COVENANTERS OF THE MERSE
THE COVENANTERS OF THE MERSE THEIR HISTORY AND SUFFERINGS AS FOUND IN THE RECORDS OF THAT TIME BY THE REV. J. WOOD BROWN, M.A., GORDON

The Town-House of Duns.

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TURNBULL, AND SPEARS, Printers, EDINBURGH,
To the Memory

of his

Father,

whose advice suggested,

and

whose example encouraged it,

This work

is affectionately dedicated

by

The Author.
PREFACE.

In beginning his task the Author soon became aware that it had been undertaken at least half a century too late. The generation which has passed away still retained many traditional tales of Covenanting times which are now, it is to be feared, lost forever. This is a want which no care or industry can supply. The sense of it, however, has acted as a powerful incentive to him, not only in seeking and recording such traditions as still linger in the country, but also in exploring the original sources as these are to be found in the public records of the time. In this search he has been amply rewarded by the discovery of much new matter that has significance for the history of our Border Covenanters, and possibly of the kingdom at large. The rise of field meetings in the East of Scotland, the brilliant though brief campaign which gave the forces of the Covenant as decided an advantage on the Tweed as Drumclog had done in the West, the oppressive proceedings of the local Circuit Courts after Bothwell, and the last conventicle at the Greencleuch, all these and many other matters are now told, if not absolutely for the first time, yet with a fulness of detail which has not hitherto been attempted; and the Author would fain hope that these parts of his work may prove a real contribution to the history of the time.
PREFACE.

In offering his volume to the public, he takes this opportunity of thanking the curators of the Historical Department in the Register House, Edinburgh, for the great kindness with which they have placed the records there at his disposal, and of expressing his gratitude to those many others who, by communicating with the greatest courtesy their stores of notes and traditions, have done so much to make this publication possible. The Author feels that if he has failed to rise to the height of his subject the fault must be entirely his own—so full and interesting has been the material at his disposal.

He cannot close this brief Preface without saying that his hope has been to write something which might be read and remembered as a local supplement to the collections of Wodrow, and the Martyrologies of Howie. To be understood of the people; to grow old and smoke-dried in the cottage rafters beside the great classics of Covenanting history; above all, to serve however humbly the Kingdom of Christ in the fostering of a Covenanting spirit—the Author can wish his book no better fate, no higher success. He will be amply satisfied if even in a minor measure this success be attained.

Free Manse of Gordon,

June 19th, 1893.
REFERENCES.

In general any reference to printed books that are widely known has been avoided. The following table of abbreviations may serve to explain the footnotes:—

P.A. Privy Council Acts,
P.D. " " Decreta,
P.W. " " Warrants,
J.R. Justiciary Records. (S. Hist. Sc.)
W.MSS. The Wodrow Manuscript Collections in the Advocates' Library.
V. M'Crie's "Memoirs of William Veitch."
BOOK 1.
CHAPTER I.

The events we are about to study lie mostly in the years succeeding 1660, when the King was restored; but as it is necessary for the right understanding of these times that we should know something of the struggles that preceded them, we shall in these first pages consider briefly the earlier history of the Covenants, and trace the rise of that party and cause which was afterwards called to endure so much, and was crowned at last with so glorious a victory.

In the district of Berwickshire called Lammermoor, where it looks toward Lauderdale, lie the estate and mansion of Spottiswoode. The house here is in the modern style, and has a small park filled with Highland cattle. The approach to this place from the south is long and wild, offering at every point suggestions of the time when this country was little better than waste land, the common resort of gentlemen from Lothian who used to hunt and hawk there, abounding, as it then did, in roe-deer and in moor-fowl of all kinds.

At the west lodge of this house, and built in over one of the dormer windows, is a carved stone with the Spottiswoode arms and the legend "M.I.S. 1596: Hihi vihers Christi st morti lucrum." This is a memorial of the great Archbishop of that name,—having been brought from Glasgow, where it once adorned the improvements executed by him upon the Episcopal
palace of that city. We are concerned with the history of this Churchman, since his policy was one of the causes—though he intended nothing so little—which led to the first rise of the Covenanters in Scotland.

Through the influence of the Lennox family, with which his own had an hereditary connection, young Spottiswoode made his first entry on public life. He was the son of the Superintendent of Lothian—an office which the unsettled state of the Scottish Church then made necessary; and having studied with success under the Melvilles at Glasgow he was presented to the living of Calder in West Lothian, which his father had held before him, and where indeed he had been born. The interest of the Duke soon procured him the more important charge of Glasgow, and here he busied himself in raising the state of the famous cathedral, then fallen into some disrepair, and in the improvement of his patron's town house, which had been assigned him as a manse. In these works he imitated the pious care of his predecessor, Archbishop Blackadder, descended from another ancient family of the Merse, who built, an hundred years before, the beautiful south aisle at Glasgow.

In 1601 the Duke of Lennox was commissioned on an embassy to Paris, and Spottiswoode accompanied him there in the quality of chaplain. The French king had just discovered and defeated a conspiracy directed against his life, the capital was thronged with nobles and envoys offering their congratulations, among whom the Duke and his train appeared to represent the kingdom of Scotland. They were exceedingly well received, and at solemn masses of thanksgiving in the churches, and parties of pleasure on the river—all that the most brilliant city of the world could
show of pomp and magnificence—Spottiswoode had his introduction to the great world, and received impressions which he could never forget.

When the embassy returned to Scotland the affairs of that kingdom were in a critical state. Spottiswoode must have often seen in the shows of Paris what was not an uncommon spectacle even at home—the antics of a rope-dancer, who, stretching his cord between the opposite windows of some lofty street, gathered a crowd to see him tread that giddy height, and balance his way across the narrow bridge in safety. Such, it may well have seemed to this young courtier, was the part which our King now played, while Scotland, and England too, looked on. James had inherited a nervous and timid disposition from the shocking circumstances which surrounded his birth. He is said to have shuddered whenever he saw a drawn sword, and in these days swords were so commonly carried and so lightly drawn that the King could hardly fail to live in a constant state of apprehension. A braver and sounder spirit would have met steel with steel. Such an appeal to arms, however, was quite foreign to James' nature, and, like all weak men, he found his refuge in cunning—"king craft" he called it—in which he sought, like a skilful rope-dancer with his pole, to balance one party in the State against another so that he should himself remain master of them all. To his nobles he held out the bribe of the Church lands, and by constantly creating new "Lords of Erection," as the men were called who accepted these estates and revenues, he ruled supreme in their councils. The Church he subdued by even more subtle means; for he dreaded her power, and knew well that any but the most cautious policy would here be thrown away. To trace the down-
ward steps of this subjection would be tedious and even unnecessary in the short survey which is all that we can here attempt. The King attained his purpose chiefly through the appointment of commissioners from the Assembly to the Estates, in the naming of whom he reserved a large right to himself. Any of the clergy who proved refractory he contrived to banish, and this fate befell one of the royal chaplains—Mr Henry Blyth—who was transferred from his charge in Edinburgh to the remote parish of Eccles in the Merse, that the neighbourhood of England might teach him better manners. This resolute Presbyterian is said to have been so fine in his tastes and nervous in his antipathies that he would faint on coming where a ham was; yet his spirit proved stronger than his circumstances, for instead of learning obedience from his residence on the Border, he greatly helped the party there who stood out against the king's policy,—a resistance which appeared very clearly on the part of the Presbytery of Duns in the next reign.

James desired in fact to govern the Church by restoring the order of Bishops, and in 1610 he judged the time ripe for the open prosecution of his design. The Assembly was accordingly summoned to meet at Glasgow, and Spottiswoode, who proved perfectly pliable to the royal purpose, and was already appointed titular Archbishop of the see in that city, came down from Court to preside over its deliberations. Money was freely employed to secure the assent of the clergy to the royal will, the constitution of the Church was corruptly voted to be henceforth Episcopal, and Bishops were now the order of the day in Scotland. In a few years more the same hand pushed the work of innovation still further, when, at the Perth Assembly of 1618,
many ceremonies of the English use, such as confirmation, kneeling at the Lord's Supper, and others, were introduced. Before he died the King had the satisfaction of seeing his plans almost entirely successful.

In the next reign matters went somewhat differently, the temper of the new King being narrow and fanatical, and quite without that subtlety which had stood his father in such good stead in his conflicts with the Church. Spottiswoode indeed, who had received his training under that master of kinglycraft, was still at the head of affairs in Scotland; but unfortunately for his designs, the King had found in England a new counsellor on whose advice he was more apt to rely. This was Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, in concert with the younger race of the Scottish Bishops, constantly pressed Charles to complete his father's work by reducing the Church of his northern kingdom to an exact conformity with that of England. At last their influence prevailed over the more moderate counsels of Spottiswoode. Laud received a commission entirely to his mind: he was ordered to prepare a Liturgy for the Church of Scotland on the model of the English Prayer Book, and being then in terms of close correspondence with the Papal Court (they say that Flood the Jesuit had constant access to him, and was ever well received at Lambeth), he sent a copy of his book thither that he might compliment the Cardinals by enquiring their opinion of his work. These princes of the Church seem to have entertained a higher opinion of Laud's erudition and devotion than of his policy. Scotland, where the emissaries of the Pope and the Jesuits were particularly busy at this time, was far better understood at Rome than at Lambeth; and the Sacred College gave signal proof of their shrewd comprehension of the situation.
when, in answer to the over-zealous Primate, they wrote, saying, "that they liked well that the Scots should be trained in a form of prayer and service, but, considering the temper of that people, they feared the book would breed some stir and uneasiness if imposed there." Laud now revised his Liturgy, making some changes which brought it nearer the Roman use, as if he thought the faintness of the Cardinal's praise arose from their thinking he had been but half-hearted in the work assigned him.¹ In this still more offensive state the book was sent down to Scotland, passed the great seal of that country, was printed in Edinburgh with all the accuracy and splendour of which the press of that city, then justly famous, was capable, and was thus ready for use on the 23rd of July in the year 1637.

This, then, is the setting of the historic scene in the High Church of Edinburgh when Dean Hannay opened his book and began the Collect for the day. It is easy to misunderstand the tumult which arose upon the utterance of this quiet and even beautiful prayer; but those who think that disturbance strange forget that a great constitutional question was then in keen debate. What rang through the church that day was a loud popular protest, not against the use of a form of prayer—for Scotland had been more or less accustomed to some Book of Common Order ever since the days of the Reformation—nor even the suspected Popery of Laud's Liturgy (though we must confess this notion went far with the commonalty), but rather against the abuse of the royal prerogative, which in this case certainly, as Henderson acutely pointed out, had ex-

ceeded the Act of Privy Council, and especially against the attempt now made to use that prerogative in sacred things without consent of the Church. Had the form thus forced upon the Church contained nothing but what was pure and according to Scripture, the nation was ready to justify herself in rejecting it because of the unwarrantable way in which it was introduced.

Over against St Giles' Church, on the north side of the High Street, stood the Archbishop's town house: a lofty and magnificent pile of building, distinguished by the great balcony of wrought brass which adorned the first storey. Hence, on that eventful day, might Spottiswoode have watched, had he cared to do so, the crowds that streamed into the church as service time drew near. He could not, however, regard the scene without apprehension, knowing the temper of the nation, and able to forecast only too well the issue of this unwise experiment against which he had made it his business to warn the King very earnestly. All his pains had been thrown away, and Spottiswoode, the traditions of whose life forbade him to think of breaking with his master, found himself in a cruel position indeed, being forced to appear at the head of a movement which he dreaded and disliked. Torn by a secret rage, and consumed by the very hopes he had once cherished, which now gathered round his heart and with mocking emphasis bade him to their funeral, the Primate passed across the street and went to the principal seat in that great assembly, that he might see the purpose of his whole life spoiled in the proving of it.

Thirty-six years before, when in Paris with Lennox, Spottiswoode had heard high mass, the solemn thanksgiving which Henry of France went to offer for his deliverance from the plot of the Sieur de Biron. Did
the bells of St Giles' as they now rang their closing peal not remind him of those in Notre Dame, as if old Michael Scott had conjured time away? Then, in the midst of an assembly far more brilliant than any the Scottish capital could show, he had seen the hollowness of the world's homage; for most of those who joined Henry in his devotions that day were at heart disaffected to his Government, and many of them had been actually concerned in the plot against his life. Might there not be just such tempers slumbering still in the quiet sullen Scotland Spottiswoode had so long helped to subdue?

Again he saw the gloom of Gothic arches bending over a bright play of mingled colour in the windows, and these sending a rainbow radiance upon the rich silks and gleaming steel of noble worshippers. The hush of a great assembly suddenly stilled was around him as he knelt in his place, not now a poor chaplain, humble and despised, but a mighty Churchman for whom a throne was reserved, the ecclesiastical throne of his country. But did not the old air of unreality, of hollowness and intrigue, encompass him still, and were not the plots of past years, and all his unworthy subservience to the royal will now to be avenged in the moment of a sudden downfall and sore disgrace?

The rough Scottish tongue of the old herb-woman suddenly crying, "Dost thou say mass at my lug?" cleared the air of these mists as speedily and surely as her famous stool, and the tumult that followed,¹ swept the Dean and his assistants from the desk. Standing up very quietly in his place, Spottiswoode faced awhile the angry storm in which all his hopes were wrecked

¹ See "The Stonefield Sabbath-day" MS. 33. 2. 32, Advocates' Library.
and all his fears realised. Few will refuse him in the moment of so supreme a trial, the tribute of a certain admiration and even sympathy, considering the courage and self-command he now displayed,—ordering the Provost to have the church cleared, and thereafter taking coach without a word for his country house at Gilmerton, where it is said a great collation had been ordered to celebrate the day. But surely his supper that night was garnished with bitter herbs; for the hour of the royal reckless experiment had indeed struck, and its issue was in the Scotland of the Second Reformation, the Scotland of the Covenants. What wonder if Spottiswoode, fleeing to England as he shortly did, should have uttered in rage and despair the memorable words, "Now all that we have been doing these thirty years is cast down at once."
CHAPTER II.

The events which immediately followed the tumult in St Giles' Church are well known to all students of Scottish history. A Parliament, summoned by the popular will alone, sat down in four "Tables," as they were called, to discuss the affairs of the country, and to offer a serious remonstrance to the King. The famous Covenant was drawn up, and carried to the Greyfriars' Churchyard, where it was signed by thousands of people amid a scene of the greatest enthusiasm. The nation and the Church now began to realise their power, and in a kind of fierce transport many opened their veins, and signed that league against Prelacy, Popery, and the Prerogative with their blood.

In 1638 the first Free Assembly held for a generation in Scotland gathered in Glasgow. Here the Bishops were impeached, their Order declared null and void, and several of their number deposed and excommunicated. They had indeed been men of loose and evil lives, and had done much by the scandal of their immoralities to make Episcopacy unpopular with many who knew no other objection to it. We may here note, as a matter more particularly concerning this history, that the first man to give his vote upon these great questions was the minister of Polwarth, Mr Alexander Cass, whose remarks on that occasion are said to have been very pointed and witty, so much so, indeed, as to
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give great offence to those who bewailed the great changes now on foot. Of such there were not a few in the ministry, and we may conjecture that one of them was that Mr Francis Hervie of Yetholm who was deposed in the Assembly of 1639. His offences were that he would not acknowledge the Assembly of the preceding year, and that he had set up an altar in his Church with a rail before it,—a sign how far Ritualism had already gone, and how little sympathy some of the parochial clergy had with the currents of feeling now setting deep and strong from the heart of the nation towards the former Presbytery and purity.

Lest it should be supposed, however, that the ministers of the Merse followed the example of Yetholm rather than that of Polwarth, we may here allude to a circumstance very creditable to our county which had happened some five years before. In 1634 the Bishop of Edinburgh wrote to the different presbyteries of his diocese, requiring the ministers to observe carefully the Articles of Perth, and the Canons of the Church, and in particular, to see that they failed not to minister Holy Communion in their congregations on Easter Sunday, nor to prepare their flocks for that occasion by “preaching the Passion” on Good Friday. To this the Presbytery of Duns sent a stout refusal by the pen of their Moderator, Mr David Hume of Greenlaw, who ventured to tell the Bishop that the wrath of God would certainly come upon him if he persisted in urging obedience in matters not commanded in Holy Scripture. Mr David Hume died in the month of April 1637, only a very little before his fearless words were fulfilled to the letter.

In the stirring events which followed the signing of the Covenant, Berwickshire took indeed a principal
share. The King, who deeply resented the revolt of the Scottish Church and country, came with his army to the Border, and here the forces of the Covenanters met him, making such a warlike appearance—they were 20,000 strong—that without a blow being struck, articles of peace very favourable to their interests were concluded. General Leslie, who was in command of that force, consented to disband it, but on the condition of a Free General Assembly being summoned to meet, and a free Parliament to sit thereafter for the ratification of the Assembly's Acts. The Covenanters' camp had been set on Duns Law, a circumstance which gave rise to the jest that the Scottish Bishops had been deposed, neither by civil, nor by canon law, but by Duns Law. Thus the first appeal to arms in that long constitutional struggle which issued in our modern liberties was made in the cause of the Covenant, and it was the Merse which had the honour of being chosen as the seat of this righteous resistance and signal victory.

The army of Duns Law was, in some ways, the most remarkable that Scotland has ever seen. The wonderful unity in which the nation here stood to the defence of her civil and ecclesiastical liberties appeared in the number of noblemen then commanding, and of gentlemen who served in the ranks. The officers had their quarters in the Castle of Duns, where a copy of the Covenant is still preserved, bearing the names of many who subscribed it at that time. Lord Cassillis' troop was quartered in the following year at Choicelee wood, between Langton and Polwarth. They carried with

1 See Note A.
2 In the Register of the Committee for Public Burdens there is record of a commission being appointed to enquire into the damage done to the wood on the lands of "Chousley" when the army lay there. This appointment bears date the last day of January 1643, at which time Christopher Cockburn was the laird of Choicelee.
them as their chaplain the famous preacher, Mr John Livingston, of whom we shall have more to say in a little. In his Memoirs he tells us that, having made known from his pulpit at Stranraer that he was appointed to go to the army, a woman in his congregation came to him with eight gold pieces for the good cause, saying that she had kept them as a marriage portion for her daughter; but since God had been pleased to take the child to Himself, He should have her money too,—a touching proof that the country regarded the cause of the Covenant as that of the Lord, and the expedition sent to the Merse as a solemn appeal to the God of Battles.

It seems that one of the soldiers in Lord Cassilis' troop had fallen sick while they were encamped at Choicelee. He lay for some time in a house of that neighbourhood, whither he had been removed for his comfort and proper attendance. Here he used to pass his time in reading, and in our own day the book was found which occupied these tedious hours.\(^1\) It was a Seneca—perhaps the *De Consolatione*, or the *De Brevisitate Vitae*, in which that author speaks almost like a Christian, saying many high and comforting things concerning the life of God in the soul. Of such men we may believe the Covenanting army was in an uncommon proportion composed.

It was indeed their piety no less than their gentility and culture which distinguished the soldiers of the Covenant. In the camp at Duns Law and Choicelee was heard every night the sound of praise and prayer from the huts and among the guards. Every Sabbath able and devout ministers from many parts of Scotland

\(^1\) Tradition, reported by the late Mr Gow, Schoolmaster of Langton.
gathered to the army and drew with them crowds of the neighbouring country people. The religious exercises of Cromwell's Ironsides would seem to have been borrowed hence, and when, in the next generation, the Covenanters were driven to the fields that they might there worship God according to their conscience, those of our shire could make choice of many a place which had been hallowed in that way before.

The success of the Covenanting army was eagerly watched by the leaders of the Parliamentary party in England. The long struggle for constitutional freedom called the Civil War was just commencing; and very shortly the popular party in the south, whose interests were so closely joined with those of our Covenanters, entered into the Solemn League and Covenant with them, a union of hearts which was presently cemented when the Westminster Assembly sat, uniting in its councils both Presbyterians and Puritans together.

As the close of the conflict drew near, the King, hard pressed by the Parliamentary forces, took refuge with the Scottish army, then at Newcastle. This expedition had been sent under the new alliance to help the cause of the Parliament, and Scotland gave a somewhat extreme proof of confidence in her allies by rendering the person of the king to their mercy. This surrender made way for a series of events which ended in a situation of the utmost consequence for the Covenanters.

His Majesty, as is well known, was soon brought to the scaffold at Whitehall, and the royal family passed

1 Thus, on the 9th of August 1640, the Kirk Session of Tyningham in East Lothian note that their minister, Mr John Lauder, who had been named to act as chaplain of the East Lothian regiment, preached in the field beside Choicelie.—"The Churches of St Baldred," Edinburgh, 1888.
to their exile abroad. Scotland, however, had always been loyal. It was with little apprehension of the dread event that their army had surrendered the person of the King, and the execution of Charles began a strong reaction there in favour of the monarchy, a new current of feeling which acted strongly upon many of the Covenanters. An embassy was soon sent to Holland, one of whom was John Livingston, and in their company the young King returned to his native land in 1650. He signed the Covenant in his ship at the mouth of Spey before he was suffered to land, and renewed the same solemn act at his coronation, which took place a few days later. Under this engagement he was now welcomed by the nation as their lawful sovereign. It is easy to see how these events opened a division between Scotland with her Covenanted King and the Parliamentary party in England.

More serious, however, was the disunion which now began to appear among the Covenanters themselves. In 1648 when the life of the late King had been in danger, the Parliament of Scotland levied a new army in his defence. The expedition had been defeated by Cromwell at Preston, and the Churchmen who had protested against the enterprise immediately acquired a new influence in the national councils. This beginning of strife was now to assume more serious proportions. When Cromwell heard that the young King was come to Scotland, he marched north and defeated the royal army at the battle of Dunbar. All parties in Scotland were agreed that there should be a new levy in the King's interest, but great difference of opinion soon showed itself as to the manner in which the troops should be embodied. The party of the Court distrusted the Covenanters, whose counsels, they held, had caused the
late defeat at Dunbar. These, on the other hand, desired that none should be admitted to fight for the King unless they had taken the Covenant. As the King himself had already done so, this condition would seem to have been an easy one. In fact, however, it proved the cause of a schism which cut deeply into the unity of the Church herself,—some of the Covenanters going with the Court party under the name of Resolutioners, and the rest, fewer perhaps in numbers, but full of zeal and determination, making a stout stand for what seemed to them the only safeguard of national and religious liberty. From the form which their opposition took they came to be known by the name of the Protesters.

One of the chief leaders of the Protesting party was a minister who for ten years previous to this time had filled one of the most important charges in Berwickshire. This was Mr James Guthrie, late of Lauder, and since 1649 one of the ministers of Stirling, then a city of some note, where the Court often came, and meetings of Parliament were sometimes held. He was of gentle birth, the son of Guthrie of that ilk in Forfarshire, and had been trained at St Andrews, where for a time he avowed himself of the Episcopal party. In a little, however, he came under the powerful influence of Samuel Rutherford, who had been sent by the Assembly of 1638 to fill the pulpit at St Andrews, and counteract the Episcopal tendencies of the place. In this enterprise, Rutherford was very successful, not only by his preaching, which proved most attractive, but also by the private meetings he encouraged in the place, and which formed centres of influence acting upon many of the finer spirits in the University. One of these was James Guthrie, whose heart a great disappointment
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had just opened—he had paid his addresses to Spottiswoode's daughter and had been refused,—and who was therefore peculiarly apt at this time to seek the help of a master in the divine way of life. Rutherford, we may believe, spoke much to him of the love of God, and thus found the key to his wounded heart. This was indeed the peculiar excellence of that great teacher, and one which appears very clearly in his famous letters, where he treats with melting power of the Nuptials of the Soul to Christ, of the heavenly delight which breathes in these moments of conscious union with the Beloved, and of the ease and sweetness with which even desertion and loneliness may be borne for the Saviour's sake. Thus, a noble champion was won for the cause of the Covenant in Scotland,—Rutherford, who attached great importance to the open confession of Christ, urging his pupil to sign that engagement, and inducing him to do so before he left St Andrews.

Guthrie is said to have had perhaps the greatest mixture of fervent zeal and sweet calmness visible in any man of his time, a disposition which must have been partly natural to him, but was doubtless much heightened by the use he made of Rutherford's instructions and appeals. This temper he carried to the work of the ministry in Lauder, where he was ordained in 1642. His gifts and breeding were publicly honoured a few years afterwards, when he was chosen one of the three commissioners from the Assembly to King Charles I., then with the army at Newcastle. When Guthrie was translated to Stirling, the imposing and affecting scene witnessed at his last communion in Lauder bore witness to the worth of his services among the people of our shire.

In his ministry at Stirling, Guthrie not only displayed
such courage and constancy among his flock that he was known there by the name of "sicker foot," but showed the same qualities on a wider stage, to which his new position gave him access. He preached against the Resolutions, and even employed his pen in the same cause; drawing up for his party the paper called "The Causes of the Lord's Wrath." The Committee of Estates called him to account for his bold words, but he declined to acknowledge their authority in a matter touching the liberty of the pulpit, and in company with his colleague Mr Bennet, who had concurred in his action, he was sent into a brief exile beyond Tay.

More serious perhaps, as indeed the event proved, was the collision which occurred between Guthrie and Middleton. This was a soldier of fortune, who stood well with the young King, and unfortunately gained great influence in the royal councils. Middleton succeeded in persuading His Majesty to escape from Perth on the pretext of a hunting expedition in the north, with the purpose of placing himself in the hands of the Highland chiefs, who were pledged to rise with their clans in the royal interest. This wild scheme soon miscarried, the King, after a brief absence, returning and placing himself in the hands of the Presbyterians. Middleton was attainted of treason, and was condemned by the ecclesiastical courts to be excommunicated. The spiritual sentence was put in the hands of Guthrie, who with great and intrepid solemnity proclaimed it from his pulpit at Stirling.

In spite of the advantage derived from the leadership of such a man as Guthrie, the Protesters found themselves in a decided minority in the national councils. There the Resolutioners carried all before them, and matters being in this posture the misfortunes of the
army in the field were not only in the interest of the Protesters, but proved a real advantage to the kingdom at large, by tending to compose these unhappy differences, which indeed grew less and less evident under the resolute government of the Protector.¹

The more favourable turn which affairs took under the Commonwealth soon showed itself in the quickening of religious life throughout the country. The state of religion had indeed begun to amend some time before this, but now, in the enforced peace which the strong hand of Cromwell knew how to secure so well, even greater advances were made. The preaching of the Word was frequent and earnest, especially at communion seasons. Great multitudes assembled on these occasions, and there was reason to think that never since the Reformation itself had so many souls been converted to Christ in Scotland.

We owe this testimony to the pen of one well qualified to judge, and whose favourable opinion may be supposed to relate to our shire at least as much as to any other part of the country. Mr James Kirkton, the author of the “Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland,” was settled in the parish of Merton for five years before the troubles which followed the Restoration, and his testimony is strengthened

¹ After the battle of Dunbar, Cromwell advanced upon Edinburgh and took the castle of that city. While in the capital he learned that the Earl of Hume still defied him in Berwickshire. Colonel Fenwick was accordingly sent out to our shire with orders to reduce the castle of Hume, which he presently did, bringing his two regiments on foot to a camp on Hardacres hill, where there are still some traces of their entrenchments, and thence battering the castle walls to the ground with his artillery. The present condition of this place shows traces of this siege, of subsequent dilapidation, and of the flimsy and pretentious reconstruction which it suffered in the last century.
by that of Livingston, who gives us to understand that the flourishing state of religion was particularly evident in the Merse and Teviotdale.

Mr John Livingston made so great a figure in our part of the country that we may well take some account of his position and services. Like that of James Guthrie, his origin was noble, his great-grandfather having been the son of the Lord Livingston of a former day. His early principles as an adherent of Presbytery stood in the way of his obtaining a charge as long as the Bishops were in power. He therefore took the situation of chaplain in the Earl of Wigton's house at Cumbernauld, and while here preached his famous sermon on the Communion Monday at Kirk of Shotts in the year 1630, when there were such evident signs of the presence of the Holy Spirit, and so glorious a revival of God's work in that part of the country. Eight years later he was settled in the church of Stranraer, and in 1648 he came to Ancrum upon a presentation by Lord Lothian, and the call of the people there. He became, as we should expect, a strong adherent of the Protesting party, leading that cause in the Synod of Merse and Teviotdale as Guthrie did in the north.

The Protesters were favoured indeed by Cromwell, and thus enjoyed much power and influence during the times of the Commonwealth. This was not due to any want of courage on their part in declaring their sentiments of affection and loyalty towards the exiled king; for when Guthrie was summoned to preach before the Protector, he spoke as boldly in that presence as he had formerly done in the court at Perth, defending the King's right to reign with the greatest plainness and courage. Cromwell, however, had the magnanimity
to remain unprejudiced by these utterances. He conceived a great favour for Guthrie, and for Livingston too, who also had the honour of preaching before him, seeing them to be thoroughly honest men, and resolving to give them and the party they represented his best countenance and help.

In 1654 Livingston was appointed one of the Protector's "triers," that is, one of those deemed fit to examine the claims of preachers before their admission to parishes. He had already acquired much influence in the surrounding district by the weight of his character and the brilliance of his gifts, and the new position he now enjoyed was one which enabled him to do much towards supplying all that country with like-minded ministers. Messrs Somerville of Ednam, Ramsay of Mordington, and Douglas of Hilton already belonged to the Protestant party; Mr Jamieson of Swinton was put upon the commission of trial at the same time as Livingston, and in 1655 these brethren secured the ordination of Mr Andrew Rutherford in the parish of Eccles. Thus the times of the Commonwealth not only secured peace and religious prosperity but were a true preparation for the coming trials. The Protesters were simply Presbyterians in earnest, and the strong hold which that party gained in our district contributed not a little, as we shall soon see, to the success of the good cause in the Merse.
CHAPTER III.

THE shire of Berwick, forming as it does the extreme south-east corner of Scotland, where that kingdom borders upon England, still bears many traces of ancient wars and of an armed defence. These were even more plainly to be seen in 1660 than they now are. In that year Mr John Veitch of Westruther wrote his account of the shire for Sir Robert Sibbald, praising the fertility of the ground and its pleasant aspect toward the sun as little less favourable than that of Yorkshire or the best parts of England, but speaking of the gentlemen's houses of our country as making a poor show when compared with those across the Border. He describes them as being no better than vaulted Peels, if set in positions of natural advantage, and where built on lower ground, so girdled about with ramparts and fenced with high walls as hardly to be seen. This defect indeed, he says, had begun somewhat to disappear, and there can be little doubt that the hopeful spirit of the times must have greatly encouraged such improvements in the art of building. The Commonwealth had come to an end with the death of Cromwell. General Monk, while lodging at Coldstream, had received as his counsellor in that emergency Mr James Sharp, then minister of

1To be found in MS. among the Sibbald collections in the Advocates' Library.
THE COVENANTERS OF THE MERSE.

Crail, and had ventured to read at the head of his troops the declaration which opened the way for the king's return: a paper drawn and pressed upon him by that crafty clerical hand.\(^1\) The royal exile, who had been in Holland ever since his defeat at the battle of Worcester, soon made good his landing on the banks of the Thames, and the transports of welcome with which His Majesty was received were very notable in Scotland, where the Covenanters had hitherto, even in their extreme party, remained thoroughly loyal to the throne. The bonfire which Guthrie kindled before his manse door in Stirling in honour of the Restoration showed how the Protesters regarded the change of government, which was indeed extremely popular with all classes in the country.

These hopes were destined to a sudden downfall, in the hearts of the Presbyterians at least, who learned their \textit{Ne in principibus} almost before the last glass of welcome had been drained, and the last fire of joy had sunk in its ashes. So far from the Restoration commencing a period of prosperity and of peace, it brought new dangers, and began a period of trial in which Berwickshire had no small share. The wide field of civil and religious liberty was now to be debated, always keenly, and at last in open war, where our Borderers played their part nobly, and in a way to deserve the honours of succeeding time. "It is not now Episcopacy and ceremonies," wrote Livingston of Ancrum, "that is the controversie, but whether Jesus Christ be King of His own Church"—a cause which many thought dearer than all the world's favour, or even than life itself.

\(^1\)\textit{A True and Impartial Account of the Life of the Most Reverend Father in God Dr James Sharp,"} 1723—Advocates' Library.
At his first coming to Scotland in 1650 it had been feared that the king brought the plague in his sails, so hurtful to that country were the dissensions which His Majesty's presence awakened. These were nothing, however, to the sufferings which followed his return to Britain at the time of which we now speak. On the former occasion he had said to Livingston at Dundee, when that minister counselled him to temporise with the Government of the Commonwealth, "Would you have me sell my father's blood?" The same fixed purpose of revenge seems to have animated him still, when now for the first time he had the power to carry it into effect.

Those who had openly complied with the Government of the Protector were naturally the first victims of the royal vengeance, and as there was no statute of indemnity for Scotland, the king's anger encountered few obstacles in that country. In the month of July 1660 John Swinton of Swinton was seized in London, and thrown into the Gatehouse prison there till he should be sent down to Scotland for trial. He had sat as one of Cromwell's judges, which was the chief ground of accusation against him; but, being a Quaker, great interest was made on his behalf by the Queen Mother and the Jesuits, who made no secret of their favour to that sect. He was finally brought before the Parliament of 1661, where he stood with a great deal of confidence at the bar, refusing to take off his hat, so that it had to be removed by an officer of the Court. His estate was forfeited, and the Duke of Lauderdale enjoyed it; but, probably on the application of Swinton's influential friends, it was restored to the family on the death of that nobleman.

The same Parliament passed a like sentence of for-
feiture upon John Hume of Kello,¹ and Pringle of Torwoodlee was another sufferer about this time, having also taken a commission of Justice from the Protector. Pringle's son gives us to understand, indeed, that this severity proceeded upon the information of those to whom his father's strict administration of the laws had been an offence; and the eagerness of the Government to take up these cases must have greatly encouraged the malice of such informers. The Parliament of 1662 put the crown on this unworthy work by exacting enormous fines from all parts of the country. The sum then levied is said to have exceeded a million sterling, to which Berwickshire contributed £36,000.

The King's anger soon appeared not only against those who had served in offices under the Commonwealth, but more widely still, in the case of all whom the Protector had favoured; and in this way the Protestant party at large soon felt the severity of the royal displeasure. They had indeed hastened to take a step which made them peculiarly odious at court. On the 23rd of August 1660, while the Committee of Estates sat in Edinburgh, twelve of that party, among whom were Guthrie of Stirling and Ramsay of Mordington, met in a private house there to draw up a petition to the king. His Majesty, though nominally a Covenanter, had already shown that he did not mean to keep the oath he had sworn. The Episcopal government was already restored in England, the Service Book and Ceremonies began to appear in the royal chapels, and there was too good reason to think that great changes in the same direction now threatened Scotland. The Protesters accordingly, while expressing the utmost

¹ One of Cromwell's Scotch Trustees. He had been proclaimed fugitive, October 10, 1660, with Lord Wariston and others.
loyalty to the person and Government of the King, and the most earnest wishes for his prosperity, ventured in this petition to remind him of his solemn engagements, and to urge the fulfilment of them.

The right of approaching the Sovereign by petition has ever been regarded as sacred even by the most autocratic Governments, but in this case it was violated without compunction. The Committee of Estates seized the petitioners while their work was still in scroll, and lodged them in the castle of Edinburgh.

Now began a general persecution directed very widely against all who belonged to the Protesting party or were in any way associated with their councils. A letter which the king sent down to the Presbytery of Edinburgh on the 3rd of September contained some expressions which were eagerly interpreted as an encouragement to this action. The Committee emitted a proclamation on the 20th of the month denouncing the pulpit freedoms of the Protesters, and inviting all men to lodge information which might lead to their punishment. The Church Courts, where there was a majority of Resolutioners, took up the matter warmly, as these men now saw some prospect of prevailing over their old opponents. In this work the Synod of Merse and Teviotdale was very active, and among the ministers whom they now proceeded to deprive of their livings as Protesters were Mr Edward Jamieson of Swinton, Mr Daniel Douglas of Hilton, and Mr Samuel Row of Sprouston. It should be added that Mr Andrew Rutherford of Eccles had already been dealt with in the same way before the Restoration, on which occasion Livingston and the other Protesting members of Synod entered their dissent from the proceedings. An even more notable case was that of Ramsay of Mordington, who was one of those concerned in drawing up the
petition to the King. He lost his reason in prison, and was liberated after a few days' confinement; but, as if they feared to err on the side of leniency, the Committee of Estates sequestrated the stipend of that parish.

This sharp persecution affected not only the clergy, but also the principal landowners belonging to the party which was so unpopular at Court. One of these was a Berwickshire gentleman — Walter Pringle of Greenknow,—whose sufferings were so notable that his case deserves some particular attention. He was the second son of a considerable heritor in the shire—Robert Pringle of Stitchel,—who had taken some part in the campaign of 1644 under the Earl of Argyll, the Committee which sat at Ayton in February of that year having appointed him to oversee the transport of the artillery towards Berwick. Robert Pringle died in 1649, and his eldest son predeceased him, leaving a young family, so that Pringle of Greenknow succeeded to what was a heavy charge indeed. His own estate was extensive, reaching in these days from Rumbletonlaw on the east, by the Chapelfields of Huntly, to Lowansdale and even to Fans on the west, while, besides the care of this property, he acted as tutor to his brother's orphan children—an office he afterwards found very thankless—and administered in their interest the estate of Stitchel as well.

Walter Pringle had long been of a deeply religious temper, and used to recall with pleasure the serious impressions he had received at Guthrie's last communion in Lauder. About that time he was married by Guthrie to a cousin of his own, Janet Pringle, Torwoodlee's daughter. The marriage took place at Stow, and the young people came to live at Stitchel, that they might care for Pringle's widowed mother, and
the children of his brother, who had their home there. This "old Lady Stitchel," as she was called, was a daughter of Hamilton of Silvertounhill. She had a warm attachment to the Covenanting cause, and her dower-house of Cunningcarle on the Stitchel estate became in after years a noted refuge for the persecuted party.

About a year before Guthrie left Lauder Livingston came to Ancrum. This proved a great benefit to Pringle, who found in him a minister after his own heart, and one well able to deepen and enforce the impressions of divine things he had already begun to feel. Livingston, in addition to his more substantial gifts, had the gracious manner of the Court, where indeed he had often been, and commanded respect alike by his birth, his breeding, his intellect, and his piety. His manner of preaching Pringle found very impressive, as that of one who had seen the glory of God in some divine vision, and who spoke out of that hidden knowledge things which himself had both seen and heard. The young laird travelled from Stitchel to Ancrum every Sabbath-day, thinking the pains of his journey well spent for the sake of such company and privilege.

In his Memoirs,¹ from which most of these particulars are derived, Pringle speaks of an event which gave him much concern, and made Livingston's advice peculiarly valuable to him. He had been engaged at the fatal field of Dunbar, where he took such a prominent part that it became unsafe for him to remain in his own house while Cromwell and the English army occupied Scotland. He accordingly fixed his dwelling at Torwoodlee, paying visits to his wife and family at Stitchel

as he found opportunity. It thus happened that returning thence one night in his brother-in-law's company, he met one of the enemy's troopers, who attacked him very fiercely.¹ Pringle stood on his defence, and, proving the better swordsman, killed his opponent out of hand,—the man asking no quarter, and it being impossible to get any prisoners carried thence to the army in the north while the Lothians were held by the English. This violent action, however necessary and justifiable, left him under serious apprehensions. He now reflected more than ever on the sins of his past life, and so nearly fell into a settled melancholy that it was a matter of the greatest moment to him, and one on which he ever afterwards reflected with thankfulness, that he now had the guidance and help of his new spiritual teacher to save him from despair. Under the winning and able ministry of Livingston his unquiet spirit found peace, and henceforth the bond which united him to his chosen pastor was one of the closest and most enduring kind. It is singular, indeed, to remark the number and quality of the natures over which the minister of Ancrum exercised this commanding influence. He owed his pre-eminence to the art he had of bringing men to a greater Leader, even to Jesus,

¹ It would appear that the conduct of Cromwell's troops was marked by a very savage and unjustifiable spirit. On the 15th of March 1651, sixteen or seventeen English soldiers came to Dryburgh, where they "committed many insolencies," and wounded John Erskine of Shielfield and his son. On their return they found three of the Haliburtons of Mertoun walking peaceably in Bemerside wood, whom they attacked, killing one and wounding the others. It is but fair to add that the trooper who did the deed was hanged at Lauder upon a complaint made to the Colonel by Thomas Haliburton, yet the bloodthirsty temper of the troops was such as fully warranted Pringle in his stern and fortunately successful attitude of self-defence.—See "The Haigs of Bemersyde," Edinburgh 81, pp. 242, 243.
Whom he himself constantly owned and obeyed. His influence was perhaps the highest of that time in our country, and may be clearly traced in not a few of the events which followed.

It might have been supposed that the part which Pringle played at Dunbar, and in his midnight rencontre, vouched for by the fact that his family had paid a hundred pounds as indemnity for the trooper's death, should have saved this tender-hearted, brave, and loyal gentleman from the sufferings endured by so many of his rank on the king's return. On the contrary, however, he was marked out as one of the first victims, being cast into the castle of Edinburgh on the 26th of September 1660, where he lay for fifteen days in the company of Sir Andrew Ker of Greenhead. The charge on which the Committee of Estates proceeded against these gentlemen was that of "aiding, assisting, and partaking with the remonstrators and seditious persons": so close a correspondence had Pringle kept with Livingston, and so soon was he made to suffer for that friendship. Two years later he shared the general losses of his party, being fined in £3000 by Middleton's Parliament.

Those whom the Committee of Estates had laid in prison on the 23rd of August were most of them liberated in a few weeks; but their leader, Mr James Guthrie, remained still in confinement, being reserved as an example to the rest. He had indeed, like Pringle, been a sufferer for his loyalty to the king,—the Commonwealth quartering soldiers upon him for some time in Stirling, because of the uncompromising way in which he upheld the cause of the monarchy. This, however, did not suffice to save him from the malice of his enemies. Middleton was now in power as the Royal Commissioner in Scotland, and Middleton had never
forgotten that his excommunication of ten years before had been pronounced by the minister of Stirling. He perceived that the time was now come to execute his long cherished purpose.

On the 20th of February 1661, Guthrie stood at the bar of the Estates to answer a charge of treason involving capital pains. It is significant that of the five articles in the indictment four refer to affairs of ten years before, when Middleton himself was so highly concerned in what took place. Guthrie was accused of venting treasonable matter tending to the strengthening of the usurper Cromwell, and the confusion of His Majesty's cause, a charge so utterly contrary to the truth that nothing but malice could have suggested it. He had, it was said, drawn up a paper called the "Remonstrance"; he had followed it by another publication of the same kind in "The Causes of God's wrath," which appeared in 1638; he had contrived the petition lately drafted for presentation to the King, and had also presumed to design the calling together of the lieges in support of that paper: such were the main articles of the indictment. As it were by an after-thought, his declining the Civil Authority in 1651 was further alleged against him; and, to render the prisoner more odious in the eyes of his judges, the extraordinary assertion was made, that in 1650, or the following year, he had moved in a meeting of ministers that the King should be secured in the castle of Stirling, and that, upon the objection being offered that to do so were as good as to take away His Majesty's life, Guthrie had answered that the time for that was not yet ripe, but that imprisonment might be a step to that conclusion.

To the first and last particulars of the charge the accused gave an absolute denial: he had not composed the remonstrance, nor had he spoken a word against
the King's life or liberty. It is unnecessary to speak of the rest of his defences in detail. They were very able, for not only had he the help of good counsel, but himself showed such knowledge of the law and acuteness in applying it as to make his advocates wonder. In another place, or at another time, no doubt, he would have been absolved, but in the Court where Middleton presided his death was already determined on. The King, it is said, would have spared Guthrie, and expressed some resentment at his doom, but the High Commissioner was of another mind, and pushed affairs relentlessly to the end he had designed.

When sentence came to be pronounced in the Estates, many rose and left rather than record their votes against such a man, or become accessory to his death. Lord Tweeddale ventured to move for a sentence of banishment, a measure of favour to the prisoner which was taken notice of and represented to his Lordship's disadvantage with the King. This was overruled, however, and doom was voted in the harshest terms to which Middleton could secure the assent of the House. Guthrie had meanwhile waited without in great calmness, notwithstanding the confused crowd of soldiers, officers of the Court, and others among whom he was kept, and the critical posture of his own case. He was now recalled, and heard sentence of death pronounced against him. He said very simply in reply, "My Lords, let never this sentence affect you more than it does me, and let never my blood be required of the king's family."

A number of affecting circumstances occurred during the prisoner's last days. He was led back from the Court to his place of confinement in the Tolbooth, and, as the time allowed him to prepare for death was short, he desired his secretary to draw up a fair copy of his
dying testimony that it might be given to his son when he should become of age. His estate indeed was forfeited, and he had no other legacy to bequeath his children than the assurance thus given under his own hand that he had died a faithful Covenanter and Martyr for the Truth. When this was done, and the paper signed, taking his boy on his knee, he said "Willie, they will tell you and cast up to you that your father was hanged, but think not shame of it, for it is in a good cause."

The sentence further ordered Guthrie's coat-of-arms to be defaced. In humble submission to this indignity, he sealed his testimony twice, turning the seal, so that the impression of the coat was lost, and that of the cross appeared instead. "I have nothing more to do with coats-of-arms," he said.

One more act of humility remained to be performed. His birth, which was noble, conferred on him, at least by prescription, the right to die as the Marquis of Argyll presently did, by the axe and not by the cord. His sentence, however, condemned him to the gallows instead of the block. Speaking to his wife of this extraordinary severity, he took occasion to glory in it. "Argyll," he said, "is to be beheaded, but I am to die on a tree, as Christ did."

It was indeed this thought of conformity to the sufferings of Christ, never absent from his mind, and sometimes rising to the pitch of a longing he thought sinful, which now returned in all its force to sustain Guthrie during the supreme hours of his life and martyrdom. He was uncommonly cheerful in prison, and received with unfailing courtesy the many visitors who came to bid him farewell. Rising early on the morning of his execution, he spent some hours in private devotion, after which he saw his wife for the
last time, and bade her adieu. The orders ran that his hands were to be bound as he went to the scaffold, but his infirmity of body made this pretended precaution not only ridiculous but impossible, and the cord was loosed so that he might have the use of his staff.

Bent with age, and weakened by months of prison and sickness, but filled with an inward peace which made his heart light, the martyr passed slowly down the few yards of causeway which separated the Tolbooth from the Cross. The High Street was densely thronged with people, and from the lofty windows on either hand, many looked out to see him die. He is said to have mounted the scaffold with such surprising lightness of foot, and bearing so bright a joy in his looks, that, to the apprehension of those who saw him, he seemed half-way to heaven already, a notion which the spirited words and manner of his dying testimony, now delivered, did much to increase and impress.

"I saw him suffer," says Bishop Burnet; and adds, "He was so far from showing any fear, that he rather expressed a contempt of death. He spoke an hour upon the ladder, with the composedness of a man that was delivering a sermon rather than his last words."

It was a great hour, and never, we may feel sure, either at Lauder or Stirling, had Guthrie addressed such a crowd, or spoken with so much conviction and power. His last words were heard as he was actually in the hangman's hands, and fell upon his hearers with that power of surprise which is the supreme secret of effective speech. All eyes were bent upon the martyr, and every breath stilled in a silence which could be sensibly felt, when Guthrie, raising suddenly as in a rapture the napkin bound upon his face, broke that awful stillness with a cry of triumph, as of one who in the very article of a great agony had wrestled
with God for a blessing and had prevailed. "The Covenanters," he cried, "the Covenanters shall yet be Scotland's reviving," and so passed to his incorruptible crown, leaving with his latest breath a testimony which Scotland was not soon to forget.

The scene which followed at the scaffold was one of the most affecting kind. When the hangman struck off the head of the corpse—for none of the barbarous accompaniments of execution for high treason were spared in this case—the spectators pressed forward to dip their handkerchiefs in the martyr's blood, holding them up to heaven for vengeance on his persecutors. Guthrie's body was presently dressed for burial in the aisle of St Giles' Church by several ladies of quality, who waited there for that purpose. While they were busy in this pious work, a young man named Stirling, a surgeon of the town, brought them a phial of perfume, and broke it over the body, so that the whole place was presently filled with sweetness.

It is indeed impossible to describe the tension and interest felt by all classes at this time, an interest which quickly spread to the country, and probably reached its greatest height in those places where Guthrie had been personally known. The events of his death and burial were everywhere spoken of with bated breath; and, when the martyr's head was set up on the Netherbow, a story soon ran, and was commonly believed, that blood had dropped from it upon the Commissioner's coach to mark Middleton as a murderer. Much notice was taken of the fact that the coach of State had a new cover put on it about this time, and it was generally said that the servants had done their best to wash off these bloodstains, but in vain. In this excited and foreboding temper the nation waited to see what the end of these things would be.
CHAPTER IV.

We have already noticed the King's letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, which came down on the 3rd of September 1660. It seems that this letter was written by the desire of Sharp, who played so great a part in overturning the Presbyterian government of the Church, though he was highly trusted by that party at first. He desired the establishment of Episcopacy as a means to his own advancement, and knew the King was in favour of it, but saw that His Majesty feared what effect such a change might have in alienating the affections of his northern subjects. It was accordingly Sharp's whole study to prevent the King from becoming aware of the true state of feeling in Scotland, while he diligently told him that the great body of the people there would welcome the proposed change. It was possible, however, that this policy might be overturned in a moment by some appeal on the part of the Church, which should show the false part Sharp was playing them, and therefore he persuaded the King to send a letter which should keep the Presbyterians quiet. The expressions which His Majesty was thus made to use were indeed most reassuring: for, while he spoke harshly of the Protestings party, he declared it to be his purpose to maintain the government of the Church as by law established. So satisfactory did the Presbytery think this letter that they
ordered a silver box in which it might be kept as the palladium of their liberties.

Middleton, who seems to have been a man less subtle in his policy than Sharp, was highly displeased with what had been done, as if the royal letter might prove an obstacle to the carrying out of the designs then on foot at Court in favour of Episcopacy. When he came down to hold the Parliament of 1661, he resolved on a bold stroke of policy, hoping to outdo his rival and at the same time procure favour with the King by setting His Majesty free from all obligation to the Presbyterians. His purpose was to pass an Act by which all the proceedings of Parliament since the troubles of 1637 should be declared null and void. So extravagant did this proposal seem, however, that at first no one would consent to it. Middleton laid it aside for a time, and then, when his private Council had drunk heavily—for this kind of debauchery was was but too common under his government—he brought them to consent to it. Lord Clerk Register Primrose, who had indeed the honour of suggesting such an Act to Middleton, was ordered to draw it up in due form, and it passed by a majority in the pliable House of Estates, not however without strong opposition and under protest from the Presbytery of Edinburgh, who now began to see how little their cherished letter would serve them as a defence.

When Parliament rose the Scottish Council met in London to advise with the King. Middleton was there, and Rothes, and Lauderdale, who outdid each other in their purpose of persuading the King to see no reason for apprehension or delay, assuring His Majesty he might now proceed to carry out his wishes in Scotland without fear of the consequences. Parliament had de-
terminated that it lay in the King's power to order the constitution of the Church. The Act Rescissory had cleared the way of all former engagements, and nothing was now required but a sign of the royal pleasure. The Privy Council by which Scotland was now governed would answer for the carrying out of the King's purpose.

The Council continued their deliberations in Edinburgh on the 5th of September. At that diet a letter was read from the King which accorded exactly with the advice that had been given him. He referred to the pledge granted to the Presbytery, but said that since the passing of the Act Rescissory, the Church "as by law established" could mean no other than that of his father's time, when the ecclesiastical order was Episcopal. This then was the Church he had promised to uphold, and it was his royal will that Presbytery should now give way to Prelacy. Next day the Council made proclamation in terms of the King's letter.

Now arose the question of the bishoprics, and who should be appointed to fill them. It is somewhat remarkable that two of the new prelates came from our part of the country, Mr David Fletcher of Melrose, and Mr Andrew Fairfoul of Duns. The former was a mere worldling, the latter a man of some note. Indeed, Fairfoul had been chosen by Sharp's advice, in the hope that his shrewdness might do the Court party much service. No sooner, however, had he been consecrated, which happened in December, than he was as it were changed into another man, from the utter failure of his intellect. One may imagine how this was remarked on in the Merse, where indeed the memory of Fairfoul's incumbency was highly scandalous, as the whole country talked of the criminal correspondence he had kept with a lady of great beauty in that neighbourhood. If any-
thing could have reconciled Scotland to the change from Presbytery to Prelacy it would have been the choice of able and respectable men to preside over the new order. None of this character, however, unless it were the saintly and ascetic Leighton, was willing to lend himself for such a purpose, and the cause of Episcopacy, already deeply prejudiced in the country from the manner of its introduction, was now universally condemned in the persons of its most prominent ministers.

The Parliament which sat in May 1662 was remarkable, as we have already seen, for the fines then inflicted upon Presbyterians in all parts of the country. Much more serious, however, were the Acts then passed concerning the Church. The establishment of Episcopacy was affirmed, the Bishops were received in state to sit and vote as constituent members of the House, and, most serious of all, it was determined that, before the 20th of September next, all those ministers who had been settled in their parishes since 1649 should take presentation to the living from the patron, and collation to the spiritual office of their cure from the Bishop of the diocese. Hitherto the clergy had felt no concern but that of apprehension in the great changes which had been made in the ecclesiastical Constitution, but now they must either express an actual submission to Episcopacy or prepare to quit their churches.

The reason alleged for restricting the operation of the Act to the case of those who had been settled since 1649 was the fact that patronage had been abolished in that year, but we are assured that a deep stroke of policy was intended here. Sharp, now promoted to the

1 Kirkton's History, 4to, Edinburgh, 1817, p. 144.
Primacy, thought it best to proceed by degrees, and to make the first attempt with the younger ministers. These he supposed would be more pliable than the veterans of 1638, and their submission might secure the success of the whole scheme. His expectations were entirely disappointed. The Presbyterian clergy had now an understanding among themselves, and remained quietly in their places, doing nothing indeed to offend the Government unnecessarily, but giving no sign of obedience to the late Act.

Fairfoul of Duns had been appointed to the see of Glasgow, a diocese comprehending that part of the west of Scotland where the Presbyterian feeling was particularly strong. The Commissioner now made a progress in the west, and the Archbishop took the opportunity of complaining to him that not one of the young ministers had yet acknowledged him in any way. A meeting of Council was accordingly convened at Glasgow, and upon the 1st of October they emitted an Act in accordance with the suggestions of Fairfoul, who assured them that not ten of the Presbyterian clergy would be found willing to brave their threats. This famous Act, which was of such consequence to every part of the country, prohibited such of the ministers as had not already qualified in terms of the Act of Parliament from exercising any part of their function, and ordered them to remove from their churches and manses before the 1st of November. The fatal consequences of this measure were perceived almost as soon as it was passed. Middleton regretted that he had lent an ear to the assurances of Fairfoul when he saw that these would not be fulfilled. Sharp was exceedingly angry at the false step that had been taken at the instance of his Ahithophel, whose counsel
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was now turned to folly. In the month of December the Council sought to repair matters a little by extending the time for submission until the first of February. All was in vain. The Government had almost unwittingly—it was said in a state of disgraceful drunkenness—entered on what a well-known author\textsuperscript{1} has not unfitly called the "thirty infamous years that completed the misfortunes and degradation of Scotland."

While these oppressive Acts were passing in the Council, means were also taken to reach many of the older ministers as well. One of the first sufferers was Livingston of Ancrum. He had foreseen for some time the onset of the storm; and his last communion, which fell upon the 12th of October, is said to have been one of the most remarkable of that time and country. Many attended from far and near, indeed the concourse of people and ministers was so great that the Privy Council afterwards took notice of it, passing an Act which restricted the number of assistants to be employed on such occasions. It had already become usual in these days to hold a thanksgiving service on the Communion Monday, a custom which is said to have dated from the remarkable revival under this minister at the Kirk of Shotts in 1630. Livingston, as he now entered the pulpit, must have done so with tender recollections of that early time. He had found it difficult to deliver his soul freely on the previous day, when he was occupied in the communion service itself, but now he took great liberty, choosing for his text the words—"Whosoever therefore shall confess Me before men, him will I confess before My Father

\textsuperscript{1} See Hallam's History.
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which is in Heaven, but whosoever will deny Me before men, him will I deny before My Father." After a brief introduction, the preacher came at once to speak of four things, which, he said, were the very pillars of Christianity—Faith, wherein a man believeth with his heart; Righteousness, which is received by that faith; Testimony, when a man confesses his faith with his mouth; and Salvation, the capital and consummation of all.

In handling these heads of discourse, Livingston went on to say that Satan often prevails by fear when he has failed to win souls by enticement, and added something concerning the awful sin of denying the Lord, which he said was to religion as poison is to the body or treason to the State. Then hastening to treat what had the most immediate interest for his hearers and himself, he reminded them of what we in our day should never forget, that the least encroachment on Christ's absolute and kingly right in His own Church is a thing He will not suffer, and one which should be intolerable to His people also. The Government of the land, he said, should indeed be honoured by all men as ordained of God; but when the King took upon him to appoint an order to the Church, as he was then doing in the matter of the Bishops, men were bound to resist such interference as they would be answerable to Christ; and not all the love he bore to his flock at Ancrum would tempt him to be silent in this case, or to purchase a new lease of his ministry there by denying his Master in that pulpit. As to the future, he confessed he had as yet but little clearness on many questions of conduct that were likely to arise, but bade his hearers wait upon the Lord, Who would surely cause light to arise for the upright even out of darkness. With this word of hope
he pronounced the benediction, and the great audience, deeply moved, broke up to carry over the country this parting message from the preacher who was so widely reverenced and deeply beloved.

In a little afterwards, Livingston had warning that mischief was indeed intended him. He went at once to Edinburgh that he might gain more exact information, and finding that nothing more serious than exile was the purpose of the Government, he resolved to defer his intended flight.

On the 11th of December he came before the Council. They complained that he had neither observed the 29th of May, lately appointed as a yearly thanksgiving day for the Restoration, nor obeyed the summons to take his place as a member of the Bishop's Synod. He could give them no satisfaction on either head, for, like the rest of his party, he was exceedingly jealous of the civil authority when it prescribed in matters of religion, and found he could not sit in the newly constituted Synod without thereby acknowledging the Episcopal government of the Church. The Council accordingly told him he must, as a suspected person, take the oath of allegiance, or remove from the country. Here also, he found a great difficulty, for, by this oath he was obliged to acknowledge the king as supreme, not only in civil matters, which he was most ready to do, but over the Church as well. He refused the oath, and fixed his dwelling for some months in Leith, till he should go abroad, as the Council would by no means allow him to return home even to bid his wife and family farewell.

Livingston's exile was delayed till spring on account of a sharp attack of sciatica from which he now suffered. While thus confined to his lodging at Leith, he had the
sympathy and affectionate regard of very many who came to see him before he left the country. On the 9th of April he sailed into Holland, and coming to Rotterdam, took up his abode there, where his wife and children shortly joined him. In this town he spent the rest of his days very peacefully till his death in 1672. He often preached in the Scottish Church at Rotterdam, and gave much of his time to critical studies on the text of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, with their modern versions, a congenial task in which he enjoyed the correspondence of the learned Leusden.¹ Thus a voice, often and gladly heard in Scotland as it pled for the truth, was silenced there for ever.

¹ See note B.
CHAPTER V.

When the time of grace granted by the Government had passed, those ministers who still refused to obey the Glasgow Act were required to leave their parishes. The well-known events of 1843,¹ enable us to judge how much suffering must have been the consequence of this earlier severity in the case of those who were subjected to it; but it is remarkable with what a light hand these days of pain and anxiety are treated in the memoirs of those who endured them. The sufferings which followed were indeed of so much graver a kind as to make the first beginnings of persecution seem hardly worth dwelling upon.

The shire of Berwick showed a good record at this time in the number of ministers within our bounds who continued faithful to their Presbyterian principles in spite of the penalty that now attached to that way of thinking. The three Presbyteries of Duns, Chirnside, and Earlston then contained thirty-two parishes, and of these some seventeen were under the charge of ministers who refused to conform. Three of these men were already deposed by the Synod as Protesters; three more were beyond the direct reach of the Act, because they had been ordained before 1648, and were granted a

guarded kind of toleration in their respective parishes while they lived; Paterson of Whitsome, Burne of Langton, and Ramsay of Mordington received the same indulgence, the last of these charges being insignificant, and the incumbent related to a powerful family in the shire; the rest of these ministers, being six in number, were turned out of church and manse.¹

Several of the nonconforming clergy contrived to resist the operation of the Act for some time. One of these was Mr John Hardy of Gordon, who continued, under the protection of Pringle of Greenknow, the principal heritor in that parish, to occupy the pulpit there till July 1663. At that date, however, he was cited before the Council for this breach of the law. His sentence bore that he should forthwith remove, and take up his residence in some place which should be not less than twenty miles from his parish, six from Edinburgh, and three from the nearest burgh town. A week or two afterwards these provisions were extended to the case of all the deprived clergy in what was called the Mile Act, but the pastor of Gordon had the honour of being the first sufferer in this way.

The charge which Hardy thus left vacant was presently filled by the appointment of Mr James Stratton, a conformist who had hitherto served the cure at Eyemouth. This settlement, as we should suppose, gave but little satisfaction to the people. The curates, as those were called who fell in with the policy of the Government, were very unpopular, and the parishioners of Gordon soon began to draw unfavourable comparisons between their late respected pastor and the man who was now set over them, whom they heartily

¹ See note C.
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despised. There is indeed no account of any forcible opposition being made to his entry, such as took place at Ancrum on the induction of the curate who supplanted Livingston in that charge—a slight tumult which the High Commission thought fit to punish by using the scourge and the branding iron on the women and boys concerned in it, and by sending them to the plantations. At Gordon the expressions of popular resentment, if not so violent, were yet significant enough. One parishioner is reported to have said that the new minister was "fitter to be a shepherd than a clergyman," and another was cited before the Session for declaring that "they who went to hear Mr Stratton should never come to heaven."¹

These expressions probably reflect pretty accurately the general feeling of the shire. Contempt was naturally felt for the men who had changed their religious opinions at the bidding of the Government, and the character and attainments of those who were hastily pressed into office to supply the places of the nonconforming ministers were far from adding lustre to their party, or crowning the policy of the Government with success. Several notorious instances of immorality which were seen in the case of the incumbents at Liliesleaf, at Channelkirk, and at Crichton,² contributed not a little to increase the odium now generally felt against the State Church, and to confirm a large number of the people in their determination to separate from it.

One of these was Walter Pringle of Greenknow, who found himself obliged in conscience to refrain from

¹ Gordon Sess. Record, Oct. 30th, 1684; case of Ismble Waugh.
² Kirkton, pp. 185-190.
hearing Mr Stratton, and this not so much because of any dislike he had to the man himself, as on account of the innovations now introduced in the public worship as practised in the parish churches. Prayers were read from a book by the schoolmaster, the doxology was sung at the close of the Psalms; and though it may be said that these changes imported no more than a return to what had been at least the permissive use of fifty years before in the Scottish Church, when many ministers read from the Book of Common Order, yet to the mind of Pringle—no rude or uncultivated man, let it be remembered—such an innovation represented something of serious consequence. He saw in it the hand of an authority which he and many others refused to acknowledge when it made itself felt in the spiritual sphere, and a revival of modes of worship which Laud's Liturgy had rendered odious, and the whole spirit and practice of the nation had for a generation consistently discarded. The prayers and doxology might be harmless in themselves, but as now imposed they were part of a studied repudiation of that bright past which many at least regarded as the golden age of the Scottish Church, and as such this stout Covenantter and his party would have none of them.

It is indeed customary to take a somewhat false view of the ritual of these days, following the opinion of writers who have represented it as the unchanged worship of Presbyterian times, as if the Government had taken care to avoid offending the susceptibilities of the nation, and had, while giving them Bishops, allowed the old forms of service to continue as they were before. Such would indeed have been the most politic course, and might have done much to conceal from the people the magnitude of the changes that had passed
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upon the Church, and to secure their adherence to the new Establishment. We cannot suppose, however, that the case of Gordon was an exception to the common rule, and the truth seems to be that while no attempt was made in the meantime, unless at Holyrood or Salton, to use the English Liturgy or any considerable imitation of it—the Government fearing a return of the old tumults—yet a real, and, to some, offensive, innovation was made by restoring the use of read prayers and the chanting of the Glory,¹ no doubt as a prelude designed to try the temper of the people, and prepare them for further changes so soon as these might be judged advisable. Besides, the 29th of May, which was ordered to be observed yearly as a thanksgiving for the King's restoration, St Andrew's day and Christmas were restored to the Calendar as Holy days, and, most extraordinary of all, the Privy Council repeatedly ordered a strict Lent to be kept, besides three fish-days every week, under civil penalty in case of disobedience. Dispensations allowing the use of flesh at these forbidden seasons issued from the same respectable authority, but as the only one which seems to be still extant was granted to a gentleman of some considerable property—Thomas Scott of Whitslade—it is likely that these indulgences were not to be had save at a price which put them beyond the reach of the people at large.² Taking all such details into account, we see how considerable these ritual innovations were, and how respectable was the nonconformity of those Presbyterians who refused to fall in with the new order of things.

¹ See the case of Robert Fairfoul of Newburn in Fife, who was brought before his Presbytery in 1664, for “mocking the Glory” by saying “yon is the auld Mess set up again.”
² P.A. Feb. 6 and 13, 1662; Feb. 12, 1663; P.W. Feb. 2, 1664.
A very complete system was now in force for the detection of nonconformists: the curates furnishing the Government with accounts of all who absented themselves from their parish churches. The standing which Walter Pringle had in his county, and the fact that he was already a suspected person, made it certain that his case would be dealt with both speedily and stringently. He was summoned before the High Commission in July 1664, and that Court sent him to the Bishop to take the oath of allegiance. This he found impossible, scrupling as his master Livingston had lately done, to affirm the king's supremacy in the ecclesiastical as well as the civil sphere. The Commission told him he must either pay a fine of some hundreds of pounds or else enter his person in ward, and giving him time to consider the matter, sent him home, desiring he would confine himself to his house of Greenknow till further orders.

On the 24th of November a messenger-at-arms riding with three troopers of His Majesty's Life Guard came to Greenknow and took the laird prisoner. They carried him that night to Whitburn, where they had left one of their party sick the day before, and so by Channelkirk to Edinburgh, where Pringle lay some time in the Tolbooth. Here he had the sympathy of many friends of the family and cause to which he belonged, and doubtless found much comfort in the visits they paid him, and the interest they promised to use on his behalf with the Government. The Bishops, however, carried it all their own way in the Commission through the Primate who then presided in that Court, and in a little Pringle's sentence was pronounced and proved severe enough. He was ordered to go to Elgin and be confined within the bounds of that burgh, and
if he did not pay his fine before Candlemas, he was to be kept thereafter a close prisoner within the Tolbooth of the town.

After a little respite, which he owed to the delicate state of his wife's health—their daughter Anna was born on the 30th of January—he left for his northern exile in the wild wintry weather of February 1665, his heart torn by the pain of parting from his wife and children, and their aged mother. His faith, however, was high and strong, and proved a great consolation to him. "For His Name's sake," he kept saying to himself as the storms of that tempestuous season beat upon his cheek; and riding by the coast of Aberdeen, he arrived at last in Elgin, taking comfort in the assurance that these sufferings were laid upon him because he would not deny the cause of Christ in Scotland.

While in exile his consolations increased rather than diminished. The magistrates of the town soon removed him from the Tolbooth to a private lodging, where he had the comfort of being able to worship God without distraction or disturbance. In May the Council allowed him a further measure of liberty under a bond of ten thousand pounds Scots, and he took much pleasure in the freedom he now had to walk by the fair banks of the Lossie, never more beautiful than in opening spring, as Pringle then saw them. He spent much time in devotion and in the composition of his spiritual diary, a remarkable work which he designed to leave behind him for the comfort of his children, being very doubtful whether the severity of the Government and the repeated fines to which he was subjected would allow of his enriching them with any other estate than the interest he prayed they might ever have in the promises of their father's God.
By degrees, also, he found opportunities of a wider usefulness that surprised and delighted him. He had already made it the subject of prayer that God would bring some good to the cause of religion out of his testimony and exile, though hardly expecting to see it in his own time. It happened, however, that several others of the Presbyterian party being banished to that country, and a correspondence being kept between the exiles and the gentlemen of Elgin and Moray, many in that neighbourhood came to them for prayer and religious discourse, so that their absence from home proved a great means of good in the north. So eminently was this the case that the Bishop of Ross wrote to his son that these exiles in Elgin and Inverness had done more evil by their coming north than if they had been left at home. They had alienated, he said, the hearts of many who were of another principle before, and received more deference from the northern nobility than any Bishop in the land enjoyed. The country had indeed begun to judge between the men of principle and those whose ignoble part no style nor title could redeem from contempt while they acted in a mere subservience to the Government of the day.

When Pringle's exile had lasted almost a year his friends procured his release by signing a bond for his orderly behaviour and paying a fine of £200 for the irregularities of the past. He came home a month later, and had liberty within his own house and a distance of three miles around it, but dear as his fields and woods of Greenknow were to him, and dearly as he loved his wife and children, his spirit now endured a time of trial such as he had never felt in Elgin. He feared that this indulgence, though unsought by him, had been bought at too high a price. He hated to
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think of the terms of the bond which his kinsmen Stitchel and Torsonce had taken in his interest. His conscience was very tender, and continually put him to the question how far he was bound by what had been done for him, and perhaps obliged thereby to a measure of compliance with the Establishment of the time which his soul hated. His snares and troubles he thought were only now beginning, and his situation became certainly far more perplexing to him than it had been when he lay prisoner at Elgin. These anxieties so wrought upon him, indeed, that his health broke down—it had been excellent while he was in the north—and in less than two years after his return he died, yielding his spirit as a martyr should, with the silent, but eloquent testimony, that when the liberty of God's people to worship Him according to conscience is taken away, their life must needs be rendered too. The knowledge that the last days of this eminent sufferer for the cause of Christ were spent in Greenknow, and that it was from thence his pure and devout spirit rose to God, should make that ancient tower, as it now stands lonely and roofless amid its sheltering woods, a holy place for all who count the memory of Scotland's Covenanters venerable.

The case of Pringle was no uncommon one in these days and in that part of the country where perhaps as large a proportion of the landed interest was attached to the cause of the Covenants as anywhere else, and suffered as much for their principles. The gentlemen of this party in the Merse were followed by large numbers of their tenantry, forming a goodly proportion of the whole people, and it is impossible not to see in such popularity a proof of the deep attachment which the country must have felt to the doctrine and discipline of former times.
A well-known writer has indeed told us that under the dominion of the Covenants Scotland was as priest-ridden as ever Spain had been by the hated Inquisition; that the days of which Kirkton boasted were times when no man could call his soul his own: the whole country then groaning under the rule of an intolerant Presbytery. It is easy to reply that this form of Church government was strong because it was democratic: that the one man who had but a casting vote in the parochial session was the minister; and that it was hardly possible for any decision to be arrived at in these courts, especially as they were then constituted, which did not fairly represent the conscientious convictions of the people at large.

But the facts with which we are now concerned would seem to supply an even more unanswerable refutation of Mr Buckle's opinion. Had the case of Scotland been as he has represented it, what, may we ask, must have followed the Restoration? Would not the new Episcopacy, beside and beyond the restored monarchy, have been hailed as a deliverance long expected and deeply desired? The Presbyterian clergy might indeed have attempted to keep up a factious opposition to the order which then supplanted their former tyranny, but soon they must have gone into exile, or abated their intolerable pretensions amid the joy of an entire people who, in abandoning them, now tasted for the first time the delights of liberty.

History then is itself enough to supply the correction of such a misunderstanding. The clergy who refused to conform to Episcopacy enjoyed a very large measure of support indeed from their people, whom no persuasion nor interest nor persecution could seduce from that loved allegiance. Not therefore in the former age, but
rather in the one we are now considering; not while Presbytery ruled in the Church, but in that new alliance lately cemented between the Government and the Bishops of Charles II., do we find the likeness of that bondage which prevailed in the countries of the Roman obedience. The intrigues and deep steps of policy which sought to reduce the nation and Church by degrees to a canonic obedience as a musician tunes his strings, not too harshly at first, but turning the pins of his lute by art; the absolute power of the High Commission, and its arrogant interference with the spiritual liberty formerly enjoyed; finally the use of armed force, as in a dragoonaed; the thumb-screw; the boot and the scaffold; these are marks so plain that surely he who runs may read. They were noted at the time, and were even then compared to the subtlety and cruelty of the Papacy by a well-known writer among the Presbyterians, Alexander Shiel of the family of Haughhead in the parish of Earlston.† It would seem as if nothing but a smarting sense of the truth conveyed by this comparison had betrayed later apologists for the contrary opinion into this unwise attempt to fasten a like charge upon the earlier Presbyterian discipline. The sense of Scotland, however, as it was then expressed by the continued adherence of multitudes to a cause which exposed them to fining, imprisonment, torture, and death, amply declares the truth as between the one opinion and the other.

The inhabitants of our shire who persisted in their nonconformity were fortunate above those in other parts of Scotland, enjoying as they did uncommon opportunities of resorting to ministers of their own

† "Hind let Loose," Svo, Edinburgh, 1744, pp. 208; where the eight rules of Adam Contzen the Jesuit are cited.
persuasion. Mordington, we may remember, was still occupied by Mr Ramsay, and this Covenanting minister retained the charge of Longformacus as well until the year 1668, when a curate was inducted to that remote parish. Langton was still served by Mr Burne; Mr John Veitch continued to preach in Westruther "by connivance" till 1664; and Smailholm, with the parts of Berwickshire adjacent to it, was equally fortunate in the ministry of Mr Donaldson, which continued till his death in 1673.

Besides these places of public resort for the preaching of the Word, the spiritual needs of our Covenanters were not a little supplied by private conventicles held here and there in the shire by those ministers whom the Glasgow Act had deprived of a more regular opportunity of preaching. Mr John Veitch set up one of these meetings in the parish of Westruther as soon he was turned out of the pulpit there. This clergyman was related by marriage to the Humes of Bassendean, and may also have derived some advantage in his precarious position from the friendship of the Duke of Lauderdale, whose kinsman he was.\(^1\) His own position too—he was an heritor in part of the lands of Bassendean—may have helped to secure him the standing in that district which he used so long and so well in the Covenanting cause.

Something of the same kind was carried on, though, perhaps, in a less regular way, in the parish of Legerwood. The deprived minister here was Mr William Calderwood nearly related to the great historian of that name. He had removed to a distance—probably to the parish of Channelkirk, where we find his wife

\(^1\) V. pp. 124.
afterwards residing—and from this place he paid frequent visits to the scene of his former labours that he might encourage and help his people. Thus two parishes at least enjoyed the benefit of his presence and instructions.

More important, however, and more useful than any other conventicle in our district, was that held by the famous Mr Henry Erskine in his own house at Dryburgh. This eminent Covenanter had been forced to remove in 1682 from his parish of Cornhill on the English border. He was a younger brother of Erskine of Sheilfield in our shire, and thus found a ready refuge in Dryburgh, the village near his family estate, where his brother gave him a house. This family was very respectable and even noble, being a branch of the great house of Mar, and Henry Erskine had married well: his wife was a daughter of Brown of Park, an estate close to that of Shielfield. Besides his gentle birth and fitting alliance Erskine had the charm of an exquisite culture, by which the natural gifts of his intellect were much improved. Like many men of his age and rank, he indulged a strong taste for music, and was himself no mean performer in a concert of viols, his instrument being the cithern or great lute, then much affected by men of taste.1 Nothing in fact could be more unlike the caricature which has hitherto passed with many for the vera effigies of the Scottish Covenanter than this highly cultured gentleman, yet he is a far truer type of his party than that which is commonly presented; and his cabinet of ebony curiously inlaid with ivory

1 The testament of "John Hume, Violer, Erslitoun," is recorded on 8th July 1634, and this craftsman may not improbably have had Erskine's instrument in hand from time to time. These viols were very delicate, and needed constant care and frequent repairs.
after the Italian manner—a shrine in which his de-
cendants long preserved the thumb-screws with which
he was afterwards tortured—seems a symbol in minia-
ture of the lives that suffered in Scotland's great perse-
cution. Such talents and culture as belonged to either
party in the State were then on the one hand degraded
almost beyond recognition by the base courses to which
the Government stooped, and on the other sublimed in
that heavenly constancy of faith with which Erskine
and his friends met the sufferings of the time, triumphed
over its opposition, and saw at last the victory of those
principles assured to which they were so sincerely at-
tached. For many years the conventicle at Dryburgh
continued to draw great numbers of people from the
surrounding districts, and thus proved the means of
much good in all that country.

In our survey of the resources of the Covenanters in
Berwickshire we must not forget to notice the itinerant
ministries which were then exercised there. Mr Edward
Jamieson of Swinton, who had been deposed in 1661 as
a Protestor, did much in this way, and another who
gave his talents to the same kind of service was Mr
Luke Ogle. This latter clergyman had held a charge
in the town of Berwick from which he was ejected by
the Act of Uniformity in 1662. Both before and after
his being deprived, he suffered much at the hands of
Lord Widdrington, a determined Papist, whom he had
offended by some expressions in a sermon preached on
Gunpowder-treason day in the year of the Restoration.
Lord Widdrington was then a member of the Council of
State, as well as governor of the town of Berwick, and
used his power so relentlessly that Mr Ogle was obliged
to leave that place and retire to a property he had at
Bousden in Northumberland.
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Both these ministers were honoured guests at Greenknow in Walter Pringle's time, and, we may believe, at many a country house beside. Their visits served to keep up a close correspondence between the scattered Presbyterians of the shire, and were of even greater importance as the means of affording secret opportunities of nonconformist worship which many must have taken advantage of. We can fancy how on these occasions wide neighbourhoods were warned of the pastor's visit, and how, in the gathering dusk, little parties must have stolen by twos and threes through Gordon Moss, or by the Knock hill of Huntlywood, to Greenknow, or approached in like stealthy ways some other considerable house in the shire, that they might meet the servant of God and join him in celebrating the simple rites of the old Presbyterian use. When the gathering was small the laird received them in his own house; when numbers assembled, room was probably found in some barn, or other outbuilding, and there, with the light of a few candles glimmering upon the preacher and his congregation, Scotland's own way of divine worship was still held with true Scottish determination in spite of all that the king and the Bishops could do to hinder it. Such were the means of grace which the Covenanters of Berwickshire preferred to those of the parish churches, and in ways like these the men of that party were still kept together, and prepared to endure with patience the great fight of afflictions which was already set against them.
CHAPTER VI.

Another singular advantage enjoyed by the Covenanters of Berwickshire, arose from their close neighbourhood to Northumberland, where not a few considerable men of their party had found refuge, and from whence the fugitives exercised a powerful and favourable influence upon the adjacent parts of the Scottish border. Most of these men came from the West country. In that part of Scotland, the proportion of ministers reached by the Glasgow Act being greater, or the heritors of the Presbyterian party less able to protect their clergy than they showed themselves in the East, affairs took a very different turn from the first. When Mr Gabriel Semple, the deprived minister of Kirkpatrick Irongray, began to preach in the hall of Corsock house in Dumfriesshire, three weeks had not passed till the concourse of the people to hear him became so great that the congregation were obliged to resort to the open air. Thus, in the most natural way possible, and from the very necessities of the case in a part of the country where the number of nonconformists was not perhaps more than in the East, but their opportunities of hearing Presbyterian service certainly fewer, the custom of field meetings arose, which was destined to have so great an influence in determining the future of our country's ecclesiastical history.

The immediate effect of these meetings upon their
first appearance in the West was that the Government took alarm and resolved to put them down by armed force. For this purpose they gave a commission to Sir James Turner, a soldier of fortune, and sent him to suppress what they were pleased to call an insurrection. Turner made some three expeditions to that part of the country during the years immediately following the passing of the Glasgow Act, and at last, about 1665, the persecution there became so hot that Mr Semple and Mr John Welsh, who had succeeded him in ministering to the conventicle at Corsock, together with other ministers of the same way of thinking, were obliged to take refuge in Northumberland.

Haselridge, a village in that shire, now became the favourite resort of many Presbyterians, both ministers and people. Here Henry Hall had his house, and entertained the members of the Covenanting party for several years together. He was the laird of Haughead in Teviotdale, but had already suffered so severely for his nonconformity, that he chose to cross the Border for safety. Welsh and Semple were with Hall at Haselridge when they ordained Richard Cameron to the ministry, and we hear of a considerable communion held here in these early years at which Welsh assisted, and another Presbyterian clergyman, besides Mr Gilbert Rule, of whom we shall have much to say in a little.

Mr Semple was the son of Sir Bryce Semple of Cathcart. He had married a daughter of Sir Patrick Murray of Blackcastle, but she being by this time dead, he took as his second wife the daughter of Sir Walter Riddel of that ilk. Fixing his residence at Ford, near Berwick, he preached for some years in
the church of that place: the incumbent being weakly and unfit for his office, and Semple much desired as their minister by the people of the neighbourhood: many indeed attending even from Scotland to partake of the Sacrament at his hands. While in Northumberland he married a third time, his wife being the daughter of Sir Robert Ker of Ital.

Another, who was even more nearly concerned in the Covenanting interest of our shire than those we have hitherto considered, was Mr William Veitch, the brother of Mr John Veitch of Westruther. His fortunes were so uncommon and he became so marked a figure in many of the movements of that time, especially in Berwickshire, that we may well devote some attention to the strange course of events which brought him to this neighbourhood.

At the time of the King's restoration, William Veitch was living as tutor in the family of Sir Andrew Ker of Greenhead, without the least intention of studying for the ministry: indeed he had begun to turn his attention to medicine, the times being very unfavourable for those preachers who did not choose to conform to Episcopacy. At Greenhead, however, he came under the influence of Livingston of Ancrum, who persuaded him to continue faithful to his original purpose in spite of all the inconveniences which promised to attend him in that way of life. He presently took service as chaplain at the house of Calder, and being turned out of that place for his nonconformity, went to live on a farm at the Mains of Dunsyre in the uplands of Tweeddale.

By this time the sufferings of the West under Sir James Turner had become intolerable. The insurrection of Pentland began—it was in the year 1666—and some
of Veitch's friends riding from Edinburgh to join the insurgents persuaded him to go along with them. His military talent seems to have shown itself at once; he received a command in the Covenanting army then marching upon Ayr, and rendered effectual service in the occupation of that town.

Then followed the famous Sabbath at Lanark where Mr Semple was one of the preachers to the army;¹ the dreary and disastrous march through the moors of Carstairs, and the bold but ill-fated approach to Edinburgh. At the camp in Colinton Veitch was summoned to the council of war, and sent upon a very hazardous service, being required to make his way into the capital, and bring back some account of the Covenanters there, and of the help they might be ready to render.

Riding across country by night he came in by the south, finding all the approaches strongly guarded by the Government forces. He was at last apprehended on the Dalkeith road, and brought before Lord Kingsford, the officer in command, who was in the act of questioning the prisoner, when an alarm was made that the insurgents were upon them. Veitch who knew that this could not be true, said very boldly, "My Lord, give me arms, and I will venture against these whigs in the first rank." The general was so pleased with this answer that he called him an honest fellow, and presently gave orders to let him go.

Finding that nothing could be done in the way of the expected correspondence, though he earnestly attempted it, Veitch made his way out of Edinburgh the next morning. He had another narrow escape of falling into the hands of the enemy, but succeeded in reaching

¹ Kirkton, p. 288.
his friends just as they were at their last stand on the slope of Rullion Green. The Covenanting army, now reduced to some nine hundred desperate men, was drawn up on this vantage ground with considerable skill, and resisted more than one assault of the royal troops. On the one hand, appeared the brave Wallace of Auchens in his long military cloak and flapped montero hat, riding from troop to troop, encouraging the insurgents, as they rang out with heart and voice the grave defiance of a psalm; on the other, General Dalziel gathered his forces for a final charge. The royal army advanced indeed in full strength, flanked by their cavalry, and delivered a volley before which the horse of the Covenanters, unaccustomed to war, scattered in all directions, many with empty saddles.

The darkness now drew on, and favoured the escape of these broken men. Veitch himself was pursued by several troopers, but left them behind in boggy ground and safely reached his home at Dunyre, where he lay in hiding till the first heat of the pursuit had passed. Then travelling cautiously down Tweeddale, he took up his wife at Stobo, whither she had removed before him, and so came with her by Torwoodlee to his brother’s house at Westruther. James Hume of Flass in that parish, John Veitch’s brother-in-law, set off at once for Edinburgh, whence he presently returned with the printed list of proscribed fugitives. William Veitch found his own name in it, and immediately left for the south, passing by Gordon and Kelso to Newcastle, under his mother’s name of Johnston. In Newcastle he spent the winter in the company of several other fugitives whose cause and circumstances, like his own, made them the objects of kindly interest to many persons of distinction in that neighbourhood.
THE COVENANTERS OF THE MERSE. 77

After some years of a wandering life Veitch had a call from the inhabitants of Reedsdale. He accordingly fixed his abode in the village of Falalies in the parish of Rothbury, and brought his family thither: the children travelling out of Scotland in creels slung on the back of a pack horse. Lord Widdrington, who had already dwelt so hardly with Mr Ogle, presently began to give Veitch some trouble, which made him remove a few miles away to a place called Harnam Hall. Here the English indulgence of 1671 afforded him greater liberty of preaching, and he soon found his services attended by a large congregation which assembled from all quarters, some travelling a distance of twenty miles to hear him.

The exercise of the Presbyterian worship at Ford, at Haselridge, and at Harnam Hall was not without its effect on that part of the country with which we are more particularly concerned. From the first, we may believe, there were hearers who found their way, as occasion served, and the markets in England gave them an excuse for it; from the Merse and Teviotdale to one or other of these places where the deprived ministers used their office, and before many years had passed the attraction to that country became greater, and the Covenanters of our district had new reason to respond to it. Such a blessing, indeed, rested on the non-conformist ministry in Northumberland, that a great revival of religion broke out there, just as we have seen it do in the north of Scotland while Pringle was at Elgin, so that from Cheviot to Carter Fell, and even as far as the wilds of Kielderhead, Wheelcauseway, and Deadwater in Cumberland the country showed a flame of newly awakened interest. The news of this spiritual movement reached even Livingston in distant
Amsterdam, and he wrote a remarkable letter to his parishioners of Ancrum, advising all who could do so to cross the Border and seek a blessing for their souls in seeing for themselves this mighty work of God in their neighbourhood. We know how wide an influence the exile had in many parts of Berwickshire, as well as through the whole of Teviotdale, so that it is impossible to doubt that his advice was largely followed, and that many of our Covenanters derived much encouragement from the close correspondence they now kept with their brethren over the Border, and with those deprived ministers whose labours in that country were so largely blessed.

Indeed the state of the Presbyterian cause in the Merse at the close of this the first period of its existence under the ban of nonconformity was far from an unfavourable one. The number of ministers indulged there, or at least connived at in the more or less regular exercise of their office in various parts of that shire, was very large, and may be said to have been increased in the year 1669, when Mr James Fletcher was allowed to resume the ministry in Nenthorn of which he had been deprived in 1663. There were as yet no meetings in the fields, such as had called the attention of the Government to the west country, and furnished an excuse for their oppressive interference there. Many of the lairds,—among whom we may mention the houses of St Leonards in Lauderdale; of Bassendean and Flass; of Shielsfield and Park; of Morriston, Greenknow, and Stitchell; of Kennetsideheads, Redbraes, and Haliburton; of Thornyndikes and Blackburn; of Blackcastle, Edington, and Edrington; of Tofts and Mellerstain; of Longformacus and Langton,—were more or less attached to the Presbyterian interest.
The chief heritable authority in the shire was in the hands of the Earls of Hume, who though they followed the party of the Government and the Established Church, were yet so closely connected with all these families of the lesser gentry whom we have just mentioned, that their influence was necessarily one of protection rather than of oppression. Matters were not as yet strained to the pitch they presently reached, and the ties of blood, neighbourhood and natural interest, still counted for something, and served to protect for a time those who chose to persist in a quiet and resolute nonconformity.

Nor were the Covenanters at all unreasonable in their demands. The principles of religious liberty and equality, as we now understand them, were absolutely unknown in these times. There can be little doubt that if the Government had contented itself with declaring Episcopacy the religion of the State, and had continued to connive at a reasonable indulgence of Presbyterian worship by the local authorities, the nonconformists of our shire at any rate would have given them little trouble. The train of circumstances which broke up this truce, and brought in times of open persecution, bloodshed, and death, is not indeed altogether to be regretted, issuing as it did in a far wider liberty, and a far better solution of the religious difficulties of the country than could have been reached in almost any other way, yet we can understand how, in the days of strife and confusion so soon to follow, our forefathers would look back with regret to the times of which we are now speaking, possessing as they did a quiet interest that was all their own.

Religion in our borders then profited by the impulse which comes from a great sacrifice resolutely carried
out. The poorest peasant who attached himself to the cause so well represented by the deprived ministers and the resolute Covenanting lairds, felt a new interest in the faith for which this supreme testimony had been rendered, and found that interest deepened by the very disadvantages attending the new position he had thus taken up. If his parish church was closed to him so that, at the risk of a fine, he resorted elsewhere, or if, enjoying in his own neighbourhood the services of a Presbyterian minister, he saw from Sabbath to Sabbath the faces of strangers gathered from distant parts of the county, in either case he was kept continually in mind of his principles and made to feel them to be of immediate interest, both to his countrymen and to himself.

If this was the case with the congregations of the Presbyterian way, we may believe that these matters were of even more earnest concern to their preachers, most of whom had made great personal sacrifices in that cause. Thus it was that in these days the pastors and people of the Covenant met for the service of God under feelings of awe, interest, and expectation such as had not probably been known before in the memory of any of them. It was a remarkable time indeed, and the very absence of particular details which marks these years of the Covenant in our shire, gives us to understand the quiet nature of the good work that was then going on, and the reality of the preparation thus afforded for the more eminent and notable trials so soon to follow.
NOTES TO BOOK I.
NOTE A.

NAMES OF SIGNATORIES TO THE DUNCASTLE COPY OF THE COVENANT.

Peers.
Rothes; Montrose; Cassillis; Wemyss; Home; Lindsay; Lothian; Melville; Johnstoun; Forrester; Boyd; Sinclair; Balmerinoch; Coupair; Elcho; Southerland; Sinclair.

Barons.
Arakine; Erakine, por. of Scottsraig; D. Hume of Waddingburne; William Hume; Ayton; A. Campbell, sir of Lawers; B. Lammingtoun; Bishoptoun; Pulhous (1); Sir G. Keir; Stirling of Garden ——; W. Riddell; —— S. Rowallan, younger; S. David Auchinbreck; J. Garthland; W. Riccartoun; Killmahow ——; J. Murray; Leg; Craigdarroch; J. Drumquohasheig (1); S. Wm. Moncrieff; J. Cockburne; Clarkentynye; David Hay; S. J. Grinok; A. Campbell for Dumbarton; Wm. Graham of Hilterton; P. Murray; J. Rollo, sir of Duncrub; Murray of ——; Thos. Inglis of Strathtyrum; Thomas Buchanan, Sheriff-deput of Orkney.

Clergy.
Mr Harrie Rollock; Mr Samuel Cunningham, mr. at Portincraig; Mr Robert Murray, minister of Methven; Mr Robert Scringseour, minister, Kingborne; Mr Robert Douglass, minister of Kira-brie; Alex. Henderson, Lucharis; Mr G. Leslie, minister of Bonar; Mr Wm. Arthur, at Westkirk; Mr James Porcteous; —— Lawrence Skinner.

Commons.
Wm. Paterson; Thomas —— part; David Hay; John Gray; John Buchanane; Semone Smith; Andrew Paterson; —— Patersons; Wm. Gourlay; Walter Ramsay; John Donkane; George Sharp. Andrew Bowie; Archibald Walker; John ——; John Ramsay; James Ramsay; Wm. Ferme; David Miller; Alex. Miller; James Henderson; —— ——; James Adieson; David Baird. David Hay; John Colvine; Simeon Tailyor; ——; Alex. Miller; John Scott; Thos. Scott; Thos. Haye; James Haye; —— ——; Wm. Simson; James Ferme; John Walker; —— James Berrie; Henrie Ramsay; Wm. Robertson; David Farley; John Thomas; Thomas Stenxo; Thomas Norrie; Alexander —— per; Wm. Roger; Wm. Duncan. De mandat. dict. personarú scribere requisitum et —— ego m. Gulleimus Thrist notatur publicus sub'.

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NOTE B.

LIVINGSTON'S MSS.

In his autobiography, Livingston says that while in Holland he "took much time in going through the English Bibles, and wrote a few diverse readings, and some explicatorie notes, and some reconciliations of contrary-like places to have been inserted either among the marginall readings, or printed in two or three sheets in the end of the Bible." He adds that "the death of worthy John Graham, Provost of Glasgow, who was ready to have born most of the charges of printing," stopped this enterprise.

In a collection of unpublished letters of the last century I have found some reference to the fate of this part of Mr Livingston's labours. It would seem then that these notes, written upon the margins of "a great folio Bible, uncut" had passed into the hands of Janet Livingston, granddaughter of the minister of Ancrum. Before 1707 Mrs Anderson, the Queen's Printer for Scotland, acquired the right to publish this work for a sum of £20 and fifty copies of it when printed, but hardly had this bargain been struck when Daniel Defoe, whose history was then in that press, got sight of Livingston's Bible at the printing house and undertook the publication of it himself upon the same terms—probably designing to carry it to a London printer. Mrs Anderson readily yielded to his wishes as the history upon which she was then engaged was as much as she could manage for the time.

Mrs Goodall, who furnishes this information in a letter dated 1750, was at that time a widow eighty years of age, who kept a school in Leith. She adds that her brother had taken a copy of Livingston's notes, but complains bitterly that even this transcript of a work so valuable and interesting was now lost to herself and to the world. She had lent it before 1728 to Mr David Randall, a Merchant, who was then starting for Holland, and who promised to get it printed there. This was never done, nor was the manuscript recovered from Mr Randall, so far as appears from the correspondence. The strict monopoly held by the Royal Printers in the matter of Bibles seems to have been the obstacle which hindered once and again the publication of this work. Possibly it may yet exist in Ms.
NOTE C.

NONCONFORMIST ROLL 1663.

Presbyteries of Duns, Chirnside, and Earlston.

Presbytery of Duns, consisting of ten parishes.
Eccles—Andrew Rutherford, A.M., deposed by Synod as a protestor, 1660.
Greenlaw—Robert Hume, ord. 1645, continued till his death in 1673.
Langton—John Burne, A.M., tolerated here till his death in 1673.
Longformacus was united to Mordington until 1666.

Presbytery of Chirnside, consisting of thirteen parishes.
Coldingham—David Hume, A.M., deprived by the Glasgow Act of 1662.
Mordington—Thomas Ramsay, A.M., tolerated here till 1682: the charge being very small and the stipend poor.
Swinton—Edward Jamieson, A.M., deposed by the Synod as a Protestor, 1661.
Simprim—No minister seems to have been placed here from 1654 to 1668: it was probably served from Swinton.
Whitsome—Andrew Paterson, A.M., died 1667. His conformity seems to be a matter of some doubt.

Presbytery of Earlston, consisting of nine parishes.
Legerwood—William Calderwood, A.M. do. do.
Merton—James Kirkton, A.M., do. do.
Smalholm—Thomas Donaldson, A.M., ordained 1640, confined to his parish till 1673, when he died.
Stow—John Cleland, A.M., ordained 1640, continued here till his death in 1665.
Westruther—John Veitch, A.M., deprived by the Glasgow Act of 1662.

In all there were thirty-two parishes, of which some seventeen were occupied by Nonconformists.
BOOK II.
CHAPTER I.

ABOUT ten years after the Restoration a great change affected the aspect of affairs in the east of Scotland. Persecution now became much more active, and the Covenanters on their part began to take a new attitude, and to show a resistance to the Government such as they had never before attempted.

The first appearance of this new state of things was seen in the passing of an Act against field conventicles in the Parliament of 1670. The ministers officiating at such meetings, and all who took a considerable part in contriving them, were now to be punished by death and the confiscation of their goods. The Privy Council did not hesitate to follow up this legislation by granting a large indemnity to the troops to be engaged in the work of carrying it out. The draft of this Act, assigned to the month of June 1670, has been preserved in the series of the Council Warrants.¹ It shows very plainly the strained temper of the times, being blotted and interlined in several places so as to make it more comprehensive in its severity. His Majesty's forces were thereby required to apprehend all persons whom they might find at any field-converticle, whether in arms or not. They were further empowered to use armed force for this purpose on encountering the least resistance, no matter if it were only used in self-defence. Finally,

¹ P. W., 30th June (I) 1670.
they were assured that if in the execution of their duty they inflicted wounds or caused death, such fatal violence should never be allowed to become the ground of any process against them, either in the civil or the criminal courts.

It is probable that no long time elapsed before these harsh measures were felt to be unwise. In 1672 the second indulgence was granted, as it were by way of repairing the mistake that had been committed. A large number of Presbyterian ministers were now directed to repair to the west, and there granted liberty to exercise their office within the limits of certain parishes. One of these was Mr Kirkton of Merton, who had the parish of Carstairs assigned to him. The indulgence, however, involved so many conditions of submission to the orders of the Government that Kirkton found himself unable to take advantage of it: a refusal in which he was supported by many others. A year afterwards he was denounced rebel for this disobedience. At last, in the month of March 1674, an indemnity was granted for all past offences in the way of holding or attending conventicles, and now appeared a remarkable change in the attitude of our Covenanters. The field-conventicles, which had almost ceased in the west of Scotland since the indulgence, became common in the eastern borders, where they had been altogether unknown before.

The causes of this change deserve some consideration. One of these, strange to say, may be found in the very Act of 1670 which was designed to suppress field-meetings. The Parliament had defined *field-meetings* so as to include any which, though held in a house, should be so numerously attended that a single person stood to hear outside the door. When we remember that just such
meetings, held at Dryburgh by Henry Erskine, at Bassendean by John Veitch, and in several parts of the country beside, were the common resort of our Presbyterians, we can understand what an important meaning this Act held for them.

Several other circumstances combined about this time to render the situation still more urgent. Mr Donaldson of Smailholm died in 1673, and that parish, which had hitherto been a refuge of the Presbyterians, was presently occupied by Mr Gideon Brown of Legerwood who made himself notorious as a persecutor of the Covenanters. Mr Burne of Langton had already been forced to leave his charge there on the pretext of his having employed deprived ministers, such as Veitch of Westruther and Douglas of Hilton, to assist him at communion seasons. These changes must of themselves have thrown our Covenanters in greater numbers upon the care of the Presbyterian ministers who still kept up service in the shire, and there was yet another reason which tended in the same direction. The visits paid by our countrymen to the borders of England on the advice of Livingston were not long of producing their effect, so that the flame of religious enthusiasm newly kindled there soon spread to Berwickshire. If there were any who by this time had grown cold in their attachment to the good cause, that interest was now revived, and they naturally drew in larger numbers than ever to the places where their religious wants were still supplied.

It was in such circumstances then that the operation of the new laws against field-conventicles was felt to be intolerably oppressive. There was probably not one of all the indulged meetings now held in Berwickshire which did not amply fulfil the new definition of a
field-convicticle, by reason of the multitudes now attending these services, crowding the houses where they were held, and even standing outside, that through an open door or window they might hear the voice of their favourite preacher. Rendered desperate, as it would seem, by the penalty of death now hanging over their heads, the Presbyterian clergy and others of that party who were concerned in the conviction of these gatherings began very naturally to think of taking what was a bold step indeed, and one which they had hitherto judged unnecessary. In past years they had depended much upon the religious services held almost in a private way in remote country houses, farm buildings, or the ministers' own residences, putting themselves to no little inconvenience in the hope that the Government would respect their conscientious scruples, would understand the restraint to which they thus voluntarily subjected themselves, and would tolerate them, so long as they did not make any open appearance of opposition such as their brethren in the West had done. They now found that all these precautions and concessions were to avail them nothing, and seeing the dark cloud of persecution hanging with its deadly threat over their heads they began to entertain the idea of meeting this new danger in the fields. There the concourse of large numbers, such as now assembled more frequently than ever to hear the Presbyterian ministers, might be more easily managed, and while the penalty incurred was no greater than in the old way, the preachers and people would be much more easily secured from interruption and apprehension. Watches might be set on the neighbouring hills, the situation of such conventicles would naturally be chosen so as to favour escape, and thus the danger implied in maintaining that form of worship to which
so many were still heartily attached would be avoided as far as possible.

Once this idea took possession of our Covenanters, they held to it with all the tenacity of true borderers. The indulgence of 1672, and the indemnity of two years later, did nothing to realise the hopes of those who promoted them. In fact they are said to have proved an actual encouragement to the Presbyterians of the east in the bold course they now contemplated.\footnote{Kirkton, p. 342.} The Royal troops were serving the King abroad in the Dutch war, so that the Government could hardly, it was thought, enforce the harsh legislation of late years, even were they inclined to do so. The opportunity was too favourable to be missed, and at this time and in this way our Covenanters took to the fields. The first of a long series of hill conventicles in Berwickshire was probably that held in the months of April, May or June 1674, on Pilmuir brae in Lauderdale. The site seems to have been chosen from the circumstance that these lands belonged to the powerful family of the Kers of Morristoun,\footnote{See the "Retornatorum Abbreviatio."} who favoured the Presbyterian interest, and even suffered for it, as we shall afterwards have occasion to note. One of those present at this conventicle was Mr Charles Oliphant of Langtonlaw, a clerk to the Court of Session. He was summoned to give account of this misdemeanour before the Council, but was dismissed with a reprimand on making it appear that he was of an entire loyalty, and had never been at such a meeting before, having attended this conventicle out of mere curiosity.

The example set at Pilmuir brae, if indeed that meeting was the first in our district, was widely
imitated; the Merse and Teviotdale now breaking loose as Kirkton says, with conventicles. Our Presbyterians seem to have been encouraged in their boldness by the report then widely spread, that the Duke of Lauderdale had secretly given his countenance to the attempt. It is certain, however, that there can have been nothing but a stroke of policy intended by that nobleman in any such advice, for as soon as he returned to Court matters began to wear a very different aspect.

On the 19th of May the King wrote a letter to the Council, in which he reflected severely on these new disorders, and required his ministers to take effectual measures against them. This new threat of persecution engaged the Presbyterian party to try what they could do to avert it. Petitions were now highly dangerous, but a number of women of good position resolved to attempt one, relying on the respect which had hitherto been shewn to their sex. They assembled in the Parliament Close of Edinburgh, and gathered about the coach which contained the Chancellor and the Archbishop of St Andrews, presenting their paper to the former, and saluting the Archbishop with a mingled raillery and invective from which he shrank and sought refuge in the Council house. Sharp's nerve had probably been severely shaken by the late attempt on his life, in which Mitchell wounded the Bishop of Orkney by mistake. He was the great enemy of the Presbyterians, and had appeared so openly in many acts conceived to their prejudice that they attributed any new severity to his malign influence. While the Archbishop went indoors, the Chancellor remained talking pleasantly enough with Mrs Livingston of Ancrum, who had presented the petition to him with no little grace and address, and with the other ladies
who accompanied her, speaking in a jesting way of the terror they had put the Archbishop under. Meanwhile that prelate was in conversation with the other members of Council in their meeting place, and the result of their deliberations was that the signature of the petition was determined to be a high misdemeanour. Three of the petitioners were accordingly laid in prison, and some others were banished the town of Edinburgh and its liberties for their bold interference in affairs of State. One of these was the elder "Lady Mersington," the widow of a landed proprietor in the parish of Eccles.

From the way in which this petition was received, the Presbyterians could not but understand that serious mischief was intended them. In a little the Council matured their measures and resolved upon a new way which led to nothing less than the seizing on private houses and castles of gentlemen, wherever these were found in central and commanding positions in the various shires, and garrisoning them with parties of soldiers who should have the neighbouring district assigned to each of them, and keep at the same time a close correspondence with one another throughout the country generally. In this way it was hoped that the laws against conventicles might be effectually carried out, and these illegal meetings entirely prevented.

This Act was passed on the 13th of July 1675, and mentions the house of Blanerne as that which was designed for a garrison in Berwickshire, appointing a company of foot and twelve horsemen to be sent there, and ordering the sheriff to convene the commissioners of supply that all necessaries for men and horse might forthwith be provided.
We have already taken note of the great number of heritors in Berwickshire who were interested in various degrees in the Presbyterian cause. These gentlemen naturally regarded this new expedient of the Government with no very friendly feelings. It was thought illegal to settle such garrisons on the country in time of peace. The Archbishop's hand was plainly seen in what was proposed, and high resentment was felt by those who found that their property was to undergo a new tax for the suppression of the religious opinions to which they were conscientiously attached. The commissioners met, and by a majority resolved to resist the imposition made upon them. They drew up a petition, and chose one of their number—Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth—to lay it before the Council.\(^1\)

The case of Lady Mersington and her friends left indeed little reason to hope that this new petition would be more successful than the last. Sir Patrick Hume can hardly have failed to foresee his own fate in that business, yet he was courageous enough to accept the commission offered him, and to execute it in spite of all hazard. He proceeded to Edinburgh and finding that the Council would not receive the petition, took instruments that he had offered it, and presented a bill of suspension to Lord Colinton, which was designed to sist procedure in the case. The Council, as he probably expected, committed him to the Tolbooth for what they were pleased to call his insolent contempt of Court, and ordered that he should lie there till the King's pleasure could be known.

On the 5th of October the Royal will was signified by a letter from the Court. The King approved what had

\(^{1}\) Sir Robert Sinclair, of Longformacus, was joined with Polwarth in this duty, but it is doubtful how far he proceeded in it. Possibly it may have been thought that one was sufficient for a sacrifice.
been done in Polwarth's apprehension. He reminded the Council how highly that gentleman had already offended the crown by his factious carriage on several previous occasions, and concluded by desiring the Lords would declare him incapable of all public trust, and would commit him prisoner to Stirling castle until further orders.

The malice of Lauderdale appeared very clearly in this reply; for the reference of the letter was to certain well known circumstances of the preceding year. The Duke had then come down from court to secure supply for His Majesty, but was met in parliament by a strong opposition led by the Duke of Hamilton. In this opposition Polwarth took a considerable part and expressed himself with a freedom which the haughty Commissioner neither forgot nor forgave. The prisoner felt the effects of that resentment in his confinement to Stirling Castle, where he continued till the month of February 1676. He was then liberated but still forbidden all public service.

On the occasion when the Commissioners of Supply voted their opposition to the garrison at Blanerne and sent Polwarth and Sir Robert Sinclair of Longformacus to present their petition in Edinburgh, there was a minority who opposed that line of action. The courtly party, led by the lairds of Langton and Cockburn, now drew up a paper for the Council, signifying their dissent from what had been done by the majority, and at their own instance gave warrant for supplying what was necessary for the troops at Blanerne: an action which the government took in very good part. We must not conclude however that the family of Cockburn had become opposed to the Presbyterian interest. The protection they had given Mr Burne for
for many years in his ministry at Langton should be
enough to exempt them from such a suspicion and
to suggest the most favourable interpretation of their
conduct in this instance. The times now brought un-
common trials for persons of position and influence
who showed an open interest in the persecuted cause
of the covenants. The fines levied by Lord Hume in
1675 from Berwickshire for nonconformity were most
oppressive, and even reached the enormous total of
£26,666, 13s. 4d. Scots,1 of which no less than £3,328
were paid by the parish of Gordon alone, being pro-
vably exacted in great part from the devoted house
of Greenknow. It was not wonderful if such a strain
began to reveal the strength of some characters and
the weakness of others, and while not a few, like
the brave laird of Polwarth, used that opportunity
to declare themselves with decision on the side of
liberty, others, like the house of Cockburn, showed
a different spirit, henceforth appearing rather as the
secret friends than the open supporters of the Coven-
nant. That party indeed had now nothing to offer but
the prospect of ruinous fines, tedious imprisonments,
and the risk of a violent death at the hands of the law.

1 Rev. xiii. 18.
CHAPTER II.

THE Duke of Lauderdale seems to have felt that the number of conventicles now held everywhere in the east of Scotland, and beginning to reappear in the West also, together with the new interest which these meetings excited in the capital and throughout the country,\(^1\) was a serious blot upon his administration, and one which might end in disgracing him with the King. He accordingly contrived an act and had it passed in Council on the 26th of April 1676, which was designed to put an end to these irregularities.

By this act a penalty of £50 sterling was laid upon every heritor who should henceforth suffer a conventicle to assemble on his lands: being an extension to the whole kingdom of an act which had been passed in 1669 for the counties of Lanark, Ayr, Renfrew, and Kirkcudbright alone. It appeared to the Chancellor that he had thus assumed effective control of the situation. The gentry of Scotland, whatever their secret leanings, would now be engaged by their own interests to act as a kind of police for the detection and dissipation of illegal gatherings, and if any were so stubborn as still to stand out, the law provided ample means of ruining them at leisure.

Nearly the same view was taken of their prospects by our Covenanters themselves. Shortly after the

\(^1\) Kirkton pp. 343-353.
passing of this act a number of those who had been forward in calling and attending the field meetings of Berwickshire took advantage of the presence of William Veitch at the village of Hume to gather there and hold a conference with that noted conventicle preacher.¹ Their hearts were very heavy, for they saw no hope of being able to continue the resolute attitude and open appearance of nonconformity which for some years had done so much to provide the means of grace among them and to encourage their hopes for the future of their cause and party. When one and another had given utterance to these gloomy forebodings they turned at last to Veitch, who sat quietly all this time, and asked his opinion in the matter. To the surprise of all that heard him he declared that in his judgment the best thing to be done was the boldest, namely that they should appoint their next conventicle to meet on Lauderdale's own ground, adding that it was but fair play that the author of so oppressive an act should be the first to suffer under it.

The ready wit of this proposal was as evident as in many other passages of Veitch's life and conduct, but those who now admired it found great practical difficulty in adopting his advice and carrying it into effect. "Who," said they, remembering perhaps the tale of old Douglas and Lauder Bridge, "will bell the cat"? They pressed this duty on the proposer himself, reminding Veitch that his residence in England in a manner secured him from the danger that any other would encounter in such an enterprise, and after some hesitation he agreed to do as they wished, only binding them to use their utmost efforts to keep up the meeting so soon as it should be set on foot. "I will

¹ V. pp. 122,
venture," he said, "to set it up on Sabbath next at the Blue Cairn in Lauder Moor, and you may warn them, if you please, from Dan to Beersheba to be there."

The place thus appointed for the forlorn hope of our Presbyterians was singularly well chosen for such an enterprise. On the high moorland between the valley of the Tweed and that of the Leader stands a conspicuous eminence crowned by an ancient camp in the form of a rude circle of unhewn stones. This is the Blue Cairn, and there, on the day which Veitch's spirit and care had appointed, there gathered from east and west, from the levels of the Merse and the vales of Tweed and Teviot, and the heights of Lammermoor, a great audience, counted to reach the number of four thousand persons. Never, perhaps, had so large a field meeting as yet assembled in the Presbyterian cause, and the imposing nature of this gathering bore open testimony to the sense our country had of the imminent crisis in the fortunes of her Covenanters, and their appreciation of the singular qualities of the preacher whose mingled courage, constancy, and quickness of judgment made him while he lived a born leader of men, and should entitle him still to a high memorial amid that chivalry of the Covenant which is not the least civil and splendid that Christendom has ever seen.

Something of this feeling in the form, it would seem, of a certain admiration and even forbearance made itself felt in a quarter the most unexpected. The Duke of Lauderdale soon came down to Scotland, and shewing great displeasure at the news that a field meeting had been set up on his estate, took occasion to enquire of the gentlemen of that country who visited him in Edinburgh, which of the preachers it was that had been so bold as beard him in his stronghold. Sir Alexander Don of Newton lightly gave him the name
of Veitch as the author of that attempt, and Lauderdale replied with an astonishment and passion that were perhaps affected, "Was it so?" he said, "my own relation! I'll think upon him." It is indeed not unlikely that he felt some pride that so daring a counter-stroke to his policy had come from the hand of one who was related to himself, for hardly can we understand in any other way the remarkable fact that though some pursuit was made after the preacher, yet the meeting he had begun at the Blue Cairn continued without interruption for several years, and Veitch himself found it possible to return more than once to preside in that gathering.

Encouraged by the success of this bold attempt, the Presbyterians of Berwickshire ventured to set up several other meetings of the same kind in different parts of the county. An authentic trace of one of these seems to be given in a decree of the Privy Council, dated September 5th, 1676. From this paper it appears that James Bowmaker, portioner of Hutton; William Brown, portioner of Chirnside; Alexander Maw of Eastmains; George Home, chamberlain to the Lord Mordington; John Harper in Chirnside, and John Yeaman in Edington mains, were cited before the Court for their attendance at conventicles in the Merse, and accused of having their children baptised at these meetings, which are said to have been held by Mr John Welsh, Mr David Williamson and others. George Home and Alexander Maw had appeared to stand their trial, and were discharged upon oath, there being no proof against them. The rest of the accused were proclaimed rebels in absence.

The Government now began to use a new severity against the ministers of the Presbyterian party who

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1 See P.A., September 5th.
2 This was the well-known minister of St Cuthberts.
were thus distinguishing themselves by their exertions in support of the field meetings. A remarkable affair happened in the month of June 1676, in which Mr Kirkton of Merton was principally concerned, and it affords a plain instance of the temper of these times as regarded the ministers and all who supported them. Kirkton, as he himself tells us, was walking one day about noon in the High Street of Edinburgh when he was accosted by two gentlemen who desired to speak with him. They carried him for that purpose to the lodging of one of them, which proved to be a dark cellar, and here Carstairs, for such was the name of the contriver of this plot, remained with his prisoner, abusing Kirkton and demanding money, while the other went off to summon the rest of the band. In a little, however, some of Kirkton’s friends had notice of what was being done, and his brother-in-law, Baillie of Jerviswood and two others came to his assistance, breaking down the door, and appearing for his defence at the fatal moment when Carstairs, whom Kirkton had overpowered, was just drawing a pistol upon him to take his life.

The affair, which seems indeed to have begun as a mere vulgar plot to extort money, now took a different turn. Carstairs and Scot of Erkleton, the other conspirator, hastened to the house of Lord Treasurer Hatton, one of the Council, and swore an information before him to the effect that they had caught an outlawed minister, but the Presbyterians had flown to arms and deforested them of their prisoner. The Council, before whom the case was immediately carried, seem to have had some difficulty in determining what to

2 Sir Charles Maitland of Hatton, Lauderdale’s brother, who became the third Earl.
do, the character of the attempt appearing too plainly. The Archbishop, however, told them that Carstairs was a useful tool and must be supported, so after hot debate Kirkton's friends were found guilty of resisting lawful authority, and were fined, Jerviswood in 9000 merks, and the others in 1500 and 1000 merks respectively. It is said that to support this decision, Carstairs, whose commission had run out, was supplied by Sharp with another so antedated as to cover the apprehension he had just made. As for Kirkton, a warrant was out against him, and his friends, in addition to their fines, were ordered to lie in prison till he should be found to take their place. The whole affair excited great feeling, and furnished a clear proof that where these preachers were concerned no pains would be spared to find law which might discourage their friends, reward their enemies, and bring themselves under hardship and suffering.

Not long after this plot the spirit which appears in it found wider expression still. On the 3rd of August letters of intercommuning, importing the highest form of outlawry, were issued against fifteen of the ministers who had most distinguished themselves by their services at the field conventicles. Among these were three whose names were well-known to the Presbyterians of Berwickshire—Messrs Kirkton, Hume, and Jamieson.

This severity made it hardly possible for those who suffered it to continue in Scotland, and accordingly many of the intercommuned took refuge, as others had done before them, in the neighbouring and hospitable shelter which Northumberland afforded. There thus came to be quite a considerable number of the deprived clergy living in comparative safety, yet so near the border of our shire that they could readily
pass and return thence. These men whose work among the scattered Presbyterians of their native country was dearer to them than their own ease and safety, now began to follow the example so ably set them by William Veitch. They paid flying visits to different parts of the Merse and Teviotdale, held conventicles with what speed and secrecy they could, and returned whence they came, before the agents of the Government could hear of their meetings or secure their persons. When we remember that the penalty for these offences was that of death, we feel what courage must have prompted the landowners and householders who welcomed such gatherings, and sustained the clergy who came to conduct them.

In the month of October 1676 the Council wrote to Lord Hume\(^1\) that they understood conventicles began to abound in Berwickshire, especially at places near the English border. We see here a testimony to the work which the refugees were now engaged in, and we can understand how eagerly it was carried on, and what deep impressions were made by the preaching of the Word under circumstances so unusual and striking.\(^2\) The rarity of these meetings as compared with the more regular services of other days; the hazard under which they were held; the secret intelligence that passed mysteriously from mouth to mouth among those that could be trusted, during the week that preceded one of these conventicles; the measures that every hearer felt bound to take, with no common care, in order to reach the meeting-place by unaccustomed ways, and such as might defeat detection; the nature of the meeting-place itself; the clouds and winds that swept about the hill top; the waters that ran with their perpetual monotone, or the

\(^1\) P.A., October 12th. \(^2\) Kirkton, pp. 353, 364.
branches that waved by the banks of the streams and in the secret vales where the Covenanders gathered; the aspect of the preacher, as, hurried and eager, he rode up to the rendezvous, unbuckling his cloak as he came, drawing from his saddle bags the well-worn Bible, and hastening to give out the psalm; all these circumstances, trivial perhaps when considered separately, were not so in their combination, or in the profound influence which they exercised upon the people who submitted to them. The hearts of our Covenanders were full of strange thoughts concerning God's judgments upon persecutors, and of the scandalous lives led by the curates of the Established Church. They knew how open confessions had been made of such crimes at field meetings where a guilty conscience had sometimes constrained the erring to appear; how one had died in a moment of profane levity, cut off by a cannon ball during the Dutch war, after distinguishing himself at home as a persecutor of the Covenanders; how others of the same party had been smothered in a falling house; had fallen suddenly over a bridge; or had died for want of breath while the candles beside them burned low or went out altogether, in sympathy with their horrid end.¹ Such thoughts, we are assured by one of themselves, made the Presbyterians prize these conventicles highly, and expect much of the Divine presence and power in that way of worship. Serious impressions of the power and grace of God, hearty conversions, and much spiritual edification, were, by the general testimony of those who knew the inner history of these times and that party, the common result of attendance on conventicle preaching.

¹ Wodrow MSS., 8vo., vol. 29, No. 20, press mark Rob. III. 6, 15. Advocates' Library.
CHAPTER III.

Lord Hume, to whom the Council wrote desiring he would use his utmost diligence in suppressing the Border conventicles in his county, seems to have been very active in this kind of service,¹ and indeed received the thanks of the Government for what he had done.² These gatherings were so numerous however, that neither his Lordship's exertions, nor the help which was doubtless forthcoming from the garrison settled in Lady Lumsden's house at Blanerne, was judged sufficient to meet the needs of the case. On the 30th of November 1676 the Council communicated with the Commander-in-chief of His Majesty's horse and foot in Scotland, who was at that time the Earl of Linlithgow, desiring him to send fourscore foot to quarter at Ancrum and Jedburgh, and to join with that expedition the squad of horse then lying at Dalkeith and Musselburgh under command of the Earl of Kinghorn, whose place they desired should be taken by the troop that had been quartered at Stirling.

A letter from the Council to the Court records the ill success of this expedition.³ It would seem that on the appearance of these forces in the south country, the Presbyterian preachers had the address to appoint

¹ Wodrow MSS., folio, vol. xxxii., No. 172, "Instructions to Lord Hume," very curious.
their conventicles at places just within the English border. There the people continued to resort to them in numbers perhaps as great as ever, and the Government could do nothing, as their jurisdiction was confined to Scotland.

The most picturesque and remarkable instance of this evasion of the laws was seen in the conduct of Mr John Welsh.¹ This noted preacher now settled himself in a house on the banks of the Tweed, and the winter drawing on, and proving uncommonly severe, he contrived to preach for some weeks on the river itself, which was then frozen over so as to afford standing ground for the crowds of people who came to that conventicle, supporting them indeed in a position so exactly on the march between the two countries that at the least hint of danger they could easily escape the officers of the law. There is nothing perhaps in the history of the Covenanters which appeals so powerfully to the imagination as this remarkable scene, where, amid the stillness of intense frost, and the hushed silence of a multitude deeply moved, the voice of the intrepid preacher must have rung out like that of a trumpet of Revelation set to the lips of an angel, while the ruddy rays of an early sunset shone reflected from the sheet of clear and level ice, till it seemed as if that whole multitude stood already on the sea of glass mingled with fire as St John calls it, and already partook the promised glories of which perhaps their minister even then told them. We need not wonder if those who found their best interests served amid such surroundings and under such impressions as these, thought much of that way

¹Kirkton, p. 342.
of worship and willingly ran almost any risk in order to follow it.

Though the troops sent to the South did not succeed in doing all that was expected from their expedition, yet they seem to have been the means of making at least one apprehension which must have been very welcome to the Government. William Erskine, a younger son of John Erskine of Shielfield, and therefore nephew to the better known Henry Erskine at Dryburgh, was the prize which now fell into the hands of the Council. His life has been so little noticed in the other histories of these times that we may well interrupt for a moment the course we have been following, to consider the main facts of it, which are all indeed that is now accessible. He had graduated at Edinburgh in 1651, and seven years afterwards was settled in the parish of Girthon. While in this charge he came under the operation of the Glasgow Act of 1662, and after some time, during which he endeavoured to continue preaching to his people, he was forced to leave that part of the country altogether. He then went to Teviotdale, where like his uncle at Dryburgh, he held conventicles for many years. These meetings attracted the attention of the Government, who decreed against him for them in 1671, and in 1675 included his name in the letters of intercommunication which were then passed.

Upon his apprehension, which took place early in 1677, William Erskine was committed prisoner to the Castle of Stirling. From this confinement he addressed a petition to the Council desiring he might be allowed liberty to visit his brother, James Erskine of Shielfield, then dying, and help him in the settlement of his worldly affairs.¹ This petition was granted, and

¹ P.A., April 4, 1677.
William Erskine obtained a month's liberty, under a bond of five thousand merks for his return to confinement. As it turned out, however, his brother recovered, and even survived him. He was still in prison at Blackness, in 1684, when he begged to be allowed some relaxation. The Council contented themselves by passing an order that he should have liberty to go about the castle with a keeper. This long confinement, which seems to have lasted almost till the Revolution, broke the prisoner's health. He was restored in 1690 to his old charge at Girthon, but it is probable he never returned there; for at his death, which took place about the year 1693, he is described as "minister at Edinburgh." James Erskine of Shielfield was then served his heir, and thus succeeded to the lands of Nether Huntlywood in the parish of Gordon, and of Blainslie in Lauderdale, which had formed William Erskine's estate. We can well understand how the capture of so intrepid and successful a preacher, and the imprisonment which secured his silence for so many years and hindered him from making the figure in his party's interest that he might otherwise have done, would be very welcome to those who then studied to oppress the Presbyterians and reduce them to obedience. That party, however, was too well provided and had too strong a hold of the country to suffer considerably by the loss of any one leader, however brilliant his gifts and considerable his services had been, and it seemed as if the removal of William Erskine, instead of putting a check upon the Covenanters of the borders, only made them more determined than ever in the open opposition they now offered to the laws which proscribed their meetings, and threatened them with the loss of liberty, fortune, and life.
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The complaint which the Council made to the Duke of Lauderdale, concerning the evasion of the preachers and other Covenanters into England, received immediate attention at Court. The King and the Bishop of Durham wrote letters to the gentry of Northumberland, desiring they would take action against the Scottish fugitives in their borders, and so confident were the Council that these exiles would be forced to remove northward that they sent a letter to the Earl of Hume, in which, having thanked his lordship for the diligence he had shown in suppressing conventicles, they bade him be still on his guard, as they understood the Presbyterians were leaving England and might be apt to return to their old quarters. At the same time and in the same manner they wrote to the Bailie of the Regality of Buncle and Preston, warning him to keep watch against these meetings in that part of the country.

These alarms seem to have been justified by what actually occurred. A great conventicle assembled at Eckford in Teviotdale, and others were held at the house of Blackcastle, and in Lammermoor, where Mr John Welsh was the preacher. Several persons were fined and imprisoned a year afterwards for their accession to these gatherings.

No great diligence, however, was shown by the English gentry in carrying out the Royal and Episcopal charges they had received. By this time they had become familiar with the persons against whom they were now desired to act, and had seen the widespread good these preachers were the means of effecting in that country. Indeed it was rather of their own accord, since they thought the times promised favour-

ably for such an attempt, that our ministers now began to push more boldly into Scotland and to hold their meetings at a greater distance from the Border.

But to those gentlemen who feared and disliked the hold which the covenanting preachers had gained in Northumberland, and there were not a few whose attachment to the Roman Catholic faith obliged them to take such an attitude, or who chose to adopt it for other reasons, the King's instructions were very welcome. Such were Sir Thomas Horsley of Longhorsley, and William Ogle of Causeway Park, who took this opportunity of attempting the capture of Mr William Veitch.

Mr Veitch was now settled at a place called Stanton Hall in the parish of Longhorsley. The house was one of considerable size, having a great hall within doors where the neighbourhood used to assemble for Divine Service. Hither, on the second Sabbath of August 1677, came Horsley and Ogle, in their quality of Justices of the Peace, prepared to break up the meeting and secure the person of the minister. Horsley with his men rode boldly up to the great door, but Ogle, as if there had been an understanding between him and the other, made his way more quietly to the postern gate and broke suddenly and violently into the house with his party, hoping to be the first to surprise the prey. He even reached the very room where Veitch was, but Mrs Veitch shut the door and held it fast against him for a moment, which gave her husband time to escape. The minister slipped into a hiding place contrived in the window behind a panel of the wainscot with which the room was covered, and lay there very safely till the pursuit passed else-
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where. Every corner of the house, it is said, was ransacked, but in vain. One of the search party lost his way in the garrets, and coming where a hole in the flooring allowed him to look down into the hall, then crowded with country people standing about one dressed in black, he called out to his master that the minister was discovered. Ogle ran in hastily, but seeing in a moment how the matter lay, bade his servant come down and rated him sharply for the mistake. Thus the danger passed off for that time, but the Justices, as they left the house, warned Mrs Veitch to bid her husband confine his ministrations within his own family if he wished to remain at peace.

About this time new measures were taken against conventicle preaching. The number of these meetings we are assured was now greater than ever since the apprehension of William Erskine,¹ and the Government thought it high time to try a new course of persecution. On the 2nd of August the Council passed an act requiring all heritors to take a bond for their wives, children, cottars, and servants, that none of them should attend illegal meetings, and consenting to all the penalties of former acts in case of disobedience. The indignation felt against this measure was extreme, and extended to many who were not of the presbyterian party; for the gentlemen who conformed to Episcopacy felt it unreasonable that they should be bound for the behaviour of their presbyterian tenantry. The meetings which assembled, in the West especially, to protest against this extraordinary measure, were presently made an excuse for bringing down the Highland host upon that part of the country, a barbarous oppression from which our eastern shires were fortunately free.

¹ See letter from Blackadder to Macward, Feb. 21, 1679, in the Wodrow MSS,
Early in the following year another act was passed supplementary to the Bond, namely that for the securing of the Public Peace, in which the King was made to take the extraordinary step of giving his oath that he dreaded harm from such as refused to take the Bond, and accordingly required that they should become bound to keep the peace with him under penalty of outlawry. Never had the Majesty of the kingdom sunk so low, and never had so plain a suggestion been offered that the unfortunate differences between the King and his subjects were such as might provoke an appeal to arms.

The whole procedure of the Government at this time pointed in the same fatal direction, and even seemed as if the authorities desired to provoke an armed resistance on the part of the Covenanters. On the 17th of January 1678 orders came to Lord Kingston's troop, then lying at Haddington, to be ready to march for the suppression of conventicles. In June the Council wrote to Lieut.-Col. Conisby, who had come to Berwick with eight companies of Sir Lionel Walden's Regiment, telling him he might shortly be required to serve in Scotland, and in the following month the Convention of Estates voted a Cess of £1,800,000 to the King for the maintenance of a new regiment of foot, three troops of horse, and some dragoons.

If the country had resented the imposition of the Bond, that of the Cess now kindled the general indignation to a flame. Ministers of the presbyterian party received requests from their people to preach against the new imposition, and it was almost universally condemned as illegal or described as impolitic, save by

1 P.A.  
2 P.A., June 20th.
those who really desired to see the religious dissensions of the country settled by force of arms.

The early months of 1678 shewed that the Covenanters of the Borders were not unprepared to welcome such an appeal to arms, and two conventicles in our shire attracted some attention from the uncommon boldness with which they were managed. It seems that the Presbyterians living in the extreme east of Berwickshire found it highly inconvenient to attend the services still kept up regularly at the Blue Cairn. They desired that a more central place might be adopted as the site of that meeting, and in compliance with their request a conventicle was summoned to assemble at Fogo moor, and William Veitch, who seems to have acted as leader in every new enterprise where uncommon skill and courage were required, came from Stanton Hall to act as the preacher on this occasion.

The Council, however, had intelligence of what was designed, and seem to have sent orders to Lord Kingston to lead his men from Haddington through Lammermoor and fall upon the conventicle. Veitch tells us that he took his text that day from the 102nd Psalm, and that many found the doctrine of the Word very refreshing to their souls. There was indeed something singularly appropriate in the choice of such passage of Scripture on that occasion, as any one will see who refers to the Psalm itself. God verily "looked down from His Sanctuary" to behold His people sitting "like pelicans of the wilderness and owls of the desert." He took account of their enemies that were "mad against them and sworn against them," and even as the strains of that prophetic song were sounding over the wastes of Fogo "He heard the
groaning of the prisoners and loosed those that were appointed to die."

The troops must have found the hill roads long and weary, and we can fancy how, as they trod them in haste, the plovers and curlews of Lammermoor seemed to mock with their shrill cries the progress of men "whose feet were swift to shed blood." When the force had passed Danskine and Longformacus and at length descended from the hills it was already evening. The solemn Benediction had been pronounced at Fogo, and the crowd of Presbyterians they had hoped to disperse was now dissolved.

The pursuit passed westward. Veitch was known to have friends at Bassendean, Falside, and Greenknow, and search was made there as well as at Hume, where he also accustomed to resort. At last the soldiers came to Stitchel, and even made some enquiry about Cunningcarle, the dower house of that estate, but hearing that the only inhabitant there was old Lady Stitchel, and that she was infirm and sickly, they paid no further attention to the house. In that very place, however, the man for whom they sought lay safely concealed, having been brought there by James Hume of Flass. Lord Kingston had thrown away his time and pains in that enterprise, and one more instance of God's protecting care was thus given to revive the courage and confidence of His people.

The other conventicle which we must now notice presents us with no such details of thrilling danger and hairbreadth escape, but is perhaps as remarkable in other ways. It met in the spring of this year\(^1\) on the lands of East Nisbet, then in the possession

\(^1\)There is some doubt about the exact date, but Wodrow places it at this time.
of the Kers, a family deeply engaged in the Covenanting interest. The place chosen for the conventicle was one of great beauty, being a level haugh by the banks of the Whittader well shaded by trees and surrounded by gentle slopes very fit for the accommodation of many thousands of people. Nor was any due precaution for the comfort and safety of the great assembly neglected by those who convened it at that place. Nothing less than the celebration of Holy Communion was designed on this occasion, and three consecutive days were appointed for the celebration of the Sacrament, together with the usual diets of preparation and thanksgiving, beginning on the Saturday and continuing till the Monday. During this time the worshippers lodged by night in the neighbouring places, such as Duns, Chirnside, and Edrom. In the morning of each day they might be seen taking their way to the place of meeting in the greatest order and by several companies, each having the support and protection of an armed guard, of which there were some seven or eight score horsemen altogether, well mounted and furnished for defence, so that when the different companies met, which they did about a mile from the place of their conventicle, they presented an imposing appearance indeed as they marched thither in full strength with proper vanguard and rearguard, throwing out pickets as they advanced and disposing their guards as sentinels about the place of meeting to secure the quiet and orderly performance of the holy action they intended. Indeed they managed matters so well that there was not the least disturbance attempted all the three days they were together: the Sacrament being dispensed with the greatest comfort and we may believe with even
more solemn and devout thanksgiving than ordinary occasions of Communion afford.

The preachers were Messrs Welsh, Riddell, Blackadder, Dickson, and Rae. Tokens were distributed us usual at the Saturday service. On Sabbath the Tables were set out on the grass, two of them opposite each other and a shorter one across the upper end. In this way there was room for two hundred to sit down at once, and as the Tables were served sixteen times during the day it was reckoned that three thousand persons must have partaken of the Sacrament at that time. The Action Sermon was preached by Mr Welsh, who also served the first two tables. The other ministers then came forward in their turn to that duty until all the people had communicated, when Mr Welsh closed the service with a parting exhortation, and dismissed the assembly by pronouncing the Benediction.

The memory of this great conventicle lingered long in the county and has been continued among us even down to the present day. A rising-ground near the scene of the conventicle is still known as "the Watch Knowe," from the circumstance that it was then occupied by the sentinels, and there is a tradition ¹ that some enemies of the Covenanters, who would fain have interrupted the service and had drawn near for that purpose retired again in dismay when they heard the lusty music of the psalm upborne by a thousand voices, testifying by its sustained and deep-toned volume to the number of men then assembled together. Indeed it would be difficult to find any part of our covenanting history which gives a more impressive view of the condition of the Presbyterians at this time in our

¹ Reported by Mr John Ferguson, Duns.
shire. The numbers of people sincerely attached to that party; the families of station and influence who unhesitatingly gave their support to the cause; the leaders among both gentry and clergy who were always ready to serve the growing movement with singular ability, courage, and address; all these are here represented in the most impressive life and action, and we gain in particular a remarkable view of the preparations then being taken for defence. Our Covenanters were evidently determined that the liberties of their country were not to be sacrificed without a struggle, in which they would use their best strength to maintain them. A remarkable position had now beyond all question been gained, when, in spite of the persecuting laws, such a conventicle could be held, and, not in some remote refuge of the sheltering hills but on the banks of a peaceful stream in the very heart of the county, such multitudes could gather for three days together, and enjoy without the least interruption a form of service which had been declared illegal and even punishable with death. Such a situation could only issue in one of two results, either the laws must be vindicated by force against those who thus ventured to defy them, or else the liberty thus taken must be maintained by the same desperate means. There can be no doubt that our Covenanters were now ready to do their best in the securing of that liberty of worship which their conscience demanded as right and necessary.
CHAPTER IV.

SOME curiosity may naturally be felt as to the behaviour of Lord Hume at this juncture. He was the Sheriff of the county, and had already shown himself willing to do much in the way of suppressing illegal meetings; how was it that he did not interfere on this occasion? Blackadder, himself one of the preachers at East Nisbet, reports what was said at the time, that this "ramp youth," as he calls the Sheriff, had indeed made it his boast that he would scatter the meeting, and feed his horse on the consecrated bread and wine. Means must have been found to frustrate this intention, and an entry in the Privy Council Record seems to indicate what these may have been.1

At the date of this decision the Council were pleased to hear a humble petition of his lordship's, and to grant him protection against his creditors till November of that year. Lord Hume told them, it seems, that the diligence he had shown in seeing the laws executed against disaffected persons had exposed him to the malice of many, who stirred up his creditors to pursue him for debt. He had probably followed the custom of the time in borrowing somewhat freely from the gentlemen of his own family throughout the county, many of whom were of the Presbyterian party. Against

1 P.A., Jan. 21st 1678.
these very persons he had executed the oppressive laws designed to crush nonconformity, and in particular, at his first entry on the title, had exacted the enormous fines levied from the shire in 1675. It was but a natural result that an appeal to the law should now be made on the other side, and we cannot but feel that this nobleman cuts but a poor and even ludicrous figure as he comes to complain of this usage and to entreat the Council for a protection which may assure him that the law will be enforced only on the one side: that he may run as deep in debt as he will, and lie safe at the Hirsel, but that if his neighbours meet to worship God according to their conscience they must suffer for it without remedy.

Hume's protection was granted him; for it was a strange time, in which matters went rather by the will and pleasure of the ruling party than according to the course of justice, but it would seem the young nobleman had learnt his lesson, and now confined himself to loud and profane threats, without having the courage to carry them out against the Covenanters. November, he probably felt, was not far off, and it might be well, he thought, to show a little less activity against the party to which so many of his creditors belonged, until he had settled their just claims against him.

It is only fair, however, to say that a much more frank and even generous recognition of his errors, and indication of his desire to keep on friendly terms with those of his house who belonged to the Presbyterian party, is afforded by a remarkable incident told of Lord Hume, which must have happened about this time.\(^1\) The retreat of the Presbyterian ministers and gentry to

\(^1\) Wodrow MSS., folio, vol. xxxii., No. 175, Advocates' Library.
Northumberland had already been the cause of much disquiet to the Government, who, as we have seen, tried to stir up that country against these refugees, without much success. Shortly after Lauderdale's return to Court, in one of the journeys he made to London in 1678, he succeeded in gaining the royal assent to a new measure designed to be more effectual than the last. The royal forces were ordered to Northumberland, and marched there to be at the disposal of Colonel Struthers, one of the Deputy Lieutenants of the shire, for the apprehension of those whom the Government called vagrant Scots. These forces consisted of several troops; some of them horse, commanded by Major Main, and some of them dragoons, under Major Oglethorp. They would act, it was thought, without that sympathy for the nonconformists which the local authorities had formerly shown, and indeed a campaign more determined than any before attempted, was now designed to crush the Presbyterians of the Borders.

At this juncture of affairs when the times were full of unknown consequence for our Covenanters, one of that party, George Hume of Graden, received an invitation to dine with his chief at the Hirsel. After dinner, Lord Hume took his guest aside, and told him that he had new instructions, warranting him to apprehend all of that way of thinking, wherever he could lay hands on them. On hearing this, Graden probably made as if he meant to call for his horse and escape at once, but the Sheriff detained him a moment longer to add that it was of no use his attempting flight to Northumberland, hitherto the refuge of so many nonconformists under fear of apprehension. Intelligence had come down, said Lord
Hume, that these borders also were to be swept clean by the troops under Struthers, and if Gradan knew that any of his friends were trusting to their residence in that country for safety he had better warn them of their danger.

This information was received in the same spirit of generous confidence in which it seems to have been imparted. Gradan, without losing a moment, got to horse and rode for Tweed, crossing that river by the nearest ford, and making his way with all the speed he could to the village of Crookham, where a number of our Presbyterian gentry were living in a fancied security. On his arrival among them with the news of danger, they at once scattered, seeking safety in immediate flight, while Gradan, wearied with want of sleep, and the anxiety and fatigue of his hurried journey, threw himself on one of their beds to snatch a few hours rest.

Meanwhile Struthers, who seems to have had exact information of this colony of nonconformists within his jurisdiction, and who certainly lost no time in directing the pursuit against them, approached Crookham with the forces under his command. The fugitives he hoped to find were indeed escaped, and not a moment too soon, but, missing them, he fell upon Hume of Gradan, and carried him prisoner before Lord Hume, who now, in spite of himself as it would seem, played the strange part of judge to the man whom he had entertained a few hours before at his table. By the Sheriff's orders Gradan was carried to the castle of Hume, and secured in a vault which would seem to have remained as part of the ruin that the artillery of Colonel Fenwick had left thirty years before. This vault was probably used as
the common place of confinement for prisoners of consequence under his lordship's jurisdiction.

When news of what had taken place reached the refugees in Northumberland they were naturally concerned to hear of the apprehension of their friend who had exerted himself so unselfishly in their interest. They met and formed the plan of an armed raid having the prisoner's release for its object. The rendezvous of this expedition was appointed at Crookham, but when the time came, only a few of the party had found their way thither, the others having missed meeting them by some mistake. This failure occasioned delay while the question was in debate what should now be done in the matter of their enterprise, and the delay gave Struthers time to hear of what was intended and to direct his forces once more to that quarter.

The first to perceive the approach of the enemy was Thomas Ker of Hayhope, brother to Ker of Cherry-trees, who stood at the door smoking a pipe of tobacco. He stayed but a moment to give the alarm, then ran to his horse and mounted for flight. Before he had gone far a horseman rode out from the English troop in hot pursuit, and, being better mounted, the Englishman—who was Squire Martin, son to the Mayor of Newcastle, and Struthers' nephew—soon overtook Ker, the latter being perhaps not unwilling to abide the encounter. "Be taken, Dog," cried Martin, to which Ker replied, "Where is your warrant?" Without answering this demand, the pursuer shot Ker in the body, receiving at the same moment the contents of his assailant's pistol in the head which killed him on the spot.

Ker now found his wound likely to prove mortal; he
resolved therefore to sell his life as dearly as possible. Putting himself at the head of his companions, who had by this time found their saddles, he spurred straight at the main body of the enemy. The shock of that onset by desperate men was severe; the loss on both sides considerable; and the event of the skirmish such as perhaps neither party had looked for. Ker soon fell off his horse from loss of blood, but not before he had done some execution with sword and pistols. Being down, and in the death agony, he was observed to wrestle to his knees and pray for his party while life lasted. Alexander Hume of Hume, another of that company, was run through the body, and Henry Hall, who had come from Haselridge to make one of the expedition, received a shot in the arm, while the rest of that determined band suffered more or less severely in the same way. The English on the other hand lost two men killed on the spot, and had several others mortally wounded, besides two of their horses.

The victory decidedly remained with the Covenanters, who now drew off from the unequal field a grim company of wounded men, yet so resolute in their retreat that the enemy dared not think of following them. The last glimpse we have of the Royal troops after this discomfiture shews us Colonel Struthers playing a part unworthy of a gallant soldier. He and others came to the body of Ker from which breath had hardly gone, ran their swords into the corpse, and treated it with every kind of shameful indignity. The Covenanters were too few to attempt a rescue immediately, but in a day or two a party was made up for that purpose who brought the body away from the posture of disgrace in which the English had left it, and gave that brave gentleman an honourable burial.
We have no account of Graden's release from prison. He probably continued in confinement for some months, indeed it seems to have been part of the policy followed by the government at this time to confine the principal leaders of the Covenanter in order that they might be unable to help in the affairs of that party. About the month of July 1678 this fate befell Hume of Polwarth for the second time. He was apprehended once more, and lay in prison for a year without any reason being alleged for this exercise of arbitrary power. About September his health began to suffer from the close confinement in Stirling castle to which he was condemned, and upon petition he was transferred to Dumbarton where his wife was allowed to attend him for a month. These indulgences would seem to indicate that what was designed in this imprisonment was not the punishment of any offence, nothing of this kind indeed being alleged against him, but rather the removal from public activity of a man who might prove dangerous as a leader of the disaffected. As soon as the government thought themselves safe from such attempts they set Polwarth free from his confinement.

This extraordinary abuse of power was much noticed and complained of. Those who practised it, however, were not men to be trifled with, and seem to have resolved to govern the country at this time by a species of Muscovy terror, in which none should dare to open his mouth against their most unjustifiable proceedings. On the 19th of December, James Daes of Cowdenknowes was brought before the Council on a charge of disaffection inferred from his having spoken against the new Militia and the Polwarth's imprisonment. He was fined, but delaying payment, was ordered to make it or else go to prison.
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The Militia became indeed a great cause of oppression to the country in these days. Two hundred of these forces, besides a number of horse, were apportioned to our shire about the end of the year 1678. Their quartering was a kind of fine upon the landholders, and their presence a terror to presbyterians of all classes. They were designed to do in Berwickshire the same work that Struthers and his soldiers were busy with in Northumberland, so that by the action of both these forces together our Covenanters might be put as it were between two fires. Thus the year closed with ill omens for the peace of Scotland; force more and more taking the place of right and justice in the policy of the government, and being met on the part of the nonconformists by a still more resolute attitude of resistance.
CHAPTER V.

WILLIAM STRUTHERS, whom we have already noticed as an active commander of the forces sent to apprehend Covenanters in Northumberland, now resolved upon making a capture which he no doubt thought would be both important and grateful to those who employed him in this business. On the 21st of November 1678 he and another Justice of that neighbourhood addressed a letter to Major Main, then at Wooler, acquainting him of the residence of William Veitch at Stanton Hall, whom he designed by his assumed name of Johnson, and desiring that force might be used to apprehend him and keep him in custody till the next assizes.

This warrant was sent on by Main to Major Oglethorp at Morpeth, as the latter officer had his quarters only some three or four miles from Stanton Hall. The weather was very tempestuous, and deep snow covered the ground, through which the party charged to make this apprehension struggled with difficulty towards their destination. Oglethorp himself was in command, and with him went Griffith his lieutenant, and Ensign Owen together with a number of dismounted dragoons. It was the early morning of Sabbath the 19th of January 1679 when the party reached Stanton Hall. Their guide, a Sheriff's Bailiff of that country, completed his work by an ingenious stratagem. He crept up to
the window of the room where Veitch slept, and tapped lightly on the pane. The minister, newly awakened, and dreading no harm from so gentle a summons, called out to know who was there. "Now," said the Bailiff to the Major, as if half ashamed of the part he played, "I have done my duty, for there he is."

Oglethorp, fearing perhaps such an escape as he may have heard Veitch had made before in the same house, sprang at once to the window, breaking through the glass and endeavouring to force an entrance into the room, in which attempt, however, he was hindered by the iron bars within the casement. He then called upon the household to open the door at once, but without waiting for this to be done he broke a window in the hall and with lighted candles came to Veitch's room and took him prisoner. He carried him that morning to Morpeth and lodged him in the town jail, where he lay for twelve days under a warrant which lawyers considered illegal; and in spite of all the attempts that were made to relieve him by bail. So important was this apprehension considered that an express set off immediately to London with the news. The King replied by sending an order that the prisoner should be handed over to the Scottish courts, the Sheriff of the Merse, Lord Hume, being charged to receive him into that jurisdiction.

Veitch was now brought down to the under hall of the prison by a guard of musketeers, and there this warrant for his delivery was read with a good deal of ceremony, apparently designed to be insulting, and keenly felt as such by the prisoner. His wife came to see him that night, and they parted, we may believe, with deep emotion, as it was well-known that nothing less than death was intended him. The next morning
the kettle-drums sounded the march at eight o'clock, and by easy stages, for the roads were filled with snow and the storm still increasing, they came from Morpeth to Alnwick and thence to Belford and Berwick. While they were dining at Alnwick, a curious instance of Veitch's ready wit occurred. Being pressed at table to drink a toast, he refused, whereupon Main, calling Struthers' attention, said: "You see, Colonel, what a rebel this man is, that will not even drink the King's health," to which Veitch replied very coolly, "Sir, if you understood the law you would find yourself the rebel and not me. It seems you know not that the King, by proclamation, has discharged healths drinking, and his own in particular, which you will find in the booksellers' shops at Newcastle." After this no one asked him to drink a health again, or ventured to cross swords with his ready wit; indeed he was more than a match for his company in every way, his birth and breeding as good as those of the officers, and his parts and piety infinitely above theirs, so that, ere their enforced company these three days of storm was done, they could not help regarding their prisoner with respect.

When the party reached Berwick they hoped to have got their business done at once by handing over the prisoner to the Scottish authorities. Lord Hume, however, refused to receive him till he should have warrant to that effect from His Majesty. This caused a month's delay, during which Veitch lay comfortably enough in the Crown inn; the mayor of the town saying that he had no authority to imprison him, so that the English officers were forced to put him under a close guard in his lodging. The maid servant of the inn shewed Veitch the proverbial kindness of that good town by contriving means whereby he corresponded with his
friends; laying paper, pens, and ink under his pillow as she made the bed, and carrying his letters thence when he had written them. She even spoke for him to the Duke of Hamilton who passed that way from London, and he immediately sent to hear how he could serve the prisoner's interests. Veitch civilly declined his Grace's offer, for indeed at such a time Hamilton's protection would have done him ill rather than good; the Duke of Lauderdale being very jealous of that nobleman, and now carrying all before him at Court.

At last, on the 20th of February, Lord Hume having signified his readiness, Veitch was removed to Scotland. This transaction was managed with a good deal of pomp and circumstance, the Deputy-Governor of Berwick, Major Hope, and many other officers, carrying the prisoner to the boundary of the kingdoms between two companies of soldiers. Here he was received by David Hume of Newton, the Sheriff-Depute of Berwickshire, attended by a number of other gentlemen, and by a party of Lord Airly's horse.\(^1\) After reading the king's warrant and firing volleys of respect, the whole company came to Ayton, where the English officers were entertained and stayed some hours drinking claret, after which the party in charge of Veitch took leave and brought him that night to Dunbar. The Sheriff-Depute knew Veitch well, and behaved with great civility to his prisoner, sending a messenger at his desire to acquaint his brother at Westruther to expect him in the Canongate about two o'clock next day. In

\(^1\) Hume of Newton was a secret friend of the Covenanters, and so incurred the enmity of the Government. He lay in Berwick Jail during the year 1685, having been ordered to that confinement by Lord Hume, who suspected his principles, and desired to prevent his voting in the election of a member for the county.—P.A., 28 Ap. 1685, copied in Wodrow MSS., vol. xiii., p. 204. Advocates' Library.
this way a meeting between the brothers was arranged, and they enjoyed some conversation with each other before William Veitch was laid in prison again.

Veitch drove to the Tolbooth that evening in a coach, and was received there with a great deal of respect. The jailor sent for his wife at their arrival, who drank a glass of wine to the prisoner's health with much civility, and then told him she had orders to let him want for nothing. The room designed for his confinement was indeed the best in the prison, being that known as Montrose's Chamber, and at his entry there, whither the mistress of the Tolbooth paid him the unusual compliment of showing the way, Veitch found fire burning in the chimney and candle-light beside, with a bed, a table and chairs, as well as great store of provisions of all kinds, even to a pigeon pie which stood on the shelf, and a well-furnished cellarette in the corner. All this, she told him, was done by the orders of one of the greatest ladies in the kingdom, whose name she would not reveal, so that Veitch could not then learn to whom he was indebted for such unusual kindness. Several circumstances lead us to suspect, however, that his benefactress was no other than Lady Lauderdale. He was related, as we know, to that family; it is doubtful if any other in the kingdom dared then have ventured as much in his interest, and we hear of a letter penned by Veitch from Berwick to the Duke himself, of so intimate a nature that the Governor of Berwick, to whom Veitch showed it, lifted up his hands in amazement, saying, "Will you indeed send this to my Lord? If so, your circumstances are not so bad as men think." This letter was greatly delayed in transmission, and did not reach the Duke till after he had another, which Veitch sent him from
Edinburgh, mentioning the former dispatch. Lauderdale inquired into the matter, and showed great resentment on learning that Oglethorp, to whom the first letter was entrusted, had played the prisoner false in the matter of its delivery, calling it base and unbecoming a gentleman to treat another so. All this shows how much interest Veitch had with that family, and inclines us to think that the favourable treatment he had in Edinburgh was by their orders.

On the 22nd of February he came before the Committee of Council and was closely questioned by their president, Archbishop Sharp. The shrewdness of that prelate was as eminent as his hatred to the Covenanting party, but in this instance he met more than his match. "Have you not taken the Covenant?" he asked, and the question was urged again by Paterson, the Bishop of Edinburgh. "All that see me at this honourable Board," answered Veitch, "may easily perceive that I was not capable to take the Covenant when you and the other ministers of Scotland tendered it," at which the whole Committee broke out laughing at the bishops. Paterson, to save their credit, now stood up to deal a final blow. "Was not you at Pentland fight?" he asked. Veitch answered at once, "If you will give me power and liberty to seek witnesses to prove it, I was alibi," and indeed we know that he was all that night and morning in Edinburgh at a distance from his friends. The conclusion of the matter was that nothing appeared to furnish grounds for a process, and so the prisoner was remanded back again to his confinement.

In the following month a new danger threatened Veitch, as the King sent down instructions by which he was once more accused, under a sentence of death passed
on him thirteen years before when he fled the kingdom after Pentland. Now, indeed, the business was like to have been done, and his life must have paid the forfeit but for the address of his agent, Mr Gilbert Elliot, afterwards Lord Minto. Elliot posted up to London and applied himself, not to Lauderdale, but to Shaftesbury, who, after considering the case, brought a petition to the King to have the prisoner sent back to England that he might be tried in the country of his adoption, and where indeed he had been apprehended. His Majesty made great difficulties about granting the necessary warrant, having, it was said, fully resolved on taking Veitch's life, but Shaftesbury sent Elliot to the House of Commons with copies of the petition, and the matter was taken up so warmly there that the King yielded, fearing to prejudice his own interests with Parliament. Indeed, Shaftesbury had gone so far as to tell His Majesty that if their petition was refused, he and some others would take care that the new House, then sitting, should spare neither protestant nor popish nonconformists, and thus the King, whose tenderness for the papists was well known, should have pears for his plums.

The dark cloud of death which had hung so long over Veitch's head was finally removed by a Royal letter to the Council, dated July 13th, 1679. In a few days more he was liberated, as Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth also was about the same time, and so returned to his home at Stanton Hall. He found a strange awe mingled with the joyful welcome he had from all that country. They told him, with bated breath, how his chief persecutor, and the man who had procured his apprehension, was dead, and had met his end in a way that was very awful and striking.
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This was the Rev. Thomas Bell, late Vicar of Longhorsley, the parish where Stanton Hall was situated, and a man of evil reputation through all that district. He was the son of one who had secured an interest in the estate of Spottiswoode through the troubles of that family, but who himself suffering adversity, had been at last obliged to put out his boy to herd cattle in the parish of Westruther. Here Mr John Veitch took notice of the lad, both on account of his father’s misfortunes and his own abilities. He procured him the bursary furnished by the Presbytery of the bounds, and when his course at College was done, interested Torwoodlee and others in this expectant, so that they contributed money for his support until he should find a place in the Church.

Unfortunately Bell’s character was not equal to his abilities, nor did he deserve the kindness of his friends. He now fell into a course of intemperance, and when Mr John Veitch was ready to remonstrate with him, and require at his hands an account of the money he had misspent, being required to do so by the gentlemen who had furnished these supplies at his recommendation, Bell avoided that encounter, and took refuge in England. Here he complied with the government of the Episcopal Church, and thus obtained a cure; first at Allenton and then at Longhorsley. His whole mind was now turned to bitterness against his benefactor, and he included in that resentment Mr William Veitch as well. It was he who stirred up the pursuit against Veitch in 1677, and, that failing, he and others afterwards strongly represented to Lauderdale the influence of the Scottish preachers in Northumberland, and how needful it was that country should be cleared of them.

When the forces came down and Veitch was fallen
into their hands, Bell made no secret of his exultation. He had formerly sworn in a drunken company that he would be Veitch's ruin yet, or else be content to suffer undoing himself in that attempt. His schemes now seemed successful, and he made no concealment of the relief and satisfaction he found in what had occurred. "Go, get a preaching in Edinburgh," he cried with bitter scorn to one who had forsaken his ministry for that of Veitch, and added, "he will be hanged against Tuesday." To another he protested his wonder how anyone could expect that such a rebel as this could escape the just judgment of God.

When Bell spoke these words he was on the point of starting for Newcastle. On his return he stayed at Pontisland, in a deep debauch with the parson of that place, and, rising at ten o'clock at night, in spite of all remonstrances, he set out to make his way home under great darkness and threatening storm. Two days afterwards he was found dead in a horrid posture; his body frozen upright in the ice of the river Pont, and his boots and gloves worn through with the vain struggles he had made to escape. The neighbours gathered to see that strange sight with a sensible awe upon their spirits, and, drawing him out of the river, they carried the corpse home bound with ropes on a horse's back. The threats this man had uttered, and the fate he had implored on himself in case of failure, were now remembered, and when at length the many prayers offered in that cause were answered, and William Veitch returned to his home and his work at Stanton Hall, all that country looked on him as a living miracle, and singular instance of the favour and protection bestowed by God in these times of trouble on His true servants, and on those in particular who were forward and courageous in the Covenanting cause.
CHAPTER VI.

The early months of the year 1679 were a time of great suffering in Berwickshire and the Eastern Borders generally. We have already noticed the military force which had been sent to occupy Northumberland: troops whose purpose and resolution were clearly seen in the skirmish at Crookham, and the apprehension of William Veitch. The Merse was now in the same condition, since the Militia had been quartered there. Thus our Presbyterians were set between two armed camps; the one side of the Border being as dangerous to them as the other.

In these circumstances many of the most active of that party found themselves obliged to quit all settled dwelling, and betake themselves to a wandering life. The remote recesses of the hills, the retired shelter afforded by the banks of the streams, with their frequent cliffs and caves; the woods and mosses, then much deeper and wilder than now, became henceforward the chosen haunts of our Covenanters, which they only ventured to leave when some safe occasion offered to procure supplies from their friends, or to attend a field conventicle. Like the ancient Culdees, or those still more venerable martyrs, "of whom the world was not worthy," as St Paul says, these men now dwelt "in dens and caves of the earth," finding the solitude and silence of such retreats a
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welcome refuge from the hot pursuit of their enemies. Not a little of the peculiarity which more and more came to distinguish many of that party, and reached in some those heights of enthusiasm so much relied on as an evidence of their fanaticism, may be traced to the enforced solitude, the haunting fears, and the constant self-communings in which these men passed their days. That the influence of such unnatural conditions was not yet more severely felt was surely due to the wide and high outlook which the faith of these wanderers found in their most secret retirements, and to the fact that their inward communings were not so much with themselves as with God, the Angel of whose Presence went with them, and in whom they found rest.

To the trials of this wild and wandering life were soon added sufferings of a still sharper edge. Lord Home, who had reasons of his own for showing some coolness in pursuing the Covenanters of his own country, now held a command in the newly embodied troops, and was employed in a different part of Scotland, where his embarrassments did not interfere so much with the execution of his duty. Meanwhile, the Government had found an agent perfectly free from any local prejudice, and one whom no narrow scruples of humanity restrained from carrying out their wishes to the uttermost against the Presbyterians of the Merse and Teviotdale. This man, whose sinister figure now for the first time throws its shadow across the stage of our history, deserves indeed a place beside Claverhouse and Lag, and his name, were the story of our Eastern Borders as well known as that of the West, would be a by-word in Scotland even as theirs is to-day.
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Adam Urquhart of Meldrum, for such was the style of this persecutor, was a north-country laird, who probably held a commission in the newly embodied Militia, and it may have been in this character that he first came to the South, to distinguish himself by the unflinching harshness with which he put in force the laws against nonconformity. In the month of April or May 1679, "Meldrum," as he is generally called, secured ten persons who had been concerned in a conventicle. The capture was an important one, and gained Meldrum much credit with the Council, especially as they found that two of the prisoners, Robert Neilson and Nicol Story, had formed part of John Welsh the preacher's bodyguard. These men were therefore treated with more severity than the rest, and strictly examined, when a roll was found upon Neilson containing a list of the contributions taken from conventicle hearers for the support of the cause. This was thought a great prize, as it furnished the Government with information which incriminated many leading Covenanters, and Meldrum was at once promoted to a place of very extraordinary power, being nominated Justice of the Peace for the three shires of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Selkirk.

The same day, May 27th, when these prisoners came before the Council, the record of that Court shows another name, that of Claverhouse himself, and in such a way as to lead one to suppose that for a little these two great persecutors of the East and the West had been engaged in beating over the same ground. Claverhouse, newly appointed to a command in the army, had been stationed as lately as the month of March in Dumfries, where first he tried his hand at the work of oppression with which he afterwards
became much more familiar. A few weeks afterwards, as it would appear, he came to our part of the country, surprising a conventicle at Galashiels, and delating many persons of quality to the Council for their presence at that meeting. The Council now issued a summons against the more important of these people, and directed Meldrum to take notice of the rest.

Unfortunately, there was a closer bond between the two officers than the mere fact of their simultaneous employment in the same district would imply. Both, if we may judge from their actions, partook that spirit of the soldier of fortune bound in a blind devotion to the Government of the day which admits no reply to the orders of a superior, and uses the most violent means without compunction to carry them out. Such is in fact the best and the only defence which the case admits of. Were we to adopt another solution of the problem which the savage conduct of these men raises, it must be one from which human nature shrinks, abhoring the thought of a depravity which could delight in suffering, or inflict it wantonly.

Certain it is that Meldrum, with whose spirit and conduct we are more immediately concerned, came little short of his better known comrade in the cruelties he inflicted. On one occasion, it is said, he was disappointed in an attack he hoped to make on a conventicle, but hearing that certain persons had been there, he caused them to be apprehended. So far the story is in accord with what we have already noted in the Council records, and may very possibly relate to the same occasion, in which case Claverhouse and Meldrum must have acted together at Galashiels; a combination

1 W., vol. xl. No. 20, "Sufferings in Merse and Teviotdale."
of forces which seems on other accounts more than likely. However this may have been, the history goes on to say that one of the prisoners proving obstinate, and refusing to give information, Meldrum ordered him to be tortured with the match.

It is almost impossible to conceive the agony which such a punishment implied. The matches used for the torture were those long cords of cotton fuse with which the firelocks of the soldiery, hardly as yet rendered obsolete by the more modern device of the flint lock, were discharged. The prisoner’s hand was bound firmly to a plank of wood, with one of these matches between each pair of fingers. The ends of the matches were then lighted, and allowed to smoulder away, while a soldier blew them in case they should burn too slowly. As the matches consumed they destroyed successively the most sensitive parts of the fingers, beginning with the nails and not ceasing until, in the case of a heroic sufferer such as this seems to have been, the very bones were charred by the intense and confined heat thrown out by that villainous salt-petre. Meldrum’s prisoner and the victim of this savage torture nobly endured the utmost severity of that trial, but it cost him his hand, and he had nearly lost his life as well from the fever into which his long continued agony threw him. If, as seems likely, Meldrum in this case exceeded his orders, what are we to think of his character? If, on the other hand, he had a warrant to cover what he did, what shall we

1 The records of Justiciary show that Alexander Urquhart, Meldrum’s brother, was outlawed in absence on 1st December 1679. He stood charged with having murdered Alexander Windram, lieutenant in Lord James Douglas’s regiment, at Jedburgh on the 6th of January 1678. It would seem that the family temper was one which led to savage and lawless deeds.
think of his masters in the Council, or how find words black enough to denounce the cruelty of those secret orders which in that case must have stood as a supplement to the open statute book of persecution?

The sharpness of these sufferings now put a new edge on the spirits of those who endured them. They felt that intolerable oppression which is said to make wise men mad, and soon resolved to strike a blow for their ancient liberties and their proscribed faith. The times were peculiarly favourable for such an enterprise. On the 3rd of May, Archbishop Sharp had fallen under the hand of his assassins on Magus Muir. This deed of blood was certain to be imputed to the whole Presbyterian party, and to be made the pretext for such a persecution of nonconformity as Scotland had not yet seen. Now or never was the moment to appear in arms. So thought the Covenanters of the West who now gathered, and issued on the 29th of May the Rutherglen Declaration. Claverhouse hastened from his employment at Gala water to Glasgow that he might quell these growing insolencies. He met the armed conventicle at the famous field of Drumclog, and fled before his resolute opponents, declining their invitation to "stay and hear the afternoon's sermon." At this moment, the hope of their cause being carried by the late success to a great height and the royal forces drawn to the west, the Covenanters of our Borders resolved to appear openly in their own defence and to march for the help of their fellow Presbyterians on the other side of Scotland.

The rendezvous was appointed to be at Liliesleaf moor on Friday the 6th of June.¹ This place was already a favourite resort for conventicles; an armed

¹ J. R., 18th Jan. 1681, and following diets. Depositions of Wm. Turnbull of Sharplaw, and others.
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gathering had resisted the royal troops successfully there in the summer of 1677. Strategic reasons also may probably have influenced those who made the selection. This high moor lying to the south of the Eildon hills is a commanding position from a military point of view, and had special advantages for the purpose of our Covenanters. They designed to gather an army there, and the moor was within convenient reach of such local centres as Kelso, Jedburgh, Hawick, Melrose, and Selkirk. They hoped to lead the expedition westward, and the site they chose offered an easy route by the valley of the Tweed to that of the Clyde, where their companions in arms were already assembling. The most skilful general in Scotland could not have helped them to a better disposition of affairs.

At the appointed time and place a conventicle duly met, and Divine service was conducted by Mr David Williamson. The number in arms was not as yet very considerable, amounting that day to no more than some two or three hundred men, and these probably but indifferently equipped, but the spirit with which they acted made amends for all deficiencies. Turnbull of Sharplaw and Riddell of Newhouse, two lairds who seem to have passed that way that they might spy on the meeting, were met between Liliesleaf and Halendoun by an armed party of Covenanters coming as it were from the Lothians. These men stopped Turnbull and Riddell, carrying them back to the moor and detaining them there under guard till service was over. The reason of this severity is not difficult to conjecture. It was matter of life and death to the insurgents that no intelligence of their movements should reach the Council; hence the suspicion with which they viewed all travellers to the northward, and the care with which they intercepted their
passage, having, as it would seem, set guards in these roads for that very purpose. It is even said that loaded pistols were held at the prisoners' heads, but this was probably no more than a threat called out by some attempt at escape; for when the conventicle was over, they were dismissed unharmed, though on foot, as the Covenanters kept the horses for use in their troop. The Lothian men who stopped Turnbull and Riddell had already provided two horses more which they took at Lindean on their way to the moor.

The scene of the conventicle, as afterwards described by these two prisoners of war who were the unwilling witnesses of it, presents us with many interesting and picturesque features. The main body of the worshippers, with the preacher in their midst, seem to have been drawn up at some little distance from their armed guard, an arrangement not uncommon at former gatherings of that kind. When Divine service was over, these troops, who carried a drum and a pair of colours, spent some time in exercise on the moor, while, a few bow shots away, the officer in command, Turnbull of Standhill, held a council of war. His staff was composed of such men as Walter Turnbull of Bewly; Alexander Hume, portioner of Hume; Ralph Davidson of Greenhouse; George Dun of Peilhill; and James Ker of Preston; while Turnbull of Knowe, who afterwards turned king's evidence against the cause, passed here and there on his little lyart ousell mare, wearing a sword, and as yet unsuspected of any treachery.

The officers, who now paced back and forward on the moor, their long gray riding-cloaks covering their accoutrements so they might have appeared unarmed.

but for the ends of their swords which showed as they walked,\textsuperscript{1} were probably as able leaders of such an expedition as Scotland could then have furnished. Their commander, in particular, whom they acknowledged by the title of “captain,”\textsuperscript{2} belonged to a border clan very famous of old as expert moss-troopers, and in which the habit and aptitude of war descended from father to son as surely as the lands in Teviotdale which they called their own from generation to generation. Standhill, for it is of him we speak, was ably seconded by the other gentlemen who composed his party, and whose connections in all that country promised to bring many adherents to the flag of Christ’s Crown and Covenant which they had just unfurled. Breaking up their council of war before the day was far advanced, they got to horse without delay, and, each followed by some scores of armed men on horse or foot, they separated to rouse the country in as many different quarters as possible.

The accounts given by witnesses of these events, though sworn to in the courts, now become so conflicting in their details, that we have difficulty in gaining an exact idea of what followed during the next three or four days. The general impression they leave, however, in which we can hardly be mistaken, tells of forced marches carried out with the most extraordinary dash and success. Turnbull of Bewly with his troop rode that night for Kelso.\textsuperscript{3} The Lothian men quartered at Melrose.\textsuperscript{4} The rest, some in one direction and some in another, dispersed to seek shelter and reinforcements.

\textsuperscript{1} J.R., 20th December 1682. Deposition of Turnbull of Knowe.
\textsuperscript{2} J.R., 24th January 1681.
\textsuperscript{3} J.R., 13th Jan. 1681. Deposition of Sharplaw.
\textsuperscript{4} V., pp. 283,
Next day, which was Saturday, the seventh of June, a number of these officers and men gathered their forces at Hawick. The attraction they found in that place lay in the castle, where the arms and colours belonging to the local militia, for the present disbanded, had been stored. They besieged the castle from Saturday morning till Sabbath night, when the gates were opened to them without the use of much violence. Mr John Purdan, the schoolmaster of the town, was the only person wounded that day of whom the courts could afterwards get any information, so we may conclude that there had been little occasion for the use of armed force on the part of the assailants. By this most fortunate attempt both the courage and prestige of the Covenanters now under arms was immensely increased, and munitions of war were found for the equipment of a much larger force.

The number of those coming in to the standard on Liliesleaf moor seems indeed to have increased daily. Another conventicle was held in that place or its immediate neighbourhood on Sabbath the 8th of June, when the force that assembled was already double that which appeared at the first meeting, in spite of the fact that many of the insurgents were detained that day at the siege of Hawick Castle. Monday seems to have been chosen as the proper time for a raid designed to rouse Berwickshire. Alexander Hume of Hume, who had attended the conventicle at Liliesleaf the day before, now set off for his own country. He rode very bravely on a bright bay mare attended by his body servant and followed by a troop whose

numbers are very variously reckoned by different observers. Probably the spirit with which they moved, and the unexpectedness of their appearance here and there in the country, may have made some think them more numerous than they actually were.

Hume rode some way in advance of his troop, accompanied by his footman alone. His fine horse, his black velvet riding cap and dark cloak lined and faced with a royal red, made him a conspicuous figure, and in this guise he came that day to the house of Makerstoun, while his men spread themselves about in the parks and town, some shoeing their steeds, and some kindling fires about which they encamped to cook their evening meal. Macdougall, the laird, who had probably heard of the siege at Hawick, barricaded his gates, and answered but shortly to the parley which Hume offered him. The Covenanter bade him surrender to the good cause and join it while there was time, and as he was still speaking another rode up with the news that Hawick Castle was taken. Macdougall replied that he was not afraid of their taking Makerstoun, so, seeing that he was determined not to join them, Hume, who had probably not the least intention of using violence in the matter, offered him money for a horse of the young laird's. This also was met with a refusal, and the Covenanters seem to have passed away quietly enough, hoping, no doubt, to be more successful in rousing other parts of the country.

About the same time, Turnbull of Bewly, who was one of the most spirited officers the Covenanters had, made his way deeply into the Merse. We hear of him at Eccles manse, where he came with his troop of armed followers and took away for the use of the

1 J.R., 20 Dec. 1682.
insurgents two horses and four saddles belonging to the minister. This clergyman, by his own confession, had been eminent in the appearances he made against the Presbyterians, and seems to have felt these reprisals bitterly. Aff airs had indeed taken an altogether new turn, when military force and the arbitrary requisition of goods and chattels for the use of their cause appeared on the side of the Presbyterians. Enough of that kind of oppression had been practised on the part of the Government during past years to excuse a great deal more violence than the Covenanters ever employed, and it must be remembered that their situation at this time was one of such desperation that almost any measures they took are justifiable as the action of men pressed to an extremity in defence of their liberties and their lives.

Turnbull and Hume would appear to have visited most parts of our shire, and no doubt the result of their flying expedition was a considerable addition to the forces of their party, both in men and equipments. George Hume of Graden, who was certainly of their party, probably joined the cause at this time, and must have brought others with him. The rendezvous to which all these different parties converged seems to have been Melrose. This quiet provincial town, gathered under the walls of its ruined abbey, must then have presented the appearance of an armed camp; its streets echoing to the feet of eager horsemen, while the Tweed, whose gentle murmur was heard even in the councils of their officers, called them with quiet insistence to follow up the guidance of her streams to the camp that was set by the sister waters of Clyde in the West.

1 P.A., February 2nd, 1683. Petition of Mr John Cook.
2 He died this year.
CHAPTER VII.

WHILE these meetings and movements were going on among the Covenanters, the Government were not idle, though their attempts to quell the insurrection were somewhat embarrassed by the appearance of war in the east and west of Scotland at the same time. On the 5th of June they ordered the Militia to be in readiness to act along with the standing forces, and, that these reinforcements might consist of horse as well as foot soldiers, another proclamation, dated two days later, desired the heritors and their tenants to meet under arms for the same purpose. As for the gentlemen of our district, those of Berwick were ordered to assemble at Fogo moor on the 11th, and those of Roxburgh and Selkirk at Ancrum moor on the 16th day of the month.

The Council probably felt that, besides these general preparations, some more immediate and special action was called for, and not only in the West, where Glasgow was now occupied by the insurgents, but also on the Borders; the camp at Melrose being a menace to their authority in that quarter. On the 9th of June, the day that Hume came to Makerstoun, orders were sent to Major Main who then lay at Alnwick with a troop of horse and five of dragoons, bidding him march upon Kelso and seize the bailie of that town, Frank Pringle of Rowiston, together with John Brown and James Handiside, two others whom the Council sus-
pected of disaffection. He was then to pass by way of Jedburgh to Selkirk where he would meet with another detachment of the royal forces, and find further orders awaiting him; the master of Ross with his troop having been ordered to march thither for the purpose of this rendezvous.

The plan upon which these orders proceeded seems sufficiently plain. The Council designed to gather a considerable force for the purpose of intimidating and scattering the Covenanters who had lately met in arms at Lilliesleaf, and desired to place their troops in such a position as might enable them to cut off the insurgents from the rest of their party, by closing their route to the great camp that was now gathering in the west.

Before Major Main had the opportunity of playing his part in this strategy, however, an event occurred which must, if we read it rightly, have put the key of the position into the hand of the Covenanting leaders, and opened for them without much difficulty the way by which they undoubtedly succeeded in gaining the camp at Hamilton. On the 10th of June a skirmishing party was thrown out from Selkirk, commanded by “Captain Buckame.”¹ This advance was perhaps de-

¹ This officer is so styled in the “Account of sufferers in Teviotdale” (W. MSS., 8vo., vol. xxix. No. 20). He seems to have been the “Captain George Buckham” who apprehended Mr Rae, a western minister, and got £10 sterling for that capture (Treasury Records, 2nd March 1670). From 1682 to 1687, “George Buckhame,” or “Buchane,” as the name is indifferently spelled, had the post of Brigadier of the 1st Lieutenant squadron of the Royal Horse Guards (Muster Rolls of Troop, 8th June 1682 to 13th July 1687, at which last date, however, he appears to have been transferred to the 4th squadron). He may have been that younger brother of Major-General Buchan of Auchmaroys in Aberdeenshire who espoused the cause of King William at the Revolution, commanded the forces of the Government in Aberdeen, and even acted against his brother in the northern campaign of 1690. I am indebted to the kindness of Marchmont Herald for the substance of this note.
signed for the purpose of meeting Major Main, either at Kelso or Jedburgh, but it happened that on the way southward, at a place called Bewly Bog, these troops fell in with a party of Covenanters whom Standhill had sent out from Melrose, possibly for the very purpose of interrupting such communications.

The opposing forces seem to have been somewhat unequally matched on this occasion. Those of the royal party consisted of two troops of horse, while one who went with the Covenanters says they were "a small party." When the shock of war occurred it therefore proved decisive in favour of the Government. Standhill's men lost seven of their number, some killed on the spot, others carried off the field to die, besides several more who were seriously though not mortally wounded. Captain Buchan's party, however, did not obtain their advantage without feeling the effects of that encounter. James Mitchell, a corporal in the Scots Greys, was severely wounded at Bewly Bog. Seven years afterwards he recited this fact in a petition to the Council, assuring them that he had been at great expense ever since with the physicians and apothecaries employed on his cure, and complaining that now, being so reduced in means, and even dismissed his company, he could by no means "keep the causeway" unless something were allowed him.²

The skirmish at Bewly Bog had more important consequences than the magnitude of the affair itself would suggest. The Master of Ross lost no time in communicating his success to the Council, and, if his letter read at the meeting of that Court on the 11th

¹ V., p. 283, account by George Bryson.
² P.W., 13th May 1636.
of June refer to this affair, it throws a curious light on the way in which he regarded it. He estimates the force of the insurgents at 150 men, and asserts that sixty of these were killed and ten taken prisoners "near Gala water." The account which reduces the number of the slain to seven, was written by a Covenantant who penned it with every motive to make the most of the sufferings of his party at that time, and must be taken as the limit of the truth. But the Master of Ross, who must have been dependent on the information which Buchan and others gave him, seems to have been completely misled, believing that his party had met and broken the main body of the Covenanters, while in fact the insurgents were lying at Melrose, or had already set out on that march of theirs to the West, which it was the business of the forces at Selkirk to prevent. It is even possible that the expedition sent by Standhill to Bewly was designed for this very purpose, and if so, it proved a most consummate and successful piece of generalship. The troops of the Government were drawn southwards at a critical moment, and kept in hot pursuit of a small party of Presbyterians, following them round the Eildon Hills towards Galashiels, while the main body of that army made their way westwards without much difficulty. Certain it is, that about this time the Covenanters appeared in force at Selkirk, where the Master of Ross had lately been, Alexander Hume still a conspicuous figure as he rode among them on his well-known bay horse, his holsters full of pistols, and the black and red of his uniform attracting much attention. In a few days more the little army had


safely joined the general rendezvous of that party at Hamilton on the Clyde. Had all the councils of the party been as well managed as that in which Turnbull of Standhill presided, the history of the insurrection would have been a very different one.

Those dissensions, which were indeed the destruction of their cause, now began to run very high among the Covenanters. The extreme party, led by Robert Hamilton of Preston, were heartily opposed to the indulgence, and desired to publish the condemnation of all those ministers and others who had accepted it. In this they were opposed by Mr John Veitch, and Mr David Hume of Coldingham, who saw that nothing but disaster could come of pressing matters so far. Mr William Veitch was of the same mind, but being still in prison at Edinburgh, he had not the opportunity of declaring himself openly. Learning, however, that the Duke of Monmouth was on his way to assume command of the royal forces, he contrived to send a message to their camp by a woman who sewed his letter in her shoe. His advice was that they should lose no time in approaching the Duke by way of treaty, as His Royal Highness was disposed to be favourable to their cause; and if not, their disputes would certainly prove fatal to the enterprise. The Earl of Melville, a nobleman who secretly sympathised with the Presbyterians, sent them the same advice from the army itself, as he marched west with Monmouth, and even offered his own interest with the Duke to secure a favourable answer to their petition. So deep were these unfortunate differences, however, and so hot the discussions which rose upon them, that nothing could be done in the way of acting upon this wise advice until the morning of the
fatal day itself, which was Sabbath the 22nd of June.

At daybreak it became evident that the decisive moment drew near. The army of the Covenanters, lately increased by a company from Galloway, so as to reach the respectable number of some 4000 men, was now drawn up on the west side of the river Clyde, in a strong position, commanding, and indeed occupying the bridge of Bothwell, the only passage which offered itself to the royal forces. On the opposite bank appeared the advanced corps of that army, consisting of four companies of dragoons; the King's troop of the Royal Guard and that of Duke William. These forces marched to a position not far from the bridge, while the main body of the army wheeled and grounded arms about a mile in the rear, supported by their artillery. A sharp volley, fired by the advance guard and replied to by the Covenanters who kept the bridge, announced the actual onset of war. By these discharges one of the insurgents was wounded in the foot, and several of the regulars killed.

Hamilton and Hume now came down to the front, and sent over a drummer, who, beating a parley, passed to the Duke's quarters with the petition. A return came immediately, granting a safe conduct, and desiring the Covenanters would commission some of their chief men to treat with His Royal Highness. Hamilton seems to have refused to be of this embassy, though urged to it both by his own party and the other, so that it was left to a Berwickshire minister, David Hume of Coldingham, and the Laird of Kaitloch, with, some say, John Welsh, to plead the cause of the insurgents with the Duke. They had instructions to demand the free exercise of
their religion; a new Parliament, and General Assembly of the Church; with an indemnity for all then in arms.

Monmouth received them very courteously, telling them he considered what they asked was no more than just and reasonable, but adding that on his own part he must require the insurgents to lay down their arms as a preliminary to any action of the kind they desired. In that case he promised his utmost interest with the King, and all but assured them their demands would be granted. With this answer they were obliged to return, encountering on the way, it is said, some sinister glances from Claverhouse, as they came down to the bridge. This officer looked sternly upon them, and even addressed them by name, as if to assure them he would not forget the part they had played, and would remind them of it as soon as the safe conduct granted by his chief had expired.

It is as unnecessary as it is ungrateful to follow in minute detail the fortunes of that fatal day. While the embassy were engaged with Monmouth Hamilton rode through the Covenanting ranks inflaming the minds of his men against the proposed accommodation. The condition, indeed, when it became known, was not one which even the moderate party among the Presbyterians were willing at once to accept. The officers now fell to their discussions again; the brief half hour allowed for these deliberations slipped away all too soon, before any agreement had been arrived at, and while these disputes were still in progress, Lord Livingston, at the head of the Foot Guards, advanced to force the passage of the bridge.

For a time the defence of this strong position was conducted with great spirit under Hackston of
Rathillet, while Ure of Shargarton, at the head of some scores of well armed men from his own country, even made the enemy give back, his white horse carrying him bravely at the head of his troop. Then ammunition began to fail in the fierce fire carried on at the front, and now the army of the Covenant felt more than ever the want of a commander-in-chief; for there was no one to order supplies or send forward reinforcements. It is even said that Hamilton, who pretended to the chief command, recalled the men who held the passage so bravely, and allowed the enemy to cross the bridge unhindered. Lord Livingston's troops were not long of taking the advantage thus offered them. They passed the bridge, protected by the artillery of the Duke, which was brought forward and played with some effect on the Covenanters' left wing. A clumsily executed movement designed to put this part of the insurgent army under cover now threw their whole body into disorder; a panic broke out among them, and, throwing down the arms they had just refused to render in a peaceable way, they broke into sudden and disastrous flight.

The Duke exerted himself nobly to hinder bloodshed, but many were killed on the field, and about twelve hundred rendered themselves prisoners, while the rest escaped; a piece of good fortune which the broken and wooded nature of that country helped not a little to secure them. The prisoners were marched to Edinburgh and confined in the Greyfriars' churchyard. Here they remained for several months exposed to great hardships. Some were set free during this time, upon taking a bond against future insurrection; others contrived to escape; in the month of November the remainder, about two hundred and fifty, were put on
board a ship at Leith to be conveyed to the plantations. Here their sufferings were excessive, as they had the hatches closed upon them on account of the tempestuous weather. On the tenth of December the storm became excessively severe; the ship was then running the Pentland Frith, and drove upon the rocks of Deerness. The master and crew escaped, and some fifty of the prisoners contrived to do the same, aided by the broken pieces of the wreck; but those who were left, two hundred in number, perished miserably in the waves.

There are no documents which enable us to give a particular account of our border men in the battle or the sufferings that followed it. At Bothwell, Standhill and Hume, with their men, probably stood inactive, as most of their party did, chafing at the restraint imposed on them, and full of bitter regret as they saw the fortune of the day turn against them without being able to strike a blow in their own defence.

When the Government desired to avenge the death of Archbishop Sharp, and chose for that purpose a number of the Greyfriars prisoners, putting them to a severe examination, several of these were from our part of the country: such as Robert M'Gill, webster in Galashiels; Thomas Williamson in Over Cranston; John Scott in Ettrick Forest; and Thomas Pringle in Stow; who all admitted having been in arms against the Government, and refused to say that the killing of the archbishop was murder. These were not, however, among the number of the five, who, having made the same confession, were hanged on a gibbet at Magus moor as a terror to the Presbyterians. Twenty-eight Teviotdale men sailed with the others in the fatal expedition from Leith, of whom only six escaped; the rest being drowned in the wreck at Deerness.
Thus ended the most considerable attempt in defence of their liberties ever made by the Covenanters in their own country: a disaster due to divided counsels rather than to any want of courage or military skill. The sufferings which accompanied and followed that fatal day were unfortunately only the beginning of a period when persecution reached a far greater height than it had ever done before, so as to call out that wonderful constancy and patience in which the Presbyterian party still refused to accept any deliverance but that which finally secured them in the enjoyment of their religious liberty. The State had meanly yielded constitutional right in deference to the royal prerogative: the Church alone in these dark days kept the charge of Scotland's national liberty till it was again affirmed with triumph in happier times.
BOOK III.
CHAPTER I.

The situation of the Presbyterians of Scotland at the close of the period which ended with Bothwell had been far from one of unrelieved gloom, though shadowed by severe sufferings. "There are more converts in Scotland than ever," wrote Blackadder, in February 1679,\(^1\) and this spiritual fruit must have done much to mitigate the hardships of the time to those who suffered them. The period on which we now enter wears a different aspect. The failure of their great attempt disheartened the Covenanters in no small measure, and under the new and more terrible persecution which followed that defeat, it was much if they contrived to keep any of the ground they had with such difficulty attained.

As soon as the Council received certain news of their victory, they lost no time in following up the almost unexpected advantage which Monmouth had obtained for them. Orders were sent to Struthers to be on the alert. It seemed likely, indeed, that fugitives might attempt to pass into England, and he must be on his guard to intercept and seize all enemies of the Government who thus endeavoured to escape its vengeance. A few days afterwards, on the 26th of June, a proclamation was published containing the names of such of the Presbyterian leaders as the Government

\(^1\) Letter to Macjward, February 21st, Wodrow MSS.
had been able as yet to identify. Among these the Turnbulls of Standhill and Bewly, Hume of Graden, and Hall of Haughhead obtained this distinction, and Ker of Graden, a Roxburgh laird who now began to follow in the footsteps of Meldrum by proving himself a useful tool of the Council, received an order to apprehend them.

The Government were not content, however, with noticing those who had taken an active part in the insurrection; they proposed a general persecution of the whole party, and one in which all nicer distinctions, depending on the precise part men had played in their nonconformity, should, as far as possible, be left out of account. A large number of our Presbyterians had held aloof from the late insurrection, sharing the opinion of Pringle of Torwoodlee, that it was, like that of Pentland, "a little ill-managed struggle," a view which the ill success of the venture no doubt helped to confirm. These men were, however, as strongly attached to their proscribed faith as those who had taken a more active part in its defence. Their abstention from an open appearance in defence of the Presbyterian cause was therefore to serve them little. The net must be swept so as to include them all.

In the month immediately succeeding Bothwell the sheriffs of the different counties were directed to furnish lists of those who had disobeyed the summons requiring the heritors to appear in arms for the suppression of the insurgents. Many indeed who did not think it proper to join the Covenanters in their appeal to arms, had refused to do so in the cause of the Government, and by making exact enquiry after their names, the Council provided material which was afterwards used to the uttermost in a widespread persecution directed
against that unfortunate party. As to our common people who were Presbyterians, Lord Hume had already his orders to press those in Berwickshire with a bond against future insurrection nearly resembling that offered to the Greyfriars prisoners.\(^1\) If they would swear to take up arms no more against His Majesty they should now enjoy all the benefits of the Royal clemency. The signature of Paul Cowan, wright in Preston, who took the bond at Duns in 1679,\(^2\) is the only instance of this submission which has been preserved, though there can be little doubt that many others must have yielded and given their oath in the same sense. Mr Edward Jamieson had urged the Greyfriars prisoners to take the bond. His influence may probably have still counted for something in Berwickshire, and indeed it was not uncommon among the Covenanters at this time to assert that the insurrection had been directed, not so much against the King, as against the unconstitutional courses and unjust measures of His Majesty's Government. In this way many reconciled their subscription to the bond with a continued adherence to those principles of civil and religious liberty which had led them either to engage in the Bothwell rising, or at least to sympathise with it. This ensnaring oath, and the means taken to force it upon the Presbyterians, must be regarded as among the most oppressive persecutions of the time.

On the 14th of August a proclamation was issued for several circuit courts of Justiciary to sit in various parts of the country: that for our district being summoned to meet at Jedburgh on the 15th of October. The historian of the persecutions has told us that these

\(^1\) P.A., April 3rd, 1678.  \(^2\) P.W., 16th September.
courts were designed to make the work of fining easy in order that, by the exaction of large sums of money from Presbyterians, the needs of the Court party might be met and their exertions rewarded. Some confirmation of this appears in the proclamation itself. The clerks of Court were directed to go down to the country beforehand and take notice, not only of all persons who might be represented to them as fit subjects for process, but of their estates as well, both lands, money, and moveables: arresting these properties in the hands of responsible persons to be disposed of by the courts should their owners be afterwards found guilty. To reward informers may sometimes be a necessary, though it must always be a doubtful part of policy, but to hold up the estates of suspected persons as an inducement to their enemies to secure their conviction can neither be defended nor excused. The love of money now combined with all the other causes already at work to sharpen the edge of persecution, and to cast a dark shadow indeed over this part of our country's history and sufferings.

In their purpose to render the situation of the Covenanters as difficult as possible, the Scottish Council had to contend with an influence from the Court, ascribed with much probability to Monmouth's interest with the King, and tending in the direction of indulgence. The indemnity, indeed, which His Majesty signed on the 27th of July, did not give the councillors much concern. It excepted the cases of heritors; of ministers and ringleaders of all kinds; as well as of those who had refused to attend the King's host in their quality of landowners summoned for that intent; and provided that none should enjoy the benefit of

1 W., Book III., ch. iii., § 4.
mercy save such as would consent to take the bond. Drawn on lines that fitted very exactly the Council's own procedure, this indemnity was not published till the 14th of August, and probably did little to stay the progress of persecution.

A more troublesome matter for the Council was the King's order to liberate all Nonconformist prisoners who had not been concerned in the rising. This was simply allowed to remain a dead letter, if we may judge from the case of Mr William Erskine, to which it certainly applied. Warrants for his release from Stirling Castle were indeed issued once and again, but the very duplication of this order shows that the first warrant was ineffectual, while the prisoner's own petition of 1684, in which he says that his confinement had then lasted for seven years complete, proves that the second order was allowed to drop as the first had been. Lauderdale's policy was a determined one, and his influence at Court and in the Council sufficient to overbear any other.

The most difficult task, however, which the Government of the day encountered, met them in the indulgence for Presbyterian ministers which Monmouth had obtained from the King. This act, published on the 29th of June, provided that the former laws against house conventicles should no longer be in force, and that each parish which desired it should be at liberty to call one of the deprived clergy who should conduct one such meeting for worship within their bounds. Unfortunately the details of this most promising measure were left in the hands of the Government; so that the Council, having ample time and powers for that purpose, contrived to give the measure such a turn that it came to wear the aspect of a threat
rather than that of an indulgence; proving in the end one of the greatest occasions of suffering to the Presbyterian party that the time presented. The caution to be given on the entry of such ministers was fixed at the exorbitant sum of six thousand merks and under this penalty the parishes were held bound to produce their preachers to the Council for punishment whenever they should transgress the laws.

In spite of these discouragements, a considerable number of places were bold enough to apply to the Council in terms of the Act of Indulgence. Preston-kirk gave a bond for Mr Gilbert Rule; Mr John Veitch was settled in Westruther, probably at Bassendean, where he may perhaps have used the ancient chapel, the people of that parish having already been accustomed to gather there for Divine service before the church of Westruther was built for them in 1650. At Langton, Sir Alexander Cockburn showed himself earnest in the cause of Presbytery, now that the law promised to give him security. He built a chapel at Haining Rig, and brought Mr Luke Ogle from his retreat at Bousden to furnish it with a preacher. There is also reason to suppose that Mr Daniel Douglas now entered on a charge of this kind, in the neighbourhood of Duns, perhaps in the parish of Whitsome. Such eagerness to take advantage of a doubtful indulgence shows that the Covenanting party were as yet far from being extreme in their attitude; preferring to act under the law where there was a possibility of doing so, and becoming law-breakers, not of choice, but only as they were urged by what was indeed a commanding necessity of the times in which they lived. The disposition shown by the Presbyterians to brave all inconveniences imposed for
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their discouragement, must have proved somewhat embarrassing to the Government. The Council seem to have determined that if they could not prevent these settlements altogether, as they perhaps hoped to do, they would at least keep a close watch on the ministers who took advantage of them, and thus secure their dismissal at the earliest possible opportunity.

Measures for the intended persecution of the Presbyterian party were now redoubled, and those already in force were not allowed to fail of their effect. At the beginning of the year 1680, new commissions passed the seals for Meldrum, Ker of Graden, and Riddel of Haining, who lost no time in making use of the powers thus entrusted to them for the King's service, and the discouragement of the Presbyterians on the Borders. Considerable numbers of Covenanters were now brought before the Justiciary Court in Edinburgh, charged with absence from the Host. A little later these processes came by Royal warrant before the Council, when the work of fining proper to that Court went busily on. James Scott of Thirlstane lost £2775; Patrick Wardlaw, £4000; Robert Brown of Blackburn, £1200; Pringle of Greenknow, £1500; Alexander Hume in St Bathans, £200; Samuel Spence, £400; Clapperton of Wyliecleuch, 1000 merks; George Hume of Bassendean, 1000 merks; while William Cranston, portioner of Huntlywood, Alexander Hume, portioner of the Newton of Whitsome and several others, only escaped their penalties by signing the declaration against Covenanters which had been adopted in 1662.1

Meanwhile the Council had not lost sight of the indulged ministers. The first of these who suffered

1 P.W., 1680.
was Mr Gilbert Rule. He had a niece married to John Kennedy, Apothecary in Edinburgh, and, at the request of these relations of his own, he undertook a journey to the capital to baptise their child. Another Presbyterian family, hearing of his purpose, desired to share the privilege of that sacrament. Application was made to the Episcopal minister of St Giles' parish, Mr Turner, and with his consent that church was opened for the ceremony, which took place on the 1st of April, and was attended by the usual Precentor of the Congregation, and by the Kirk Treasurer of the Parish. A week afterwards the Council took notice of this service, pronouncing it a Conventicle held in violation of Mr Rule's engagement. One of the parents was fined £100 Scots, the other family lost double that sum, and the minister was sent to the Bass, the usual prison for Nonconformists in these days. In this dismal confinement he lay for three months, when he appeared once more before the Council, and was sent into exile. He fixed his residence in the town of Berwick-on-Tweed, and, a year afterwards, petitioned the Council to be allowed to practise there as a Doctor of Medicine, a profession for which he was well qualified, having taken his degree in that faculty at Leyden some seventeen years before.¹

¹ P.W., 1681. This petition was granted, and a curious tale is told of Rule's practice during the years that followed. He was much called out into Berwickshire among the families of the gentry, and obeyed these commands with all the more alacrity that he often found in them an opportunity of returning to his former duties, and conducting divine service under the guise of family worship in the houses he visited. The laird of Houndwood was fined in an hundred merks for permitting such a service in his house, though there were no strangers present on that occasion except Dr Rule himself, who acted as chaplain. The Earl of Hume resolved to put a stop to these irregularities by seizing the person of the preacher.
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On the 14th of May 1680, Lauderdale secured under the Royal sign manual what was as good as a revocation of the indulgence; the King's letter of that date containing some very stringent rules to be henceforth applied in judging the conduct of the Nonconformist preachers. One of these rules related to field conventicles. Such assemblies were indeed not uncommon at this time in our part of the country. Elliott's Well, a remote spot in Lammermoor; the well-known Duns Law, Bassendean, and Dryburgh, were noted sites of these gatherings, and Peter Gibson, tenant of East Nisbet Farm, was fined five hundred merks for harbouring deprived ministers and summoning the neighbourhood to hear them preach, pray, and expound Scripture in his barns on the Lord's Day. These meetings at East Nisbet were probably encouraged by the family of Ker, the owners of that estate, and strong adherents of the Covenanting cause. The Royal instructions now provided that if any of the indulged were found taking part in such gatherings, they should be summarily deprived of their license.

One of the earliest cases in which this new severity took effect was that of Mr John Veitch. During the summer of 1680, he seems to have preached at a field conventicle in the Parish of Greenlaw, at a place then called

For this purpose he made use of a stratagem, sending a letter as from Ker of Ninewells, desiring the help of the doctor without delay as he was taken with a violent colic. On his way to Berwick with this letter, the messenger sent on that errand repented of the part he had begun to play against this good man, and finding Rule, told him frankly the mischief intended him. Thus Lord Hume, who was waiting with a troop of horse on the boundary road, ready to arrest the doctor as soon as he should set foot in Scotland, was fairly disappointed of his prey.

1 Sheriff Court Record, Greenlaw, 6th May 1680.
Easter Anstruther, now Dogden Moss. The Council summoned him to their diet of October 5th, and as he did not appear, they ordered him to be denounced rebel and put to the horn. Tradition says that his hiding-place lay in the recesses of Jordanlaw Moss, a deep bog between Westruther and Spottiswoode. The Covenanters indeed were not less ready to resort to such concealments at this time than they had been in the days immediately preceding the last insurrection. Pyotshaw, a wood not far from Veitch’s hiding-place, was used in the same way by one of these people, who thus acquired the reputation of a “brownie,” or familiar spirit, so silently did he steal out at night to receive the provision which the kindness of his friends supplied, and to requite their consideration by the performance of useful tasks.

A cave near Edington Mains in the Merse, now quarried away, is said to have been occupied by another of the same party, and one on the banks of the Whitadder at Ninewells is remembered as the favourite resort of Henry Erskine when he left his service at Dryburgh to pass that way. The most remarkable instance of such concealment, however, was that of a cooper in the village of Garvald, who used to cross the Lammermoors, and hide behind a waterfall till the pursuit was past. This place lies on our side of the hills, on the

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1 See the New Statistical Account, p. 63, parish of Westruther. It would seem that these mosses were named from the religious house at Halyburton, to which perhaps they belonged: the western struther or Westruther, and the eastern struther or Easter Anstruther. Both Wodrow and M‘Crie find a difficulty in accounting for the terms of Veitch’s sentence on this occasion, but the matter is perfectly explained by this local name, which seems to have escaped these authors. See M‘Crie’s “Life of Veitch,” p. 6.

2 Reported by Mr Adam Lothian, Houndslow.

3 Reported by Mr George Fortune, Duna.

4 Reported by Rev. George Wilson, Glenluce.
Snailscleuch Burn near Millknowe Farm, and is still called "the couper's loup." ¹

We should greatly mistake the attitude of the Covenanters, however, were we to regard them as mere broken fugitives, or to suppose that their late defeat at Bothwell had so quelled their spirit as to render them incapable of any resistance. In the later months of the year 1680, a number of those in Tweeddale, among whom the laird of Philiphaugh took a leading part, combined to make matters as unpleasant for Meldrum as Lord Hume had found them a few years before in Berwickshire. They accused him before the Council of gross oppressions in the exercise of his duty, and indeed the case was a sufficiently shameful one, as it was reckoned he had exacted no less than one hundred thousand pounds from that district alone. The Council did their best to browbeat the witnesses for the prosecution, by asking ensnaring questions about conventicles and the like, and were about to admit a cross-examination of the same kind by Meldrum on his own account, when Philiphaugh very adroitly turned the tables by proposing an enquiry as to the conformity of the accused himself. Was he a Protestant or a Papist in disguise? Was it true that he had heard mass lately, and who had been his companions at that unlawful service? These were questions which it did not suit Meldrum to answer, so the process was hushed up, and the gentleman who had so courageously opened it received the thanks of his party for the check he had put on these unjust proceedings. To prevent such attempts in the future the Council gave Meldrum a new warrant, dated the 20th of January 1681, and

¹ Tradition reported by Mr J. S. Bertram, Cranshaws, from the late Miss Darling, Priestlaw.
accompanying it with instructions which they probably hoped would hinder so valuable a servant from exceeding his duty out of a mistaken zeal for the cause which both he and they had at heart. On the 10th of January a process had already been opened before the Lords of Justiciary against a large number of persons belonging to the Merse and Teviotdale accused of taking part in the late insurrection.\footnote{J. R.} One of these was a dead man—George Hume of Graden; another was a woman—Beatrix Hall, whose name appears in the indictment as nearest of kin to Henry Hall of Haughhead, who had been killed in a scuffle at Queensferry seven months before, when a party tried to take him and Mr Donald Cargill, his companion.\footnote{His estate, worth six hundred merks yearly, was held by Meldrum for many years, while his wife and children starved. See W., iv. 62.} Proof was wanting, however, in the case of most of these persons, and the proceedings against them dragged on from day to day, till at last the Lord Advocate secured the conviction of Walter Turnbull of Bewly, William Paterson, heritor in Hawick, and Thomas Turnbull of Standhill, protesting, with what seems a cruel want of legal decorum, that he would move for an assize of error, if the jury should refuse to bring in a verdict against the accused.\footnote{J. R., 24th January 1681.} This relentless pleader for the rights of the Crown was none other than the well-known Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, whom Scotland has, ever since these trials, known by the name of “the bloody Mackenzie.” In this instance his tactics were so far successful, as the Court pronounced sentence of forfeiture upon the Turnbulls, but none of the accused having as yet fallen into the hands of the Government, they escaped in the meantime with their
lives. Mackenzie renewed his charge against the dead Hume of Graden about a year afterwards, but on this occasion also proof failed. These processes against the absent and the dead could only be designed to take effect on their estates, and they thus afford one more proof that private interest had much to do in these days with the zeal of the Court party in their persecution of the Presbyterians.

The Council as well as the Justiciary was soon busy with matters that concerned our part of the country. In the month of July 1681, a party of the Guards had orders to proceed to the house of Blackcastle, near Cockburnspath. Here they found and apprehended Mr Gabriel Semple, who was living under the protection of Sir Patrick Hepburn of Blackcastle, his nephew. Semple had left his labours at Ford for this retreat on account of broken health, consequent upon the death of his wife, and he now suffered much in his hurried journey to Edinburgh; for thither he was soon carried by order of the Council, though labouring under an attack of fever. He rode pillion as far as Haddington, where the kindness of a lady in that neighbourhood provided him with a carriage for the rest of the way. He came more than once before the Council, and was closely examined, but having taken no part at Bothwell, and being manifestly unable to give any trouble by preaching, which indeed he seems to have ceased doing for some time past, he was at length dismissed, and returned to England, continuing there for several years till the King died. His nephew, however, was not so fortunate. The Council seem to have taken umbrage at Semple's retreat from their jurisdiction. They perhaps regretted the lenity they had showed him, and

1 J. R., 17th May 1682.
falling back on the old letters of intercommuning which had been raised against Semple for his accession to the Pentland rising, they brought Sir Patrick Hepburn before them to answer for his crime in harbouring such a declared rebel in his house. The fact could not be denied, and Hepburn was sentenced to pay a fine of £200 sterling and lie in prison till he should find caution to do so within six days of his leaving it.

These proceedings in the Justiciary and the Council have brought before us, as in a scene, some of the most prominent persons and circumstances of the time. The course of the nation's history resembled in deed nothing so much as an ill-managed play, in which many of the proprieties of life in its ordinary course seemed to be constantly violated. In the one court we have seen the Lord Advocate pleading for the Royal master as if he had been afraid of the King's life, while the Council, in its feverish change from lenity to severity, has taught us to suspect the presence of a new influence there. This was none other than the Duke of York, soon to ascend the throne under the title of James VII., and to his cold and stubborn nature, which knew no pain at the sight of cruelty, and no remorse for its infliction, may well be ascribed some of the worst excesses of that dreadful period.
CHAPTER II.

THE great work done by the Duke of York in the Parliament of 1681 was the passing of the famous Test Act, which gave the country so much uneasiness. The Test was in effect very much like those other engagements with which the Presbyterians had formerly been pressed, such as the Oath of Allegiance, the Declaration against Covenants, and the Bond. It had, however, some disadvantages and difficulties that were all its own; being, in fact, so ill-drawn and self-contradictory that many of the Episcopalian party themselves had grave scruples in signing it. The imposition of the Test upon those holding public offices was thus the cause of great difficulty, and brought about not a few changes in the country. The Earl of Argyll lay in prison some time because he refused to take it, and at last, seeing grave mischief was intended him, he escaped in disguise, and came by Torwoodlee to William Veitch’s house at Stanton Hall.

Veitch was from home at the time, and the story of his return in haste to bring Argyll to London is a curious one. It seems that a gentleman of Berwick had pressed him to come there and thank his friends in the good town for the kindness they showed him while he was a prisoner there. He did so, and was about to leave again for home, when news reached the post-house that the Earl had escaped from prison, and the
Governor of Berwick immediately ordered all the guards to be doubled. He knew that Veitch was in the town, and resolved to secure him, suspecting some collusion between these two leaders of the Covenanters. To escape the search which was now made for him Veitch went into the house of one of his friends, and the Mayor, who was much concerned for his safety, managed matters so well that no search-warrant could be had for a day or two. It happened that a child was buried that night by torchlight, and several of the Presbyterians who had been invited to attend the funeral made it their excuse for meeting to concert means for the minister's escape. They found that one Mitchell, a skipper of the town, had a great tobacco ship lying at the harbour gate ready to discharge cargo, which gave them an excellent opportunity of eluding the guards. Two merchants, passing the gate without challenge as if they would have taken a sample of tobacco, conveyed Veitch between them to the quay, and thence to the further side of the ship, where, by previous arrangement, a small boat was lying for his passage, so that he came safely to Tweedmouth on the English side, and reached Mr Ogle's house at Bousden that night. In two days more, a delay which the severity of the weather imposed on him, he got home, much hastened in his journey by an uneasy dream of fire at Stanton Hall, which made him impatient to be there. On his arrival he found that Argyll had come, and that his household were sending far and near to summon him for that occasion. From Stanton Hall Veitch brought his guest, not without difficulty, to London. They rode by unfrequented ways, the Earl passing under the name of "Mr Hope," and running at least one narrow escape from being taken, a danger in
which the readiness of his companion was of the greatest service to him. From London he presently sailed to the Low Countries, then, as heretofore, a great refuge of our persecuted countrymen who had the means and the address to escape.

Another result of the Test was felt in some measure at Coldstream. This town belonged to the Regality of Melrose, so that it lay within the jurisdiction of the Earl of Haddington, who was heritable sheriff in that part of the country. His lordship refused the Test, and his sheriffdom passed into the hands of Lord Hume, who also got the same powers in the Regality of Dryburgh by the removal of the Lord Cardross. These changes could not but be highly unfavourable to the Presbyterian cause, and in a short time one of the most noted ministers in Berwickshire felt the effect of them in his own person.

This was Mr Henry Erskine of Dryburgh, whom Mel- drum found conducting family worship in his own house on Sabbath, the 23rd of April 1682, and carried him prisoner to Melrose, setting him free the day following, under a bond of five thousand merks given for his compearsance by Erskine of Shielfield. A fortnight afterwards he was again taken into custody, this time at Jedburgh, and having been once more set free on bail, he at last appeared by summons at the bar of the Council in Edinburgh on the 12th of May. He was then in an infirm state of health, weakened by many months of serious illness, and now labouring under a severe attack of ague, which made his firmness under examination all the more remarkable. The Lord Advocate Mackenzie pressed him to give an engagement that he would preach no more at conventicles, but he refused, alleging his commission from Christ
to that work, and saying that though he were assured his life would not last another hour he would resign that charge into no other hands than those of the great Head of the Church from Whom he had received it. He was then dismissed for the time, but under a bond to return and plead whenever the Council should call for him.

His final appearance before their Lordships took place on the 6th of June, when he stood formally charged with his frequent conventicles, and the celebration of the baptisms and marriages he had solemnised on these occasions. In reply he pled the state of his health, which had indeed made him very unable to preach for nearly a year past. In the absence of witnesses the matter was referred to the prisoner’s oath, a common practice of that time in such cases, though one which even then was thought contrary to the maxims of a sound jurisprudence. He refused to swear in such a sense, and without further proof, the Council ordered him to be sent to the Bass till he should pay a fine of five thousand merks, and give a bond that he would not preach any more. Before this sentence was carried into effect he petitioned to have it commuted for one of exile from the kingdom, knowing that to go to the dungeons of the Bass in such infirm health was likely to cost him his life. On Shielfield becoming caution along with him in another sum of five thousand merks this petition was granted, and Erskine stood committed to leave Scotland in a fortnight. He carried his family with him to Parkridge, a place lying some ten miles from Carlisle, and continued there in peace for a year or two more.

When Erskine appeared before the Council he had a companion in that trial, Mr John Lithgow, a minister
belonging to an ancient Berwickshire family, the Lithgows of Drygrange. He had been settled in 1646 as minister of the Dumfriesshire Parish of Ewes, which he was obliged to leave in 1664, on account of his adherence to Presbyterian principles. He then fixed his residence at the village of Redpath, near Earlston, where indeed he had an estate, and it is probable that Meldrum had found him there about the same time when he took Erskine prisoner. The same sentence was passed by the Council upon both these ministers, but as there is no record of any reduction being affected in Lithgow's case, it is likely he had to endure the dismal dungeons of the Bass, besides suffering somewhat in his means. We may add that he was restored to his Parish of Ewes at the Revolution, and continued there a year or two, retiring in 1694 to his Berwickshire property.

While these ministers were awaiting their sentence before the Court, matters of wider importance appeared to aggravate the situation of the Presbyterian party. On the 5th of May, the Council, by a remarkable act, prohibited the Writers to His Majesty's Signet from drawing up any papers of appeal to the Court of Session in the interests of those whom the inferior judicatures had fined for their presence at conventicles. This seems a very high-handed interference with the ordinary course of justice, and it was presently followed by further measures of the same tendency. Additional powers were conferred on Meldrum in May and in August, and by his latter commission he was required to concur with the Justice Courts of our district, for the suppression of the Nonconformists there. By the recent act relating to

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1 See Scott's "Fasti," and the vol. of supplementary plates to Nisbet's Heraldry article, "Lithgow of Drygrange."
appeals these courts had been made in a manner supreme in the country, and a new influence was now brought to bear upon them in the person of this already notorious persecutor, so that nothing might be wanting to the severity of their proceedings. The moving spirit in this policy seems to have been the Duke of York. His Royal Highness had gone to Court early in the season, and Bishop Paterson returned from London almost immediately thereafter, bearing, it was believed, the King's commands to the Council for a new persecution. The measures which were then taken appear to confirm this conjecture, and were at the time regarded in that light. The great comet seen in the summer of 1682 seemed to the country a dark presage of suffering and bloodshed in Scotland.

So threatening indeed was the aspect of the times that a number of our noted Presbyterians formed the project of going abroad to escape worse troubles. Their thoughts were directed to America as the most favourable quarter for such an enterprise, and they designed it should take the form of a colony there. Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree and Sir George Campbell were the chief promoters of the scheme. They went up to Court and obtained a letter from the King, in which His Majesty desired the Council would forward the enterprise. Some thirty-six gentlemen took shares of twenty pounds each in the new company of Carolina, as it was called; for it was to that colony that they designed to proceed. The project did not go any farther at this time, but we may note that two of the subscribers to the funds were Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth and Sir Alexander Cockburn of Langton.

One of the worst cases of persecution which took
place under the new procedure and severity was that
of Alexander Hume of Hume. Ever since the pro-
minent part he had taken in the Bothwell insurrection
he lay in hiding, either at Bassendean, the early home
of his wife, Isobel Hume, a daughter of that house, or
at Greenknow, where the family were also connected
with him by marriage.\footnote{George Hume of Bassendean married Katherine, the daughter
of Walter Pringle of Greenknow.} Another haunt of his was at
the house of Falside. James Hume of Flass, a brother
of Bassendean's, had married Janet Lyle, the heiress of
that estate,\footnote{Gordon Register of Marriages, 11th February 1679. The
marriage took place in Westruther Kirk.} and these people willingly received their
brave brother-in-law as often as he chose to take refuge
within their doors. Of all his resorts the Tower of
Greenknow was, perhaps, the one which afforded Hume
the most secure concealment. On the first storey of
that building are still to be found some traces of a
secret room which tradition says was often used in
these troubled times. It appears that beneath the
floor of a closet, on the right side of the fireplace, such
a chamber had been contrived in the thickness of the
massive wall, having access provided to it through a
trap which was closed by a stone and ring. So cleverly
was the secret room concealed, and so unhesitating is
the testimony of tradition to its proved usefulness,
that it would rather seem likely that Alexander Hume
was hiding, not here, but at Bassendean or Falside,
when, in the summer or autumn of 1682, he was found
and taken prisoner by William Hume, the brother of
Lord Hume, and Sheriff-Depute of the shire. The
Covenanter who had ridden so boldly to Bothwell did
not forget either his courage or the use of his arms on
this occasion. He made a stout resistance, and, over-
powered at last by force, it was as a sorely wounded
man that he surrendered himself into the hands of the
law. He was brought to his trial before the Lords of
Justiciary in Edinburgh on the 15th of November,
charged with having been in the late insurrection,
but as no proof of the libel appeared, the case against
him fell to the ground, and he might have regained
his liberty had he not refused to take the Test. This
adherence to principle cost him dearly, the court keep-
ing him still in confinement, and presently moving for
a new trial.

On the 20th of December the prisoner again stood
at the bar. He was now accused much more in
detail, the Lord Advocate alleging that he had
besieged Makerstoun House; had appeared in arms
at Kelso, Selkirk, and Hawick, especially at the last
place, where he had been concerned in the seizure of
the Militia stores, and in the wounding of the school-
master of that town, who was one of those that
defended the Castle. The records of evidence offer
much that should have told in the prisoner's favour.
None of the witnesses alleged that any violence had
been used at Makerstoun, and some deposed they
had heard Hume offer money for the horse he wished
to have from the laird. Sir Patrick Hume, the counsel
for the defence, seems justified in his plea that this
was no more than an ordinary bargain which Hume
tried to effect. The proof of identity, in particular,
was exceedingly weak. Many of the witnesses seem
not to have been interrogated on this point at all.
Several were pressed to recognise the prisoner and
refused, or gave but a hesitating and incomplete
assertion. One, William Eliot in Selkirk, said he
had seen him riding in Selkirk when the rebels came there; another, Turnbull of Sharplaw, thought the prisoner was like a man whom he had seen at Liliesleaf Moor on the occasion of the conventicle held there before the insurrection. Turnbull of Know, himself one of the insurgents that day, was base enough to appear as a witness for the Crown, and gave his adherence to the evidence furnished by Sharplaw.

The courts, as we have had frequent occasion to remark, were far from scrupulous when they dealt with Presbyterians, but it was a thing unheard of that a man should be condemned to die on the evidence of one witness. To this weak point in his case MacKenzie now directed himself with all that polished but relentless art of which he was so much the master. One of these halting witnesses must be brought to speak more plainly or the libel would fail. Standhill was chosen as the subject of the Lord Advocate’s address. He had said that the accused was like the man he saw at Liliesleaf, but added that the other wore his own hair, which was black, while the prisoner appeared in court that day dressed with some care and with a powdered periwig. MacKenzie had the wig which Hume wore taken off, and then, turning to Standhill with meaning emphasis, he asked him whether he did not recognise him now. “He is liker him,” said the witness, and when James Scott, the Bailie of Hawick had added his testimony, saying that, “to the best of his knowledge,” Hume was the man he had seen among the rebels in that town, the Lord Advocate was content to let the case go to the jury. His confidence, assured by a long experience of such proceedings, did not play him false. By a majority of votes
in the assize Hume was found guilty, and on the following day, the 22nd of December, he was sentenced to die, with all those aggravations of that sufficient penalty which the severity of the times was accustomed to use in the case of gentlemen of his position, namely, the forfeiture of his lands, and the proscription of his hereditary arms in the heralds' books.

The court, as if they wished to hurry through the miserable business as speedily as possible, ordered the execution to take place on Friday, the 29th of December. Hume begged more time, that his case might be laid before the King. This appeal was refused, but his friends, foreseeing the result of the trial, had already sent an express to London, and it is said a return came with a reprieve in time to have spared the prisoner's life, had not the Commissioner, Lord Perth, kept it secret till the fatal day was past. Lady Perth showed at the same time an inhumanity which the circumstance of her sex renders, if possible, more repulsive than even this cruel action of her husband. When Isobel Hume, the prisoner's wife, came on the morning of his execution to plead for his life, urging as one mother well might with another the sorrow of her heart over her five little children, soon to be left fatherless, Lady Perth spurned her away with an answer so savage, that for very shame the page of history refuses to record it. The mere denial, without any added insult, was surely enough to stamp the character of the time and party where, unscrupulous cruelty, like a spreading plague, infected almost every member, and broke out in forms the most repulsive, which neither nature, sex, nor breeding, were powerful enough to restrain.

The last moments of this Covenanter were marked by calmness and serenity, as his dying testimony suffi-
ciently shews. Some of the expressions he used on the scaffold were full of a mingled courage and pathos which is inexpressibly touching. "The world," he said, "represents me as seditious and disloyal, but God is my witness and my own conscience of my innocency in this matter: I am loyal. . . . It doth minister no small peace and joy to me this day that the Lord hath set His love upon me. . . . It is the Lord Jesus, and He alone, who is my Rock, and the strength and stay of my soul . . . I cannot but be sensible of the sharpness and severity of my sentence, which, after strict enquiry, will be found as hard measure as any have met with before me, which seems to flow from some other thing than what law or justice could allow. I wish I may be the last that may be thus dealt with. I question not but if competent time had been given that application might have been made unto His Majesty, his clemency would not have been wanting in this case . . . if there be any at whose door my blood may more directly lie than others, I pray the Lord forgive them . . . I am shortly to be clothed upon with my house from above, and that city which hath foundations; I shall sin no more . . . I shall wander and toil no more, having reached that harbour of eternal rest . . . farewell my dear wife and children, dear indeed unto me, though not so dear as Christ, for Whom I now willingly suffer the loss of all things, and yet am no loser: I leave them on the tender mercies of Christ . . . and now, O Father, into Thy hand I commend my spirit; Lord Jesus, receive my soul." Dark indeed was the day for Scotland when such a soul left her in such a way, his high courage and exquisite spiritual training shewing brightly indeed on the very scaffold, but the forebodings of his heart finding only too ready an echo in the widespread apprehensions of his party.
The fear under which the Covenanters of Scotland now lay, shewed itself in the rarity of field conventicles, which, we are assured, had at this time almost ceased, and in the difficulty felt even with regard to the continuance of those held in houses. The comet of the last summer was now followed by a celestial appearance almost as remarkable, the close conjunction of Jupiter with Saturn in the sign of Leo portending, according to the astrology of the day, war, revolution, and suffering of all kinds. The ready response which these gloomy predictions found among all classes of the people shews very plainly the fear under which they now laboured, expecting nothing but new persecutions, and even the utter extermination of the Presbyterian party in Scotland.

These sad thoughts did not, however, abate their courage, and a remarkable event which happened about this time should be enough to shew that, in Berwickshire at any rate, there were still ministers willing to run any risk in the discharge of their duty, and people sincerely attached to the cause of the Covenants in spite of the difficulties and dangers which attended it.

Sometime in the year 1682 a vacancy had occurred in the church of Hilton, by the removal to Fogo of the Episcopal incumbent, Mr William Methven. This vacancy lasted till the year 1683, and during the course of it the parishioners invited their old minister, Mr Daniel Douglas, who still continued in that neighbourhood, to occupy the pulpit at Hilton. There was considerable risk in such an invitation and attempt, as matters then went, and the result shewed that the danger thus incurred was a very real one. The principal heritor in the parish, Joseph Johnston of Hilton, appeared as usual in his gallery on the day chosen for this bold experiment, and when Douglas ro
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to commence the service of God, Hilton stood up and commanded him to stop in the King’s name. The minister, who felt that he stood there under a commission from the King of Kings, which should be obeyed at all costs, was quietly proceeding with the service when Hilton, descending from his place and going up the church, laid hands on him and pulled him out of the pulpit by force. Summing up the remaining strength which age and infirmity had left him, Douglas, who now stood on the floor of the church, threw his assailant off, and, in presence of the wondering and awestruck people, uttered the following remarkable words, long remembered by those that heard them: “Hilton,” he said, “know what you are to suffer for the assault you have made on the servant of God in the discharge of his duty. Within a short time you shall be carried into this place wounded basely unto death.”
The troubles of earlier years, when he was deprived of that charge and lost besides a dearly loved son, had, it was well known, unhinged for a time this minister’s reason, a sad result of the persecution which appeared also in the case of another of our ministers, Mr Ramsay of Mordington. It may possibly have occurred to some then present that the sudden assault to which he was subjected had for a moment disturbed once more the balance of his understanding, but we may well believe that something in the solemnity of this prediction impressed the congregation with awe, since from that hour Johnston of Hilton lived as a marked man among his neighbours, who waited to see whether the dark saying of God’s messenger would be fulfilled or not.

The spring of 1683 was marked by new preparations for persecution: Meldrum had fresh instructions given him on the first of March, and on the 13th of April a proclamation for circuit courts was issued, Meldrum,
Haining, and Graden being desired to attend them, and give information regarding offenders. The instructions which accompanied this proclamation were very comprehensive and severe. If witnesses failed, accused parties were on no account to be dismissed till they had become bound to reappear whenever they should be called for. The expenses of the sheriffs in the various counties were to form a first charge upon the fines exacted during the sitting of the court, a provision which, no doubt, put considerable sums of money in the empty pockets of Lord Hume. A competent party of the forces was desired to attend the courts, and accompany them in their circuit, that the majesty of the law might be vindicated, and a check put upon rebels and Nonconformists. For the full detection of such persons special instructions were issued to the incumbents of the parish churches, and it must be to the enduring shame of the Establishment of the day that in very many cases these commands were promptly and amply obeyed. These ministers furnished lists of their whole parishioners, taking special notice of certain classes among them, such as those who did not come to church or receive the Sacrament; those who had been concerned in any disorders and rebellions; all who had withdrawn from their parishes without sufficient reason; all chapmen and travellers, and any who might be able to give their lordships more exact information than the clergy themselves regarding the Nonconformists. It was, doubtless, the use they made of these opportunities that earned for the minister of Smailholm and others of his stamp the reproach of being "great persecutors of the Presbyterians." We should notice, too, that the Test had a position of consequence given to it in these proceedings. The instructions ran that if Nonconformists would but swear this oath, they should be free from
further annoyance. There is a record of this being done by John Shireff in Burnesyde, in the parish of St Bathans, who probably appeared before the Justiciary in some process connected with the nonconformity of the laird of that estate.  

Besides Meldrum, Haining, Graden, and Blindlee, several other heritors were named in the proclamation, being desired to concur with the circuits in their proceedings. Among these were Sir James Cockburn of that ilk, the Humes of Linthill and Kaims, and Sir William Purves of Purveshall. This last gentleman was Solicitor-General to the King, and acquired his Berwickshire property in a somewhat remarkable way. The estate of Tofts, in the parish of Eccles, had been since 1632 the property of Sir Alexander Belches, afterwards raised to the bench under the title of Lord Tofts. His son succeeded him in these lands, and would seem to have attached himself to the Covenanting party. Lady Tofts, the widow of this latter proprietor, continued after her husband's death to keep up her connection with the Presbyterian interest, and, being found at a conventicle, she suffered the loss of half her estate for that offence. The Solicitor-General obtained a grant of these lands, which he named Purves Hall and built his house nearly on the march with the remaining portion of the estate, hoping that Lady Tofts would repeat her indiscretion and so put him in possession of the whole. His covetousness was disappointed however, the lady taking such precautions as secured her in the enjoyment of her property.

The circuit for which these exact preparations were made sat in Jedburgh on the third of July. A number of gentlemen accused of reset were called to the bar, and among others, James Pringle of Greenknow, Mr

1 J. R., 31st July 1688.
John Veitch of Westruther, and the Humes of Bassendale and Falside, all of them charged with harbouring the late Alexander Hume of Hume before his apprehension.

Pringle contrived to escape these troublesome and dangerous proceedings, though it is said that his apprehension was determined on, and means taken to effect it. As the party of soldiers charged with this duty drew near Greenknow, a favourite horse of the laird's neighed loudly, and the approach of the hostile party was perceived by a quick-eyed servant girl. She was on her way back from the well, and adroitly pressed in before the soldiers, blocking up the door with her person and the water stoups she carried, so that the alarm being thus fairly given, and a little time secured, Pringle was able to enter the closet, lift the stone which lay above the secret chamber, and conceal himself in what has ever since been known as "the laird's hole."¹ When the pursuit was past he went over the border and took refuge in England. Some confirmation of this story may be found in the plea offered for him at the Jedburgh circuit, when it was proved that he had been out of the country some time before the summons to attend that Court reached him, and then lay at the Bath in ill-health. A year afterwards, when the case was called again before the Justiciary in Edinburgh, Pringle's agent represented these matters to their lordships, adding that it was doubtful if he would ever recover, and on this ground the proceedings against him were given up.

Hume of Bassendale took a like course to escape apprehension. Somewhere in the neighbourhood of

¹ Tradition vouched for by several old people in Gordon, one of them the descendant of a family long in service with the Pringles, and still possessing some relics of the last Lady Greenknow.
his house there was a vault, perhaps that which still exists under the modern farmhouse of Bassendean, and there he made his refuge for some time, while his wants were diligently and affectionately supplied by his wife, who was Katharine Pringle, a sister of the Laird of Greenknow. Her delicate situation and evident trouble at last made the agents of the Government suspect that Bassendean himself was not far off, and dreading discovery, he contrived to leave his hiding-place unobserved, and escape abroad, where he fixed his residence in the friendly States of Holland.

Mr John Veitch, and Hume of Falside, however, actually appeared before the Circuit. They refused to take the Test, and were dismissed under bond to present themselves at the Justiciary in Edinburgh, on the 2nd of August. At that diet the Lords sent them to the Tolbooth, in company with George Ramsay of Edington; while Alexander Hume of Abbey was imprisoned in Haddington. On the same day the diet of court was deserted in the case of Mr James Deas of Coldingknows. Like Greenknow and Bassendean, he had been fortunate enough to escape out of the kingdom. Another sufferer was Hepburn of Blackcastle, also accused of reset, probably on account of the entertainment he had formerly given to his uncle, Mr Gabriel Semple. In company with a number of other gentlemen he went to prison in Edinburgh Castle.

There is a strong traditional impression that Ramsay of Edington suffered the loss of all his lands by forfeiturer. No trace of this appears in the public records, indeed, so far as these have yet been examined, but many acts of this kind were then done in such a

1 See the New Statistical Account, Parish of Westruther.
summary fashion that they escaped the notice of the clerks. The case against Ramsay for reset was abandoned in the following year, but in spite of this, he may well have been one of the greatest sufferers of his shire, and it is certainly in this way that his name has come down to us. Perhaps the truth may be that his fines were so heavy as to compel him to sell his estates, a practical forfeiture then much studied by the ruling party, and one which had the advantage of a certain privacy, as the details of these exactions were rarely recorded in the registers.

Hume of Falside was set free in a few days, a petition which he addressed to their Lordships being supported by the ominous name of Meldrum, who assured the Court that he had found him a "peaceable mean man," and useful in His Majesty's service.¹ Next year the Committee of Privy Council took Meldrum to task for dealing with Presbyterians who had not taken the Test, and making use of the information thus supplied him regarding the affairs of that party. They ordered that such persons should be pressed to take the Test at once, and in case of refusal should be put in prison. As Falside does not seem to have been dealt with in this way, we may perhaps conclude that his "service" had not been one implying any treachery to his party: he was possibly connected in some way with the Militia. The whole affair has, however, a most suspicious appearance, and it is much to be desired in the interests of a name so closely connected as that of James Hume was with many of the best of our Covenanters, that the obscurity surrounding this petition of his should be cleared up, so as to leave his honour unstained. At the diet of Justiciary in August, Falside was held bound in £100

¹ J.R., 8th August 1683.
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sterling to appear before the Court in December, and so obtained his liberty. His brother-in-law, Mr John Veitch, suffered more severely, being condemned to lie all these months in prison. They both stood at the bar together once more, in the closing days of the year, and were dismissed under a similar caution, but Veitch was deprived of his license to preach at Westruther.¹

Meanwhile the Justiciary had further business with Berwickshire. On the day when Falside's petition was granted, Alexander Hume of Abbey got his liberty also. The price he paid for that indulgence was a bond of four thousand merks, obliging him to a further attendance on the Court when required, and the Lords bade him leave Haddington for Duns, and confine himself within the bounds of that town. Next year he appeared again, together with Ramsay of Edington, and Hepburn of Blackcastle, when the process against them was dropped.²

Another case belonging to this time was that of Lady Moristoun, the wife, and now probably the widow, of Ker of Moristoun, in the parish of Legerwood. She was accused of resetting a fugitive who had been in the Bothwell insurrection, and her sentence required her to leave the kingdom before the beginning of November.³ When she had endured this exile for six months, she was allowed to return to the care of her children, from whom she had been very cruelly separated, and the case was presently dismissed upon proof that Thomas Kerter in Legerwood, who was the cause of all this trouble, had served a captain of the King's Militia since Bothwell, and that Lady

¹ J.R., 10th December 1683. ² J.R., 1st April 1684. ³ J.R., 21st August 1683.
Moristoun had never employed him as a domestic servant.\footnote{J.R., 25th April 1684. Her maiden name was Swinton.}

In the end of the year 1683 an event occurred of so remarkable a kind that the attention it excited in these days may well be repeated in our own, as we observe how strangely it relates to several matters which have already come under our notice. Lord Hume, who was now in more easy circumstances and had become a great courtier, found himself unable to leave London until the new year was come in. The Countess, however, resolved that the absence of her husband should not interfere with the due observance of Christmas at his chief seat; indeed, the custom of the times and of that party almost made such feasting a matter of civil and religious duty. Thus it came about that a company of the neighbouring gentry assembled at the Hirsel to pass a week together in all kinds of diversion.

One of this Christmas party was Joseph Johnston of Hilton, over whom the unfulfilled prophecy of Douglas still hung like a dark shadow; another was William Hume the Earl's brother, but too well known for his activity in pursuing the Presbyterians. This conjunction appeared of itself somewhat ominous, and as the days of careless feasting and revelry went on, they approached the 29th of December, the fatal anniversary of Alexander Hume's execution, whom William Hume had been the means of bringing to that sad end. It is said that the party sat down that night to cards, and that play ran high among them. William Hume lost heavily and repeatedly; at last he lost his temper as well as his money, and, addressing himself to Johnston of Hilton, accused him of foul play. So ungentlemanly an insult was not to be borne for a moment by a man
of Hilton's breeding and fiery temper. He flung it back with some circumstance of added contempt; swords flew out, and there would have been blood on the spot, had not the rest of the company separated the angry men, and pressed them to conclude a sullen and unwilling truce. When the party had broken up for the night, William Hume, who was probably flustered with wine, and certainly brooding still with a growing passion on the injury he conceived had been done him, rose from his bed, and, with a candle in one hand and a rapier in the other, sought Hilton's room, slaying him foully as he lay with repeated sword thrusts. A little longer, and Hume was mounted on the dead man's horse, flying southward, bound for England and the Continent in the very way which he, and the Government he represented, had compelled so many a Presbyterian to take; while Hilton's corpse, hastily dressed for the tomb, and bleeding still, was carried home, and laid, it is said, to await the burial in that very church where a little before he had acted so tyrannically, and received so solemn a warning from the servant of God.

It would be difficult to find in the whole range of Scottish history a more striking scene than that which surrounded the death of Hilton, or one which appeals more forcibly to the imagination, by its strangely-mingled suggestions of the natural and the supernatural worlds. One longs to see a picture of that dim parlour at the Hirsel drawn by a master hand, which should shew us the oak wainscot of the walls faintly relieved by the gleam of candles nearly burnt out in their sconces, the floor as that disordered company left it, stained with wine spilt among the scattered packs, and the table itself where two cards of different suits should lie alone, the ten of diamonds for the riches of the world that tempted that age and party to their
ruin, and the knave of spades for the short shrift, the sudden doom, and the narrow dishonoured grave in which all their hope and policy so soon lay buried, while above all should look down from the pargetted ceiling the ancient and solemn coat of Hume, regarding in grave displeasure the shame of his race in these degenerate times, and the omen of his party's ruin. Such a piece would fittingly present to our age a scene never to be forgotten, when the death of Alexander Hume was indeed avenged with a double judgment, and the word of God by Douglas was most exactly fulfilled, so that the whole country wondered at it, and handed down these circumstances to posterity in a tradition which has endured even to our own days.

The story runs that in after years Hume sickened of his long exile, and resolved to see for himself whether he might not venture to return to his native land. The son of the murdered Johnston was present at some public gathering, when one of the servants brought him a message, desiring he would speak with a stranger at the door. He found this man to be of a distinguished appearance and address. He had come, he said, to tell Johnston that Hume, whom he had met abroad, was sincerely sorry for his rash act, and wished to know whether he could be forgiven. Some accent of personal feeling in this plea must have defeated the carefully-planned disguise, for Johnston suddenly cried, "You are my father's murderer," and sprang to seize him. Hume now knew that his hope was in vain, and avoiding the young man very adroitly, he slipped out of the still open door and took his flight a second time to the Continent, where he is said to have died shortly afterwards in one of the foreign wars, serving as a soldier of fortune.
CHAPTER III.

SEVERAL curious matters belonging to the spring of the year 1684 shew how much the mind of the Government continued to be set on the exaction of money: so strongly, indeed, that one is tempted to say that the time had now come when even the desire to see Nonconformity disappear had given way to this overmastering passion, and the Covenanters began to be regarded almost in the light of a profitable source of revenue to the State. The King was asked whether it were his pleasure that husbands should be fined for their wives' irregularities, and solemnly replied that this was to be done in every case where the husband did not produce his wife to the courts for judgment according to law; an alternative which one may imagine was not much used owing to the proved severity of the times.\(^1\) A little later he desired the Council to have an exact account of all moneys received in this way by the country officials, as there was a not unreasonable suspicion that a great deal designed for the Royal purse had been spent on their own pleasures by these officers.\(^2\) The case of Bassendean may serve to reduce all this tendency of the time to the form of a practical example. This gentleman sent a petition to the Justiciary, praying for a relaxation of sentence, which was immediately granted him on condition of his coming under a bond of three

\(^1\) 12th Feb., W. \(^2\) 5th April, W.
thousand merks that he would present himself before the court in the month of November. Their Lordships probably calculated on the forfeiture of this money, and if it was so they were not deceived. Hume was abroad in safety, and chose to stay there rather than risk his life by making an appearance in Scotland, even though his continued absence should cost him that considerable sum.

As if they had grounded their procedure on the order of military operations commonly followed in those days, the Government generally chose spring or the opening of summer for their new attempts against the Non-conformists. The summer of 1684 saw preparations made which were designed to issue in greater severities than ever. On the 5th of May the Fugitive Roll came out, containing many hundred names; an ominous publication for the Presbyterians, who might now see very clearly what was intended against them. A little later orders were sent to Meldrum and Lord Charles Murray to proceed to Teviotdale with their troops of horse, that the country might be thoroughly under control, and finally the Government determined to issue a new commission for circuit courts, those of last year having proved so useful in the work of persecution.

The preparations for this new procedure were more exact and complete than ever. Shipmasters might not leave port save under an oath that they carried no fugitives, passes were required in the case of all who travelled from one part of the country to another, and when the proclamation for the courts was made, on the 6th of September, the instructions accompanying it were of a very comprehensive and resolute kind. The

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1 25th April, J.R.  2 J.R., 4th July 1687.  3 See Note A.
4 16th Sept., W.  5 16th Sept., W.
Commissioners being attended with a competent body of the Royal forces, they were in the first instance to disarm the whole country where they came that there might be no possibility of resistance. The laws were to be put into force against all Nonconformists, and especially such as attended conventicles, while those leaving their homes to escape justice were to be noted and reported to the Secret Committee of Council. All Presbyterian ministers still preaching under indulgence were to be strictly examined whether they had obeyed their instructions, a severity which was the result of the Council's determination to turn these men out of their charges on one pretext or another. Pedlars and posts not having commission were to be stopped, and those who had taken any part, either directly or indirectly, in the last insurrection, must be diligently searched out, and their wives and children turned out of house and home if it appeared that they had held any communication with them. The clergy of the Establishment were to be the objects of special care, and everything must be done to support them in their office, while the utmost rigour of fire and sword was to be employed against offenders, the Privy Council being empowered to grant an indemnity for any excesses which this license might occasion.

The shire of Berwick had already experienced the severity of the times in a fine of £1666, 13s. 4d., levied from the parish of Legerwood in the month of August for conventicles, but it was now to find the same rigour applied on a far larger and more comprehensive scale. The commission of Justiciary for this part of the country was in the hands of Lord Balcarres, Lord Yester, and William Hay of Drummelzier. Mr Alexander Forbes, their clerk, went down before them,

1 P.W. and W.  
2 S.A.
according to the usual practice, and took a Porteous Roll of the local Nonconformists to make the after procedure easier. This roll is dated the 20th of September,\(^1\) and contains the names of some two hundred and fifty persons, but we should be much mistaken in supposing that these were all the Nonconformists in the shire. The Council had ordered the names of persons of quality to be kept out of the common list of irregular people,\(^2\) and had besides instructed the Commissioners to be careful not to punish multitudes but only the most notorious offenders.\(^3\) To this wise rule their Lordships added another on their own account, telling Mr Charles Gray, who pled before them as counsel for the crown, to restrict his libels to offences committed within the last two years.\(^4\) It is also to be noted that the Porteous Roll was largely framed from the information furnished by the clergy of the Established Church.\(^5\) Some of these were ready indeed to give information against their parishioners, as the long lists from Smailholm, Mertoun, and Earlston sufficiently testify,\(^6\) but others had enough humanity to make them feel such work degrading and distasteful, and to prevent them from doing any more than they could help in the matter. Thus the small number of names returned from some of the parishes is to be taken as a sign rather of this clemency than of any weakness of the Presbyterian cause in these parts, and on the whole the Roll must be held as exhibiting but a small proportion of the nonconformity of Berwickshire. Understood in this way it gives us reason to think that there was not a parish in the shire where the Presbyterians had not at this time a considerable body of adherents.

\(^1\) P.W., see Note B. \(^2\) 16th April 1688, W. \(^3\) P.W., 1684. \(^4\) Minute Book of Circuit, 25th Sept., P.W. \(^5\) Ibid. \(^6\) See Note B.
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The Commissioners of Justiciary opened their court in Duns Tolbooth on the 25th of September with considerable state, accompanied by the troops that had been assigned them, and heralded by John Fergusson, Balcarres' trumpeter, in his livery of red and yellow. The Minute Book of Court contains in its earliest pages a general account of their procedure, being, indeed, the same which they returned to the Privy Council, and from it we gain the impression that they conceived they had executed very exactly the commission entrusted to them. Nonconformists of small means they had held to bonds of fifty or one hundred pounds, according to their ability. Others, such as tenant farmers and men of some substance, were subjected to a fine as well, while any appearance of obstinacy was met by requiring those who shewed it to take the Oath of Allegiance. Any who refused to swear were ordered to be shipped off to the Plantations in America. Their Lordships seem to have been satisfied of their exceeding clemency in dealing with such as were "weak, aged, infirm creatures, and beggars," who were exempted from the bond, though one might fancy that the nature of the case might have as much to do here as any principle of mercy. Lord Hume had a warrant, however, from the court, to give such persons no peace till he had reduced them to obedience. This easiness, it was thought, should have inclined men to obey the summon calling them to appear at Duns, but as there were some so hardened in their suspicions of the Government that they most unreasonably declined to do so, the Sheriff was further required to receive a list of these people, whom he was to search for, seize, and send

1 P.W., 1634.
to Edinburgh, and turn their wives and families out of house and home. As some of the fugitives were strongly suspected of hiding in the town of Berwick, their Lordships wrote to the Mayor of that place, desiring he would search for and apprehend any whom he could find. Nothing in short was left undone to root Presbyterianism out of the country altogether.¹

On an examination of the particular cases which follow in the journals of the court's procedure, it must be allowed that the Commissioners did not give a false picture of their diligence and rigour against the Nonconformists. Mr Daniel Douglas, described as "a vagrant preacher," was apprehended and examined regarding his preaching and administering the Sacrament of Baptism, and was held bound to appear again under a penalty of two thousand merks.² This was probably forfeited, as Douglas did not present himself on the appointed day, but sent a certificate signed by the minister of Whitsome, saying he was too ill to attend, and would not preach save in his own family, a promise which the broken state of his health enabled him to give without doing violence to his conscience.³ It would seem, indeed, that mischief had been intended him, for the Council sent out an answer to a reference of the Circuit Court, in the following terms:—"As to Mr Daniel Douglas, he must be bound up one way or other, and those who make use of his manufactory well payed."⁴

John Hume, the schoolmaster of Hutton, had conversed with James Reston, one of those concerned in

¹ See the Preface to the Minutes of this Court, printed at length in the Appendix to Burns' Edition of Wodrow.
² Minute Book, 27th September.
³ P.W., 2nd October.
⁴ Minute Book, 1st October.
the insurrection. He was put in prison for some days, and only obtained his freedom on taking the Test and becoming bound to appear in Edinburgh when called for. Alexander Hume of Abbey surrendered himself to answer to the charge of reset formerly made against him, and was dismissed on the same terms.¹

A number of persons of less note now occupied the attention of the court. Alexander Cruicks, the miller of Polwarth, was fined fifty pounds Scots for leaving his parish church, and in default of payment went to prison. In a little, he represented to their Lordships that he was a poor deaf man who had not understood what was said to him, whereupon he was dismissed under bond. The same procedure was followed in the case of John Black, undergardener at Blackadder, and of Alexander Dods, in the Greenrig of Swinton, the first of whom made faith he had nothing but the ragged clothes on his back. Nothing could be got from such poor creatures, so they were discharged. Agnes Dalgleish, the wife of William Black or Clark in Craigwalls, in the parish of Edrom, was not so fortunate, though she told the court her husband had been twice fined already, and was very poor. She was held to a fine of fifty pounds Scots, and cast into prison till it should be paid.² Isobel

¹ Minute Book, 27th September.
² Some time since, when alterations were in progress upon the buildings which occupy the site of the Tolbooth a strange discovery was made. Three cells appeared, sunk in the ground and built like walls, but set close together and of small diameter. One of them still had its massive staple fixed in the wall waist-high, through which a chain might be passed for the purpose of confining a prisoner in that dismal place. This iron is now in the possession of Mr George Fortune, Duns, who furnishes me with these particulars, having been himself in charge of the works when the cells were found.
Fisher, wife of John Ellone or Allan in Corsbie, was fined twenty pounds, but her husband paid that sum to save her from prison, so she was set at liberty under a bond for good behaviour.¹

More notable were the cases of Mrs Jean Home, "Lady St Leonards," and of "Lady Bassendean." Lady St Leonards was found to be living in a mean condition with not more than forty pounds of jointure, while her son was burdened with debt. She came under the usual caution, and thus obtained her liberty. Mr Alexander Brown of Thornydikes became bound for his relative, Lady Bassendean, that she should appear when called for, so this case also was dismissed. In a somewhat similar way William Shirrilaw or Shillinglaw, tenant in Chapel on Leader, obtained his liberty. He had been imprisoned in Duns Tolbooth, under a charge of resetting Alexander Brown, a fugitive from the Bothwell insurrection. James Peter of Chapel represented to the court that Brown, who lived in Birkenside, had been relaxed before Shillinglaw had anything to do with him, so the prisoner was set free when he had come under an obligation of eleven hundred merks to comppear when called for. Robert Brown of Blackburn, Hume of Houndwood, and James Hume of Falside were summoned, but only the two former compeared. They offered proof that their fines for nonconformity were paid, whereupon the Lords discharged them.²

The only indulged minister within these bounds at this time was Mr James Fletcher of Nenthorn. In obedience to their orders, which were very exact on this head, the Court called him up and examined him. His answers were not to their mind, so they took his licence

¹ Minute Book, 30th September and 1st October.
² Minute Book, 2nd and 3rd Oct.
from him, as indeed the Council intended they should do.\footnote{Minute Book, 3rd Oct.} He had paid a fine in the year 1673 for failure to observe the anniversary of the Restoration, and it was probably for this old offence that he was now, in the greater severity usual in these days, turned out of his cure. At his death in 1690 he was residing in Ednam Hospital. This place may have been what is now known as St Leonards in the parish of Nenthorn, and, in that case, it is to be supposed that Fletcher, being still in the neighbourhood, continued to minister to his people in a more private way as long as his life lasted. His will is curious, speaking as it does of the silver macer and other dishes of plate which he possessed, and of several articles of jewellery in gold and diamonds, as well as of some land near Dundee which he left to the ministers of that town for behoof of the poor.\footnote{Scott’s "Fasti."} It is highly probable that he belonged to the well-known family of the Fletchers of Salton, who drew their original from the County of Angus.

From Duns the circuit went to Jedburgh, where they began their sittings on the 7th of October. Here also a number of the causes which came before the court were such as concerned Berwickshire, having been deferred hence from the sederunts at Duns. Lady Shielfield and Lady Bassendean were now dismissed on their promise to be regular in frequenting their parish churches, while Lady Greenknow, being able to prove that she had paid all her fines, was accordingly discharged.\footnote{Minute Book of Court, 7th and 10th Oct.} Jean Trotter, the wife of Mr William Calderwood, the deprived minister of Legerwood, had been summoned to Duns, but the state of her health and of the weather had hindered her from undertaking
the exposed and fatiguing journey thither from the remote parish of Channelkirk, where she resided. She now appeared with a certificate that she had been unable to travel, and was dismissed under a bond for her orderly behaviour.¹

One of the greatest severities used by this Court appeared in the case of Alexander Martin of Riselaw, in the parish of Fogo. He was the Commissary Clerk of Lauder, and, according to his libel, had been guilty of stopping decrees for fines, of compounding and transacting with Nonconformists, and thus countenancing irregularities. He had probably used his position in a way which sympathy and humanity towards the oppressed Presbyterians dictated to him, and the gravity of his punishment is another reason for thinking that this had been the case. He was, in fact, fined eighteen thousand merks, charged besides with the expenses of witnesses, at the rate of twenty shillings a day for the horsemen and half as much for those who came on foot, and was put in prison till his fine should be paid.² From this severe sentence he obtained no remission, though he represented that it meant his utter ruin;³ nay, the court went further in the case, and accused others of being art and part with Martin in the crime with which he was charged. Thomas Davidson in Hume, and William Hardy in Gordon, the Sheriff's messengers sent to cite parties to the court, stood charged with having tampered with their instructions in the same way. They were thrown into Duns Tolbooth on the 3rd of October, and two days later an order came to Lord Home desiring he would send them to Jedburgh for punishment. To this his Lordship

¹ Minute Book of Court, 11th Oct.
² Minute Book, 15th Oct.
³ Ibid., 17th Oct.
replied in terms which seem to discover a scene of severity, and perhaps of torture, worse than any we have yet noticed in these proceedings. "And whereas the Earl was appointed to send the sheriff officers to Jedburgh if they recovered, and if they recovered not to put them out of their offices and punish them exemplarily, the Earl hath already deprived them of their offices, and they are not yet recovered, and so soon as they recover he shall inflict such punishment upon them as the Lords of Privy Council shall think fit." 1 The court also found that George Ogilvy, clerk to the Laird of Meldrum, had been guilty of compounding with the whole of the Nonconformists in the parish of Smailholm, to whom he had granted a general discharge. 2 This paper was ordered to be kept in retentis, 3 but there is no account of any sentence being passed on Ogilvy because of it. Probably the influence of his master was enough to protect him from harm.

Mr John Veitch of Westruther had been cited to Duns, but made no answer to that summons. His son George now appeared for him at Jedburgh, and obtained a discharge of the process, by giving a bond of five thousand merks that his father would compear when he might be called for. 4

It seems that, in answer probably to some complaint regarding fugitives who had crossed the border into England, the Council had written to the authorities of that kingdom requesting their help in the matter. The Lord Advocate sent to the Commissioners of the circuit court a duplicate warrant he had received from the

1 P. W., 1684, Supplementary Portfolio.
2 Minute Book, 2nd Oct.
3 Extat in P. W., 13th May 1681.
4 Minute Book, 10th Oct.
Chief Justice of England, addressed to all the officers there, desiring them to be diligent in searching for Scots rebels within the bounds of their jurisdiction. One cannot help remarking that this fountain of justice was no other than the infamous Jeffries, not indeed as yet known in the full barbarity of his character, for the Western Circuit of next year was yet to come, but already spoken of as one whose impudent and cruel perversion of justice might be relied on whenever the King had need of a victim. It was with such a man as this that the Council of Scotland were now in correspondence, and indeed the procedure of both courts was but too nearly alike; for if England had her Jeffries, Scotland shewed in the person of Sir George Mackenzie one who with perhaps more polish of manner sought no less eagerly to stretch the law to the uttermost against those whom he regarded as the King's enemies.

The agenda written by Forbes to prepare for each day's proceedings of the circuit present us with some interesting matters which are wanting in the Minutes of Court. Thus it appears that an enquiry was made what prisoners belonging to Berwickshire then lay in the Tolbooths of Edinburgh and the Canongate, and in particular regarding George Home, feuair in Duns, who had gone to live in the capital. George Archer and James Weddell had also fled, but into some foreign country, while Margaret and Agnes Watson, and Robert Richardson, were gone to England. Another who had taken the same means of escaping trouble was Alexander Guthrie, in the parish of Edrom; and George Allan in Paxton (?) was also found to be a fugitive from justice.

1 Minute Book, 18th Oct. see also P.W., Oct. 9th, and P.A., 3rd Dec.
2 To be found in P.W. Suppl.
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Immediately before the circuit passed to Jedburgh, notice was taken of Robert and James Bowmaker in Hutton, whose names stood in the Porteous Roll under a charge of resetting James Reston, their master. They were dismissed at Jedburgh on the 10th of October, having denied the accusation on oath. A double entry on the 9th and 18th of October shews us that their Lordships were much concerned to have news of a conventicle lately held on Huntlywood, in Gordon parish. They asked Graden if he could inform them about it, but the question was put in vain. The lands of Nether Huntlywood, as we have already noticed, belonged to Mr William Erskine, a circumstance which may possibly have had something to do with the choice of this site for the meeting, but no further details concerning this conventicle have been preserved. The name of “the pulpit,” however, is still given to one of the fields lying immediately to the south of the Knock Hill, and is connected with the tradition that it was on this spot that the field preaching was held.

On their departure from the country the Commissioners of the circuit carefully provided for the apprehension of all obstinate fugitives who had failed to answer their summons. A list containing their names was left in the hands of the Earl of Hume, who committed it to William Hastie and Patrick Cockburn, the newly-appointed sheriff officers, for execution, ordering them to proceed with a party of the forces to apprehend the fugitives, and to turn their wives and families out of their houses. We can fancy what a hunting-ground Berwickshire must now have become. This scene of oppression lasted till the 26th of November, when the Sheriff returned his report of diligence to the Council.1

1 P.W., Suppl. Portf. See also Note B.
Such severity seems to have provoked a not unnatural resistance on the part of those who witnessed and suffered it. On the 24th of October—the circuit then sitting at Peebles—their Lordships, "upon information of disaffection," thought proper to strengthen the hands of Lord Hume in Berwickshire. They accordingly commissioned Captain Alexander Bruce,¹ and his troop to proceed thither and "search for those cited but not compearing at Duns, and carry them to the Tolbooth in Edinburgh." In the list which accompanied this Commission appeared the names of James Turner, fisher in Dryburgh; John Learmonth, shoemaker, and John Shillinglaw, tailor and tenant, both in Earlston; and Mr William Elliot in Smailholm Craigs.

This Mr Elliot had been settled as minister of Yarrow in 1641. In the fatal year, 1662, he was confined to his parish, being beyond the reach of the Glasgow act, and even received licence to preach there in 1679, but seems to have lost that indulgence about the time of which we are now speaking, when so determined an attempt was made to get rid of all those Presbyterian ministers who still continued to officiate in a regular way. The laird of Chatto gave security for Elliot to Captain Bruce, which that officer duly reported to the Council, adding that, as this was but an aged man, and infirm, their Lordships might be pleased to dismiss him with a fine, which he thought the minister would pay without difficulty to escape further annoyance. Elliot in fact died about a year afterwards, aged sixty-eight, and no doubt worn out before his time by the hardships to which he had been subjected. As to the others we have

¹ This seems to be the same soldier who was guilty of a barbarous murder in the fields next year, the sufferer on that occasion being James Kirko, in the parish of Keir. See W., vol. iv., p. 251.
noticed Captain Bruce found that Learmont and Shillinglaw had already given satisfaction to Lord Hume, as the minister of the parish testified in Learmont's case at least, and that Turner now attended church regularly.  

The means so carefully taken for the capture of fugitives now led to further apprehensions. On the 12th of November the Council had before them George Turnbull, a prisoner from Berwick. They posed him with the Societies' paper of October 28th, but he disowned it, declaring besides that the insurrection at Bothwell was rebellion, and that the assassination of the Archbishop was murder, and that all rising in arms against the King was unlawful. Next day the same procedure was followed in the case of James Reston, elder, in Hutton, and James Reston, younger, in Whitsome. These prisoners were already denounced rebels in the fugitive roll, on which ground the circuit court had formerly proceeded against Hume and The Bowmakers for holding converse with the younger Reston, who seems indeed to have been actually in arms at Bothwell. Both father and son signed the same formula of abjuration which had been presented to Turnbull, but with different result. The trembling and disordered signature of the elder Reston suggests the use of torture in his case, and he was remitted to prison, while his son was turned over to the mercies of the Justiciary, who kept him some weeks in custody on the pretext that he had been arrested in England, a fruit of the diligence of Judge Jeffries, and obliged him to take the Test twice over before they would set him at liberty.  

In explanation of these extraordinary proceedings,  

1 P.W., 1684, Suppl. Portf. See also Scott's "Fasti."  
we must remark that it had been decided to count adherence to the Societies' declaration an evidence of rebellion, and to punish with exile to the Plantations all who should refuse to agree with the views of the Government regarding Bothwell and the death of Sharp.¹ Thus the question now came to be, not what a man had done but what he thought; the principles of a sound jurisprudence were daily violated, as prisoners testified for or against themselves, and were absolved or condemned according to the tenor of their profession, while this inquisitorial procedure was conducted by the aid of tortures which the mind shudders to remember. The boot and the thumbscrew were the usual means of obtaining evidence from obstinate Covenanters in the council chamber, just as the match was employed in the field according to the rough and ready ferocity of a cruel soldiery. To make sure that this last means of compulsion should not be wanting in our district the Lords of Council recommended to General Dalziel an arrangement for the quartering of one half of the Life Guards in the shires of Teviotdale, Selkirk and Berwick.² If our Covenanters had not been sustained in their affliction by unseen powers, and by the presence of God Himself with them in that furnace and fear, they might now have given all up for lost. That they did not do so must ever be regarded as one of the most signal instances of protecting and sustaining grace.

¹ W. ² P.W., 10th December.
CHAPTER IV.

The Carolina project entered into by so many of our leading Presbyterians, in the year 1682, was the means of involving them in serious difficulty. Several of those interested in the scheme went up to London to beg the King's favour, and while there they became acquainted with some Englishmen of rank and fortune who were at that time contriving an insurrection with the purpose of putting the Duke of Monmouth on the throne. Our countrymen found that Argyll and William Veitch were already of that party, and thus without much difficulty they cast in their lot with the conspirators. In the following year, when matters came to a head in what was called the Ryehouse Plot, a design to assassinate the King and the Duke of York, the odium of this wickedness was laid on the whole party, though it is certain that only a few were privy to it or approved the attempt. On this serious charge a number of apprehensions were made in London, and the Scotsmen then taken prisoners were sent down to Edinburgh to be tried for high treason.

Among these was the famous Robert Bailie of Jerviswood, and at the time of which we now speak the long tragedy of his later life was drawing to its melancholy close. On the 4th of September 1684, when already sinking fast under a mortal illness, brought on by his confinement for a year past, he was condemned for
entertaining rebels, and the Council fined him six thousand pounds sterling.\textsuperscript{1} Three months later he had evidently but a few days more to live, and that must ever be regarded as one of the most iniquitous proceedings of the time which instructed the Lord Advocate to pursue the life of this dying man before the Justiciary. Several circumstances of additional severity made the trial a still more remarkable instance of malicious persecution. Only one day was allowed Jerviswood to prepare his defences, instead of a fortnight as was usual, and two of the lawyers he would naturally have retained to plead for him were associated with the case for the Crown, so that he might not have the benefit of their counsel. The Government feared that death would snatch their expected victim out of their hands, and so likely did this seem during the trial, that when sentence was pronounced, the prisoner's execution was fixed for that very day at two o'clock in the afternoon. Jerviswood sat, indeed, at the bar in his bedgown, being unable to stand through weakness, and was attended by his sister, the Lady Graden, who supplied him with cordials from time to time. He heard the speech of the Lord Advocate with many signs of astonishment, and craving leave from the President to speak, he turned presently to Sir George Mackenzie and said, "My Lord, I think it very strange that you should charge me with such abominable things; you may remember that when you came to me in prison, you told me such things were laid to my charge, but that you did not believe them. How then, my Lord, come you to lay such a stain upon me with so much violence? Are you now convinced in your conscience that I am more guilty than

\textsuperscript{1} W.
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before? You may remember what passed between us in prison.” With no little confusion the Lord Advocate, upon whom the eyes of the whole court were now fixed, replied:—“Jerviswood, I own what you say. My thoughts there were as a private man, but what I say here is by special direction of the Privy Council, as the clerk ¹ will testify.” “Well,” replied Jerviswood, “If your Lordship have one conscience for yourself and another for the Council, I pray God forgive you; I do.” Thus died one of the greatest men of his time, and in a way which provoked Bishop Burnet to remark, that the steps of this process seemed to have been ordered by one who was very exactly practised in the methods of the Inquisition itself.

Another Presbyterian who had been concerned in the Carolina business, and in the intrigues of the English party which accompanied it, was Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth. The day before the Circuit Court commenced its sittings in Duns, William Hastie the messenger sought Polwarth at Redbraes Castle, and finding him from home, left his summons at the house. ² It seems that a search party was then sent to apprehend him. They failed in their purpose, but finding young Polwarth, Sir Patrick’s eldest son, took him prisoner to Edinburgh as a hostage for his father. The boy continued in prison till the 13th of December, when he was set free under a bond of five thousand pounds, which Lord Jedburgh signed. ³

¹ This was Sir William Paterson, whose loose life was the subject of scurrilous jests at the very Council table. See the reverse of a certificate preserved in the series of the Council warrants, and dated 2nd January 1685. It was at the hands of men like these that our noblest Scotsmen suffered the extremity of iniquitous laws.

² P.W., 24th September 1684.

³ P.W. “I am now a poor afflicted young boy, wanting a father to care for me . . . please to set me at liberty to comfort my mother.”
The Lords of Circuit put themselves in communication with the Governor of Berwick to see if he had any information regarding this fugitive. His reply is entered in the Minute of Court, dated October 11th, at Jedburgh, being to the effect that he understood Polwarth had not yet escaped, and that the minister of that parish could probably give some account of his movements. Mr George Holiwell, for such was the minister's name, appeared before the court and denied all knowledge of the laird's hiding-place. We have every reason to think he spoke in good faith, but the fact was that Polwarth had retired to a refuge in his family burial vault, and thus lay almost immediately below the pulpit where Holiwell preached every Sabbath. Here he continued for many weeks, having the use of a bed which James Winter, the trusty joiner of the family, put up, and passing much of his time in that tedious and gloomy confinement by repeating Buchanan's Latin Psalms. His hardships and anxieties were much lightened by the affectionate care of his eldest daughter Grizzel. This uncommon child, for she was yet but twelve years old, played the chief part in all that was done for her father's comfort, and even undertook at his desire a journey to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, that she might convey a message from him to Jerviswood. It was in this way that she first saw her future husband, George Baillie, Jerviswood's eldest son, by whom she afterwards became the ancestress of the Mellerstain family, whose later generations have succeeded to the Earldom of Haddington.¹

¹ These particulars are derived from Lady Murray's narrative, and the same source may supply us with the famous story of the sheep's head in its most authentic form:—"There was also difficulty
Lady Polwarth felt keenly the dismal situation of her husband, and was busy contriving a secret place for his concealment in Redbraes Castle itself, when the sad news reached them that Jerviswood had been executed, and these plans were at once broken off by Polwarth's determined purpose to fly the country so soon as a favourable opportunity should present itself. It seems that he had an understanding with his nearest neighbour, John Hume of Halyburton, also a stout Covenant, that whichever of them should first get news of approaching danger should take care to warn the other of what was threatened, a feather being the token agreed upon between them. In the beginning of December the Council had directed the Lord Advocate to indict Polwarth for treason, and at the end of the month a party of soldiers came out to effect his apprehension. They passed, tradition says, by Halyburton, where the laird of that place happened to meet them on the road. "Where do you ride today," he asked, and their commander replied that they were on their way to seek Polwarth at Redbraes. "Is it so," said Hume, with admirable dissimulation, "then I'll go with you myself and be your guide. But come your ways into the house and rest you a little, till I of getting victuals to carry him, without the servants suspecting; the only way it was done was by stealing it off her plate at dinner into her lap. Many a diverting story she has told about this, and other things of the like nature. Her father liked sheep's head, and while the children were eating their broth, she had conveyed most of one into her lap; when her brother Sandy (the Late Lord Marchmont) had done, he looked up with astonishment, and said, 'Mother, will ye look at Grizzel; while we have been eating our broth, she has eat up the whole sheep's head!' This occasioned so much mirth amongst them, that her father at night was greatly entertained by it, and desired Sandy might have a share of the next."
get ready for the road." When the party were safe within doors, and busy with the great case-bottles which Haliburton was careful to set down before them, their host slipped out, and calling for the horse, which, according to the agreement with his neighbour, he kept constantly saddled for such an emergency, he sent one of his servants to Polwarth's house as hard as he could ride. Before the soldiers had well left their carouse, the messenger reached Redbraes, the feather, for this it was which Haliburton had given the man to carry in an envelope of paper, fluttered out on the air as a signal to be gone, and Polwarth prepared to flee for his life.\(^1\) When night fell he stepped out by a stable window to escape the notice of his household, and rode straight for the Border.

Meanwhile the party from Halyburton reached Redbraes, only to find the bird flown. They pressed on his track and overtook a solitary horseman, who proved, however, to be John Allan, Polwarth's steward. This man had started, indeed, to ride with his master, but in the gathering gloom of that December night they had separated, and, unknown to each other, had taken different roads. They met again on the other side of Tweed, and gave thanks to God for a great deliverance, as Allan told how the troopers had stopped and questioned him, how fearful he was till he missed his master, and how he had been able to divert their suspicions by saying he was on his way to do business at Morpeth Fair.\(^2\)

\(^1\) Tradition reported to the author by an old shepherd. It will also be found in Scott's "Woodstock." Note G.

\(^2\) "There is a tradition that, upon one occasion, when Sir Patrick Home of Polwarth (afterwards created Earl of Marchmont) was obliged to flee Redbraes House, now called Marchmont, he crossed
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Travelling by quiet country roads in the character of a surgeon, which he had ample skill to support, Polwarth came at length to London, and sailed to the port of Bourdeaux. Thence he made his way on foot across France, and entered the Low Countries, where his wife and family presently joined him. They set up house in the city of Utrecht, living very quietly on a pension of £150 a year allowed them from their estate, which had been forfeited to the Crown and bestowed on Lord Seaforth. The lands of Mellerstain were dealt with in the same way, and John Trotter was appointed chamberlain to these two estates. A year afterwards this Commissioner had reason to enter a complaint before the Council of oppressive exactions on the part of Lord Hume by double fines, quartering of troops and the like severities. The Council referred the matter to the country a little above Greenlaw, where he met with a man of the name of Broomfield, the miller of Greenlaw mill, who was repairing a slap in the mill cauld. Sir Patrick, addressing him by the occupation in which he was engaged, said, 'Slap, have you any money?' upon which Broomfield supplied him with what was considered necessary for his present exigency. Sir Patrick was obliged about this time to go over to Holland, and when he came back with King William, did not forget his former benefactor. It is not known what return he made him, but the family were settled in a free house so long as they lived, and always retained the name of Slap. The last of the family died about fourteen years ago, and frequent mention is made in the Kirk Session Records of Broomfield of Slap." (New Statistical Account of the Parish). A further development of the legend asserts that there were two men who built up the baronet in a double dyke that they were closing until his pursuers passed by. "Robert Brunfeld in Greenlaw, called of the Slope," is an entry in the Baptismal Register of Gordon Parish, at the 20th September 1668, which is sufficient to dispose of this story altogether, at least in the above form. If Broomfield was a Covenant, however, and if Sir Patrick met him as the story says, he would naturally call him "Slap" from the name of his lands, and this circumstance may have suggested the invention of the other details to some one who did not understand why the name was used.
Lord Hume himself, from which we may judge how much redress the complainers were likely to get.¹

The early part of the year 1685 was remarkable for the death of the King, and for the accession to the throne of that notable persecutor of the Presbyterians lately known as the Duke of York. As might have been expected, this change of Government was little to the advantage of that party, and new cases of oppression appeared every day. Among these we may notice that of James Reston, elder, in Hutton, who had been confined as it would appear ever since he stood before the Council in November. On the 16th of February the committee appointed to consider the case of the prisoners reported concerning him as follows:—"James Reston in Halton, heritor, fugitive, unrelaxed, remitted to prison."² Here he seems to have continued till the 8th of May 1686.³ The Lord Justice Clerk and Lord Castlehill then examined the prisoners, and found James Reston an old man of sixty-nine who had been apprehended for being in the Fugitive Roll. On being examined, he denied ever having been summoned to any court, owned the King, prayed for him, declared he thought the taking of arms against His Majesty was unlawful; had never done so himself, nor would do such a thing. He also assured the clerk that he had sworn the Oath of Allegiance both at his first appearance before the Council and also when examined by the committee in February 1685. The prisoner signed this deposition in a much firmer hand than that which he was able to command after the Council had their first dealing with him, yet the order for his liberation was not passed till the 13th of May, when he was required

¹ January 26, 1685. P. W. December 10, 1685. ² W. ³ P. W.
to find security in a bond of five hundred merks that he would conform and compair when called for. His case affords an excellent example of the procedure of the time, when, without legal summons or proof of any kind, a man of some position, as Reston was, might be imprisoned for years on the sole ground that his name had been inserted in the Fugitive Roll by the party opposed to his.

The accession of James the VII. to the throne had wider consequences than those implied in a mere increase of persecution. The new king was well known to be a papist; he was extremely unpopular with all classes in the country, save with the members of that church to which he belonged. His accession seemed therefore to offer an uncommonly favourable opportunity for that general insurrection, which many in both countries had long been planning. This was the view taken by our Scottish exiles in the Low Countries, and acted on very boldly after the meeting they had at Amsterdam on the 17th of April, where the Earl of Argyll was present with Polwarth, Torwoodlee, Bassendean, and many others. It does not fall within the scope of this local history to follow the melancholy fates of that unfortunate expedition, or even to tell how Polwarth, who played a great part in it, lay hid after the defeat in Lady Eleanor Dunbar's house at Kilwinning, till he was able to contrive another escape to the Continent.

We may notice, however, a remarkable escape which William Veitch had at this time. Being in Holland with the other Scotsmen who made their refuge there, he was chosen to precede them to his native country, and so prepare for the enterprise they had in hand;

1 P.W.
Lord Grey giving him a warrant to the steward of his Northumberland estates for the raising of the tenantry there. His exertions in this way became known, and orders were sent to Struthers in England, and to Lord Lothian and to Meldrum, who lay with their forces in Teviotdale, to scour the country on both sides of the border in search of this dangerous man. To escape pursuit Veitch retired to the wilds of Carter Fell, where the kindness of a good friend of the cause—Thomas Steel, chamberlain to the Marquis of Douglas in these parts—had provided him with a refuge. This was a turf hut, cunningly contrived to escape observation, though set in the face of the hill, and here the fugitive lay while the enemy passed like a hunting-party above and below him. What made his situation more dangerous was that the pursuers availed themselves of the dogs of the country, then, as in former times, famous for their skill in tracing fugitives, but though his apprehensions were very great, yet all the exertions of the party sent on that errand were in vain, and they had to return without their expected prey.¹

The defeat of Argyll's expedition resulted in new severities to those who had been chiefly concerned in it. Parliament in its 40th Act published another forfeiture against Polwarth, Torwoodlee, and Jerviswood. Death or voluntary exile had put these men beyond the reach of the law as regarded their persons, but the Government took renewed possession of their estates, and again apprehended Polwarth's son, who was once more held to a ransom.² It should also be mentioned that a price of eighteen thousand merks had been set upon the fugitives' heads,³ and that Bassendale,

¹ V., pp. 148, 149. ² 18th Aug., £500 sterling, W. ³ 24th June, W.
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who was also concerned in the late expedition, was referred to the Justiciary court for trial, but in his case proof seems to have failed, as we hear no more of him at this time, and when he afterwards compared before their Lordships it was on a different charge altogether.

No attempt seems to have been made to confine the severity of the Government to those who had actually taken part in the insurrection, and there were several ministers who suffered for their connection with the Presbyterian party. One of these was Mr Henry Erskine. He had not been above two years in his retreat at Parkridge, when, upon an invitation from Philip Gray of Preston, he came to live on that property in Northumberland, and, transporting his family eastward, took up his residence at a place called Moliaws, not far from his first charge at Corrhill. He was living here in July 1685, when eight troopers of the Militia took him prisoner, carrying him the first night to Wooler Jail and then to Fowberry, where Colonel Struthers lay. Meanwhile the soldiers had apprehended Mr Luke Ogle, so that when Erskine was brought back from Fowberry, to Wooler, he found his old friend had become his fellow-prisoner. On the 4th of July they travelled under a guard of nine troopers to Eglingham, and thence in a day or two more to Newcastle, Erskine suffering cruelly from sickness, which was no doubt brought on by the anxiety of his apprehension acting on a constitution now for many years broken and infirm. He lay in a private house for a fortnight till his health recovered somewhat, and then rejoined Ogle in prison till the 22nd of the month, when both prisoners obtained their

1 Parl., 16th June.
liberty under the English Act of Indemnity, as they were subjects resident in that kingdom. ¹

Mr John Veitch of Westruther was another who suffered at the same time, and much more severely, the attention of the Government being probably directed to him on account of his brother's well-known interest in Monmouth's expedition. He was apprehended on the 4th of September by a party riding under command of Sir Adam Blair, younger of Carberr, upon a warrant from Lord Chancellor Perth.² They brought him to Holyrood guard-house the first night, after which he lay in the Tolbooth of Edinbergh, in close confinement and under great hardships, as he was allowed neither candle, nor fire, nor liberty to see his friends till the 5th of January, when he presented a petition describing himself as "your poor, old, infirm supplicant . . . so sickly and weak that his life is in danger," and begging that he might be allowed to take a bond to compear when called for, and so obtain his liberty. This petition was refused, but the Council gave orders to the jailer to admit his friends to see him freely.³ His imprisonment lasted five months altogether.⁴ Shortly after he was apprehended, the Council had him brought to their bar, and examined him with regard to the case of Lord Melville, then pending before the Courts.⁵ This

² W.
³ P.W., Jan. 5, 1686.
⁴ Fountainhall, in his "Decisions" (i. 371), remarks, that it was thought strange of the Council to allow Veitch no other medical advice in his sickness than that of Sir Robert Sibbald, who had turned Papist. There would seem, however, to have been an ancient friendship between them, as it was to Sibbald's Collections that Veitch contributed his account of Berwickshire in 1660. See p. 34.
⁵ W., Sept. 21 and Oct. 17, 1685.
was a liberty which Lord Perth highly resented, as Veitch had been taken into custody on his warrant alone, and he procured a letter from the King, in which His Majesty reflected sharply on such an interference with the Chancellor's prisoner. It seems that the purpose of this examination was to obtain information regarding an alleged correspondence between Lord Melville and certain parties high in office, whom Perth had perhaps his own reasons for supporting, one of them being the Lord Advocate himself. Indeed, the Roman Catholic faith of the new King had already introduced new discords and intrigues among the Court party, some of whom, like the Chancellor himself, followed the faith of their master, and others remained Protestants, but felt their position one which became more insecure every day. There was one matter, however, in which both parties could unite to seek the Royal favour, and that was the persecution of the Presbyterians, a business which nothing was suffered to interrupt.

We are now to be engaged in considering the way in which our Covenanters met this persecution, and it may be well to prepare for such a change of subject by noticing a curious matter which took place in Duns at the opening of the year 1686. It has been the immemorial custom in this part of Scotland to celebrate the feast of Eastern's E'en by a game of football, played by married men against bachelors. In Duns, as appears from a certificate signed by the Session and chief men of the place, it was the habit to summon the whole inhabitants of the place to this solemn sport by the mouth of the town officer, who had his orders for that purpose from the Baron Bailie. The times were still

1 P.W., March 5 to 25.
somewhat rude, and it was observed that whatever differences and quarrels had occurred during the past year, generally found their sufficient settlement in some way or other at the football match; but so wholesome was this redressing up of grievances reckoned that the same respectable persons who tell us of the immemorial custom are careful to add that the Sheriff had never been in the habit of taking notice of any riots or tumults then arising. In spite of this well-understood rule a case was carried before the Council in March this year, in which John Bain, the Sheriff Clerk of Berwickshire, accused Alexander Martin of Riselaw, and William Edgar, lately his servant, and John Watson, Dyer in Duns, of an aggravated assault t.c. committed in the course of the game. Witnesses were brought to prove that while the Sheriff Clerk was standing peaceably at some distance from the players, Edgar and Watson set on him at the instigation of Martin and beat him to the ground, when Martin advanced and pulled off his periwig, and the others struck him again till blood came out of his mouth, calling him a traitor to the town, and crying, "Lay, lay upon him." In Martin's defence, however, questions were put which present the matter in a somewhat different light. It seems that the quarrel had begun at a Commissary Court, perhaps the Circuit, held at Jedburgh the previous summer, when Bain treated Martin in a grossly offensive way, and then ran to the court, demanding security against him, in case he should take future notice of the insult. Relying on his impunity under this deed of law-borrows, as it was called, he repeated his spiteful conduct at the football match in Duns, by spitting in Martin's face, an action which not unnaturally provoked the assault and
battery inflicted on him. As for the witnesses he produced at the Council, it would seem he had examined them beforehand by the help of the minister of Duns. This was Mr William Grey, so determined an adherent of the Episcopal order that he refused to pray for William and Mary at the Revolution. His eldest son seems to have been a colleague of Bain's, as he became Clerk Register of Sasines for the county. These matters help us to understand the part which the minister played in the case with so much spirit. It was, indeed, but another instance of the disadvantage which Non-conformists so much felt at this time. Martin had suffered very severely for his past action in favour of that party, and no doubt Bain, who was attached to the prevailing interest, thought that this was a broken man who could be insulted with impunity. The sound chastisement which the Sheriff-Clerk received on Eastern's F'en was no doubt well deserved, but there is only too great reason to fear that the Council, whose sentence is, unfortunately, not recorded, took another view, and that Martin would once more pay dearly for what he did. The whole presents us with a strange picture of the time, and may be useful in showing that persecution, though carried to a great height, had not, even in these days, succeeded in breaking the spirit of the Covenanter or hindering them from appearing with commendable zeal in defence of their cause when occasion offered.
CHAPTER V.

Our attention has lately been engaged with what may be regarded as the extreme left wing of the Presbyterians—those concerned in Argyll's and Monmouth's expeditions. We must now survey the extreme right—consisting of what is commonly called the Cameronian party. These men, it is true, belonged chiefly to the West of Scotland, and there it was that most of their contendings appeared, yet they had connections with our Borders also, of which we shall do well to take some notice.

The rise of the Camerons may be traced to the unfortunate effects of the successive indulgences, and to the acceptance which these ensnaring measures met with from some of the Presbyterians. The Rutherglen Declaration, in which such compliance with the state was clearly denounced, was the first considerable appearance this new party made. The Declaration was published on the eve of Bothwell, and the dissensions of that unhappy camp were due in no small measure to the unbending spirit which the westland men displayed. Henry Hall of Haughead belonged to the Cameronian party: the paper found on him when he was killed at Queensferry continuing the testimony which had been begun the year before. In 1681 these people had already formed themselves for defence and government into what were called the Societies. Their association grew so fast, that in 1683 Gordon of Earlston, one of their chief members, told the Council that they
had now eighty district societies, with a total of seven thousand members. As for our own shire, it is said that James Pringle of Greenknow was a Cameronian,¹ and no doubt there were others of the same way of thinking scattered throughout the county of Berwick. One who occupied indeed a distinguished place in this movement belonged to the parish of Earlston: Alexander Sheil, the author of "Naphtali, or the Hind let Loose," who was the son of James Sheil a tenant farmer or bonnet-laird in the lands of Haughhead.² He studied both in Edinburgh and at one of the Dutch Universities, and coming thence to London, took license from some of the Nonconforming preachers there, but being found preaching in that city was apprehended, examined, and lodged in prison. This happened about the time of Charles the Second's death, and shortly after that event the prisoner was transferred to Scotland, where he made several appearances before the Council and Justiciary, and finally was sent to the Bass in the month of August 1685. When he had lain some time in that dismal prison, he contrived to escape in disguise by putting on women's clothes. What he suffered seems to have had the not unnatural effect of heightening his feelings against the Government; for whereas he formerly disowned the Queensferry paper, we now find him boldly joining the Society men, and becoming a close associate of their last and most famous leader, Mr James Renwick.

It is not unlikely that this association may have given the great Cameronian preacher a new interest in

¹ There is a tradition that his marriage was hindered by the persecution he suffered. It took place on Nov. 6th, 1677, "but not here," as the Gordon Register says. His bride was Sophia Pringle, Torwoodlee's daughter.
² "Scots Worthies." See also Note B for the names of others belonging to this family.
our shire. We know at any rate that his attention was called hither in the month of July 1686, when arrangements were made for the assembling of what was perhaps the last conventicle in our part of Scotland. The place chosen for this purpose was remote and lonely, being a retired glen called the Greencleuch, near Braidshaw Rig in Lammermoor. Within half a mile lay Elliot's Well, a mineral spring then as much resorted to by the sick as the Moffat waters were, and this may have been the reason why, both in past years—for it had already been customary to hold conventicles here—and in the present instance, this spot was the one chosen for such a purpose. Not only was it remote from observation, but those who came there to worship God had a reason to give for their presence in these solitudes if met and challenged by the military: they were going to the well. There is, indeed, a tradition of a family called Aitchison in the parish of Duns who took their child to receive baptism at one of these meetings disguised in the form of a greybeard. It seems likely that this trick was but part of the stratagem we have just been suspecting; for it was the custom, within the memory of persons yet living, that the shepherds of Lammermoor carried supplies of this mineral water to sick people at a distance, and visited the spring with bottles for this purpose.

To prepare for the intended meeting at the Greencleuch, James Baxter, a smith in the Calton of Edinburgh, travelled out on Saturday night to the parishes of Bara and Garvald in East Lothian. He had formerly lived there, and knowing the people well, was a very fit person to spread the news of what was on foot. With Baxter came a young man whom he was heard to call

1 P.W., July 20-26, and September 21, 1686.
2 See preamble to Peacock's Roll in P.W., 20th September 1684.
"William," and who soon proved himself to be a person of some parts and consequence to the enterprise. These two messengers carried with them to the southward John Stewart, the minister's man from Bara, and John Brown, servant to the farmer of Kirkhill in that parish. The party set off on the Sabbath morning an hour before sunrise, and crossing Lammermoor by the well known pass of the Redstane Rig, they fell in upon Byrecoleuch and Hundeswood, where they broke their fast and declared their errand.

Ere this the southern glens had been warned in a similar way, and thus from Mayshiel and Clints, from Thirlstane and distant Gala water, and many another spot in that wide district besides, little companies of people were gathering by twos and threes on the Gairmuir and dropping in to the Greencleuch by Elliot's Well. Some carried arms with them, for the times were desperate and the business they were on might be a dangerous one. Twelve, indeed, were mounted in the fashion of a guard, being furnished with swords, pistols or carbines. In the way customary on these occasions, watchmen were now posted on the neighbouring hills, while the rest of the assembly, to the number of about a hundred or a hundred and twenty, gathered safely in the shelter of the valley beneath.

It was about nine o'clock when these preparations were fully made, and, the minister whom they expected not being yet come, the young man "William" took his place and commenced the service with prayer, after which he read the Scripture and sang a Psalm, acting as what used to be called the Reader of the Kirk, according to the ancient and now obsolete form of Scottish worship in which a preliminary service of this kind was always conducted by the schoolmaster or some suitable person before the minister began the chief work of the day.
As the strains of the Psalm were dying away among the hills the great preacher, James Renwick himself, appeared on the scene, having ridden by East Lothian and the Redstane Rig to keep his engagement with the congregation he had summoned to meet him at the Greencleuch. His form was slight and his appearance so youthful as to surprise those who saw him for the first time, and indeed he was yet no more than twenty-six years of age, though multiplied trials and responsibilities had given him a ripe experience far beyond his time of life, and the shadow of his approaching death, not unforeseen, made him grave and anxious as one who knew that his time was short and what had to be done must be done quickly.

Though he had just come off a long journey, Renwick threw himself at once into the service of the day with all his accustomed vigour, lecturing, praying, and preaching with little intermission from the moment of his arrival, which was about half-past ten o'clock, till the afternoon. Two shepherds belonging to Byre-cleuch and Gala water were brought in prisoners, probably by the vigilance of the scouts, who had observed them spying on the meeting, and in case they should spread intelligence of what was going on, they were detained until the service was over. From the depositions they afterwards made before the authorities, we learn that the names of two persons were proclaimed at the conventicle in order to marriage with each other,—James Creswatt or Keder in Carnwath, and Mary Dainty in West Calder,—and that the minister took his text that day from these words in the fourth verse of the first chapter of Canticles: "Draw me, we will run after Thee. The King hath brought me into His chambers. We will be glad and rejoice in Thee: we will remember Thy love more than wine: the up-
right love Thee." No record of this discourse appears among Renwick's published sermons, yet it is not difficult to conjecture the use he would make of such a text. His party had disowned and excommunicated James VII., but this they had done in the Name of Jesus, the King of Kings. Their assemblies in the wilderness, such as that where Renwick now officiated were gathered to do honour to their Anointed King and only Sovereign, Who was the Lord Himself. Hence probably the preacher's choice of his text that day, and the solitudes where the conventicle assembled must themselves have suggested a vivid interpretation of those secret chambers of the soul where the beloved of the Lord dwell safely by Him, and find His fellowship cheaply bought at the price of contempt and persecution from all the world beside. The closing words of the text no doubt required a very practical exhortation to the maintenance of that uprightness, that freedom from right hand excesses and left hand defects as it was phrased in the quaint diction of the day, which was indeed the great article of fidelity to Him Whom these Covenanters acknowledged as their Captain and King. With some such solemn advice must the discourse have found its due conclusion, and amid the falling shadows of evening the little gathering dispersed, while Renwick himself, still wearing the short sword which he had never laid aside even while he preached, mounted his horse and returned on his former track by Byreleckuch and Danskine to the Lothians.

John Rankine, Byreleckuch's shepherd, told his master as soon as he got home what company he had been forced to keep all that Sabbath day, and Byreleckuch happening to meet with Lieutenant Hay, a younger son of Lord Tweeddale, the Lieutenant in his turn communicated the news to his father as soon as his
lordship returned from a visit he had been paying at Tyningham. Tweeddale lost no time in acting on this intelligence. He called the shepherds Rankine and Blaikie before him at Yester, as well as John Stewart the minister’s man, and took their depositions at great length, with the names of some persons whom they professed to have seen and recognised at the conventicle:—James Steill, son to the tenant of Maysheill; Patrick Fawness, chapman in Thirlstane; David Smell, formerly servant to William Brown in Clints; Adam Halyday and James Lyon, residing in Athelstaneford, but then working on Byrecleuch.

Tweeddale dismissed the shepherds, but considering that Stewart’s attendance at the conventicle, unlike theirs, had been voluntary, he sent him to Haddington jail, transmitting at the same time a full account of what he had done to the Council, and advising them to call up and examine Baxter the smith, as one likely to be able to give information about Renwick and the young man called “William,” who seemed to be so intimate with him. Tweeddale confessed to their Lordships that as yet he had been unable to secure the person of John Brown. He had sent out some of his servants indeed for this purpose, who had found the man working at a limekiln, under the borrowed name of Armour, and had taken him home, as Brown begged to be carried thither, that he might see his wife for the last time, and get a change of linen. The servants, while they allowed him this indulgence, had kept a guard all the time outside the house, which they did with the greater assurance as they saw that there was but one door. When Brown delayed his appearance, they entered and found that he had very cleverly eluded them by going upstairs, breaking a hole in the thatch, and taking to the woods
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behind, where all their attempts to find him were in vain.

The Council, acting very promptly on Lord Tweeddale’s suggestion, put the matter in the hands of Lieutenant-General Drummond, the commander of the forces, who sent Lieutenant Somerville with a party to scour the country in search of the fugitives. Meanwhile the councillors met in committee on this business and summoned before them James Baxter from the Calton. He proved “obstinate,” which probably means that neither threats nor torture could induce him to disclose what he knew regarding Renwick or his friend “William,” and so was dismissed to close prison till further orders, of which, however, there is no record.

Lieutenant Somerville and his party came by Yester to Bara, where they took a bond from Andrew Hay, the tenant of Kirkhill, to produce Marion Sanderson, the daughter of the bellman there, under a penalty of £100 Scots and his own compearance in case of failure. They then made search in the castle of Maucum (?) for John Brown, and even left a party of men who paid a surprise visit to Brown’s house at midnight, but still failed to discover him. From East Lothian Somerville and his men passed to Byreaclew, where they found Adam Halyday, James Lyal, and James Steill; and continuing their progress as far as Thirlstone Mill, they made enquiry for Patrick Fawnes, and failing to find him, left orders with Lauderdale’s chamberlain for his apprehension as soon as he should appear. Byreaclew undertook the same duty in the case of Patrick Kers, and as for James Moffat, Robert Wright, and David Smaill, they contented themselves with reporting that these were

1 Perhaps Morham.
but broken and homeless men whose dwelling no man knew: a state to which the sharpness of persecution had by this time reduced not a few of the Covenanters. Halyday, Lyal, and Steill, whom the Lieutenant carried prisoners to Yester, were dismissed by Lord Tweeddale when Byrecleuch and Maysheill had become bound to produce them if called for.

On the 26th of July, Somerville returned to Edinburgh, bringing with him John Stewart, whom he lodged in the Canongate Tolbooth. Here the prisoner lay till the 21st of September, when the Council set him free after he had owned the King's authority, prayed for His Majesty, and promised to attend no more conventicles. Thus ended the affair of the Elliot's Well meeting. We have lingered over the details it furnishes, since these present us in a very graphic way with a picture of the state in which the most resolute of the Covenanters now stood, the extremities to which they were reduced, and the eagerness the Government showed to complete their work of these many years past, by making an end of that party altogether. Doubtless they might have succeeded in their purpose, which now seemed so near its fulfilment, had it not been for the remarkable events of the next few years. It was precisely at this, the darkest hour of Presbyterian fortunes, that light began to dawn for that oppressed party; but both in the time and the manner of its appearance there was much to chasen the joy even of the sufferers themselves, and to make them feel that their salvation came not by any wisdom or policy of their own, but was the mighty work of God Himself, Who now appeared on their behalf and turned for them the night of their affliction into the morning of their unexpected and bloodless victory.
CHAPTER VI.

In 1687 the times were rapidly changing to the advantage of the Presbyterian party. George Hume of Bassendean, who had been so deeply concerned in the policy of Argyll and Monmouth, ventured to return home, and even braved the notice of the courts by appearing of his own accord before the Justiciary. His petition mentioned that, having been accused of correspondence with the late Alexander Hume of Hume, he was denounced fugitive for noncompearsance at the Jedburgh Circuit (of 1683), and that his brother, who had become security for him, was put under the same sentence. He added that his offence was no more than that of visiting Alexander Hume, his brother-in-law, while he lay in prison, and employing counsel for his defence. This plea, was accepted, and Bassendean and his brother were discharged.¹

This case shows how the temper of the Government had changed, and indeed, ever since the beginning of the year, new schemes were on foot, of which the Non-conformists already began to reap the advantage. The King desired nothing so much as the conversion of the nation to Popery. He proposed to effect his purpose by filling the chief offices with men who belonged to the Roman Church, and in order to make way for these changes he decided to publish an indulgence in favour

¹ J. R., July 4th, 1687.
of all dissenters. In this strange way did the first
dawn of liberty begin to gladden the hearts of the
persecuted Presbyterians.

The Act of Indulgence relating to Scotland was given
forth there on the day after Bassendean's discharge.
It was very liberal, and a large number of the deprived
ministers immediately took advantage of a law which
allowed them to conduct public worship freely where-
ever they liked, in houses, chapels, or places built for
the purpose, so long as they gave up the holding of field
 conventicles and announced the place of their meeting
to the nearest magistrates that it might be recognised
in an orderly way.

Berwickshire, and the eastern borders generally,
shared to the full in this new advantage which the law
 accorded. Mr William Veitch, of whom we have heard
so much, now received a call to be the minister of a
large chapel-of-ease built at Whitton to accommodate
the six parishes of Oxnam, Crailing, Eckford, Linton,
Morebattle and Hownam.\(^2\) Another place of the same
kind was set up in the town of Berwick, and the
congregation there obtained the services of Mr Luke
Ogle.\(^4\) The family of Mersington in the parish of Eccles
had long been distinguished as presbyterians, and had
even suffered in that cause.\(^4\) A chapel-of-ease was now
built on these lands, and Mr James Balfour, a native of
Duns, became their minister.\(^5\) The most interesting
and important of these settlements, however, was that
which took place at Newton in the parish of Whitsome.
Henry Erskine received a call to the chapel here, and,
removing his wife and family from Monilaws to Ravelaw,
continued to minister under the indulgence till a larger
liberty offered itself.\(^6\)

\(^1\) July 5th, W. \(^2\) V., pp. 182-184. \(^3\) V., p. 180, note by M'Crie.
\(^4\) See p. 93. \(^5\) Scott's "Fasti." \(^6\) Life, p. 137 and note.
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This part of Erskine's life and labours was perhaps not the least fruitful of good. His preaching drew crowds from all the neighbouring country, and among these eager worshippers came a boy, who afterwards proved no small figure in the religious history of Berwickshire and indeed of Scotland. This was Thomas Boston, whose father, the proprietor of a small estate near Duns, was a Covenanter and a sufferer under the late persecution. As he had had his son for a companion in the imprisonment he endured in Duns Tolbooth, so now when a measure of liberty appeared, he took the boy with him to hear Erskine preach at Newton, and the impressions then made proved very enduring in the case of that young mind, especially a sermon from the text, "Behold the Lamb of God," which the minister of Simprin and Ettrick, for such did Thomas Boston afterwards become, could never forget. In after years he became the father of a clergyman who was called to the charge of the first Relief congregation in Jedburgh, and it is interesting to notice how covenanting times are thus linked with our own; and that those who, as the dissenters of a later day, suffered for conscience sake, could trace their spiritual, and even in many instances their natural, descent from the heroes and worthies of Scotland's great persecution.

The true origin of the indulgence in the tenderness of the King for his Roman Catholic subjects was well understood by the Presbyterians of Scotland, who, while taking every advantage of their new liberty, made no secret of their apprehensions for the future of the Protestant succession and faith in the realm. One of those who spoke out with the greatest boldness on this occasion was Mr John Hardy of Gordon, now at Edin- burgh. On the first Sabbath of October he preached
a sermon in the printing house of that city wherein he expressed these fears very openly, and in such a way as to attract a good deal of notice, so that he was summoned to answer for his bold speech before the Lords of Justiciary in the following February. The defence offered in this case by Sir Patrick Hume is very interesting, as it throws light on some passages of Hardy's past life. It seems that in Cromwell's time this minister had taken a warm interest in the cause of monarchy, raising that troop of horse for the King which was afterwards commanded by Pringle of Torsonce, and sending Nicol Hardy, his brother, to carry intelligence and ammunition in the Royal service, while he himself acted as cornet in the troop. These circumstances were now alleged to prove Hardy's loyalty, and he was dismissed from the bar, the judges holding that the particular expressions with which he was charged did not imply treason.  

There can be no doubt that the fears entertained by Hardy and the party to which he belonged were only too well founded. It gave reason, therefore, of deep and universal thankfulness to the Presbyterians, and indeed to all who held the principles of the Reforma
tion dear, that William of Orange at last decided to answer the expectations of his supporters in Great Britain and make an attempt to seat himself on the throne of our country. Nor were they left long in suspense as to the result of that expedition. On the fifth of November, a day memorable for the defeat of a popish plot, William landed at Torbay, and before the year was out, James had fled to France, whither he was soon followed in that shameful exile by Lord Chancellor Perth, his right hand man in Scotland, and one who had taken a dreadful

1 J. R., February 13th, 1688.
part in the persecutions of our unhappy country and Church. The militia of Berwickshire had indeed been called out under Lord Hume, and the heritors under Sir Archibald Cockburn of Langton, to oppose the invasion, but without the striking of a blow the bloodless revolution was effected which restored our civil and ecclesiastical liberties. On the fifth of June 1689, the first parliament of William and Mary met in Edinburgh, and one of their earliest acts was that which abolished Prelacy and restored the Presbyterian government of the Church.

Now began a change comparable only to that of 1663, though it acted in the opposite direction. By an act, dated 25th April 1690, Parliament declared that all those ministers yet alive who had been deprived of their livings on account of their Presbyterian principles should forthwith be restored to the enjoyment of them. It is said that no more than sixty of these veterans survived, and if the enumeration is correct, then our shire must be congratulated on the extraordinary number who entered once more into possession of their churches and curés in this neighbourhood.

Mr Henry Erskine was one of these. His former parish of Cornhill was indeed beyond the operation of the act, as it lay in England, but he received a call from the people of Chirnside, and in that place, which was then the seat of a presbytery, he did much for the cause of religion in the neighbouring parishes. Many of these were held by incumbents whom we cannot but respect, since they were so honestly attached to Prelacy that they left their charges rather than conform to the former order of the Church. In some of these cases, and very notably at Coldingham, the settlement of Presbyterian ministers in room of those who had been removed
was attended by much excited feeling and even by considerable riots. Erskine was generally chosen to carry out such difficult matters, and is said to have shown an admirable power of securing peace and quietness in the performance of them. He remained at Chirnside till his death, and is remembered to-day not only for his own excellent qualities, but as the father of two distinguished sons, Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine, who became the founders of the Secession Church.

The parishes of Mordington and Hilton were as fortunate as that of Chirnside; for after all their distracting troubles, Ramsay and Douglas now obtained the right to return to their old charges. The memory of the minister of Hilton was indeed much cherished on account of the great benevolence he showed among his people, and a curious instance of that charity has been reported by tradition to our own times. It is said that in the year following a bad harvest, one of the small farmers in his parish came to Mr Douglas in great difficulty: his seed corn was spent for bread, and he had none left to sow his fields. The minister listened to his tale and gave him the seed that had been kept for the glebe, sowing that season with chaff instead of corn, and yet reaping in harvest time the better return of the two. It is certain that if Mr Douglas had plenty when other farmers were out of seed he must have been an excellent manager. His land was probably for the same reason in better heart than that of his neighbours, and if we suppose that what he kept for his own use was not chaff but the inferior part of the grain, we can understand very easily how, under his good management and the blessing of God on his charity, the crop in the glebe might easily surpass that in other hands and fields. The form which the legend has taken, and its
persistence in the country shows us the high character this covenanting worthy bore among his own people as a man on whom the favour of God rested, and who loved to abound in good works.

Another who returned to his former charge was Mr John Veitch of Westruther, who had the singular experience of being twice cast out of his cure, and now returning to it for the second time since the famous days of 1663. It is said that he felt so sure of this favourable turn in the affairs of the Church that, when he left his manse for the last time, he bade the curate who came to replace him notice how large the peat stack was, and see that it should be no less at his return. He laboured in Westruther for no less than fifteen years after the Revolution, dying in 1703, on his way home from the Commission of Assembly, and laying his bones in the old burying ground of his family at Dalkeith.

A rather remarkable case was that of Mr James Kirkton, and one to which much attention was drawn by the malicious Episcopal pamphlets of the time.\footnote{"An Account of the late Establishment . . . 1690," and "Scots Presbyterian Eloquence." It is remarkable that both the chief pamphleteer on the Episcopal side—Robert Calder, curate of Nenthorn 1689—and Principal Rule, who replied to him from the Presbyterian side, had exercised their ministry in Berwickshire.} Returning from his exile in Rotterdam, under the Toleration of 1687, this minister began to serve a chapel then built for dissenters in Edinburgh. Mr Andrew Meldrum, who then occupied Kirkton's old charge at Merton was a man of profligate character, and when ministers were restored to their former livings by the Act of 1690, Kirkton, though under call to an Edinburgh church, took advantage of the law that he might open the way for a better settlement among his former
parishioners. He preached himself in once more at Merton, and then returned to his duties in Edinburgh, leaving the presbytery of the bounds to see that a fit man was settled in the vacancy thus made. Calder of Nenthorn attacked him for this action in his scurrilous book, "Scots Presbyterian Eloquence Displayed," but Principal Rule, who appeared in print to defend his old comrade, was able to put another complexion on the affair than that which malice had suggested. Kirkton had indeed accepted the stipend of Merton in addition to that which he received in Edinburgh, but one half he had paid to Meldrum, the old incumbent, and the other to the poor of the parish. We may add that a charge of the same kind, and with as little foundation in fact, was made against Mr William Veitch. This minister was now settled in Peebles, whence he was translated in 1694 to Dumfries. Here he died in 1722, surviving his wife but by one day, and having obtained with her that crown of old age which is righteousness and peace.

As we have had occasion to speak of Dr Rule, it may be as well to add here that his distinguished talents found their fitting recognition when, on the 26th of September 1690, he was appointed Principal of the University of Edinburgh. He acted at the same time as minister of the Old Greyfriars Church, and was in office there when, in 1691, the body of Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh was carried to its burial in the great vault which still marks its dread resting-place in that churchyard. Thus, while the tongue which had pled for the doom of the persecuted was silent for ever, the doctrine for which they died lived on, and was still witnessed by some of their own number to succeeding generations. "All flesh is grass . . . the grass withereth,
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the flower fadeth, but the Word of our God shall stand for ever."

To follow in detail the fortunes of Alexander Sheil would take us too far afield. After having acted for some time as the minister of St Andrews, he joined the Darien Expedition in which Captain William Veitch, a son of the minister of Dumfries, also served. In the midst of the hardships and misfortunes of that unhappy enterprise, Sheil had the opportunity of acting as a missionary among the Indian tribes, being perhaps the first that the Reformed Church of Scotland ever sent to the heathen. When the position of the New Caledonian Colony was no longer tenable, Sheil retired to Port Royal in the island of Jamaica, where he died of malignant fever on the 14th June 1701.

The return of Mr John Hardy to the parish of Gordon, for he was another of those who had the good fortune to occupy once more their former charges, presents us with a scene of joy and thanksgiving such as we may well hope and believe was then far from uncommon in many parts of Scotland. On the 9th of July 1690 the session took order concerning their summer communion, and from their careful and repeated deliberations we easily understand that this was an occasion of no ordinary kind. The parish and district desired to celebrate the return of their minister and of the old and well loved order which he represented, and they found no better way of doing so than by spreading the Table of the Lord very lavishly and joining in the Eucharist—the service of most Holy Thanksgiving. Mr Hardy was desired to write to Mr Gabriel Semple and Mr William Veitch, and besides these, who came from a distance, Mr John Veitch, Mr William Calderwood, and others well known in the
neighbourhood, were expected to be present. In a little the session began to understand that a great concourse of people would attend the ordinance, and that special provision must be made for their accommodation. The Sacrament must be dispensed in the open air, not only to provide room for the crowd of people who would have filled the Church to overflowing, but in a happily conceived memorial of the field conventicles of former days. The communion cups from Smailholm and the tables from Westruther must be sent for, as well as two great salvers for the bread, which Lady Greenknow offered to lend the parish. And thus, on the 3rd of August, the feast was held at tables set on the green grass in the form of a square, and guarded by eight office-bearers at the four entries, while six others, among whom was Greenknow himself, served the bread and the wine. So the minister celebrated his homecoming amid troops of friends, and his voice was heard once more in his own parish, supported by many others that had grown weary in wakening the echoes of moorland and mountain while yet the days of persecution lasted. Hardy continued to live and labour in Gordon till 1707. While an exile in the Low Countries, he had studied medicine—probably at Leyden under the great Boerhaave—and he now found his skill of the greatest service at home where his people were glad to consult him in their ailments of the body as well as those of the soul. The plague of fever and measles, which raged so severely in Gordon the year after his death, must have made many in that afflicted parish wish that their old pastor was still going about among them with his well known skill and sympathy.¹

¹ Scott's "Fasti." Sixty persons desired prayer to be made for them one Sabbath, and eighty another.
THE COVENANTERS OF THE MERSE. 245

It is fit we should close our survey of these times by taking some notice of Polwarth and his family, who were now restored to their old home at Redbraes or Marchmont, as it now began to be called, having come over from the Low Countries in the royal train. The picture which Lady Murray, Sir Patrick Hume's granddaughter, has left us of their life and occupations while yet resident in Utrecht is very lively and full of interest. Polwarth himself appears there as "Dr Wallace,"¹ the genial host, entertaining crowds of company in his great house and unwearied in showing kindness to the Scottish refugees. His character as the father of that charming family is not less attractive, and their devotion to him repaid the unwearied interest he took in their studies and amusements. Their means were narrow—not above £150 a year—yet by careful management, in which Lady Grizzel took a chief part, they had enough to live comfortably, to entertain handsomely, and to spend something in charity too. Polwarth had his morning posset without fail, the girls their "Rucar" harpsichord, and the young men, who were Lady Grizzel's brother and her lover, George Baillie, went finely enough in their collars of point lace, an extravagance which their position in the Royal guard obliged them to, while a glass of alabast beer was always at the service of their visitors. On his return to his native country and family estate, Sir Patrick Hume spent his last years in the enjoyment of great peace and multiplied honours. He was successively created member for the county, Privy Councillor, Baron Polwarth, Sheriff of Berwickshire; an extraordinary Lord of Session, Lord High Chancellor of the Kingdom, and at last in 1697 Earl of Marchmont, under

¹ His nom de guerre.
which title he became Lord High Commissioner to the Assembly of the following year. Full of age and honour he passed away very quietly in his town house at Berwick-on-Tweed in 1724, and his corpse now lies in that very vault under Polwarth church which sheltered him so safely while yet he lived and persecution lasted. His best monument is the venerable church itself, which stands above his grave. This building, already very ancient, had begun to fall into decay at the time when the Marchmont family returned from their exile. Their eyes, accustomed to the wealthy neatness of Dutch architecture, saw what was needful, and no means were spared to make the new building comfortable and even magnificent according to the notions of the day. This lavish interest appears chiefly in the western tower which Marchmont now added to the original plan, hanging a peal of bells according to the fashion of Holland—where that kind of music is better heard perhaps than in any other country of Europe—and contriving there a private room for his own devotions from which, by a window and panel in the wall, he could see and hear the preacher in the church beneath. His family seem to have shared the interest he took in the new building, and Lady Grizzel Hume—now married to the man of her choice and become Mrs Baillie of Mellerstain—made the pulpit her peculiar care, busying her fine fingers upon that curious hanging of green velvet with a floral pattern, where the foundation is of muir-fowls feet covered with dainty silk stitching, which still remains to tell of her skill and devotion.

If in these days the sound of the 126th Psalm was ever heard in Polwarth church, we may be sure that none joined more heartily in the singing than those
who sat in the Marchmont pew. The Lord had indeed turned their captivity so that they were like those that dreamed; their mouth was filled with laughter and their tongue with singing. "The Lord hath done great things for us," they said, "whereof we are glad."

On week days, too, as he strolled through his village of Polwarth, how strangely must Marchmont have felt as he heard the children of his cottars at play on the green. If we may take the custom of fifty years ago as a survival of these earlier times, there was already the habit of a mimic war more engrossing than any other sport, in which sides were taken "For King and Covenant," and the opposing parties provoked each other with the cry—

"King or Covenanter,
Come oot if ye daur vanter."

As he heard this petty defiance, and witnessed the mimic combat that followed, how must the man that had seen and borne the brunt of a great and heroic struggle have smiled with a heart full of mingled laughter and tears. The cause for which men left all at the King's restoration, and took the field at Pentland and Bothwell, the cause in which noble Argyll fell and which countless humbler martyrs sealed with their blood, the sacred cause of Liberty was now become a toy for children in their idler hours. Yet well might Marchmont and his country rejoice that it was so. It has been said that Waterloo was won in the playing fields of Eton, and with as much truth we may answer that the victory of Covenanting principles in Church and State was mirrored and affirmed in the sports of Scottish children down to our own day. What conflicts the future may witness who can say, but this at least
the past has secured us, that never shall the great questions of civil and religious liberty be raised again in the cruel form under which our forefathers had to face them. Surely this also we may count on as the result of past contendings, that, whatever shape the struggle may yet take, there will always be those in Scotland who will refuse to let pass from them the sacred heritage of Truth and Freedom, and whom the glorious cry, "For Christ's Crown and Covenant," shall yet stir in the day of coming need like a trumpet call from their country's heroic age, calling them to die if need be in the good old cause for which their fathers suffered and bled so bravely—

"The Solemn League and Covenants
Cost Scotland blood, cost Scotland tears;
But they sealed Freedom's sacred cause,
If thou 'rt a slave, indulge thy sneers."
NOTES TO BOOK III.

pp. 159-248
NOTE A. p. 196

THE FUGITIVE ROLL, May 5th, 1684.

 Roxburghshire—Michael Shiel, son to James Shiel in Haughhead; Mr David Hume, preacher.

 Berwickshire—Paterson, son to George Paterson in Soutry; John Linlithgow in Earlston; Thomas Flebairn there; Thomas Carter in Ligertwood; Mr Alexander Shiel, son to James Shiel in Haughhead; John Nairn, servant in Hume parish; Robert Leich, late servant there; George Miller, tailor in Middle-third; John Pringle, servant in Ligertwood; Andrew Storie, tailor in Bassindean; David Brown, feuar in Whitsome; James Brown there; Alexander Galbraith, son to Alexander Galbraith in Chirnside; James Reston in Hutton; George Allan in Paxton; George Turnbull, son to Hector Turnbull there; James Reston, younger, in Whitsome; Paul Cowan in Preston; Alexander Brown in Birkenside; Thomas Steil in Martin; John Blackie, son to —— Blackie in Kittle-naked; Edward Lilburn in Hackslie; Thomas Pringle, sometime in West-Struther; James Laidley in Weatherlie; Thomas Tait, sometime at Flash; James Galbraith in Mordington; William and John Yeomans in Idington; Robert Wilson in Leitholm; George Dickson, servant to the Relict of Alexander Hume, portioner of Hume; John Wright, smith in West-Gordon; John Simpson, sometime in Idington, now in Berwick bounds; William Tunoch in West-Struther parish; John Calder, sometime in Whitsome; David Brown, lately there, a webter and feuar; James Cowan, farmer in Idington; John Hastie, farmer there; Andrew Wood, servant to John Wood in Greenlaw; Allan Gowdie, sometime in Ladykirk, now in ——; Elspeth Lorain in Mordington for reset; Thomas Service in Birghame; Thomas Yeoman in Idington; George Forrester in Paxton; David Cowan, servant to William Ker, uncle to Greenhead.

Edinburghshire—George Pringle, lately in Cowsland, sometime in Woolstruther.
NOTE B. p. 198


With Notes from the Minute Book of Circuit regarding the persons mentioned.

A. = Oath of Allegiance. b. = The Bond of £50.
B. = The Bond of £100. H. = Lord Hume's Report, 26 Nov.

Duns Parish.

John Cairns in Duns. B.
John Grieve, smith there.
Marion Whyt, sp. to And. Dods there. A. B. (by A. D. for self and spouse).
David Cockburn, shoemaker there. B.
— Patterson, cottar in Short Cleugh.
Janet Weir, sp. to George Watson, messenger.
— Glasgow in Manderston.

Greenlaw Parish.

Dam Margaret Edington, Ly. Haliburton.
Alex. Brunstfield of Todrig, and B.
— ——, his lady.
George Davidson in Lamdoun, and
Agnes Johnston, his spouse. (Not to be found or heard of. H.)
John Redpath, son to James Redpath, farmer in Rollingtoun. (Not to be found or heard of. H.) B. Jed.
Andrew Hird, grieve in Greenlaw. A. B. (Heritor.)
Robert Brunstfield in Slape.
— Storie in Bassendean. (For reset of And. S. his son, a fugitive, not to be found or heard of. H.)

Eecles Parish.

Edward Dods in Birgham. (Satisfied at Jedburgh Oct. 16th. H.)
Margaret Watson in Newtown. (Denounced rebel and fugitive master bound for her behaviour. H.)
Agnes Watson there. (Not to be heard of. H.)
Christian Mercer in Eccles. (Satisfied at Jedburgh. H.)
Robert Richardson in Earneslaw. (Denounced fugitive and rebel. B. for self and wife.)
Janet Heriot there.
Margaret Rutherford there.
Isobell Rutherford there.
William Young there. B. A.
John Hird in West Mersington.
Nicholas Air, his spouse;
Thomas Hird, his son.
A. (by J. H. for self, spouse, and
Agnes Chalmers in Newtown. (Satisfied at Jedburgh. H.)
son.)

_Fogo Parish._

James Hanna in Ryselae. A. (And John H. A.)
James Waddell in Ednam. (Denounced fugitive and rebel.)
Margaret Rutherford, his spouse.

_Parish of Langtown._

Patrick Denholm in Selburnrigg. B.
George Cockburn there. B.

_Parish of Polwarth._

Alexander Cruicks, miller. B.

_Parish of Buncle._

[Wm. Turnbull, Bailie of the Regality, ordered to watch the
behaviour of these persons and exact security for it.]

John Turnbull, miller at Lintlaw. A. B.
Jean Pennie, his spouse.
Mary and Margaret Turnbulls, their daughters.
William Wood in Blanerne. A. B.
Isobell Martin, servitrix to George Darling there.
Margaret Coupland there.
Margaret Turnbull, sister to Robert Turnbull in Lintlaws.
Margaret Ogill, spouse to Patrick Keith in Prestoun.
Agnes Turnbull, daughter to Harie Turnbull, pr. of Cruickfield.
James Turnbull, miller at Blanerne. B.
Robert Turnbull in Lintlaws. A. B.
Harie Foulton there. B.
John Cockburn in Preston. A. B.
Janet Ogill, his spouse.
William Kay in Fosterland.
Margaret Barclay, his spouse.

_Parish of Abbey St Bathans._

Alexander Home of Abbey. (For reset. Found caution to comppear.)

_Parish of Cranshaws._

Thomas Adamson in Raeburn, and his spouse,
Kathrine Fidliestaine there.
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John Fidlestaine there, and
Bessie Tunnoch, his spouse.
Thomas Fortune in Crenshes, and B.
Margaret Tunnoch in Raeburn.

Parish of Channelkirk.
— Troter, spouse to Mr Wm. Calderwood, late minister at
Legerwood, now in Ginglekirk Parish. (Not found. H.
Excused at Jedburgh on testificate and B.)
Isobell Thomson, their servant.

(Parish of Gordon 1)
James Pringle of Greenknow.
William Turnbull. (Not to be heard of. H.)
William Wallace.
Thomas Scott. (Not to be heard of. H.)
Elsbeth Shank (Frank, satisfied at Jedburgh. H.)
Bessie Culbertson, their servants. (Cuthbertson, sat. at Jedburgh. H.
Marion Basket, servant to John Gibsone in Greenlaw (!).
Bessie Robertson, spouse to James Miller there.
William Scot. B.
Janet Scot. b.
Christian Corsbie, servants to the Lady Falsyde. b.
Agnes Gibsone, tenant to Wm. Cranstone, pr. of Huntlywood.
James Miller, servant to John Miller in Standalane.
Edward Fairbairn in Bues. (!) (Bowhouse. B.)
Alex. Wilsone (in Bellitaw) and —— ——, his wife. A. by A. W.

Parish of Swinton.
William Gray in Greenrig. B.
Archibald and Isobell Hallidays in Swintoune Milne. (B. A. H.
and paid £20 Scots.)
Robert Wood at Little Swinton.
Alexander Dodds in Greenrig. (Fined £15 Scots. B.)
[In margin, "Swintoune Par."]
Christian Cowstoune, —— to John Swintoune in Cowstoune.
John Simpstone, son to John Simpstone, gardener in Weilbak (!).
Marie Idingtoune, spous to John Watsone, bailie of Swintoune.
John Paterson in Newtowne of Whitsome.

Parish of Smailholm.
George Chalmers in Smelholm.
Bessie Corsbie, his spouse.
Isobell Turnbull, cottar in Smelholm. b.
Janet Sword, cottar there.
Agnes Elliot there.  h.
Thomas Beveridge, smith there.
William Simpsoe, cottar to the aires of Donald Simpsoe.
Agnes Kennedie, servitrix and ———.  h.
Wm. Malcolmetson there.
Wm. Hunter, brother to John Hunter, por. there. (Could not be
sought as out of County.  H.  B. Jed. J. H.)
Isobell Whyte, their mother.
Mary Corser, spouse to Mathew Richardson, tenant to Sir Wm.
Scott, elder, and he for his duties.
William Brickle, por.
Margt. Tennent, his spouse.
Janet Brick, his daughter.  h.
Bessie Ramsey, servitrix to John Hunter, portioner there.  B. by
J. H. for self, servt., and family.
Isobell Whyte, spouse to George Duncan.  B. by G. D.
Margaret Whyte, servitrix to Rot. Boyd there.  b. at Jedburgh.
Janet Thomson, spouse to Wm. Scott, cottar to John Thurbard.
Grissell Hallyday, spouse to Andrew Coats, elder, cottar there.  B.
at Jed. A. C.
Agnes Geills, spouse to Nathanill Cranstone, tenant there.
James Tait, cottar to Robert Boyd.  B.
George Whyte, por. in Smaillholm.
Agnes Prestoun, his spouse.
Agnes Haliburtoo, spouse to Geo. Whit, elder, cottar there.  b. at
Jedburgh.
William Scott, cottar to John Thurburn.  B.
Janet Tennent, spouse to James M'Dougall, tenant to Sir Wm.
Scott.
Andrew Elliot, tenant in Smaillholm.  B.
George Hunter there, and
Isobell Watson, his spouse.
Inacted and dismayed.
Janet Scott, spouse to Wm. Forgan, milner there, and he for his
interest.  B. by W. F. for his family.
Thomas Whyt, servant to Rot. Boyd there.
Isobel Douglas, spouse to George Wilsone there.  B. by G. W.
Margt. Macdougall, servitrix to James Tait there.  b. at Jedburgh.

[Parish of Merton (?).]

—— Boyd, Lady Marten.
Rot. Ramsay, tenant to Sir Wm. Scott, and (out of countie)
Margaret Simpson, his spouse.
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Isobell Haig, spouse to Thomas Haig in Dryburgh. (Hay, an old bedfast woman. H.)
Janet Pringle, relict of Geo. Mayne there.
Agnes and Janet Maynes, his daughters.
John Brown, servant to John Scott there.
George Bonar, servant to George Rodger there.
Jean Haig, daughter to John Haige there.
Margt. Simpsons, Widdow in (Brotherstanes).
Isobell Leckie, daughter to umquhill James Leckie in Martine.
Margaret Steill, relict of John Halyburton there.
James Turner, fisher in Dryburgh. (Could not be found. H.)
Isobel Anderson, his spouse, and
Bessie Turner, their daughter.
Cornelius Neilson, gardener in Newmains of Seafield. (Fugitive.
Lives in E. Lothian as gardener to Dirlston: could not be sought. H.)
Elisabeth Brown, spouse to John Boswell, tailor in Martein.

Parish of Legerwood.

Isobell Fisher, spouse to John Ellone (£20 Scots paid for her irregularities), tenant of Corsbie, and
Grisell Ellen, his daughter.
John Wood, his cottar. B.
Alison Meikle in Ligertwood ("Nicoll," absent, an old bedfast woman. H.)
Mark Measone in West Morristoun. B.
Janet Measone there.
Rot. Thin in East Morristoun. Could not be found. H.
Robert Donaldson in Birkin syde.
George Chisholm in Boun. A mean person, gave bond. H.
John Ellen in Corsbie. B. for self and family, and paid £20 for his wife.
Alex. SImpson in Dodds.
John Mullay in Bowmil.
Wm. Thin in Houahangmilne repented at Jedburgh, and upon
(f Birghammilne), and (And.) inacting themselves dis-
Macfarlane) his under milner. missed.

Parish of Earlston.

Mr James Daes of Coldingknowes, and (denounced fugitive and rebel)
— his lady.
Wm. Fleabarne in Earlston. Could not be heard of. H.
Margt. Shiel, widdow there, and (ane very old infirm woman. H.)
Mary Fleabarn, her daughter. Could not be heard of. H.
THE COVENANTERS OF THE MERSE.

John Learmonth, shoemaker there. A mean person, gave bond. 
Mary Whyt, his spouse. Could not be heard of. H.
John Sheill, weaver in Cragafoord, and (not found. H.)
Janet Clapperton, his spouse. A mean person, gave bond. I
Adam Pringle, tailor in Earlston.
James Lindsay, portioner there, Could not be found. H.

(Isobel Black), his spouse. In childbed. H.
Robt. Pringle there, and (could not be heard of. H.)
Helen Whyt, his moyr. Ane old infirm woman. H.
Helen Whyt, relict of George Fleaburne there. Not found. H.
John Shillinglaw, tailor and tenant to Geo. Royll, por. there.
A mean person, took bond. H.
David Denholm, por. in Reidpath.
John Pringle, tailor in Fanes. B.
Marion Paterson, spouse to John Deipe in Cragford.
John Paterson.
Agnes Paterson in Faunes.
Margt. Wood in Earlston.
James Rodger in Reidpath. B.
Elspet Hardie in Haugheid, fugitive. (Dismissed upon comp. at
Jedburgh.)

Parish of Westruther.

Mr John Weitch, late minister at Westruther, and (denounced
fugitive and rebel, but reponed at Jedburgh, when his son
became bound for him)

— — — —, his spouse. H.
The Laird and Lady Bassendean, and
— — — —, their servants. H.
Francis Fairbairn in Easterhouses.
Adam Pringle there.
James Jack in Reidpath, and
John Sheill in Earlston.
— — — —, spous to Thomas Tait, sometime in Flass.
(Anna Sheill) spous to Thos. Pringle, sometime in Westruther.
(Fugitive).
Robert Weir of Easterhouses. Not found. H.

Parish of Edrom.

Alex. Watsone, tailor in Whytmire.
Agnes Dalgiesh, spouse to Wm. Clark in Craigwalls. B.
John Black in Blaikater, the gardner and servant. A. B.
Jean Kelly there.
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in Liddel, weaver there. Could not be found. H.
is Grierson, his spouse.
Jas. Potter in Westnibett. Could not be found. H.

Parish of Ladykirk.

Wm. Cunningham in Horntoune (a mason). B.
Wm. Bell there.
— Troter, spouse to Alex. Paterson in Ramrig.
Geo. Bell, son to John Bell, por. in Horntoune. B.
James Horne, tenant there. (James Home B.)
Rct. (Hutson) there. B.
Thos. and John Hogarth, servants there. B. B.
Wm. Richardson, por. there. (Wm. Hutcheson B.
Helen Home, his spouse.
John Smith in the town of Ladykirk. B.
— —, his spouse.
Wm. Cunningham, and
Wm. Bell in Horntoune.

Parish of Mordington.

Advd. Nisbet at the milne of Wester Mortingtoune.
Jean Fergie, his spouse.
David Fergie at the milne of Edringtone.
Hellen Hogart, his spouse.

Parish of Hutton.

Margt. Hume in Huttonhall. Not found. H.
\{ Bowmaker in Hutton, and their master, a printed fugitive;\}
\{ames Bowmaker, his brother.\} denied on oath at Jedburgh, 10th
Oct., and were discharged.

Parish of Hilton.

— Home, Lady Jordanfield.
Elisabeth Paterson, her servant.
James G— and in Hiltoun, and
Margt. Dickson, his spouse.
Margt. Rutherfoord, spous to Alex. Gibbs in ——heid.
— Yeaman in Hilton Myreside.
Gavin Nisbet in Hiltoun. B.
Rct. Nisbet, presenter there.

Parish of Cockburnspath.

— —, spous to Brown of Blackburn.
Thomas Angus there. B.
THE COVENANTERS OF THE MERSE.

Thomas Muirburn there. (Alex. Muirburn B.)
Margt. Sibbald, spouse to John Swanstoun in Riddoy.
Margt. Aitchison, spouse to James Swanstoun there.
Janet Swanstoun, spouse to Wm. Robertson there.
Marion Laury, spouse to George Beughly (?) in Auldcambus.
Janet Laury, spouse to James Beughly there.
————, spouse to Thomas Miller, coall———ter there.

Parish of Nenthorn.

Thomas Whyt, the —— in Nenthorn.

Parish of Whitsome.

Alex. Haltly, fermar in Whitsome. (Fined £6 sterling, and took
B. for self and family.)
Alison Russel, his spouse.
Elsbeth Purves, his daughter-in-law.
John M‘Naught, his servant. B.
Helen Baird, his servant. b.
Thos. Wood, cottar there, and his spouse. B. T. W.

Parish of Lennel (?)

Mr James Fletcher, indulged minister at Nenthorne.
Alex. Stevine in Newtown of Coldstream. "Service," not found. H.
Margt. Stevine, his sister. "Service" not found. H.
Marion Hadley there. "Sinclair" not found. H.

Parish of Coldingham.

Margt. Cranstoun in Ayton.
John Paxton in Fairzyde.
Mr Wm. Gowan (?) in Loanheid, and (B. "Gullan.")
(Janet) Home, his spouse.
Elisabeth Lyle, spouse to Patrick Home of West Restoun. b.
Elsbeth Gaits, relict of deceased —— Home there.
Marion Dudgeon, spouse to Rot. Grierson in Coldingham. b.
Marion Wilson, widow in East Restoun. A mean person, bond. H.
Margt. Sibbald, spouse to James Blacklaws in Lumsdean.
————, milner in Westertoun. Could not be found. H.
Rot. Douglas, gairdner there. B.
Wm. Purves, tailor there. B.
Jean Home, Lady St Leonards. { B.
Thomas Gibsone, her son-in-law. A.}
Agnes Waddel, spouse to —— Foggo in Woodheid.
William Shillinglaw, tenant to James Potter of Chappell. Test at
Duns, Oct. 3.
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From other Lists.

Mr Wm. Elliott, minister of Yarrow. B. by laird of Chatto.
Alex. Bruntfield, servt. to Alex. Hay, wright in Edinburgh, a printed fugitive. Test at Duns, Oct. 3.