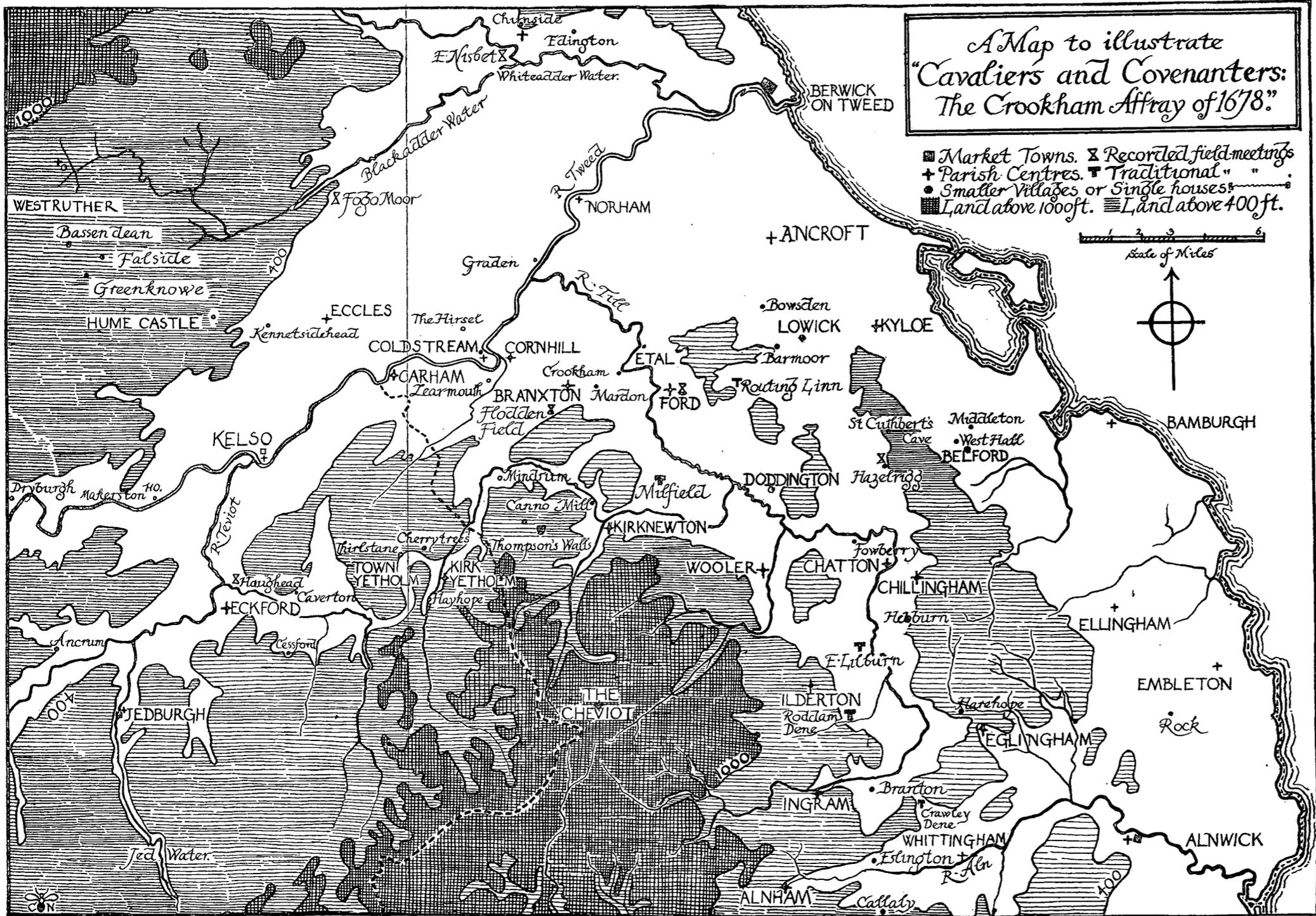


*A Map to illustrate  
 "Cavaliers and Covenanters:  
 The Crookham Affray of 1678."*

- Market Towns. ⚡ Recorded field meetings
- + Parish Centres. † Traditional "
- Smaller Villages or Single houses
- ▨ Land above 1000ft. ▩ Land above 400ft.

Scale of Miles  
 0 1 2 3 4 5 6





I.—CAVALIERS AND COVENANTERS: THE  
CROOKHAM AFFRAY OF 1678.

By R. C. BOSANQUET, A VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

[Read on 24th September, 1930.]

ABBREVIATIONS USED.

- AA 1, etc. *Archæologia Aeliana*, series 1, 2, 3 and 4.  
BM MSS. in British Museum.  
BNC Berwickshire Naturalists Club.  
BP *Calendar of Border Papers*, 2 vols., 1894-6.  
Brown Rev. J. Wood Brown, *Covenanters of the Merse*, 1893.  
DNB *Dictionary of National Biography*.  
F Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, 1915-28.  
HMC Historical MSS. Commission.  
HC J. K. Hewison, *The Covenanters*, 2 vols., Glasgow, 1908.  
K James Kirkton, *History of the Church of Scotland*,  
written c. 1680.  
LP *Lauderdale Papers*, 3 vols., Camden Society.  
NCH *A History of Northumberland*, vols. i-xiii, County  
History Committee.  
ND Raine, *North Durham*, 1852.  
OM *Ormonde MSS.*, Historical MSS. Commission.  
PM *Portland MSS.*, Historical MSS. Commission.  
RPCS *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, series 3.  
SHS *Scottish History Society*.  
SPD *State Papers, Domestic*.  
SS D. Hay Fleming, *Six Saints of the Covenant*, 1901.  
Stewart Rev. Duncan Stewart, *Covenanters of Teviotdale*, 1908.  
Terry C. S. Terry, *John Graham of Claverhouse*, 1905.  
VB *Memoirs of Mr. William Veitch and George Brysson*,  
ed. McCrie, 1825.  
W Wodrow, *History of the Sufferings of the Church of  
Scotland*, 4 vols., ed. Burn, 1828. First published,  
1721.

In September, 1678, there was an encounter at Crookham, two miles from Flodden Field, between mounted

parties of Scots and English with loss of life on both sides, which may be called the last of the Border frays. Though it made some noise at the time, as appears from the state papers to which professor Vickers refers in his brief notices in the *Northumberland County History*,<sup>1</sup> the affair has never been put in its right context. It seems worth while to attempt this, and to print some documents which illustrate it from two points of view, those of outraged authority and persecuted religion. Taken together they furnish a substantial measure of truth and illustrate the play of political and religious forces, on a small but for the moment brightly lit stage; at a time for which precise information about the English side of the Border is hard to come by.

To understand the part played by Glendale and the uplands round it in the Scottish religious struggle of 1660-1689, we must think of it as part of the Tweed basin. There was no racial division. At the Restoration, though the Border-line was still a legal and administrative barrier, here in the East Marches two generations of friendly intercourse had effaced the old hostility. The lines of cleavage were not between Scots and English, but between Cavaliers and Oliverians, episcopacy and presbytery. In the present paper I trace the process which made the Northumbrian Border a refuge and rallying-ground for outlawed Covenanters, contrasting the peaceful ministry of Gabriel Semple at Ford with the militant methods of Welsh and Veitch, and show how the royalist magistrates, tolerant at first, were led to take action. The narrative is brought down to September, 1678, and places such as Downham and Moneylaws, which figured in Covenanting episodes somewhat later, are omitted from the map. On the other hand, I have included some traditional sites of undated field-meetings, recorded in the Rev. John Black's collections.

<sup>1</sup>Vol. xi, pp. 75, 358. For facilities given me at the Public Record Office I desire to thank Mr. A. E. Stamp, C.B., Deputy Keeper of the Records. Mr. H. W. Meikle, keeper of MSS. in the National Library of Scotland, kindly supplied a transcript of the narrative



## I. HENRY HALL AND GABRIEL SEMPLE, 1665-76.

From 1662 onwards, when the re-established Episcopal Church of Scotland put pressure on the Covenanters to conform, it was natural that some of them should cross the Border into districts of Northumberland where Presbyterianism already had a hold and the authorities were tolerant. One of the first to do so was Henry Hall of Haughead, a small estate on Kale-water midway between Kelso and Jedburgh. He figures in the annals of his party as a fighting Borderer, kinsman of that Hobbie Hall whose prowess in defending his lands is commemorated by a rhymed inscription;<sup>2</sup> commander of a troop of horse at Drumclog and Bothwell; friend of the extremists Cameron, who received his preacher's license at Haughead-house, and Cargill, whom he saved from arrest at the cost of his own life in June, 1680, a year after

printed below (p. 33) from the Wodrow collection. The librarian of Edinburgh University, Mr. F. C. Nicholson, gave me access to the Laing MSS. Mr. F. R. D. Needham, librarian to the duke of Portland at Welbeck, was so kind as to send copies of two unpublished letters. I am specially indebted to Mr. William J. Lee of Jedburgh, who lent me the manuscript autobiography of Gabriel Semple; and to Mr. W. B. Shaw, honorary librarian of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England, who permitted me to consult the volumes of the *John Black Papers* in his custody dealing with Presbyterian churches in the smaller towns and country districts of Northumberland. I have drawn on Dr. James Curle's special knowledge of Roxburghshire and Mr. J. H. Craw's of Berwickshire, and have received helpful suggestions from Dr. Hay Fleming, Dr. H. H. E. Craster, Mr. A. M. Oliver, Dr. S. W. Carruthers and other correspondents. Mr. C. N. Bertram, son of a member of our council, has prepared the sketch-map. I thank them all.

<sup>2</sup> The slab lies on Haughead Kipp, a knoll between the Morebattle road and the Kale. I give the text as I read it:

Here Hoby Hall boldly maintained his right  
Gainst reef plain force armed w. lawles might  
For twenty pleughs harnessd in all their gear  
Could not this valient noble hart mak fear  
But w. his sword he cut the formost's soam  
In two: hence drove both pleughs and pleughmen home.

1620

*Soam* is a trace of rope or chain. Some of the letters have been re-cut, perhaps when Lady John Scott repaired the monument in 1854, others tampered with more recently. Sir Walter Scott's copy, made before any restoration, is not exact (*Minstr'elsy*, ed. 1850, i, 180). Cf. BNC ix, 23; xxvi, 376.

Bothwell.<sup>3</sup> It may seem characteristic of the man that he was in the fight at Crookham in 1678. But the main part that he plays in our Northumbrian story is that of peaceful intermediary between wandering preachers from Scotland and untaught villages on Tillside.<sup>4</sup> He was a link, moreover, with a wide circle of educated people in Teviotdale and the Merse, who, like himself, had been moulded by the spiritual power of John Livingstone, minister of Ancrum. That learned and saintly man was now an exile in Holland, whence he wrote pastoral letters to his followers, inspiring them with faith and courage like his own, and unconsciously nerving some of them to armed resistance such as he would not have approved.

Hall had been forced "to leave his estate and retire from the storm" into Northumberland about 1665. In the following year, when an unpremeditated rising began in the west, he set out to join the insurgents, but was intercepted by the sheriff of his own shire, lord Roxburgh, who kept him prisoner in Cessford castle till the affair was over.<sup>5</sup> Back in Northumberland, he settled and probably farmed at Hazelrigg, where the western scarp of Belford Moor falls steeply to pastures watered by the Hetton-burn, a mile from the cave where St. Cuthbert made his retreat a thousand years before.<sup>6</sup> Here he was visited soon after 1666 by a fugitive from the Pentland rising, who was to attain an influence in twelve Northumbrian parishes not

<sup>3</sup> The article on Henry Hall in DNB is supplemented by the Rev. J. F. Leishman's paper in BNC xxvi, which has a drawing of the house still standing at Haughead, and the record of his marriage from the Berwick register: 29 August 1661 Henry, son to Robert Hall, late of Haughead, Gent., m. Elizabeth, daughter of Benjamin Clerk. The so-called Haughead banner, in spite of tradition, has been shown to date only from about 1723 (SS ii, 216).

<sup>4</sup> "He was very much beloved" in Northumberland "for his care, and the pains he took to get many rude and ignorant people instructed, and his procuring ministers now and again to preach the gospel to them." W iii, 205.

<sup>5</sup> W, *loc. cit.*, says he was a friend and relation of Roxburgh's.

<sup>6</sup> There are two farms to-day, North and South Hazelrigg, the former on the site of the old village. It belonged to the Berwick family of Jackson, with whom Hall may have been acquainted through his wife, apparently a Berwick woman. For Cuddy's Cove, see ND 215, and Raine's *Life of Saint Cuthbert*, 21.

unlike that of Livingstone beyond the Tweed. This was Gabriel Sempil or Semple, outed minister of Kirkpatrick-Durham, near Dumfries. He had lain hidden, after his escape from that pitiful rout, in a friendly house on the English side of the Chéviots, and first ventured forth to preach at a sacrament arranged by Henry Hall. Two well-known Berwick ministers, Dr. Gilbert Rule and Nicholas Wrissell, were there to support him, and old Justice Henry Ogle of Eglingham who had sat in parliament for the county and been active in local administration under Cromwell.<sup>7</sup>

After a visit to Ireland Semple returned to Tillside about 1668, and made his home at or near Ford, then a more populous place than it is to-day, and the centre of a cluster of villages in which were many families of Scottish descent, for the most part recent immigrants. The church stood empty, for the easy-going elderly rector was generally absent at his other cure, which by a curious coincidence was Livingstone's former parish of Ancrum. His appointment to Ford dated from 1660, the year in which Thomas Carr, the young owner of Ford Castle, was murdered by his stepfather. A vacancy occurred, and as Carr had failed to appoint and the succession to the estate was in doubt, it was filled by the king, who chose James Scott, a royalist, bred near the Border in Yarrow :<sup>8</sup> a "constant sufferer," deposed from his cure in Galloway and excommunicated in 1639. He had powerful friends. When he petitioned the king for a Yorkshire rectory in August, 1660, he was backed by the bishop of Galloway and three leading Anglican divines.<sup>9</sup> He was given Ford, but it was no great prize. Finding the church in bad repair, without furniture, "no house for the parson,

<sup>7</sup> Semple in his autobiography calls him "a grave Christian gentleman": Price, *His Majesty's Restoration*, ed. Maseres, p. 744. "an honest old man, zealous for the good old cause," referring to the support he and his sons gave to Monck in 1659; cf. *Clarke Papers* iv, 90, 119. He died c. 1670.

<sup>8</sup> See F ii, 100; HC ii, 181, for his earlier career; NCH xi, 355, 367, for his connection with Ford.

<sup>9</sup> Sheldon, afterwards Primate, Earle and Morley, afterwards bishops of Salisbury and Winchester. SPD 1660-1, 230.

no glee nor tith that he can get possession of," Scott might have been discouraged even had he been a strong character.<sup>10</sup> But he was indolent, a boon companion in his youth, in later years a prey to depression. Consolations were found for him, a grant of £150 from the Scottish parliament in 1663, removal of his excommunication in 1664, the living of Ancrum in 1665.<sup>11</sup> His institution there was attended by stormy scenes and followed by harsh punishments which only concern us here in that they deepened the rift between Livingstone's followers, Protesters who had not yet learned to rank themselves with the Westland extremists as Whigs, and the royalists who accepted episcopacy.<sup>12</sup> Scott did not resign the rectory of Ford, but preferred to live on his native soil at Ancrum, leaving his Northumberland parish to take care of itself. It was only in 1672 that the archdeacon of Northumberland issued a sequestration against him for not attending his visitation at Alnwick, absenting himself from Ford, and neglecting his flock: and not until 1677 that he resigned.

Meanwhile Gabriel Semple found himself free to preach in Ford church, enjoying an immunity all the more surprising when we remember that there was a price on his head in Scotland and that in spite of it he rode from time to time across the Border to preach at conventicles. In his autobiography he sums up the perilous doings of those nine or ten years from 1668 onwards with humility and reticence. He passes lightly over James Scott's failings:<sup>13</sup> "the Curate was a Simple Body and Melancholly."

<sup>10</sup> AA 2, xvii; 257, survey of churches, 1663. "None can sitt dry in the church in time of raine."

<sup>11</sup> F. ii, 100; *Acta Parl. Scot.* vii, 81 a, 484.

<sup>12</sup> W i, 393; LP i, 234; Row, *Life of Blair*, 484. This disturbance first brought home to Rothes, the head of affairs in Edinburgh, that "in Teviotdale there are many persons as disaffected as in the west."

<sup>13</sup> He was not lenient to himself. A manuscript in his handwriting contains repeated renewals of a personal soul-covenant, such as Presbyterians of his school and time made with their God. The last entry was made in August, 1705, the year of his death: "In my old age and much frailtie I hereby declare againe my adherence to this covenant in the contrition of many failings. G. Semple." Laing MSS., Edinburgh University Library, II, 29.

Livingstone took a graver view. Writing to his Teviotdale friends in October, 1671, he bids them neither hate nor injure "the poor wretch that is thrust in among you," "pray for him . . . but do not countenance or join with him," and regrets that some were ready to "sit and drink with him who was lawfully and deservedly excommunicated." Yet Livingstone was no rigid Puritan; he found "hunting on horseback . . . very bewitching," and enjoyed "singing in a concert of music." In the same pastoral letter he refers to a spiritual revival in Northumberland:

I hear there is a rare work of grace begun of late in some not far from you in the borders of Northumberland; I judge it were for your advantage if some of you, such as are able, went thither to be acquainted with them. Your friend, Henry Hall, would easily make your acquaintance; their fire-edge might help to kindle up old sitten-up professors; yea, if some of you, who are yet graceless, would go and see their way, they might be smited with that blessed disease.<sup>14</sup>

Scots and English did foregather, not once but many times. Semple dispensed the sacrament in Ford church "to great assemblies from Scotland; some came twenty, thirty miles afoot (so) that the church tho' very large could not contain them near the one half." There were meetings "in the open fields," free as yet from the precautions, pickets and armed guards, that became necessary later. The news of one such gathering, held by a significant choice at Flodden as though to mark the end of traditional enmity, may have reached Livingstone on his death-bed in Holland.<sup>15</sup> It provoked from someone in the district a petition to lord Clifford, acting Secretary of State, who passed it on to the duke of Lauderdale, July 5, 1672.

Your Grace will find by the enclosed Petition a complaint against Five Scotch Preachers, who are said to have assisted at a dangerous assembly in Flowden Field. His Maj<sup>ty</sup> hath ordered the

<sup>14</sup> *Letter to his parishioners at Ancrum*, 2nd ed., 1710, p. 18. *Sitten-up*, like *upsitten*, means "listless, callous"; Patrick Walker speaks of "lukewarm, backslidden and upsitten ministers," SS i, 328; cf. ii, 245. *Sमितed*, "infected."

<sup>15</sup> He died at Rotterdam, August 9, 1672.

Governor of Berwick to enquire into the Business and return an accompt thereof, but supposing those five Preachers may soon withdraw themselves into Scotland, His Majt<sup>e</sup> is likewise pleased to recomend to yo<sup>r</sup> Graces care that some notice be taken of their behaviour.<sup>16</sup>

Clifford, a concealed Romanist, was in sympathy with the Declaration of Indulgence issued in the previous March, and his mild tone shows that the Privy Council viewed Northumbrian conventicles with indifference. Their attitude changed from 1676 onwards. Meanwhile the sectaries gained confidence, as appears from a letter written a few months later by Alexander Davison, vicar of Norham, about troubles at Cornhill, which had been added to his charge in 1662, though previously it had been a separate cure, held since 1659 by a gifted Scotsman, Henry Erskine. Ejected like so many others on St. Bartholomew's day, Erskine retired to the home of his boyhood; Dryburgh on the Tweed, and made his influence felt in the surrounding district. Some of his old parishioners remained loyal, and from them and his Scottish hearers came freewill offerings in lieu of stipend, such as the "horse-load of meal, cheese, and beef" that brought timely relief one morning when Erskine was trying to comfort his hungry children by playing the lute.<sup>17</sup> Early in 1673 John Forster of Cornhill, sheriff of Northumberland at the time, promoted a petition to the dean and chapter of Durham asking that Cornhill should again be made a separate benefice. The exasperated vicar wrote to prebendary Robert Grey, who was Forster's uncle as well as a powerful member of the chapter, that the petitioners if they got their way would

make choise of their old rebellious nonconformist Henry Asken,<sup>18</sup> who never was in orders, but like the rest of thes rebellious

<sup>16</sup> LP ii, 226. The petition is not preserved, apparently, nor the governor of Berwick's report.

<sup>17</sup> William Veitch, a close friend of Erskine's, heard the story from him and wrote it down for Wodrow. The MS. is printed in *Memoirs of Mrs. William Veitch, Henry Erskine, etc.*, Edinburgh, 1846.

<sup>18</sup> ND, p. 323, prints Askew, but Dr. C. E. Whiting has kindly examined the original letter and tells me it is clearly Asken; Erskine was often written and doubtless pronounced Arskin.

preachers dothe goe from place to place. Yea, he hath been loadged in Mr. Foster's house with his long prayers, and whom he carried with him to baptize his brother John Orde of Mindrome's child with y<sup>e</sup> Scots forme, and to whom they pay loades of coales, and doth carie them twelfe mile into his house of Scotland. [The coals probably came from Ford colliery, and it is to Ford that the next grievance relates.] Truly, Sir, Mr. Foster is not right principaled, for when his daughter was seike he caled in some Scots ministers to keep a fast for his daughter, and himself went to Foord church, which all the nonconformists doth use, to get her prayed for, but neglected our Church.<sup>19</sup>

He goes on to complain of Edward Orde (who had held the vicarage of Norham as an intruder during the Commonwealth) for preaching at Cornhill "in my chapel when I was at London."

It may seem strange that Semple is not mentioned in connection with the use of Ford church by nonconformists. No doubt he used an assumed name, but it must have been an open secret that he was an outlawed Scottish preacher, with a death-sentence hanging over him. Several causes may have contributed to protect him. There was his personal charm and magnetism, and a purity and dignity of character that disarmed opponents. There was the fact that he came of a royalist family—his elder brother had been an officer under Montrose<sup>20</sup>—and that his second wife, who gave him devoted companionship during these years, bore an ancient name held in honour on both sides of the Border.<sup>21</sup> And a majority of the magistrates, whatever their religious or political sympathies, were unwilling to go a step farther in the way of repression than strict duty, enforced by reminders from Whitehall, might compel. This seems to have been the attitude of colonel William Strother, deputy-lieutenant both for Northumberland and North Durham, whose home

<sup>19</sup> Dated Norham, 20th of March, 1672[3]; Dean and Chapter library, Durham, *Hunter MSS.* 7, III. Forster was a son of sir Matthew Forster of Adderstone, and filled the office of sheriff for Northumberland in 1672-3—hence Davison's reference to him as "the shireve" in a later sentence.

<sup>20</sup> Their father was sir Bryce Semple of Cathcart on the Clyde.

<sup>21</sup> Alison, daughter of sir Walter Riddell of Riddell.

at Fowberry was within three miles of Hazelrigg and eight of Ford. He must have known that these places were centres of Presbyterian teaching and gave shelter to exiles from Scotland, just as he knew that his neighbours at Eslington and Callaly harboured Roman Catholic priests. But it was not until the winter of 1676-7 that he was driven to take action. Meanwhile he would have said that responsibility rested with Francis Blake,<sup>22</sup> who had married one of the co-heiresses of Thomas Carr, the young owner of Ford murdered in 1660. Semple notes his goodwill as one cause of the immunity he enjoyed—"the gentleman that belonged to that place was no enemy to these occasions, for it was to the outward advantage of his town."<sup>23</sup> Blake was a magistrate as well as the chief landowner in the parish. Second to him in importance was William Carr of Etal (son of that sir Robert Ker or Carr who served the parliament at sea in the early years of the Civil War, but ranged himself on the king's side when Charles I was brought prisoner to Newcastle), a trained lawyer, afterwards recorder of Berwick, who allowed outed ministers to preach in his house, though he was too discreet to take part in field conventicles.<sup>24</sup> His sister Margaret married Gabriel Semple, probably after his release from prison in 1681, certainly before the Revolution, and we may assume that the friendship dated from the years of Semple's ministry at Ford. A less sympathetic onlooker was Thomas Carr of Belford West-hall,<sup>25</sup> a cadet of the Carrs of Ford: whereas the Etal Carrs, though connected

<sup>22</sup> See NCH xi, 402-8, for his ancestry and the steps by which he bought the shares of the other co-heiresses. He was a steadfast Whig, knighted by William II August 27, 1689; M.P. for Berwick 1688, 1689, 1690, 1698; knight of the shire 1700 and later years.

<sup>23</sup> It is "gentleman" and "his town" in Mr. Lee's MS; Wodrow in his paraphrase says "gentlemen." The worshippers from Scotland would require lodging and food for man and beast.

<sup>24</sup> SPD 1679-80, p. 58; VB, p. 130. His wife was a daughter of Hugh Boscawen of Tregothnan, Cornwall. Her brother Nicholas was a parliamentarian officer, and her nephew Hugh, "the leading Cornish politician of his time in the Whig interest," became the first Viscount Falmouth.

<sup>25</sup> NCH xi, 392. He had married Grace, widow of Thomas Armorer of Belford West-hall, and was now a man of fifty or more.



in the female line with those of Ford, were really Kers from across the Border, claiming descent from Ker of Greenhead. He was a royalist and churchman, as befitted one whose father had been gentleman of the bedchamber to James I, and seemingly bore a grudge against Blake, both as a political opponent and as the new master of family estates to which Carr himself had once put forward claims. He was also, unlike most of his neighbours, a fluent writer, and had the habit of relieving his mind by a letter to the Secretary of State, just as nowadays he would send one to the *Times*. He owned a small property at Marden, west of Crookham and Ford.

On November 24th, 1676, this Mr. Carr writes from Belford to sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State in London, that dangerous doctrines are being preached at large gatherings in North Northumberland; on communion days two or three thousand people assemble, English and Scots together, and the non-conforming leaders bid them come as well armed as they can; they know their own strength and only want an opportunity; ending with a hint that the magistrates are cold or remiss in executing orders lately sent by the government. He offers to supply "the names of their teachers; English or Scotch."<sup>26</sup> His long pompous letter, naming neither person nor place, was no doubt referred to Lauderdale as Secretary for Scotland, like the letter of 1672 about the conventicle at Flodden. And within a week the warning was reinforced by news of a field-meeting held near the Border, on Lilliesleaf Moor, at which three hundred armed men had defied a party of horse sent to disperse the gathering. The minister, really Blackadder, had not been identified; but John Welsh was reported to be in Northumberland. That news set the cumbrous police system of seventeenth century England in motion.

<sup>26</sup> SPD 1676-7, p. 431. Other letters from Carr 1673-5, p. 534; 1675-6, p. 24; 1678, pp. 27, 215.

## II. JOHN WELSH AND OTHER FIELD-PREACHERS, 1676-7.

John Welsh a Phanaticke Preacher aged betwixt 50 and 60 years, is a thicke short man, within these few years inclined to be fatt, his haire was chesnut colored, but now probably may be gray, for the most part he wears a periwig, sometimes of a blacke, at other times of a light color, the better to passe in disguise: Sometimes he wears his owne haire, which is short, but hath not done it of late. He ~~is full~~ faced. This man was endicted of Treason by the Parliament of Scotland in the year 1661, but the diet was then deserted and he was set at liberty on assurance of his good behaviour. In 1666 he was in the rebellion in the West, and after the rebels were beaten, he with some others, though absent, on sufficient proofs against them, was endicted and condemned of high treason, so it is lawful for any man to kill him, though he had no particular order for so doing.<sup>27</sup>

Such was the description furnished by Lauderdale in 1678 of the man whom he regarded as the most dangerous of the recalcitrants. He was one of a group of ministers in Dumfries and Galloway who had graduated at Glasgow under the Commonwealth and were in the prime of life when evicted in 1662-3. Welsh and Semple, Peden, Blackadder and Arnot were prominent from the first among the many stalwarts who continued to preach and baptize in or near their former parishes; and all of them found shelter, at one time or another, on the eastern border. Welsh was great-grandson of John Knox, and grandson of a noted divine, John Welsh of Ayr, of whom it is told that as a boy he tasted adventure among "the thieves on the English border who lived by robbing the two nations"; the wild youth became a resolute champion of presbytery, was banished for defying king and bishops, and spent long years as a pastor in France. The same uncompromising spirit marked his grandson. He was accused before the Privy Council in 1662 of calling Middleton's parliament "a drunken parliament"—a name that clung. He stood by Gabriel Semple when the first field-meetings were held

<sup>27</sup> SPD Car. II Entry Book 43, p. 223, accompanying a letter from Williamson to Ormonde, September 28, 1678. In the printed *Calendar*, p. 429, the description is omitted.

at Corsack, and carried them on; as early as 1666 it was said that he and his hearers carried arms. When the Pentland rising broke out he was in Edinburgh, but rode in haste to join it. Rothes after the battle described how "that arch willan Welsh" and "Mr. Gabriell Simple" stood with uplifted hands calling on "the Great God of Jacob" while the unequal fight endured.<sup>28</sup> Thenceforward he was pursued with increasing bitterness as the life and soul of the rebellious movement—a leadership which he won by the soldierly qualities of cool resourceful courage and endurance rather than intellectual power. He would "ride three days and two nights without sleep and preach upon a mountain at midnight in one of the nights."<sup>29</sup> Audacious and untiring, he comes and goes in safety for sixteen years, retires when the hot-heads disown the king in 1679-80, and dies quietly in London in January, 1681.

While Semple made occasional raids across the Border from his refuge at Ford, Welsh roamed over southern Scotland, often in disguise, harboured by rich and poor, wintering at first in Edinburgh, later on the Border. In the summer of 1674 Semple and he preached together in the Torwood, a remnant of ancient forest near Falkirk, which provoked the government to offer £100 sterling for either of them. But the hue and cry was mainly for Welsh. A few weeks later Atholl tells the duchess of Lauderdale, "I still have six men in disguise taking all the pains that can be to apprehend that vilaine";<sup>30</sup> and in August, 1675, the king authorizes him to employ whom he thinks fit and offer up to £500 sterling for the capture

<sup>28</sup> LP I, 267, cf. BM *Addit.* 23125, f. 269. The malicious words "their fathes having failed them" are omitted in the printed text. Rothes got the story from Welsh's servant. The distinction between "arch willan" and "Mr." is characteristic. Welsh is constantly called rogue and villain; Semple inspired respect.

<sup>29</sup> K 219. The author, himself a hill-preacher, devotes a glowing page to Welsh, but refrains from describing Semple, who was still alive.

<sup>30</sup> LP iii, 66. At this time we hear of Welsh engaging guards at a wage of £12 the half-year, and providing them with horse, sword and pistols (evidence of John Scarlet, tinker, quoted by W iii, 37, of dubious value). In later years there is frequent mention of his body-guard, "seldom exceeding the number of ten horsemen" (K 380).

of Welsh or other fugitive preachers.<sup>31</sup> The pursuit was hotly pressed in the following year, and many outlawed ministers sought winter quarters in Northumberland. Welsh "hade the Confidence at that time to have a dwelling-house near Tweedside, where (I heard him say) he dwelt as pleasantly for some weeks as ever he did in Scotland."<sup>32</sup> It was then that Carr of Belford wrote to Whitehall.

The Secretary of State was not in the habit of answering Carr's wordy letters. More definite news came, probably through Lauderdale, who had his own Scottish correspondents; and on December 16 he wrote in the king's name to colonel Strother, as a deputy-lieutenant for Northumberland, directing "that John Welsh alias Hope, a Scotch sectary and pretended minister,<sup>33</sup> who frequents several meetings in the said county, and endeavours to pervert people there, and who stands attainted of high treason in Scotland, be searched for and taken into custody and be sent into Scotland, to be proceeded against on the said attainder."<sup>34</sup> This went under cover to the postmaster of Alnwick, who received it on December 20 at 11 a.m., and wrote to his colleague at the letter office in London that he had sent it away forthwith. "The storm of snow is so great that a horse could not pass, but I was forced to send a man on foot, which is not returned yet. When God sends him back, I shall give you a full account of it." Then he grumbles—he was an old royalist and sure of his position: "Col. Strother is four miles west of Belford and so is Chillingham and Hepburn. It is 12 miles from me. I have often letters in my bag which could come in Belford bags."<sup>35</sup> In our miles the distances are half as long again.

<sup>31</sup> HMC XII, viii, p. 11.

<sup>32</sup> K 372. Cf. W ii, 342. Wodrow Soc., *Select Biographies* ii, 331.

<sup>33</sup> The phrase *pretended minister*, used from 1664 onwards, asserted the view of the Scottish government that the license to a particular parish, not ordination, made a man a minister.

<sup>34</sup> SPD 1676-7, p. 455.

<sup>35</sup> SPD 1676-7, p. 463. The editor of the *Calendar* has substituted the modern official spelling *Hepburn*, a wrong and absurd one, for *Heborne* in the MS.



The messenger reached Fowberry on the 21<sup>st</sup> and was back at Alnwick with Strother's receipt on the 23<sup>rd</sup>—four days for a journey of seventeen miles each way. Strother went to work at once, but drew blank. He reported on December 30: "I received his Majesty's commands 21 Dec. for taking John Welsh alias Hope. I have last week made strict search in all places where he used to haunt, but could not find him, and I am informed he went lately to Scotland to see some friends there. It is probable his stay there will not be long. I have laid wait for him, that, if ever he come into this part of England again, I shall have notice of it, and then I shall spare no pains—neither day nor night—to take that rebel."<sup>36</sup> Williamson acknowledged this on January 9th, promising to inform the king and asking him "as anything happens further in that affair to let them hear from him."<sup>37</sup>

The Alnwick postmaster had written on December 21: "It is now fresh weather, so that I fear the waters be out." So ended a long frost, beginning about November 18 and at its height in mid-December, which had enabled Welsh to preach on the ice half-way across the Tweed that "the two nations might dispute his crime." Possibly Strother's search was not so thorough as his report implies; "severall times orders came from above, both from the king, the bishop of Durham, and others, to banish the Scottish fugitives; but the English gentry made no haste, so the ministers continued there for that winter."<sup>38</sup> Some stayed longer, and we hear of them in Cumberland as well as Northumberland, making converts among "rude and ignorant people, who were some way fallow ground, and

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 476, with words added from the MS. Note that he corresponds with the Secretary of State direct, not by way of Welbeck. The old duke of Newcastle died there on Christmas day. He and his son had been joint lord lieutenants of Northumberland since 1670.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 500.

<sup>38</sup> K 371 f. For the abnormal cold, see weather reports in SPD 1676-7, e.g. 453, December 15, Stockton, "the Tees has been frozen over above a week and continues so"; p. 458, December 19, Dublin, "this hard frost, of which the like was not seen here these many years. People walk over the river." Robert Law, *Memorials*, 107, "a most violent frost . . . the most aged never remembred the lyke."

scarce had the Gospel preached to them before."<sup>39</sup> The climax of that campaign, when the scattered pioneers drew together again in Scotland, was a great field-meeting in the parish of Eckford, probably on Henry Hall's land at Haughead. Communions in the open air, such as had been held for some years in Northumberland, were now being celebrated in the Lowlands. George Barclay, a minister who was afterwards concerned in Argyle's rising, said that "the best day he ever had in preaching of the Gospel was in the bounds belonging to the Laird of Haugh-head, worthy Henry Hall . . . preaching upon the Monday, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper being dispensed in the fields the Sabbath before. . . . In the time of his Sermon there was a small disle of warm rain, and he was as sensible of a disle of the dew of heaven upon his own soul and the soul of the people."<sup>40</sup> The combative spirit was in the ascendant, however, and one of those who took the communion confessed afterwards that he did so "upon thir termes that he should nevir hear bishopes nor curats in tyme comeing."<sup>41</sup>

It is probable that Hall was once more a wanderer. The beginning of persecution at Ford about this time is mentioned by Semple in the narrative to which I have already referred. It seems worth while to print the passage describing his work in Northumberland. "A year after Pentland," in the autumn of 1667, he went to Ireland with two friends who like himself had been sentenced in absence to forfeiture of life and property. He mentions his return from Ireland in 1668 or 1669, and then

<sup>39</sup> W ii, 346. Besides Welsh and Semple he mentions Samuel Arnot, John Scott of Hawick "and others." Alexander Peden was a prisoner from 1673 till January, 1679, when he escaped in London; his work in Redesdale and North Tyne, like Veitch's, belongs mainly to the period from 1679 onwards.

<sup>40</sup> Patrick Walker, *Vindication of Cameron's Name*, in SS i, 337; cf. i, 33, where the sacrament at Haughead is named with three other notable occasions in 1677-9. The date cannot be fixed precisely, but it was in summer, 1677.

<sup>41</sup> *Melrose Regality Records* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), iii, 36. At Girvan that autumn 2,000 communicants "were all engaged solemnly never to hear the orthodox ministers more." OM, N.S., iv, p. 69, letter of November 5, 1677.

goes back to his first arrival in Northumberland after the defeat of 1666. The story is involved and dates are lacking, but the general picture is clear.<sup>42</sup>

Then I went to the border of England where I had been hid after my Escape from Pentland, being recommended to some Acquaintance of a most Worthy Gentlewoman Mistress Keer of Weells,<sup>43</sup> who kept me so Closs in her House, that few in the Family knew of me. While I was in the Border, I made Some Adventure to preach, As Some other Ministers from Scotland did afterward. The first Adventure I made before I went for Ireland, was at Heselrige, where a Honest Hearted Man lived, Harry Hall of Hagehead being retained there because of the persecution in Scotland. There we had the Sacrament where Docter Rule was, and Mr. Wryssel Minister of Berwick, There was not many there but some Select persons from the County amongst whom was that Justice Ogle a Grave Christian Gentleman, and the people of the Village. It was Observed at that Occasion Several in that Village were brought in to the Lord, that had not the least profession of Religion before, and Continued in the same; after that the meetings increased about Foord and the Borders, That Preaching was in the Open Fields, Yea we possessed the Church of Ford for some Years and Gave the Sacrament publickly there to great Assemblys from Scotland, Especially that some came 20, 30 miles afoot, that the Church tho' very Large could not contain them near the one half. This was wonderful Protection from the Lord, which wanted not Signal Fruits, to his praise be it thought and heard of; That which in the Providence of God helped to this peace was, The Curate was a Simple Body, and Melancholly,<sup>44</sup> and the Gentleman that belonged to that place was no enemy to these Occasions;<sup>45</sup> for it was to the Outward Advantage of his Town, but that which was most of all, That place and those borders were Looked upon to be Ignorant, barbarous and Debauched with all sort of Wickedness,

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<sup>42</sup> *The Life of Gabriel Sempil written by himself* is preserved in an early MS. copy formerly owned by Principal John Lee of the University of Edinburgh (1779-1859) and now by his grandson, Mr. William J. Lee. Wodrow, writing soon after Sempil's death in 1706, used "papers under his own hand, communicated to me by his son-in-law, the reverend Mr. G. Gillespie" (W iii, 267). McCrie quoted from the Lee MS. in VB 380-4, and the rev. Duncan Stewart drew on it for his sketch of Sempil's life, done with skill and understanding, in *The Covenanters of Teviotdale*, 1908. The kindness of Mr. W. J. Lee enables me to print in full the passage relating to Northumberland which they gave only in paraphrase.

<sup>43</sup> Possibly Thompson's Walls, near Yetholm, still known locally as "the Walls." I owe this suggestion to Mr. John Allan.

<sup>44</sup> See p. 6.

<sup>45</sup> See p. 10.

that none thought it worthy their Consideration to look after them, thinking that they could not be brought to any Reformation, Yet in the Lord's infinite Mercy, The preaching to those Borderers had more fruit than in many Places that was more Civilised and Laboured upon, that the Success of the Gospel is Hoped to be found as in other places.<sup>46</sup>

After this my Worthy Yoke fellow died; that was a Presage of a Change, not only on my Family, but the Corner [i.e., turning-point] for the Persecution there, So that the preaching of the Gospel was not only hindered—but it was not Such a Shelter to the persecuted from Scotland, as it had been; The Lord saw it fit to bring that tryal in their Way, and I was forced to leave that place, it being both uneasy and more Uncomfortable to me that I wanted my Companion; She was of great Deserving, and a greater Sympathiser with my Lot, and a Nursing Mother to the persecuted that came from Scotland; and had a honourable Burial, The Generality of the Gentry of Merse and Teviotdale was there, and from other places, and Carried to Yattum [Yetholm] in Scotland, where her sister Lady Thirleston<sup>47</sup> was buried before. After the Death of my Worthy Wife, I went to Scotland, and preached here and there as other Ministers did.

### III. TROOPS SENT TO THE BORDER, 1677-8.

The change noted by Semple, when preaching was hindered and the Ford district no longer a safe shelter,

<sup>46</sup> It is curious to compare Semple's cautious hope that the success of the gospel on the borders may prove to be lasting, with Defoe's rhetorical account written some thirty years later:

" Amongst the rest of the Ministers who fled on this unhappy affair [i.e., Pentland], Mr. John Welch and Mr. Gabriel Sample were two, whose Zeal and Sincerity in the Cause of Religion occasion'd their being more eminent than their Brethren. These fled to the Borders, where they found Shelter, and Friends to harbour them in an unexpected Manner; and where they were made wonderful Instruments in God's Hand, to plant the Gospel and the Fear of God in the Hearts of the most bloody and barbarous of Men, who were before Robbers and Murtherers, who, by the Preaching of these banished Ministers became Eminent Converts, and both them, and their Posterity were made Eminent in the Knowledge of God, and in their Love to his Ways, in so much, that to the Praise of sovereign Grace, those rude and unguided Borderers are now the most zealous Professors of the True Religion in Britain; and those Places which were Dens of Robbers, and Receptacles of Thieves and Murtherers, are now become some of the best planted, and most flourishing Congregations of serious Christians, perhaps, in the World." (*Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*, p. 167. Written during or soon after his employment in Edinburgh, 1706-8, but only published in 1717.)

<sup>47</sup> James Scott, brother of sir William Scott of Harden, married (contract February 8, 1659) Agnes, second daughter of sir Walter Riddell

may be placed about 1677. In that year a new rector took possession of Ford church, Alexander Davison, son of the vicar of Norham of the same name, who as we saw was no friend to nonconformist intruders.<sup>48</sup> There was also some activity on the part of magistrates, stirred up by Lauderdale, who had learned from a personal affront how the malcontents in Scotland were reinforced by allies across the Border. In April, 1676, he had promoted an Act of Council that made heritors liable to heavy fines when a conventicle was held on their lands. A daring spirit proposed that the author of the edict should be the first to suffer by it, and inaugurated weekly field-meetings at the Blue Cairn, a prehistoric fort on Lauderdale's property, high on the watershed between Leader and Gala. When Lauderdale came north early in July, 1677, after three years' absence in London, he learned that the slight put upon him had been devised and the meetings led by a kinsman of his own—the Pentland outlaw, William Veitch, youngest of the combative group of Glasgow-trained ministers, who for some years had farmed and preached near Morpeth under the name of William Johnson. On Sunday, August 12, two magistrates raided Veitch's house, Stanton-hall, at an hour when they knew that he would be conducting service; he escaped arrest by slipping into a hiding-hole behind the wainscot—for Whig as well as Roman Catholic houses were provided with such retreats.<sup>49</sup> The justices were sir Thomas Horsley of Long Horsley and William Ogle of Causey-park, colonel Strother's son-in-law and close ally; fifteen months later the warrant on which Veitch was ultimately taken was signed by Strother

of that ilk. Burke, *Peerage etc.* (1929) p. 1893. He owned Thirlstane, near Yetholm, and must not be confused with the rector of Ford.

<sup>48</sup> Scott having resigned, Francis Blake presented Davidson on October 3, 1676. He was instituted August 24, 1677 (NCH xi, 366). On February 14, 1678, a warrant was issued to the archbishop of Canterbury to grant a dispensation to Alexander Davison, M.A., chaplain to Lewis, earl of Feversham, to accept and hold the vicarage of Lewisham, Kent, with that of Ford, Northumberland, which he now holds (SPD 1677-8, 647). He too became an absentee and employed curates; but we may be sure that his father kept a watchful eye on Ford church.

<sup>49</sup> VB 66, cf. 124.

and Ogle together. The time had come when Semple could no longer feel safe at Ford, nor Henry Hall at Hazelrigg. But although resident Covenanters had to quit haunts where they were well known, they and other refugees could still find a welcome in lonely steadings among the moors or even in the crowded tenements of Berwick and Newcastle, where their cause had staunch supporters. Welsh had closed his autumn campaign in Ayrshire by publicly reinstating an outed minister at Girvan, where he preached before seven thousand hearers. Two days later he "came through Mayboll with 20 horse," preached at Auchinleck, and then, as his way was, vanished. "Some say he then went straight for Edinburgh, others towards the Borders."<sup>50</sup> On November 24, 1677, Lauderdale's chaplain, Dr. George Hickès, wrote from Edinburgh, "since the approaches of the Irish and English forces, the godly rebels are all dispersed, and their chief ringleaders and preachers have taken shelter in Northumberland, where they want not encouragement from the papists that abound there."<sup>51</sup>

The words in Hickès' letter about "the Irish and English forces" refer to Lauderdale's plans for a campaign that should end the struggle. Atholl and other nobles were to put their clansmen in the field, that Highland Host which ravaged south-western Scotland in the following February. On a call from the Scots Privy Council Irish troops were to cross the straits, commanded by Arthur Forbes, lord Granard, a Presbyterian who had fought under Montrose in Scotland and would be as welcome there as any leader of the dreaded Irish could hope to be. To complete the encircling movement the king was persuaded to send two troops of lord Oxford's regiment, now known as the Blues, to Alnwick, and to call up a thousand of the

<sup>50</sup> SPD 1677-8, 442-4, letter dated November 5. Cf. OM, N.S., iv, 69. *Ibid.*, p. 75, in the first week of December an informer says that "Mas. John Walsh is at this time in England."

<sup>51</sup> PM, N.S., ii, 40. For one tolerant Roman Catholic justice see note 104 below. Another was William Widdrington of Cheeseburn Grange, VB 75 f. On the other hand his brother Ralph and sir Thomas Horsley were active in suppressing nonconformist preachers.

Northumberland militia.<sup>52</sup> By the end of November Granard had two thousand foot and three hundred horse ready on the coast near Belfast. A horse-post had been established between Edinburgh and Portpatrick, and a dispatch-boat plied between Portpatrick and Donaghadee. The preparations in Northumberland did not go so smoothly. The militia were a shadowy force and the order to muster in February was an unpleasant surprise, as appears from the blunt reply that one deputy-lieutenant returned to the lord-lieutenant's instructions:

(From the original at Welbeck)

ffebr. 8th 1677 (-8)  
Newcastle.

May It please your Grace

Your Graces letter I rec<sup>d</sup> post dated y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> instant by w<sup>h</sup> your Grace appoints Alnewick for the place of Muster, w<sup>h</sup> at this time, and so long as the two troopes of horse are quartered there, cannott be; for those troopes with their officers being settled there, Accomodation is not to be had in that place for y<sup>e</sup> militia forces of horse and foote, nor for the deputy Lief<sup>ts</sup> and others w<sup>h</sup> upon that occasion would meete there; for w<sup>h</sup> Reason and y<sup>e</sup> Goale delivery being at Morpeth we did thinke that time and place most convenient and little charge to y<sup>e</sup> Countrey, when so great a part of y<sup>e</sup> gentlemen and freeholders will be drawne there upon that occasion; and that place is as much in y<sup>e</sup> middle of y<sup>e</sup> whole County (if not more) than Alnewick; and we did not thinke your Grace would have confined us to any place, but to have left that to our discretion with y<sup>e</sup> Reason then given for Morpeth. And at this time Alnewick was y<sup>e</sup> worst place for discovery of the smalnesse of y<sup>e</sup> militia to y<sup>e</sup> other Troopes, w<sup>h</sup> it seemes your Grace would not have knowne to strangers so for these Reasons (with your Graces flavour) we have nott issued out Warrants for a muster but shall Remitt that to some other covenient [*sic*] time at your Grace's pleasure. And as I Intreate your Graces pardon, so I am assured your Grace will not expect my attendance in any Remote place at a muster, when I can be so little serviceable in a matter I doe not understand.

so begging your Graces Pardon I Rest

Your Graces most faithfull and humble servant,

RICH. STOTE<sup>53</sup>

ffebr. 8th 1677 (-8)  
Newcastle

<sup>52</sup> LP iii, 91; OM, N.S., iv, 63. Similar preparations for encircling the Covenanters had been made in 1674. RPCS iv, 211; Row, *Life of Blair*, p. 552.

<sup>53</sup> Sir Richard Stote (1621-82) of Stote's Hall, Jesmond, Newcastle.

Clearly the deputy-lieutenants had little faith in the militia, on which the king was so ready to call. He had offered Lauderdale a thousand men; but a year later, when the Covenanters were in arms and Berwick was thought to be in danger, it was doubtful if Northumberland could furnish five hundred, and the bishop of Durham was asked to supplement them by calling out the militia of North Durham and Islandshire.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, like the Scottish militia, which could make a brave show on occasion, they were drawn from a class which had secret sympathy with the persecuted cause.<sup>55</sup>

The English and Irish troops were not required, for the exactions of the Highland Host were borne with incredible patience. Fervour rose higher than before at the field-meetings of that spring and summer (1678). Welsh had visited the western shires a week or two before the coming of the Host, preaching resistance according to Hicke, <sup>56</sup> but more probably counselling restraint. In March he and Semple met at a presbytery, held in Henry Hall's house at Haughead, which licensed Richard Cameron, a fiery young graduate of St. Andrews, and sent him to preach to the Borderers of Annandale. In April, Welsh, Blackadder, and Archibald Riddell, Semple's brother-in-law, conducted a communion beside the Whitadder, near Chirnside, notable for the perfected organization on military lines that guarded the great assembly during three days of religious exercises, and for the depth of feeling that still lives in Blackadder's description.<sup>57</sup> It

son of Edward S., a merchant and captain of foot in the service of Charles I. Pedigree NCH iv, 383. B.A., Cambridge (Magdalene) 1638-9. Adm. Lincoln's Inn July 13, 1640. Knighted February 29, 1671-2. Serjeant-at-law 1675. Recorder of Berwick for some years before his death. Owned land at Jesmond, Wallsend, Kirkheaton and Wooperton.

<sup>54</sup> SPD 1679-80, 324; June 10 and 11, 1679.

<sup>55</sup> Sir George Mackenzie, *Memoirs*, 141, 329.

<sup>56</sup> PM ii, 45, dated January 24. "Thereupon they resolved to rebel and in order thereto rendezvous this day in the Stewartry of Galloway. We all wish it may be true, but I am afraid it is not. I wish they would try as they did in 1666 whether God would work miracles for them or no."

<sup>57</sup> *Memoirs of rev. John Blackader* (1823) 197-208. Cf. LP. iii, 129,

was followed a week later by another meeting at Haughead. The carrying of arms at conventicles had now become the rule. On May 5 a detachment from the garrison of the Bass was sent to disperse a field-meeting on the hills near Whitekirk, a conflict ensued, and a soldier was shot.<sup>58</sup> That same day conventicles were held near Dumfries, "where Mr. John Welsh preached and two young men who never preached before."<sup>59</sup> There was no lack of recruits, and the young men were hotter than their elders. Meanwhile Lauderdale had sent the king an account of the Berwickshire meeting, with its improvised guard of "seven or eight score horse," and persuaded him to levy more troops.<sup>60</sup> Linlithgow was appointed commander-in-chief, and ordered to raise two companies of dragoons, for which the king signed commissions on May 21. To provide money for further levies a Convention of Estates was summoned for the end of June.

It is noteworthy that when the new dragoons took the field in July, they were sent to learn their work in the Merse and Teviotdale, not in the west where the danger of a rising was matter of common talk.<sup>61</sup> The reason, a sound one, is suggested in a news-letter; "the conventicles are so numerous and our forces so few that the Council does not think fit to send those forces among them for fear of receiving an affront. The forces to be raised on our last subsidy," the sum of £150,000, spread over five years, voted by the Convention, "will not be in readiness till November"—an accurate forecast.<sup>62</sup> In the west the Covenanters were the majority, in the eastern shires a minority of the population. Moreover in the east, while where "Chirnside Moor," though inaccurate, probably refers to this gathering at East Nisbet.

<sup>58</sup> W ii, 476.

<sup>59</sup> SPD 1678, 163.

<sup>60</sup> LP iii, 129; RPCS v, 455 ff.

<sup>61</sup> Mackaile, writing from Edinburgh on August 17, expresses surprise. "We thought the dragoons and standing forces should have been ordered West, but verily the great tempest is become a great calm." SPD 1678, 365.

<sup>62</sup> SPD 1678, 370, August 21. Commissions were signed September 23, and the new troops were ordered to rendezvous at Leith on November 28. *Ibid.*, 416. RPCS vi, 29 f.

rounding up disorderly persons who had presumed to worship God on Lauderdale's land, the dragoons could play into the hands of English troops across the Border. For years north and west Northumberland, Berwick and Newcastle, had sheltered Covenanters and imbibed their teaching, while Cumberland and Carlisle were almost free from the taint. So Lauderdale, and Moray who acted for him in London, worked upon the king until two troops of horse and one of dragoons, promised on April 15, became four troops of horse, three of dragoons, and a regiment of foot by the end of May. The duke of York was for sending half of them to Carlisle, but Moray "thought they would do as ueall to lye altogithir in Northumberland."<sup>63</sup> In the end the foot, under sir Lionel Walden, went to Berwick, doubling the garrison; captain Sydenham's troop of lord Gerard's regiment to Wooler; captain Stanhope's troop of the duke of York's to Alnwick; and three troops of dragoons to Morpeth and places adjacent; while to satisfy the royal duke's logical mind, major Binns with two troops of the duke of Albemarle's regiment was sent to Carlisle, but given command of all the horse and dragoons.<sup>64</sup> It was an inconveniently large draft upon the small standing army, and in fact served no useful purpose until June 1679, when the cavalry in Northumberland, or rather the units under more capable officers that replaced them after the Crookham affair, joined hands with the Scottish army near Edinburgh and fought at Bothwell Bridge; as Lauderdale had foreseen, the Carlisle garrison could not co-operate.

#### IV. THE AFFRAY AT CROOKHAM, SEPTEMBER, 1678.

Lauderdale's prestige, diminished in London, was still high in the north. When he took his final departure from Edinburgh on August 5, 1678, a throng of friends

<sup>63</sup> LP III, 242; cf. 129.

<sup>64</sup> SPD 1678, 193, Monmouth to Lauderdale, May 28. Cf. 187, York to the Prince of Orange; we are "apprehensive of some disorders in Scotland"; it was difficult to get money enough to send these troops into the north.

rode as the custom was behind his coach, many as far as Berwick. Williamson's ironical correspondent, Mackaile, "was induced to concur in the compliment of attending his Grace to Berwick Sands. We were 1,000 horse, and the Guards of Berwick were stretched from the Scots port to the bridge, some 1,500 men. Upon the hill on this side Belford I kissed his Grace's hands and came here [Edinburgh] but yesterday."<sup>65</sup> At every stage the loyal party paid court to the grand vizier of Scotland. Strother doubtless took counsel with him about the growth of conventicles. Some magistrates and clergy of the Morpeth district, who had been hunting Veitch and his fellows, represented to Lauderdale at this time "the dangerous condition of these northern counties . . . because of many vagrant Scotch preachers, by whose means the begun infection did spread, and was like to pass Tyne Bridge, and approach the very noble parts of the nation if not timeously prevented."<sup>66</sup> Evidently some of the "many" ministers who spent the winter of 1676-7 in Northumberland were still active in the county that had been so indulgent to them. Lauderdale brought the matter before the Privy Council at Windsor on September 15, and it was decided to send urgent instructions to the duke of Newcastle "to suppress all field conventicles in Northumberland, to take care of all Scotch fugitives &c.," and to the duke of Monmouth "to give orders to the forces in those parts to be assisting in suppressing such unlawful meetings &c."<sup>67</sup> But in the meantime Strother had taken action, and that same day he was writing to Lauderdale<sup>68</sup>

<sup>65</sup> SPD 1678, 354, dated August 10. Lauderdale reached Windsor on August 18, travelling much faster than the duke and duchess of York in their leisurely progress northwards a year later. They spent four days between Newcastle and Berwick, staying the third night apparently at Middleton, William Armorer's house. Lauderdale may have stopped to dine there, "on the hill on this side Belford." When Armorer died in 1685, deep in debt, there was a room in his house called the *duke's chamber*, as well as a *grandees' parlour*.

<sup>66</sup> VB 68 f. *Noble parts*, a medical term for the heart and other vital organs.

<sup>67</sup> Williamson's notes, SPD 1678, 405; cf. 407-8, 410.

<sup>68</sup> Lauderdale was not punctilious about the limits of his authority. In January he had ruffled the lord-lieutenant of Ireland by sending

and the duke of Newcastle the reports printed below (p. 35 ff.), while Ralph Widdrington, deputy-governor of Berwick, mounted guard at Crookham over the dead bodies of Thomas Ker and Robert Marlay.

The trouble in Northumberland was due to the successful action of the two companies of dragoons that had been added to the Scottish army on May 21, to be employed solely in suppressing conventicles. By the end of July one of them under captain John Strachan was in quarters at Earlston on the western border of Berwickshire; within striking distance of the Blue Cairn and other meeting-places in the district where Lauderdale had a score to settle.<sup>69</sup> The dragoons were not popular. A neighbouring laird, James Daes of Cowdenknowes, was fined by the Privy Council for abusing them; "no honest man," he said, "would take their employment." Strachan could not lay hands on the elusive hill-preachers, but there were men of substance up and down the country who regularly furnished them with horses or guarded them on the road, and some of these he surprised in their homes. James Mossman was seized at Kirkurd thirty miles to the west, the brothers Yeaman at Edington twenty miles to the east, and on September 3 Strachan wrote to the commander-in-chief, "Since my last to your Lordship I have had severall parties out searching for disorderly persons but hes found non, for the taking of the two Yemons hes so allarmed the countrie that non of these sort of persons stayes at ther oune houses."<sup>70</sup>

orders direct to Granard, OM, N.S., iv, 86. It was doubtless at his suggestion that Strother had been furnished with a description of Welsh's "phisogminy" (p. 37 below).

<sup>69</sup> It is not clear where the other company under captain Inglis was first quartered. On October 9, 1678, the two companies were ordered to Kelso and Jedburgh, and on November 22 they were moved into Berwickshire. RPCS vi, 31, 68. On February 13, 1679, one company was quartered in Galloway, one at Ayr, and a third—for Kingston's was now added—divided between Lanark, Calder and Culross. W iii, 16.

<sup>70</sup> RPCS vi, 11, 76, 86. Daes was an advocate and former sheriff-depute of Berwickshire, and had lately been in London with Hamilton to lay grievances before the king. Strachan's letter, in Edinburgh University Library, HMC, *Laing MSS.* I, p. 413. Mossman

It was not only Strachan and his colleague Inglis who kept Covenanters in south-eastern Scotland from sleeping at home. Ambitious noblemen joined in the hunt. Some of the "mutinous lords," who complained in London about the excesses of the Highland Host, had made a further grievance of the giving of these commands to commoners.<sup>71</sup> Hitherto such posts had been reserved for the nobility, and they resented the preference given to junior officers, however efficient. Now that the convention had voted £150,000 sterling, to be raised by a land-tax spread over the next five years, Lauderdale saw his way to further levies, and decided that this time he would conciliate his own order.<sup>72</sup> He must have sounded the men of his choice before leaving Scotland in August, and two of them became active. Lord Kingston, a stout loyalist who had earned his viscountcy while defending Tantallon castle against Cromwell, and used to celebrate the King's Day, May 29, by feasting his tenants and firing guns on Traprain Law, was to have a company of dragoons; on August 30 he borrowed a dozen of Strachan's men, presumably to get his hand in.<sup>73</sup> Lord Home was on the list for a troop of horse; he showed his zeal in the second week of September by informing colonel Strother that some "persons of Welsh's faction," whom he had declared to be rebels and fugitives, were sheltering at Learmouth, a hamlet on the English side of the Tweed. They were

and the Yeamans were shipped to the plantations in December, but escaped in the Thames through the connivance of sympathetic Londoners. See AA 3, ii, 81, for a Northumbrian speculator who burned his fingers over this affair.

<sup>71</sup> Atholl, who had commanded part of the horse at Pentland, went so far as to foretell at court that the king would cancel Inglis and Strachan's appointments. Moray, Lauderdale's mouthpiece, reported this to Charles; "his answer was, Godso, No, he had not such a thought" (Moray to Lauderdale, June 13, 1678, *BM Addit.* 23242, f. 62 and 63).

<sup>72</sup> The exception, Graham of Claverhouse, owed his inclusion in the September batch of commands to York, the patron whom he served so well.

<sup>73</sup> Kingston commanded some of the troops guarding Edinburgh against the insurgents in 1666. Veitch calls him "huffie and hot-spirited." He got his company of dragoons on September 23, 1678, and resigned July 24, 1679.

ensconced within three miles of his house, The Hirsell; but even under the extensive powers given him as commissioner for the Merse and Teviotdale he could not send troops to apprehend them in England.<sup>74</sup>

Strother had reason to think that Welsh himself was among the fugitives, and was still of that opinion after the affray. It would have been easy to call on the troop of cavalry that had been sent to Wooler three months before.<sup>75</sup> But he saw an opportunity of redeeming his promise made in December, 1676, that if ever Welsh came back to Northumberland he would "spare no pains to take that rebel." Why should south-country soldiers get credit and reward for a capture so long desired by the king? It happened that he had with him at Fowberry three comrades bred in the same royalist school: his brother-in-law, colonel John Salkeld of Rock, who had fought through the civil wars and was now attached to the duke of Ormonde's regiment at Drogheda:<sup>76</sup> his brother, John Strother, formerly a captain in lord Ogle's regiment:<sup>77</sup> and a cousin, Robert Marlay, who had served as John Strother's lieutenant. The blow could be struck more swiftly and secretly if the raid were a family affair.

With some half-dozen servants the four cavaliers rode out in the small hours of Saturday, September 14, so as to reach Learmouth by daybreak. Salkeld's thoughts may have gone back to the night-surprise of thirty years before when he and his colonel, Edward Grey, were caught asleep

<sup>74</sup> Home had been given a commission by the council, August 7, 1677, for enforcing the laws against conventicles and other disorders both in the Merse (Berwickshire), of which he was hereditary sheriff, and in Teviotdale (Roxburghshire), with power to impose and collect fines, keeping half for himself, apprehend and imprison fugitives and call on magistrates and soldiers for assistance. W ii, 366. A copy of his instructions, Wodrow MS. (Edinburgh), folio vol. xxxii, 172.

<sup>75</sup> SPD 1678, 193. A troop of lord Gerard's regiment to quarter at Wooler, arriving there about June 14.

<sup>76</sup> OM ii, 208, 214, etc. He had been a justice of the peace since about 1670, according to his monument in Rock church, NCH ii, 148.

<sup>77</sup> Dalton, *English Army Lists* I, pp. 80, 134. The regiment was raised in 1667 and again in 1673. William Strother was third in command, with rank as major.



in their billets at Callaly:<sup>78</sup> Strother's certainly went forward to the prospect of royal favour and the reward of £400 awaiting him if he captured Welsh. When Ifing of Bonshaw, highwayman as well as chief of his name in Annandale, secured Mr. Donald Cargill after just such a night-march, he became lyrical with glee—Cargill's price was 5,000 marks, about £275 sterling: "O blessed Bonshaw, and blessed day that ever he was born, that has found such a prize this morning."<sup>79</sup> Strother was less lucky. His party searched the house at Learmouth and found, not the dangerous fanatics they expected, but a douce Berwickshire laird, George Hume of Graden.<sup>80</sup> They carried him to Hirsell, where lord Home explained, no doubt with some embarrassment, that the coup had been foiled by his own indiscretion. The previous day, while the English magistrates were laying their plans at Fowberry, George Hume was dining at the Hirsell and annoyed the sheriff by "speaking somewhat freely to him." After dinner lord Home took him aside and declared that he had power to arrest him, presumably for something said at table. Then he let the cat out of the bag; "the king," he said, "has ordered colonel Strother to apprehend all vagrant Scots that are in Northumberland." Graden slipped away without leave-taking and rode through the Tweed—there was no bridge at Coldstream—to warn his friends at Learmouth.<sup>81</sup>

They were country gentlemen "who were there shelter-

<sup>78</sup> July 1, 1648. See major John Sanderson's letter in Richardson's *Reprints and Imprints, Historical*, ii (1847); AA 2 xiv, 399 ff.

<sup>79</sup> July, 1681. SS ii, 51.

<sup>80</sup> Not Graden in Roxburghshire, two miles north-west of Yetholm, owned by cavalier and Jacobite Kers, but a mansion and village, now almost forgotten, in the north-east of Coldstream parish. The name is preserved by the Graden burn and the estate of Milne Graden. See Macfarlane's *Geogr. Collections* (SHS, vol. 53) iii, 178; *Statistical Account, Ber.* (1841) 200, 208.

<sup>81</sup> He was with the Covenanters at Bothwell Bridge in June, and died in October, 1679. He married in 1659 Helen, daughter of Archibald Johnstone, lord Warriston, the "lady Graden" who in 1684 nursed her brother-in-law, Baillie of Jerviswood, in prison and stood by him on the scaffold "with a more than masculine courage." Fountainhall, *Hist. Notices* ii, 587 ff.; James Anderson, *Ladies of the Covenant*, 141; RPCS vii, 197.

ing, the persecution being now so hot" in Teviotdale and the Merse, since the coming of the dragoons: Thomas Ker of Hayhope, brother to the laird of Cherrytrees near Yetholm; James Pringle, son of the laird of Buckholm on Galawater; Henry Hall of Haughead (pp. 3 and 4 above); Alexander Hume, portioner in Hume, Berwickshire; and one Hector Aird. Graden pressed them to go elsewhere. Evidently the house was suspect, perhaps the very house that Welsh had rented in 1676. Late as it was they took his advice, but Graden, tired and probably not wishing to ford Tweed in the dark, lay down to sleep and risked the consequences. Whether or no lord Home had meant his hint to be taken, when Graden was brought before him he saved his face by committing him to Hume castle, where like other hereditary sheriffs he maintained a private prison, though he no longer lived in the battered stronghold.

The ordinary procedure would have been for Strother to lodge his prisoner in Morpeth gaol, and ask for the orders from London and Edinburgh without which an accused person could not be transferred from one kingdom to the other. Accordingly, when they heard of Graden's arrest, the Covenanters planned to attack the English party on their return and rescue the prisoner; they summoned friends to join them and set a tryst at Crookham, five miles south-east of Coldstream on the main road to Wooler. While waiting in a house there they learned that Graden had been taken to Hume castle, and were discussing how to act in view of this unexpected and illegal move when news came that Strother's party were approaching. They found this hard to believe, supposing the Englishmen to be escorting their prisoner to Hume castle, whereas in fact they had been dining at Hirsell. Thomas Ker went to the door to see for himself and was smoking his pipe there when the cavaliers came in sight. He called on his friends to get their horses and was himself the first to mount, resolved to resist if necessary but hoping to avoid an encounter by turning down a byway. All might have

gone well had not Marlay, more hot-blooded than the elder men, ridden up to Ker and challenged him: "Who are you?" "A gentleman." "Be taken, dog!"—the equivalent of *Hands up*.<sup>82</sup> Ker retorted "Where is your order?" on which Marlay drew his pistōl, shot him in the belly, and fell dead a moment later with Ker's bullet in his brain. Ker rode at the other Englishmen, fired his second pistol, then drew sword and fought till he fell from his horse, "yet wrestled to his knees and prayed while the rest were fighting, till his breath was gone."<sup>83</sup> In the general exchange of pistol-shots John Strother's horse went down with three bullets in him, probably entangling his rider and leading the Scots to think that a second Englishman was killed. William Strother was wounded, according to the *London Gazette*, a matter of which he says nothing in his letters; but his friends wrote to the duke of Newcastle: "Never any man had such an escape as he had, having so many bullets shot at him, and five lighted on him."<sup>84</sup> Either the Covenanters used bad powder, or he had a compact with Satan, like sir Robert Redgauntlet, so that "bullets hopped off his buff-coat like hailstones from a hearth."

Of the Scots Ker was killed, Hall shot through the arm, Hume run through the body: "all sorely wounded but hopes of their recovery." Evidently they had reached safe retreats. By September 19 news came to Newcastle that "one Pringle . . . is dead in Scotland,"<sup>85</sup> and two days later that "one Buchanan of the Scotch Party died of his

<sup>82</sup> This summons, followed by a shot, appears in the contemporary account of the murder of archbishop Sharp; the horseman who first came up with the coach "cried to the bishop, *Judas be taken*, and presentlie he fired at him." (W iii, 50.) In a fray at Bewcastle in 1599 "there came ryding up to me one . . . and *bad me be taken with him* and he should save my lyfe, so as I yealded unto him." (BP ii, 604.)

<sup>83</sup> A like story is told of the Northumbrian cavalier, colonel Francis Carnaby, who fell at Sherburn in Yorkshire, "having time enough to rise on his knees and crie, 'Lord, have mercy upon me, bless and prosper his majesty.'" David Lloyd, *Memoirs of Royalist Sufferers*, London 1668, p. 668.

<sup>84</sup> SPD 1678, 413.

<sup>85</sup> Ralph Widdrington's letter, p. 40 below.

wounds at Kelsey" [Kelso].<sup>86</sup> Both reports point to the same man, James Pringle of Buckholm, and it seems that the story of his death was put about to stay pursuit. He may have been kin to Frank Pringle, baillie of Kelso, who was resourceful as well as disloyal; in the following June when news came of the rebellion and a militia officer tried to alarm the town, he knocked in the head of the militia drum and cut the rope of the town bell.<sup>87</sup> At any rate "young Buckholm" of the Wodrow MS. appears in the Melrose records as an obstinate Covenanter who lived to see his principles triumph at the Revolution. It was also reported that "Hall lay of his wounds at Canny Mill and that he is secured by colonel Strother."<sup>86</sup> Canny Mill lies hidden beside Bowmont-water, where the gorge narrows and woods clothe its sides, a mile above Kirknewton. It was on Strother's land and so perhaps less likely to be searched. When the wounded man had moved on, and not till then, the prudent miller would send word to his landlord. Certainly Hall kept his freedom. We hear of him next on November 14 at Sundaywell in a far recess of Nithsdale, where a Presbytery of the wandering ministers met to admonish Richard Cameron.

#### V. DOCUMENTS.

The foregoing account is based on Scottish and English reports which supplement one another. The fullest was drawn up by a friend of the fugitives and copied later by someone unknown, probably for Wodrow, among whose papers it is preserved. A version with modernized spelling and punctuation may be found in James Anderson's *Ladies of the Covenant*, 1850, appendix vii. Wood Brown used it in his *Covenanters of the Merse*, 1893, 120 ff., reconstructing the story with some success though he knew none of the English documents. He followed a mistake of the narrator who makes Crookham, not Learmouth, the

<sup>86</sup> Letter at Welbeck, sir R. Stote to the duke of Newcastle.

<sup>87</sup> RPCS vi, 226.

place where the fugitives were staying; and he pictured "colonel Struthers" attacking them at the head of "Royal troops," whereas it was an affair of country gentlemen on both sides.

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND, *Wodrow MS.*, folio xxxii, no. 175.

A trwe account of the cruel murther  
of Thomas Ker brother to y<sup>e</sup> laird of chirietrees  
according to y<sup>e</sup> relation of som who wer present  
which I find amongst my fathers papers as follows.

I com now to y<sup>e</sup> tragical passage of our dear friends murther thomas Ker chirietrees' brother greden home being with my lord hume at dinner was speaking somqt freely to him & afer diner my lord takes him aside & tells him he might take him if he wold and y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> king had sent an express to col: struthers to apprehend all vagrant scots y<sup>t</sup> wer in northumberland, whereupon greden without taking leave cam straight to crookum where wer thomas Ker yong bukum henry Hall Alex: hum & hector aird (who wer there sheltering the persecution being now so hot in their bounds) and presseth them to go from y<sup>t</sup> place & not to stay all night, which they did tho late bot greden being wearied lyes down in their bed & at midnight y<sup>e</sup> party coms & apprehends greden & carries him first to my lord hum & from thence to hum castel, our friends hearing of it sends to advertise som moe friends for his rescue & they goes to crookum where y<sup>e</sup> tryst was set to wait y<sup>e</sup> party's coming y<sup>t</sup> way however there cam non bot whom I have named and after they had stayed a litle at y<sup>e</sup> place they ar advertised that y<sup>e</sup> party was gon another way which put y<sup>m</sup> to consult what to do next in y<sup>e</sup> mean tym coms there one telling y<sup>m</sup> struthers is at hand with his party they not iudging it could be so, thinking he had been gon wt greden Ker coms to y<sup>e</sup> door and while he is walking there smoaking his pyp he discovers y<sup>e</sup> party and immediatly calls his friends to draw their horses & draws his own first resolving not to be taken bot thought to have taken a by way thinking struthers wold have passed them, however when Ker mounts one squire martins sir John martins y<sup>e</sup> mere of newcastells son struthers' nephew wold by all means challenge our friends contrary y<sup>e</sup> rest their inclination and comin[g] up to Ker asked who he was he answered he was a gentle man, he sayes be taken dog Ker sayes where is your order upon which he drew his pistoll & shot Ker in y<sup>e</sup> belie immediatly Ker fired & shot him dead through y<sup>e</sup> head & after Ker finding himself deadly wounded he ran upon y<sup>e</sup> party & fired his other pistol & then drew his sword & fought while he was able to sit on horseback & then doped down, yet wrestled to his knees & prayed while the rest wer fieghting till his breath was gon. our friends fought

while they wer able, Alex: hum is run through ye body h: hall is shot through ye arm all sorly wounded bot hops of their recovery ye english som mortally wounded & two killed wt two of yr best horses valued at a roo pieces our friends being disabled retired & ye enemy durst not persue y<sup>m</sup>, struthers coms to Ker while his breath was hardly out & he & all of them runs yr swords in him and takes by ye heels & trails him through ye puddle & then slings him on a dung hill they wold not let bury his corps till a party of friends went in and brought it away, this is ye trwest account of it I can learn.

This narrative was probably before William Clelland, an undergraduate of St. Andrews, when he wrote his boyish elegy

Upon the Lamentable, yet Gallant Glorious Death, of that singularly Pious, and eminently Faithful Servant, and truly Loyal Subject of the King of Saints, fervently zealous for the Interest of his Master's Glory, and otherwise universally well accomplished Gentleman *Thomas Ker of Hayhope*; Who was cruelly murdered in a Rancounter with a Party commanded by Col. Struthers, near Crockome, a Village upon the English Border.

Anno 1678.

"Cruelly murdered" echoes the title of the Wodrow paper. The elegy stresses Ker's gallantry in fighting on "when deadly wounded"—another echo, tells how he knelt and prayed after his fall, and ends with an outburst that implies intimate friendship:

O Light of Kindness, Nature mild and good!  
 O true Religious Son! O Nation's Lover!  
 O Soul Sublimer than these Heavens could cover,  
 O Noble Ker! O patern of Renown!  
 We groan on Earth, thou wears a Heavenly Crown.<sup>88</sup>

Weak as the high-flown verses are, they have interest as showing that young Covenanters cultivated the Muses. Clelland was a better soldier than poet: fought at Drumclog and Bothwell, tried to bring the Lowlands into Argyle's futile rebellion in 1685, and helped to secure

<sup>88</sup> *A Collection of several poems and verses . . . by Mr. William Clelland, Lieutenant Collonel to my Lord Angus's Regiment, 1697, pp. 48-51.*

Scotland for William and Mary in 1689 by raising the Cameronian regiment, which he commanded at the siege of Dunkeld. He fell in the hour of victory, a "gallant glorious death" such as he had written of.<sup>89</sup> Like Henry Hall, he was a close friend of Cargill and Cameron, whose defiance of the king's authority was soon to split the party. There is a hint of this in his emphatic reference to Ker as a "truly Loyal Subject of the King of Saints." Welsh and Semple were busy that autumn trying to restrain the hot-heads, and in particular Cameron whom they had licensed in the spring. Of these divisions nothing as yet was visible to the government. Welsh was still the "arch villain."

On the English side we have two letters written by Strother on the day after the fight. Both are in the British Museum, but in different series of manuscripts, which accounts for their connection having been overlooked. One, addressed to Lauderdale, was printed by Mr. Osmund Airy;<sup>90</sup> unfortunately he misread *Marlay*, which is clear in the original, first as *Marclay*, then as *Mackay*. From internal evidence it seems that this was written first, and the other copied from it, in the main word for word. As the second letter to the duke of Newcastle has not been printed, I give it in full and append notes on the variations.

*Stowe MSS.* 755, f. 27.

May it please your Grace

I got a letter from the Earle of Home, that thare weare severall persons of one Welshes ffaction at Learmouth in Northumb, *whom by the law of Scotland, and his Majesties Privie Councell I have declared Rebbells, and ffugitives,*<sup>91</sup> upon receipt of which I immediately went to Learmouth, and made search for those persons with those freinds I had heare, as my Brother Salkeild, my Bro: Strother and my Cosin Marlay, and our servants. I was thare by Breake of day. I found none of them thare, I went from thence to the Earle of Home, and dispersed my servants saving three

<sup>89</sup> DNB; VB 107 f.; Macaulay, *Hist.* ch. xiii. His father was *girmell*-keeper, not *game*-keeper, to the marquis of Douglas.

<sup>90</sup> LP iii, 160; *Addit. MSS.* 23242, f. 99.

<sup>91</sup> The words I have put in italics are evidently quoted from Home's letter.

because my Lord Home and I could have noe information of them; soun effer we weare coming home, we overtooke 14 or 15 horse men, well mounted and armed, thay stopt when thay se us come up to them, I demanded what was thare businesse, and whither thay wear going so well Armed, they Answered they would give us noe account, but whipt out thare pistells, and threw ten or twelve shott amongst us, before we got out ours, one shot took place upon my Cosin Marlay and shot him in the head dead, my Bro: Strother's horse had thre shott in him, and left him for death; then it was our fortune to kill one of them Mr. Car of Chirrietreas, they made away after his fall. Capt. Ralph Widdrington and I have ordred our militia-troop to range the Borders till further order from above; they are forced out from Scotland, and thinks to get shelter heare, pardon this w<sup>ch</sup> comes from the meanest of

yo<sup>r</sup> Grace's

most humble Sarvants

WILL: STROTHER.

Fowbery

Sept: 15/78

this accident hapned  
yesterday.

[addressed] For his Grace the Duke of Newcastle att Welbeck to be left at Tuxford and sent in hast for his Majesty's service these/Welback.

Comparison with the letter to Lauderdale shows that a few phrases have been simplified, improved, or changed to suit the recipient; thus to Newcastle, who knew less of Scottish affairs, Strother writes *one Welshes Faction*, to Lauderdale "Welshes Faction."

1. 13, *well-mounted and armed* for "well mounted, and 3 or 4 shott about them." "Shott" means muskets or carbines.

1. 15, *they answered* for "they were rude in their answer, and sayd."

1. 18, *my Bro. Strother's horse*, etc., for "Other shotts in thre places hit my Bro: Strother's horse in thre places and killed him."

11. 21-24, *Capt. Ralph Widdrington to shelter heare* replaces a longer passage which shows the close understanding already established between Strother and Lauderdale; the Northumbrian magistrate reported as in duty bound to his lord-lieutenant, but looked to the Secretary

for Scotland, who had the king's ear, for effective aid. It runs :

" I hear sinse they heard of our being searching for them, and that we had lesned most of our number, as will be proved upon oath, and sayd they would meet us in the back comming. May it please your Grace, if thare be not a force képt in these Borders, we shall not be safe in our beds, we think Welsh was amongst them; by the discription of his phisogminy, your Grace's Brother my Lord Hatton sent me: When the Corroner hath examined witnesses and done his worke, then I must trouble your Grace with another letter. Pardon this bouldnesse, which comes " etc. Dated Fowbery, Sept. the 15th, and addressed " For his Grace the Duke of Lauderdale at his Lodgings in Whitehall these/by London." There is a post-script, which was transferred to the body of the other letter, " We have ordred our militia troop to range the Borders till further order from above."

A third account, dated Newcastle, September 17, had the unusual honour of italic type in the *London Gazette*, no. 1341, of September 23-26. It repeats the substance of Strother's letters, but adds new details. The Englishmen returned from Lord Home's "after dinner"; "Colonel Strother was wounded"; besides the "Rebel" who was killed, "it is said that four others were wounded and since taken." Also it gives the verdict of the coroner's inquest, probably held on Monday, September 16.

Newcastle, Septemb 17: The Lord Hume having sent to inform Colonel Strother (one of His Majesties Deputy-Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace for the County of Northumberland) that several Scotch Men, who were declared Rebels and Fugitives by the Laws of Scotland, and His Majesties Privy Council there, harbored themselves on this side the Borders, and rode armed up and down this County, and that they were lately at Learmouth, the said Col. Strother, accompanied with his Brothers Col. Salkeild, Mr. Strother and Mr. Marley, with their Servants, went on Saturday last by break of day to Learmouth, to make search for the said persons, but not finding any of them, went thence to the Lord Humes, and there dispersed his Servants to learn what information they could of those Rebels. After Dinner Colonel Strother, Col. Salkeild, Mr. Strother, Mr. Marley and four servants returning home, they overtook near Crokeham in this County, 14 or 15 Horsemen well mounted and armed, who stopt when they came up to them, and Colonel Strother demanding what their business was, and whither

they were going so well armed, they whipt out their Pistols and before Colonel Strother and those with him could get out theirs, discharged them among them; one shot took place upon Mr. Marley, and struck him in the head, so that he fell down dead; Mr. Strother's Horse was killed, having three shot in him, and Colonel Strother was wounded; but in return they killed one of the Rebels, one Carr of Chirrie-trees, upon which all the rest fled. It is said that four others were wounded, and since taken. The Coroner's Enquest have set upon the Body of Mr. Marley and have found it wilful Murder in one Henry Hall, Edward Young of Lessford,<sup>92</sup> Andrew Young of Coverton,<sup>93</sup> Alexander Humes of Erkes,<sup>94</sup> Andrew Gray, *alias* Morison, Hector Aire, and in the rest (whose names are not yet known). It was proved upon Oath that they lay in wait for Colonel Strother and his Companies coming back, having had intelligence that they had been searching for them, and that one of them watching near Crokeham, gave the rest notice, and cried, "The Rogues are now coming, and if ever you will have your Revenge, you must take it now," etc. All possible diligence is using for the discovery and apprehension of this wicked Crew, in order to the bringing them to condigne punishment.

The accounts disagree as to numbers. The Cavaliers, after parting from some of their servants, still had three.<sup>95</sup> They estimated the Scots as "14 or 15 horsemen, well mounted and armed." The Wodrow MS. names five Covenanters, and it is likely that some of them had servants. It states that none of the friends summoned to the rendezvous appeared, but there was reason for reticence about Scots whose names were not yet on the list of "denounced rebels and fugitives," and Englishmen whose participation would expose them to punishment. We can well believe that there were others at Crookham that Saturday afternoon who got hastily to horse along with the five from Learmouth, dispersing with them and guiding the wounded to places of safety; Strother's estimate

<sup>92</sup> Probably Cessford.

<sup>93</sup> Caverton.

<sup>94</sup> Eccles. The Northumbrian authorities must have confused Alexander Hume, portioner in Hume, with John Home of Eccles, whose loyalty was above suspicion, for a few days later he was appointed a justice of the peace for Berwickshire. RPCS vi, 21.

<sup>95</sup> So Strother's letters; *London Gazette* says *four*. I take it the other servants were escorting Graden to prison. But Strother omits all reference to Hume of Graden, knowing that his arrest and extradition were irregular: so implies that the missing servants had been sent out to make inquiries.

may not have been far out. Witnesses identified two of them as Edward Young of Cessford and Andrew Young of Caverton, places only two or three miles from Haughead. They were neighbours of Henry Hall, but we cannot say whether they came to the tryst at his summons or were already sheltering in Northumberland.

The story of indignities inflicted on Ker's body need not be believed, any more than the alleged mutilation of the dead cornet after Drumclog. Veitch gives a very different picture of Strother's courtesy to a prisoner in his power.<sup>96</sup> Nor is it probable that the Englishmen were "all drunk;" as was said in Crookham and the neighbouring villages, where Semple's former hearers were eager partisans of the Covenanters. Sir Richard Stote heard it in Newcastle; "the fanatics of this town would greatly palliate that insolent rebellious business in the north, saying it was only a drunken business with stories to take the blame off from their party."<sup>97</sup> There is no such suggestion in the Wodrow MS., and it is denied in a letter from the deputy-governor of Berwick, who was early on the scene.

Sept 19th 1678

S.P.D. 1678, p. 411.

Newcastle.

RALPH WIDDRINGTON to SIR JOSEPH WILLIAMSON.

I presume to give you an account how this last rebellious act is relished by too many in Northumberland. Staying on the place till the Coroner's inquest we could have had no evidence to justify the foulness of the act, had not those that acted by Col. Strother's authority being [been] lawfully good by it, for the offenders being sheltered and countenanced in all those towns near the borders, which have such inhabitants, that they did immediately after the fact spread a report that these rogues were set upon by the gentlemen on the King's highway, being all drunk, for which there is no manner of truth. The town, near which the murder was committed, called Crookham, belonging to Justice Blake,

<sup>96</sup> For Drumclog, Terry 57. Veitch was brought to Alnwick on his way to trial at Edinburgh, January 30, 1679. Strother "called out to bring up the prisoner, and, as he entered the dining-room, saluted him, regretting his hard circumstances, and hoping he would not mistake them, being obliged, by their places, to obey his majesty's order. . . . So he was desired to dine with them." VB 79.

<sup>97</sup> Letter of September 21, at Welbeck.

was doubtless very faulty. They were entertained in one house immediately before the act and during the dispute very many got on the houses and stacks, expecting success to their wishes, which may be guessed at, not one giving assistance to the weak party, nor after the misfortune would stir to make hue and cry. I must believe that he is also in the fault that ought to put it in execution more strictly. The same party would not join with me in a miter-muse [*mittimus*] for sending the man to gaol that entertained them, but it was done, and others were intended for the same place when I came away. If those that are slow in the king's service be not removed, the zealous and the active will be discouraged and the ill principled too powerful many of them justifying this horrid act and by most excused, which makes me believe they only wait an opportunity to be revenged. To-day at Newcastle I hear one Pringle, who was one of the party, is dead in Scotland. I hope to be in town about ten days hence. I doubt not you will have a more particular account from Col. Strother. It was found wilful murder by them all on the inquest. (S.P. Dom., Car. II. 406, No. 151. I follow the modern spelling of the *Calendar*, only altering *Black* to *Blake*; the original letter has *Blacke*.)

In theory Northumberland and Whitehall exchanged official communications by way of Welbeck, through a lord lieutenant who was sickly, tired of his duties and threatening to resign; but the letter to Lauderdale short-circuited this formal procedure, and came before the Privy Council at Windsor on Sunday, September 22.<sup>98</sup> Indeed its contents were known at court the previous day, when Henry Coventry told Ormonde, in one of those shrewd chronicle-letters that kept the lord-lieutenant of Ireland in touch with English doings, "The business in Scotland seemeth to take some heat, a captain of the King's having been lately killed by a party of Walsh his men, and a gentleman on their side."<sup>99</sup>

Williamson's notes at the Privy Council are: "Scotland. Riot of 13 or 14 Scots on the borders of Northumberland in which Morley was killed and a Scotsman, etc. Strother's letter to Duke Lauderdale, etc.," and are followed by directions as to letters to be written to Monmouth the commander-in-chief, the mayor of Newcastle, and the duke of Newcastle.

<sup>98</sup> SPD 1678, p. 414.

<sup>99</sup> QM, N.S., iv, 201.

When the Privy Council met on September 25, they had before them Newcastle's letter of the 20th, enclosing Strother's and asking the king to reward that officer for his diligence. Next day Monmouth wrote to Strother assuring him of the king's approval and promising pay at the rate of 20s. *per diem*, and the aid of the troops, "for the time he shall make use of your service on this occasion"; and major Binns "or other officer commanding the forces in the North" was ordered to support him.<sup>100</sup> It was clear that Binns at Carlisle could not control the situation in Northumberland, and on September 29 he was superseded; Monmouth instructed major Edmond Mayne of his own regiment of horse "forthwith to march into the north with his own troop and three troops of dragoons . . . to command in chief as well the troops of horse or dragoons that now are or shall be in those parts."<sup>101</sup> Mayne's quarters were at Wooler, where it was easy for him to keep in touch with Strother. The dragoons were commanded by major Theophilus Oglethorp, a Yorkshire officer of promise, who was stationed at Morpeth. Veitch describes the arrival of Mayne's and Oglethorp's troops, and adds "these men being all strangers were to act by counsel and command of Colonel Strothers . . . who was set over them, and preferred to have a troop of his own raising for his own guard."<sup>102</sup> Apparently he used the allowance of 20s. *per diem* to pay this squad of local men. On December 1st an order was issued for payment to him of £66 for the period from September 26 to November 30.<sup>103</sup>

Newcastle expressed great satisfaction on hearing of these measures. He had written on September 29, "till Justices George Collingwood, Blake and Addeson be put out of the Commission, the ill affected persons in North-

<sup>100</sup> SPD 1678, 413, 419.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 433.

<sup>102</sup> VB 70.

<sup>103</sup> SPD 1678, 550. The entry reads "from September 26 to September 30," evidently a slip for November 30, which gives the required sixty-six days.

umberland will be encouraged," but this request seems to have been ignored.<sup>104</sup> A week later he sends his thanks for the king's favour to colonel Strother; "now the Lord-General has ordered his troops to quarter on the borders, you will hear of no more conventicles thereabouts"; and makes a remarkable admission: "the militia of the country are of very little or no use."

## VI. DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

This is not the place for a biography of colonel William Strother, for many years the king's trusted agent under absentee lord-lieutenants. The essential facts about him and his brother John are given in the pedigree of Strother of Kirknewton, NCH xi, 134. Colonel John Salkeld's early career is traced in vol. ii, 130 ff. That his wife Anne was sister of William Strother is suggested in vol. xiii, 365, and confirmed by the words "my brother Salkeild" in the letter printed above (p. 35). Strother, born 1625, must have made his mark in the early years of the Civil War, for Langdale chose him in 1648 to command a regiment of foot, and named him in 1656 as one of four Northumberland royalists "upon whose interest and discretion we may most depend." Salkeld, nine years older, was a man of sixty-two when he drew sword at Crookham, and of seventy when he retired from the Irish army: "one of the oldest Cavalier soldiers now alive, and never served but on the right side," as Clarendon wrote of him to Rochester. Of their younger companion, now identified, and the Scots refugees, more must be said.

ROBERT MARLAY. The Englishman called Mr. Morley in the State Papers is described in the Wodrow MS. as "one squire Martins, Sir John Martins' the mayor of Newcastle's son." Strother's letters give the right spelling, Marlay. Clearly he was a son of sir John Marlay,

<sup>104</sup> *Ib.* 431. George Collingwood of Eslington was a Roman Catholic; Blake of Ford and Addison of Ovingham had Whig sympathies.

mayor of Newcastle 1637, 1642-4 and 1661, the ardent royalist who was governor of the town during the siege of 1644, and represented it in parliament after the Restoration.<sup>105</sup> Like other returned exiles he cherished "a bitter venom against the fanatics," and transmitted it to his son. From another source we learn that the dead man's name was Robert; a correspondent at Dumfries wrote to Williamson, September 23: "I question not you have a perfect account of what passed by Col. Strother and Col. Salkeld in Northumberland when Capt. Robert Morley was killed. One of the Scots party, Carr, and another was killed."<sup>106</sup> His rank as captain, not mentioned by Strother, is confirmed by Coventry's letter to Ormonde (p. 40 above.)

Of Robert Marlay in his youth we have a lively portrait in a letter from the governor of Tynemouth castle, major Topping, to secretary Thurloe, dated March 8, 1654-5.

Yesterday Christopher Shadforth, master of the Elisabeth of Newcastle, came into this harbour. The sarcher found mr. Robert Marlay on board, who is the son of Sir John Marlay, sometime governor of Newcastle: being brought to me, saith, his father sent him to his mother, who lives two miles from Newcastle. He came from Antwerp the first of February, where his father is with the earle of Newcastle, who maintaines him at his table, and noe English gentleman besides. . . . This young man is upwards of 19 yeares of age, speakes good French, and hath kist Charles Steward's hand. He hath bine educated near two yeares in Antwarp. I caused him to be serched, but could find noe letters, only an ould peice of paper with some verses writ, and in four places begun the -verse with God damne me. In his portmantle was French and Lattin bookes, and in English, Waller's poems, and the pretended booke of the late king's to his sonn, with six of Newcastle's ladye's pictures."<sup>107</sup>

<sup>105</sup> Welford, *Men of Mark 'twixt Tyne and Tweed*, iii, 149 ff. Most of the particulars given below are additions to his account.

<sup>106</sup> How came Dumfries to be so well informed? The Christian name is given nowhere else, and the mention of Salkeld is noticeable. Perhaps the details were furnished by Salkeld himself, who would pass through Dumfries on his way to rejoin his regiment in Ireland by the Portpatrick post-boat.

<sup>107</sup> *Thurloe's State Papers* iii, 207, 208. Newcastle shocked the Scots commissioners in 1650 by "his customary swearing." Sir John had the same weakness, and the king, who knew him well, could only laugh when some aldermen complained of it. AA 3, ii, 40.

Born about 1636, he was probably entered at the Newcastle Grammar school before 1645, when his father and brothers went into exile. He was a scholar there in 1652 when on the petition of lady Jane Marlay the Common Council, in spite of their parliamentary sympathies, voted a sum of £10 to "Robt. Marley her son . . . a hopefull young man and desireous of Learninge," for clothing and other necessaries to enable him to go to a university, and a similar sum yearly for five years to maintain him there.<sup>108</sup> He does not seem to have availed himself of this liberal offer. Possibly his brother's death in May, 1653, brought him to his father's side at Antwerp.<sup>109</sup> The "old knight's" jealous temper and shifts for a living are often mentioned in the royalist correspondence. He was now a pensioner of the marquis of Newcastle, that magnificent noble who commanded the Northern Army till it was routed at Marston Moor, and then retired to the Low Countries, deeming the royal cause lost. Until the Restoration he and his second wife lived at Antwerp in some state.<sup>110</sup> The young Cavalier whose father enjoyed their friendship had the good fortune to be put to school; and his arrival at Tynemouth in 1655 on the eve of a royalist rising<sup>111</sup> must mean that he came as an emissary to royalists in England, with lady Newcastle's portraits as credentials. In 1657 when Charles II raised a little army in Flanders, young Marlay served as ensign in lord Rochester's regiment.<sup>112</sup> Eighteen months later

<sup>108</sup> *Newcastle upon Tyne Council Minute Book*, 1639-56 (Newc. Records Com. 1920), p. 139. The usual grant in such cases was £5 *per annum*.

<sup>109</sup> *Cal. Clarendon Papers* ii, p. 204. May 16, 1653, Hyde expresses sympathy with sir John, whose son has died. This may be William, bapt. at St. Nicholas, August 26, 1621, adm. pensioner at Christ's, Cambridge, April 6, 1638 (Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*).

<sup>110</sup> Newcastle's great work on horsemanship first saw the light there, in a French version, in 1657.

<sup>111</sup> For the plot in the north see Dr. Craster's account in NCH viii, 194 ff.

<sup>112</sup> *Cal. Clarendon Papers* iv, p. 5, January 13, 1658, Ormonde to Hyde. This is more likely to have been Robert than his brother Henry, who had been Clerk of the Chamber of Newcastle up to 1645, a considerably older man.



sir John was so deep in debt that he played a desperate stroke, which he had been meditating for years. Professing to put himself and his knowledge of royalist plans at Cromwell's disposal, he obtained money from the English resident at the Hague and returned with his family to England. His sons played a part in these negotiations, and probably acted as his agents in the north after their arrival in England, to sound persons in high place who might be won over to the king's cause,<sup>113</sup> while sir John "kept private in this yard," seeing nobody and appealing to Thurloe for money, which he got from time to time, and interviews, which were refused. Inevitably his duplicity was found out, and by the autumn of 1659 he was in prison.<sup>114</sup> After the Restoration he was again a man of influence, and while mayor of Newcastle secured, some said bought, the place of town-clerk for his son Robert, who held it from July 14, 1662, until May 5, 1675.<sup>115</sup> A year later the young man sought to qualify himself by securing admission to Gray's Inn.<sup>116</sup> When lord Ogle, son of his old patron, raised a Northumbrian regiment for service in the Dutch war (1667), with William Strother as major, Robert Marlay held a commission as lieutenant in captain John Strother's company.<sup>117</sup> He is not named among the officers of Ogle's regiment when it was again embodied in 1673; possibly his rank as captain was gained in the militia. Colonel Strother in his letter (p. 35) calls him cousin. There was a remote connection through Strother's father-in-law, Mark Shafto, recorder of Newcastle 1648-60, whose great-uncle alderman Mark Shafto had married the widow of John Marlay (d. 1561), sir John's grandfather. The recorder, accused in 1645 of undue friendship with sir John, pleaded their kinship as his reason for visiting him

<sup>113</sup> Welford implies that his defection was for the time complete. But his letter of January 25, 1656 (*Nicholas Papers* iii, 258), gives his plan in outline, for the king's ear. See also HMC, *Various*, ii, 360 (Mrs. Harford), Hyde to Langdale, August 2, 1658, questioning sir John's discretion in the venture, not his loyalty.

<sup>114</sup> Rawlinson MS. A lxi. f. 149, in Bodleian. SPD 1659-60, p. 228.

<sup>115</sup> SPD 1661-2, p. 438; 1664-5, p. 156; 1675-6, p. 139.

<sup>116</sup> July 7, 1663. Foster, *Reg. of Admissions to Gray's Inn*, p. 295.

<sup>117</sup> Dalton, *Army Lists* i, pp. 80, 134.

in prison.<sup>118</sup> I have found no mention of Robert Marlay's doings between his resignation of the town-clerk's office and his death, nor any record of his burial.

*The Scottish Fugitives.*

THOMAS KER of Hayhope was a brother of William Ker of Cherrytrees. The places are less than two miles apart, Cherrytrees in a sunny fold of the hills north-west of Town Yetholm, Hayhope south of Kirk Yetholm on Bowmont-water. They are mentioned in 1583 as villages from which English troops can and do easily drive the inhabitants when "the Yonges, Tates, Pringells, and other the Tividalls . . . begin to radgè."<sup>119</sup> It is characteristic that a Pringle and two Youngs are named a century later among the Scots who came as refugees along this easiest of Border roads. The laird of Cherrytrees was a Border commissioner in 1674. Remaining neutral in 1679, he was fined "because he neither went to the host nor sent any" at the king's summons; and paid a much heavier fine, with many other landowners of his shire, in 1684. About that time "fame wrongously named" him as a conspirator whose cognizance of the Rye House Plot had been revealed by Carstairs under torture.<sup>120</sup> His wife, "Lady Cherrytrees," gave shelter to a fugitive minister well known in Edinburgh and on the Border, David Williamson; he afterwards married her daughter.<sup>121</sup> Gabriel Semple had ties with Thirstane, a small estate adjoining Cherrytrees on the west, for his wife's sister, Agnes Riddell, was married to its owner, a brother of sir William Scott of Harden. A communion "in the fields"

<sup>118</sup> Welford, *Royalist Compositions* (Surtees Soc. cxi), p. 336 f. There may have been some nearer tie; little is known about the marriages of sir John and his children.

<sup>119</sup> BP i, 103, "both Yatehams, Heyhope and Cheretrees."

<sup>120</sup> RPCS vi, 517; W iv, 52; Fountainhall, *Hist. Notices* ii, 556.

<sup>121</sup> About 1676, according to F i, 96; she was the third of his seven wives. Swift, *Memoirs of Capt. J. Crichton*, Scott's ed., x, 116, tells a barrack-room story of Williamson's concealment, which was taken up by Edinburgh wits; cf. Maidment's *Packet of pestilent Pasquils*.

at Cherrytrees, which made a deep impression on one who was there, seems to fall in the summer of 1678; it may have compromised Thomas Ker, the laird's brother, and account for his flight.<sup>122</sup> Clelland's praises of this "universally well accomplished gentleman" (p. 34 above) are all that we know of him, but it is clear that only a man of exceptional force and charm could win such hero-worship.<sup>123</sup>

YONG BUKUM must be "young Buckholm." George Pringle of Buckholm on Gala-water had a son James who would now be twenty-six.<sup>124</sup> The farm and pele-tower lie east of the river,<sup>125</sup> facing Torwoodlee where lived a better-known George Pringle, friend of Livingstone and promoter of Argyle's rebellion. George of Buckholm was faithful to the government, helped to put down the Whigs at Bothwell Brig, and celebrated the victory by an unseemly prank; he heads a list of nine Berwickshire lairds fined for assaulting the loyal laird of Grange, who had ridden down from Fife to join the host, and robbing him and his servant of horse and arms.<sup>126</sup> James, son of this boisterous father, went his own way, frequented conventicles—the Blue Cairn was as near as the kirk—and became one of the militant group that gathered round Henry Hall. After the Crookham fight, as we saw, he was said to have died of his wounds. But in 1683 he was twice fined by the bailie of

<sup>122</sup> Mrs. Goodal's MS. memoir in the National Library of Scotland, quoted in VB 281. Wodrow Soc., *Select Biographies* ii, 484.

<sup>123</sup> A Thomas Ker graduated at Edinburgh, July 1660; and in 1662 Thomas Ker, portioner in Hume, was fined by Middleton's government. He appears in the Roxburghshire list, though Hume is in Berwickshire, so may be our man.

<sup>124</sup> October 7, 1649, George Pringall of Buckholm m. Margret Pringall in the parish of Stow. April 30, 1652, under baptisms, George Pringall, a son named James; witnesses, Walter and Alexr. Pringall. (Scottish Record Soc., 1913, *Melrose Parish Registers*, pp. 400, 16.) These witnesses may have been Walter Pringle of Greenknowe and Alexander Pringle of Whytebank, both prominent in the district at the time.

<sup>125</sup> From his window at Abbotsford Scott could see "the hilly pastures of Buckholm . . . famed for producing the best ewe-milk cheese in the south of Scotland." (*Heart of Midlothian*, ch. 35.) Returning home for the last time he roused himself as he neared Tweedside, and murmured a name or two: "Gala-water, surely—Buckholm—Torwoodlee." (Lockhart, *Life*, vii, 385.)

<sup>126</sup> RPCS vi, 286, July 22, 1679.

Melrose for being at house and field conventicles and absenting himself from church.<sup>127</sup> Two of his servants are in the Fugitive Roll of May, 1684.<sup>128</sup>

ALEXANDER HUME, described as "of Erkles" in the *London Gazette*, seems to be the Berwickshire gentleman of that name, "portioner in Hume," who owned Kennet-sidehead, midway between Hume and Eccles.<sup>129</sup> Possibly he went, as other young Covenanters did, to study in Holland and take counsel with the exiled ministers there.<sup>130</sup> "Run through the body" at Crookham, he recovered, and in the following year when news came of the skirmish at Drumclog near Glasgow in which Hall and Clelland helped to rout Claverhouse's horse, he appeared on Friday June 6 at a gathering of Teviotdale men, with some from the Merse and Lothians, on Lilliesleaf-moor. It was a conventicle, at which David Williamson preached, as well as a muster and council of war, in which Livingstone's friend, Turnbull of Standhill, took command. Alexander Hume was prominent on a bay horse, wearing a cloak lined with red and a black velvet cap. Next day he was at Hawick with "five or six score of rebels, who came to take in the Castle and take away the arms, and who the next day did it." On Sunday he attended a larger muster on the moor, and on Monday evening was seen riding with a servant ahead of his troop to Makerstoun-house, where he tried to vain to win over the laird.<sup>131</sup> These and other details, from depositions taken in 1681 and 1682, show that Wodrow was too credulous in accepting the pleas of the defence, and that Hume was active in raising volunteers who fought at Bothwell Bridge under Henry Hall. For three years he eluded arrest, rashly remaining in his own district, but was captured in 1682 by William Hume, lord

<sup>127</sup> Romanes, *Melrose Regality Records* iii, 39, 41. An entry on p. 131 seems to show that he lived on at Buckholm till 1705 or later.

<sup>128</sup> W iv, 25.

<sup>129</sup> F ii, 34. Cf. W i, 272, Abraham H. of K., fined in 1662.

<sup>130</sup> SPD 1676, 332.

<sup>131</sup> Brown, 140-146, 180-182; Stewart 144-146; both from MSS. in the Justiciary Record Office, Edinburgh. RPCS vii, 166, "called Captaine Home," one of the rebels who seized militie arms, drums and colours at Selkirk.

Home's brother, "and in his taking sore wounded."<sup>132</sup> He was tried in November, retried in December, hanged at the market-cross of Edinburgh on December 29. His *Last Words*, a prepared address, are praised by Wodrow as expressing "much of the temper and sense of the body of presbyterians in Scotland." Unlike the Cargill-Cameron group, he owns the king's authority: "I wish the Lord may help the King to do his duty to the people, and the people to do their duty to the King." He appeals for unity among presbyterians, "that being of one mind and spirit, they may stand fast for the faith of the Gospel, which is in such palpable hazard this day." And he speaks with ardent love of his country; Clelland struck the same note, "nation's lover," in his eulogy of Thomas Ker.

<sup>132</sup> W iii, 416 f. Among his hiding-places were Bassendean, his wife's home—she was Isobel Hume (Jean according to Hew Scott, *loc. cit.*)—and Greenknowe-tower. Pringle of Greenknowe and Hume of Bassendean were indicted for harbouring him and fled the country, while the rev. John Veitch of Westruther, brother of the adventurous William, and Hume of Falside went to prison on the same charge. Brown 179, 187 ff.