfigure the skin. A draft is preserved in the Register House, Edinburgh. The deed was subscribed on 28th January 1581. The writing is much faded, but the signatures of King James, Lennox, Morton, Argyll, Ruthven, "Mr Johne Crag," Duncanson, and other thirty-one subscribers are still discernible. It measures 23 inches square. [The King, Lennox, Huntly, and ninety-six others signed another copy of this Confession on 25th February 1588; the deed was preserved among the muniments at Pollok (Proc. Soc. Antiq., iv. 244). It cannot now be found. A copy of part of this Covenant appears in the Record of Laureations of the University of Edinburgh in 1585, and graduates thereafter signed it (Catal. of Grad., Edin., 1858). It begins with "We all" and finishes with "fearful judgment." Among the signatures are: (1585) "Mr Johne Craig," "Robert Rollock," "Patrik Home," "Jhone Earl of Gowrye" (1598); (July 23, 1631) "Robertus Leighton," "Robertus Leighton, 3"; (1645) "Thomas Hug"; (1647) "Jacobus Kirkton." Cf. Row, Hist., 74-77.

There is in the possession of the Presbytery of Stirling, and now bound up with vol. i. (1581-9) of their Records, a manuscript with the following heading: "Ane Schort and generall Confessione of ye trew Christiane faithe and Religione according to God's word and actis of our pliaments Subscryved be ye King's Majestic and his household, w* sindrie uthers, to ye glorie of god and gude exampl of al men, At Edinbrugh the xxviii day of Januar, ye zeir of god l m v c lxxx zeirs And ye fourtein zeir of his Majeste's Regne And now subscryvit be the Ministers and Reiders of the evangel of Jesus Christ w*in ye bounds of the Presbyterii of Sterling At the brugh thairof the day of The zeir of god l m v c lxxxviii zeirs."

The signatures appended are those of James Andersone (Stirling), Henry Levingstoune (St Ninians), Andro Murdo (Kippen), William Couper (Bothkennan), Alexander Fargy (Logie), Henrie Laing (Airth), Alexr. Wallace (Clackmannan), Andro Foster (Falkirk), Robert Mentayth (Alva), and John
Duncansone, ministers; and by four Readers—one of whom is James Duncansone, the Clerk.

A folio printed broadsheet with the title "Ane Shorte and Generall Confession of the Crede, Christian Faith and Religion," with the date "At Holyrudhouse 1580 the 2 day of March," and the printer's name, "Imprented at Edinburgh be Robert Lekpewike," is preserved in the Advocates' Library: *Wodrow MSS.*, xliii. fol. M. 6. 8. This probably is the first printed copy of the Confession. No signatures are added.

A printed copy of the Confession is appended to Craig's own *Catechism* (12mo) (1581), the signatures being omitted. Aldis, *List*, 176.


[1590. THE CONFESSION OF FAITH: Trinity College, Cambridge. Press mark, via. 6, 8. Edin., 1590. 7 x 5 inches: printed.]

(7) 1638 Covenant in the Museum of the Corporation of Edinburgh. This magnificent parchment is *par excellence* the Covenant of 1638. It is preserved and framed between two sheets of glass. The skin, probably that of a deer, is the largest engrossed with the Covenant, and measures 43½ inches long and 46½ inches broad. Both sides are fully occupied with the names, initials, and marks of subscribers, 3250 in all—1350 on one side and 1900 on the other. The skin shows two cuts and one large hole. It was "written be James Davie, Schoolmaister in Edinburghe." Immediately below the terms of the Covenant, but in smaller script and clearer ink, appears the following addendum (of 30th August 1639) embodying the Determination of Glasgow Assembly: "The article of this Covenant which wes at the first subscription referred to the determination of the General Assemblie being determined, and thereby the fyve articles of Perthe, the government of the Kirk by bishops, the civil places and power of Kirkmen, upon the reasons and grounds contained in the actis of the General Assemblie, declared to be unlawful within this Kirk, wee subscribe according to the determination foirsaid" (Peterkin, *Records*, 208; *Scottish Hist. and Life*, 1902, p. 98). Then follow these names in order: Montrose, Rhothes, Eglington, Cassillis, Lothian, Boyd, Forrester, Wemyss, Yester, Sinclair, Elcho, Lindesey, Cranstone, Loudoun, Johnstone, Balmerino, Flemyng, Lyone, and others of the nobility. Then follow the leading lairds and members of
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Parliament: Sir Hew Campbell, the lairds of Drumlanrig, Lag, Duncrieb, Craigdarroch, Keir, Rowallan, Gaitgirth, Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, and scores of others. On the fifth line appears "Sir Andro Moray of Balvaird"; on the eighth line, "Alex. Henderson, Leuchars"; on the ninth line "Mr Patrik Henrysone publict lector" (the reader of St Giles in July 1637); on the twenty-fifth line "John Cunynghame till daith," written as others are with reddish pigment, as of blood. Grahames, Murrays, Hays, Shaws, Lawmonths, Semplers, Johnstones, of their particular "ilks," subscribe. Archibald Johnston (afterwards Lord Wariston) signs; and "E. Johnestone with my / is also appended. On it one pious wish is thus expressed: "Exurgat Deus et dissipentur omnes inimici eius, Johannes Paulicius manu propria." "Mr Andro Cant" made a clear subscription, as did David Dickson, minister in Irvine, Harie Rollok, minister in Edinburgh, many dames, doctors, advocates, ministers, magistrates; and illiterates made marks or penned huge initial letters. Notaries signed on behalf of many others.


(8) 1638 Covenant in the Scottish National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh. Press mark, OA. 18. This irregularly dressed skin, measuring $31 \times 28\frac{1}{2}$ inches, is punctured with twelve holes. Has small writing; no ornamental capitals. Has three hundred signatures: Montrose, etc., some Argyleshire lairds; notable in centre "Mr Alexander Henderson, Leuchars." Lacks Glasgow Determination above signatures, but has faint addenda at bottom. Inscribed "For the Burghe and Parochin of Dumbarton." Presented by Alexander Fergusson of Craigdarroch, 1784.

(9) 1638 Covenant in the Scottish National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh. Press mark, OA. 28. This untrimmed skin measures $29\frac{3}{4} \times 24$ inches, with the usual signatures of Montrose, Cassillis, and of many Ayrshire lairds, Cunninghamheid, Carberry, Cairnhill, Innerkip, Rowallan. Was subscribed by three hundred persons in Ayrshire, probably in Maybole; among others by Jane Stewart, Margaret Stuart, Anna Stewart, Elizabeth Stewart. Presented by Thomas Rattray in 1782.

(10) 1638 Covenant in the Scottish National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh. Press mark, OA. 25. This example is faintly written, has no border, and measures $22\frac{1}{2} \times 20\frac{1}{2}$ inches; is signed by Rothes, Montrose, and other members of the Tables; "S.A. Murray of Balvaird," "George Wynname of Liberton." It lacks Glasgow Determination. Presented by Thomas Rattray in 1782.

(11) 1638 Covenant in the Scottish National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh. Press mark, OA. 21. This fine example, somewhat similar to that preserved in the New College, Edinburgh, measures $32\frac{1}{4} \times 36\frac{3}{4}$ inches; has a pink-coloured border, with pattern picked out in white, and some words picked out in red and gold; was "written be John Laurie, writer in Edinburgh." It bears thirty-two names (of the Privy Council) still visible and others undecipherable. It has the Glasgow Determination. It has three large holes in the

(12) 1638 Covenant in the Scottish National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh. This Covenant, formerly possessed by Miss Agnes Black, Perth, is assigned to no district. It is described in Proc. Soc. Antiq., xii. 63, 64. The parchment measures 20½ x 23 inches; is carefully written; has signatures of nobles, and one hundred signatures of ministers and landowners, among others being Mr John Adamson, Principal of Edinburgh College, Foulis of Colinton, Mr John Skene of Halzairds, Mr Alexander Henderson, Leuchars, Graeme of Inchbraikie, and other Graemes.

(13) 1638 Covenant in Advocates' Library. This example measures 41 x 32½ inches; has plain script, no capitals; a little torn. Signed April 1638. Subscribed on both sides with five hundred signatures of nobility, gentry, and persons from all quarters, probably at Edinburgh.

(14) 1638 Covenant in Advocates' Library. This magnificent example, measuring 40 x 32 inches, is framed and exhibited in the Laigh Parliament House. It is dated 12th January 1639; written by "William Aytoun, Maison," and presented by William Aytoun, junior, to the Library in 1703. It is written in double columns, with some of the letters in gold. In circles round the edge the names of Montrose, Argyll, other nobles, and members of Parliament are subscribed. It contains the Glasgow Determination in a special paragraph at the bottom.


(15) 1638 Covenant in Advocates' Library. A parchment similar to the above, measuring 32½ x 22½ inches, is also preserved in the Advocates' Library. There is a border ornament, capitals in gold letters, special words in red capitals; has signatures of J. Leslie, J. Mar, Rothes, Dunfermline, Sinclair, Loudoun, Forester, J. Erskine, Boyd, Balmerino, Linlithgow, G. Gordon, and no others. Has Glasgow Determination. In splendid condition; similar to Laurie's work on Covenant in U.F. Church College Hall.

(16) 1638 Covenant in Advocates' Library. This parchment, very red-stained, measures 31½ x 29 inches, and is written in cursive with a few lines in Gothic text. "R. M. Mc'Ghie wrote it." It has Glasgow Determination at the foot of the deed; about two hundred signatures, the last being "W. Burnett;" among others, Fraser, J. Dalyell, "John Lewis, provest, Pat. Thomson, bailie," and other bailies. It is probably the Covenant of Peebles.

A facsimile of the Covenant for the Burgh of Peebles was engraved, as stated by David Laing, in Proc. Soc. Antiq., iv. 247. Cf. facsimile by Schenck.

(17) 1638 Covenant in Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. This shield-shaped parchment measures 34 x 25¼ inches; is subscribed by hundreds on both sides, probably at Ayr; has, besides the names of Rothes, Montrose, and J. Home, "Robert Blair, minister at Ayr," Robert Gordoun, provost of Ayr; has the notarial attestation, "decimo tertio Mertii, 1638," by George Maxwell. Cf. Ayr Advertiser, 8th October 1874; Scot. Nat. Mem., 89-90.
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It is much stained. Has no reference to Glasgow Determination. It records about five hundred and fifty names. Plain caligraphy; no ornamental capitals. Presented by Lord Cowan and his nephews. Cf. Edinburgh Courant, 14th January 1875.

(18) 1638 Covenant in Advocates' Library. This example, covered with four hundred and thirty-two signatures, measures $32\frac{1}{4} \times 34\frac{1}{2}$ inches; has indistinct script; signed by Montrose, Boyd, Loudoun, Keir, Sir J. Cochrane, W. Riccarton, Dalmahoy, Shaw of Sauchie, Lugton, “David Home at Lady-kirk”; has no reference to Glasgow; has subscriptions by notary George Aytoun, on 22nd–25th day of (Marche?) 1638; and the inscription, “Ex dono Mri Adami Coult” (?). A Mr Adam Colt was minister at Inveresk in 1643.

(19) 1580-1 Covenant subscribed in 1638—in Advocates' Library. This printed document (quarto with blank pages) No. 34. 5. 15, is the King's Confession of 1580 (signed by Hamilton, Traquair, Roxburgh, and the Privy Council on 22nd September 1638 at Holyroodhouse); attested by “J. Prymrois.” It was also signed in Kirriemuir, Aberbrothock, Arbuthnot, Arbirlot, Alyth, Forfar, and other parishes in Forfarshire, by nine hundred and thirteen persons. Cf. Peterkin, Records, 84.

(20) 1638 Covenant in Advocates' Library. This example measures $35 \times 25\frac{1}{2}$ inches; is very cracked; torn on both of top corners; is signed by Leslie, Amt, Argyll, Montrose, Cassillis, Sir R. Moray, Sir Thomas Hope, Ja. Sword, W. Hamilton, M. Gibsone Durie, S. J. Rutherfurd, G. Gordone, and four others. It records Glasgow Determination. Caligraphy small; no ornamental capitals.

(21) 1638 Covenant in Register House, Edinburgh (Hist. Dept., Q. 133). This example, measuring $24\frac{1}{4} \times 22\frac{1}{4}$ inches, is very small compared with others; is signed by Montrose, Rothes, Lothian, Boyd, Lyone, Hume of Polwarth, Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, and other peers and members of Parliament. James Cheyne subscribes as penman of the deed. No Glasgow Determination.

(22) 1638 Covenant in Register House (Q. 134A). This document was subscribed in Borgue, Kirkcudbrightshire, and is dated 22nd April 1638. It measures $25 \times 27$ inches. Has three holes in parchment. Has Glasgow Determination on back with many signatures following.

(23) Humble Supplication and Confession in Register House (Q. 134B). It was signed in Edinburgh on 12th August 1639 by Lennox, Hamilton, Traquair, Argyll, Marischal, Wigtoune, Buccleuch, “J. E. Southerland” (his first signature), “S. J. Maitland” (Lauderdale), A. Johnston (Wariston), and one hundred and twenty others. Measures $34\frac{1}{2} \times 36$ inches. Has Glasgow Determination.

(24) 1638 Covenant in Register House (Q. 135). This covenant measures $26 \times 12$ inches, and has no date. It was the bond for the parish of Gartly, Strathbogie, and is subscribed by William Reid, the parish minister, and twenty-five other persons. On the edge is written boldly “J. Huntlye.” Huntly signed the King's Confession in 1639 (Spalding, i. 88). This deed is written on paper. George Jope, notary, signs for some.
(25) Edinburgh Confession and Supplication in Register House (Q. 136). It is on parchment, dated 12th August 1639. Measures $42 \times 27\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Has no signatures. Has Glasgow Determination.

(26) 1581 Covenant in Register House (Q. 137). This parchment, measuring $20\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, contains the Confession, and is a copy of the Covenant signed at Holyrood House on 20th September 1639, the names attached not being holograph.

Three paper sheets in Register House (Q. 138) form an incomplete copy of the Confession. None of the examples of the Covenant in the Register House are fine copies, and some are nearly undecipherable.

(27) 1638 Covenant in New College Library, Edinburgh. This parchment, bequeathed by the late Earl of Dalhousie, measures $37 \times 27$ inches; is framed and exhibited; is subscribed by Rothes, Montrose, Boyd, and eight hundred others. Lacks the Glasgow Determination; is disfigured by one hole.

[Up till lately other three Covenants were preserved in this Library. One was without signatures; another was signed by Argyll and other nobles; and a third, soiled and yellow, said to have been signed at North Leith, had many signatures. These three have gone amissing.]

(28) 1638 Covenant in New College Hall, Edinburgh. This fine example measures $38 \times 32$ inches; has ornamental border and capitals in gold; was written by John Laurie in Edinburgh; subscribed by one hundred and eighty persons, including the nobles, Rothes, Lindesay, Ker, and ministers of Muthill, Fyvie, Stonykirk, by bailies and counsellors at Lauder. Many subscriptions are faded. It was bequeathed by the Rev. Dr Thomas Guthrie. Is framed and exhibited. It has the Glasgow Determination.

(29) 1638 Covenant in Library of General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, Edinburgh. This interesting deed was presented by James Wilson, blacksmith, foot of Liberton's Wynd, to the Incorporation of Hammermen, who, in 1876, presented it to the General Assembly. It measures $35 \times 27$ inches. It has the usual signatures, Montrose excepted, as well as those of some Dumfriesshire and Ayrshire lairds, notable as Covenanters and sufferers—Craigdarroch (Ferguson), John Kirk of Sundyvel, Riddell, J. Laurie (Maxwelton)—in all one hundred and eighty names. “Alexander Henderson, Leuchar's,” subscribed this parchment. It is in good state of preservation; a full skin, untrimmed; has a few blots. Glasgow Determination is absent. It was subscribed at various places and also by notaries. Cf. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, iv. 239, 242.

(30) 1638 Covenant in Edinburgh University Library. This example measures $27\frac{1}{2} \times 23$ inches; is a white uncut skin, framed; is signed by Montrose, Rothes, and other members of the Tables, by Sir J. Dalyell, Craigdarroch, J. Erskine of Dun, many Grahames, Ja. Sharp (Govan), Robertson (Cluny), Mr H. McKaile—in all two hundred subscribers. It lacks the Glasgow Determination.

(31) 1638 Covenant in Riccarton, Currie. This example, now the property of Sir James H. Gibson-Craig, was signed on 18th October 1638 (?), among others, by Argyll, Mar, Maitland (Lauderdale). Cf. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, iv. 247.
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It is written in a large hand; has the title and some letters in gold; has been repaired. Cf. Letter from present possessor.

[A facsimile of a fine example of the 1638 Covenant, with beautiful border and three large capitals, and signed by Argyll, Rothes, Montrose, Cassillis, Lothian, Wemyss, Thos. Hope, A. Jhonstoun—fifty signatures in all—appears in the Nat. MSS., iii., No. xcvii. There is no reference to the depository of this Covenant—one of the few signed by Argyll. It has the Glasgow Determination. It is not unlike Laurie's work.]

(32) 1638 Covenant in Newbattle Abbey. This example, over a yard square, was subscribed by about one hundred persons, including Lothian, Sinclair, Wemyss, etc. It is folded and cut. "John Laurie writer in Edinburgh," who wrote the Covenant preserved in the New College, Edinburgh, appended his name as a witness.

(33) 1638 Covenant in Duns Castle. This example was "written be John Trotter nottar publict"; has about one hundred signatures. It lacks the Glasgow Determination. Cf. Scot. Hist. and Life, 100; Brown, Covenanters of the Merse, 24, 82.

(34) 1638 Covenant in Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow. This example, formerly the property of David Pulsifer, and purchased by Glasgow Corporation for £50, is framed, and hangs in Kelvingrove Museum. It measures 28½ x 37 inches; has a strip cut off the lower edge; has two holes in parchment; is signed by Rothes, Montrose, etc.—twenty nobles, fifty barons, seventy ministers, and subscribers from various counties. Has Glasgow Assembly Determination at foot. Has "The Confessioune of Faithe" written on back. Cf. Scot. Nat. Mem., 1890, p. 90. Condition fair.

(35) 1638 Covenant in Library of University of Glasgow. This example, on a skin with neck-piece retained at bottom, is in good condition; measures 33½ x 24 inches; was probably signed in Argyleshire, having signatures of Colin Campbell of Strachur, James Couper, George Hutcheson, Andro Park, David Mitchell, Jhon Liddell, James Or, William Browne, J. Grahame, and others; no nobles or barons sign. On the back is written: "May 20, 1782. Present to the University of Glasgow by Mr James Wardrop, merchant in Glasgow." No Glasgow Assembly Determination. Cf. Proc. Soc. Antiq., iv, 239.

(36) 1638 Covenant in Mitchell Library, Glasgow. This unevenly cut parchment, 27½ x 21¼ inches, is the property of Glasgow Corporation; was probably the Covenant signed at Biggar in 1638 (as indicated on the back of the deed); was purchased in April 1875 at the sale of the library of John Young, F.S.A., for £100. It is subscribed by Rothes, Montrose, and one hundred and fifty subscribers. It lacks the Glasgow Determination.

(37) 1638 Covenant in Mitchell Library. This example, measuring 30½ x 33¼ inches, is unsigned; was beautifully engrossed by William Lawrie in Edinburgh; has ornamental border, and opening words in gold; was bought along with the former example. It shows the Glasgow Determination.

(38) 1638 Covenant preserved in Hamilton Palace. This parchment is in perfect condition except at the upper left corner, which is torn. It measures
33 x 26 inches. It is an Aberdeenshire specimen, and, among others, appear the names of “Master Alexander Cant, student of Theologie in Aberdeen,” “Patrik Cramond, preacher to the Earl of Fyffe,” “J. Southerland,” Sir H. Campbell, laird of Auchinbreck,” and subscribers in Ardersier, Fetteresso, Aberdeen, and Drum. Has Glasgow Determination in centre of the Covenant.


(40) 1638 Covenant preserved in Saltoun Hall, by Andrew Mansie Talbot Fletcher, Esq. It is a splendid example; measures 38½ x 23 inches; similar to that preserved in the Advocates’ Library; it was also written by “William Aytoun, Maison”; the title is in gold letters, and the names are enclosed in circles, and include “J. Southerland.” Cf. Proc. Soc. Antiq., iv. 248.

(41) 1638 Covenant preserved in Knox College, Toronto. This beautifully engrossed copy of the Covenant was formerly preserved in Prestonfield House, Edinburgh; was sold by Mr. W. Brown, bookseller, Edinburgh, for £27, to the Hon. W. M. Clark, Lt.-Governor of Ontario, in 1906. (Brown’s Catal., 163, 31.) It measures 38 x 39½ inches. It was written by James Cheyne. It is subscribed by the members of “The Tables” and a few others, including “Mr Andrew Fairfull at Leith,” afterwards a bitter opponent of the Covenanters, and Archbishop of Glasgow.

(42) 1638 Covenant in British Museum (Add. Charters, 1380). This parchment measures 33 x 26 inches; signatures begin with Montrose and Rothes; statements on back of Covenant indicate that it was subscribed at the end of March and beginning of April 1638 in Peebles, Stobo, Athelstone (Eddleston), Skirling, Newlands, and Traquair. Cf. Proc. Soc. Antiq., iv. 247. The copy therein mentioned as marked 5961 was not reported as catalogued in 1907.

(43) 1638 Covenant in British Museum (Add. MSS. 4851). This parchment measures 44 x 37½ inches; the first signatures are Montrose and Rothes; apparently subscribed at Edinburgh; has words “written be William Cummine at Edr.”

(44) 1638 Covenant, preserved in Cavers. This deed, a parchment 36 x 28 inches, was subscribed by Montrose, Lothian, and “The Tables,” and by Sir William Douglas of Cavers, his son, Archibald, and many border lairds and their dependents. Some appear to have signed in blood. This Covenant was “For Tividail,” and was probably signed at Jedburgh. It is framed, and hangs in the library of Cavers House. Cf. Stewart, Hawick and Teviotdale Covenanters, 1885; Letter from present possessors, Captain and Mrs Palmer Douglas of Cavers, Roxburghshire.

(45) 1638 Covenant in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. This fine example, measuring 31½ x 27½ inches, has a floral edge and ornamental capital. It was the gift of the Hon. General Charles Rosse of Balnagoun in 1728; is in a case (S. c. 276, 80. E. Museo 247). It bears the names of thirty nobles, Argyll, Rothes, Montrose, Kenmore, Kirkcudbright, etc. The Glasgow Determination is in a different ink.

(46) 1638 Covenant in Trinity College Library, Cambridge. This well-preserved example, on a white skin measuring 26 x 24½ inches, is framed for exhibition. The first signature, that of Montrose, is nearly obliterated. It
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is followed by J. Lauderdaill, Dunfermline, Rothes, and other nobles and barons, etc., in all one hundred and fifty names, among which appear Robert Traill, Scott of Ardross, Hamilton of Spango, T. Gourlay of Kingscaig, S. J. Mackenzie, S. J. M. Rowallan, Thomas Skene Munro, minister at Kilbucho, Sir John Broun of Fordell, Hamilton of Kilbrachmont.

At the foot is a faint addendum, probably the Glasgow Determination. This Covenant was probably signed in Fifeshire.

(47) 1638 Covenant in the Kirk-Session Records of Galston. This example is bound with a volume of the Session Records, 11 x 7 inches. The Covenant occupies eight and a half pages and the signatures three pages more. It was subscribed at Galston Church on 3rd January 1640. Cf. Note from Rev. J. A. Hogg, Minister of Galston, 1907.

(48, 49, 50, 51) Two examples in Penicuik House, and two in Dundas Castle, mentioned in Dr Laing's report (Proc. Soc. Antiq., iv. 240, 248), if still existing, were sought for but were not available for this report.


(56) 1638 Covenant with Glasgow Determination, signed by twenty-one persons; is incorporated in the Minute Book of Dalkeith Presbytery. It was probably signed in May and June 1639.

(57) 1638 Covenant in Monimail Kirk Session Record, 10 pp. It bears to have been subscribed "At the Kirk of Monymail the achtene day of March the year of God 1638," and is signed by the minister and a large number of parishioners.

(58) 1638 Covenant in Mellerstain House. This parchment measures 26 1/2 x 25 inches; is not ornamented; has suffered from damp; subscribed by Rothes, Cassills, Lothian, Yester, Boyd, Balmerino, Johnstoun, and Lindsay. Among other signatures are those of Dundas of that Ilk, Rig of Carberry, Murray of Blackbarony, Hepburne of Smetoun, Ro. Rollok, Porterfield of that Ilk, Mr James Daes, minister at Ersiltoun, "Mr Jo (?) Schaw Reidar at the Kirk of Ersiltoun." There are about 120 signatures. It bears the Declaration of 20th December 1638. This copy may be regarded as the Earlston one.

(59) 1638 Covenant in Melville House, Collessie. This example was discovered in a cupboard in the wainscot of one of the rooms in Melville. It bears several family signatures, both Melville and Leslie. Particulars not yet received.

(60) 1638 Covenant in possession of Mr David Hunter, S.S.C., exhibited in Parliament Hall, Edinburgh, in April 1884 (cf. Scotsman, 17th April 1884). This example not yet examined by writer.

[A Copy of the National Covenant, vellum, issued from Edinburgh in November 1638, exhibited by Miss Pearson, 5 Pitt Street, Edinburgh, to the Society of Antiquaries on 14th May 1877, has not been traced by me. Cf. Proc. Soc. Antiq., xii. 215, 216.]
EXTANT COPIES OF THE BRITISH SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.

(1) 1643 Solemn League and Covenant in the Bodleian Library (Eng. Hist., d. 3). This example of the Solemn League and Covenant, printed in Edinburgh by Evan Tyler in 1643, with pages for subscription, bears to have been signed at "Edinburgh in Templo orientali, 13 October 1643," by ninety-four persons, including Loudoun, Dunfermline, Leven, J. Lauderdaill, Argyll, Balmerino, Cassillis, Forrester, Lindsay, J. M. Hamilton, Wemyss, Sinclare, Balcarres, A. Jhonston. It was also signed at Edinburgh on 8th January 1644. On 13th October it was subscribed by Stephen Marshall, W. Arnyne, Vane, Edward Bowles; on 22nd December 1643 by Hatcher, Darley, Robert Goodwin, Robert Fenwick, Robert Barwis; and on 7th November by Angus, Brodie, and others. It was once possessed by William Ermyn, Bishop of Durham.

This Covenant is noteworthy as being the deed subscribed by the Commission of the Church, Committee of Estates, and the English Commissioners (Peterkin, Records, 395).

(2) 1643 Solemn League and Covenant. Examples in the Bodleian Library:

(3) 1643 Foedus Pactum, etc. Covenant in Latin in the Bodleian Library. Lond., 1644. Th. 4. v. 7. B. 5 : not subscribed. (2) Another example, Pamph. 63. 1644. 2.

(4) 1643 Solemn League and Covenant in Oxford. This is the famous bond signed by King Charles Second, in 1650, and is preserved in the Clar. MSS. 40. f. 80. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The parchment measures 30½ x 24½ inches and bears only the monarch's signature. It is endorsed by A. Johnston (Wariston) and by A. Ker, Clerk to the General Assembly. A reduced facsimile appears in The Covenanters, vol. ii. p. 2. [A "National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant subscribed by King Charles the Second at his coronation, anno 1651," was sold at the Burton-Constable sale on 26th June 1889. Cf. Burnet, Hist., i. 200 note (Airy's edition, 1897).

(5) 1643 Solemn League and Covenant (printed by Evan Tyler, Edinburgh, 1643) in St Andrews University Library. This is a quarto. Press mark, CG. 3, 13. The Covenant covers five pages and part of sixth. The volume contains four relative documents, and 28 blank pages for signatures. It is subscribed by the magistrates, professors, students, and parishioners of St Andrews between 1643 and 1651, in all over 1440 persons, including Rother, Donald Cargill, Wood, and M'Ward. Samuel Rutherford signs three times; second date of signing 31st December 1648. Cf. reduced facsimile of a page, with signatures, in The Covenanters, vol. i. p. 390. Cf. Dr Hay Fleming's Guide to St Andrews, 1902, pp. 34-35.

(6) 1643 Solemn League and Covenant in St Andrews University Library. Another example, leather bound; presented by Thomas Gillespie, 1829. Press
mark, Bk. 7. 43. Subscribed by "Mr Ro. Row, minister at Abercorme," by
and for 266 parishioners, after September 1643.

(7) 1643 Solemn League and Covenant in Edinburgh University Library.
It was printed by Evan Tyler in 1648. It belonged to Andrew Livingston;
is one of the Living MSS., 229; has 6 pp. in print, 50 pp. blank; was
signed on 11th April 1649, inter alios, by Edinburgh Presbytery—James
Hamilton, moderator (St Giles'), John Adamson, William Arthur, Robert
Douglas, John Charteris, Mr Robert Traill, M. A. Fairfull (Archbishop of
Glasgow), Mr R. Baylie, William Thomson, Hew Mackaile, A. Prymerose,
James Kirkton, Mr Patrick Henderson (reader), Thomas Hoge,—a company
distinguished presbyters. There are ninety-one subscribers and another on
20th February 1650.

(8) 1643 Solemn League and Covenant in Edinburgh University; Edin.,
1648, unbound; subscribed by three hundred and twenty-two persons "in
the parish Kirk of Kilbarchan the 14th—1648" in the presence of the Minister,
Mr James Glendinning; records the subscriptions of local families, Kings,
Cochranes, Simples, and Knoxes.

(9) 1643 Foedus Sacro-sanctum pro Religione repurganda et propugnanda
Pro Honore et Felicitate Regis afferenda, etc. Edin., 1643. Mr Robert Young's
Copy. No signatures. In Edinburgh University. Press mark, Dd. 7. 62.

(10) 1643 Solemn League and Covenant in the Scottish National Museum of
Antiquities, Edinburgh. Press mark, O.A. 19. This example of the printed
League was subscribed in Newbattle parish, among many others, by Robert
Leighton, minister there, afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow.

(11) 1643. "A Solemn League and Covenant." Evan Tyler, 1643, in the
Advocates' Library. Press mark, 23.3.16: K. 199. This printed example,
14 pp. with 18 pp. for subscriptions, is bound in vellum. It was subscribed
at "Edin. in Eccl. occidentali, 23 Octob. 1643," by "Mr Robert Douglas,
minister," his elders and deacons, and about seven hundred and fifty persons,
of whom five hundred and twenty-two subscribed personally and the rest by
"Ioannes Nicoll scriba signeto regio, notarius publicus."

This deed on paper contains a portion of the Solemn League and Covenant
subscribed by inhabitants of Swinshead in the County of Huntingdon. The
document is imperfect and mended, and shows fifty-one names. It measures
35 x 11½ inches, and was signed on 30th June 1644.

(13) 1643 Solemn League and Covenant, Lond., 1643, in Trinity College.
Press mark, Y. 1. 33 (14); another, Y. 1. 52 (36); several other editions.

(14) 1643 Solemn League and Covenant. (1) Ibid., Dd. 3. 37. (2) Ibid.,
Adams 7. 64. 37. (3) Foedus, 8. 24. 7 (1644). Cambridge University Library.

(15) 1643 Solemn League and Covenant. A copy of this Covenant is in
the Egerton MSS., British Museum, 2711 f. 84. It has no signatures. Another
copy entitled "A Copy of the Covenant taken by the Lords, 15th October
1643, with their subscriptions, from ye original on vellum, now in the
hands of ye Lady Lansdowne, December 29, 1718," is in Add. MSS. 32093,
f. 198. The original of the latter is not among the Lansdowne MSS. in the
British Museum.
(16) 1643 Solemn League and Covenant in New College, Edinburgh. This example belonged to Edzell parish, and contains one hundred and ninety-one signatures.

(17) 1643 Solemn League and Covenant in Hunterian Museum (Graham Copy). This copy was subscribed in 1643-9 by four hundred and sixty members of the University of Glasgow. It was the gift of Mr James Graham. Both of these examples are described in the Transactions already referred to. Cf. reduced facsimile, in this volume, p. 378.

(18) 1643 Solemn League and Covenant in Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. This copy was bequeathed by Miss Brown of Lanfine to the Hunterian Museum. It contains two hundred and forty-three subscriptions; the place of signature is not given; it is dated 17th December 1648. Cf. Trans. Glasg. Arch. Soc., new series, iv. i. 121-54. A reduced facsimile appears in The Covenanters, vol. i. p. 360.

(19) 1643 Solemn League and Covenant (Tyler, Edinburgh), in Montrose Museum. In good condition. Seven pages subscribed, the first two by fifty-one persons, the other five by a notary for three hundred others. The first subscriber is "Mr. Alexr. Rowatt, minister in the Parish of C——," followed by "la. Robertoune" (Earnock ?). It has apparently been subscribed in Cadder, Presbytery of Glasgow.

(20) 1643 Solemn League and Covenant. Property of the Elgin and Morayshire Literary and Scientific Association. Exhibited in Edinburgh Exhibition 1908; exhibit No. 1175. It is subscribed by "M. Ro Tod, minister at the Kirk of Rothes," by the elders and others.

(21) 1643 Solemn League and Covenant, illustrated by W. Hollar, is reproduced in Green, A Short History of the English People, iii. 1132 (Lond. 1893).

[Renunciation of the Covenants in 1662 by the leading men of Scotland, Glencairn, Rothes, Morton, Moray, Lauderdale, eleven bishops, etc. In Register House, Hist. Dept., Division Q., No. 247.]

[Covenant in Register House. Four fol. pages paper. (S. 206.) Probably a late Cameronian bond. No signatures.]

[Declaration signed by the nobility, clergy, barons, and commissioners of burghs as to the unlawfulness of the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant—three deeds in General Register House. Cf. "Declarations," printed in Miscell. Mait. Club, iii. 379-85, with facsimile.]

[Declaration by the Lords and Senators of the College of Justice against the unlawfulness of the Solemn League and Covenant. Preserved in the Scottish National Museum of Antiquities. Press mark, O.A. 24.]

[The Solemn League and Covenant, 1643, in manuscript form, as subscribed in 1648, after appointment by the Commissioners of the General Assembly, formerly belonging to Miss Agnes Black, and taken to America, as recorded in Proc. Soc. Antiq., xii. 63, 64, has not been traced by me.]

[The writer will be glad to receive corrections, suggestions, and additions to the catalogue above, so that it may be made as complete and correct as possible.]