AN OLD KIRK CHRONICLE

Of this edition 200 *copies have been printed for sale, of which this is*

No. 1.

THE "PRIORY," AULDHAME,

To which the Church was attached.

AN

OLD KIRK CHRONICLE

BEING A HISTORY OF

AULDHAME, TYNINGHAME, AND WHITEKIRK IN EAST LOTHIAN

FROM SESSION RECORDS, 1615–1850

BY

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PREFACE.

THIS book has been written for the sake of the past, and from a sense of duty. So much in the history of parish churches in Scotland has been lost, and so many relics in their possession have disappeared, through carelessness in former days, that it would be a pity if more anywhere should be lost. It seems the duty of every parish minister, so far as it is possible, to collect or publish whatever may be historically or ecclesiastically interesting in his own parish, so as to leave a permanent record of what he and his people have inherited from the past.

The Records which this parish possesses do not profess to have any very wide historical bearing. They are chiefly the chronicle of rural church life; and their story is so simple and parochial

that it will not bear amplifying, or allow itself to be exaggerated to greater ends. For this reason it has been left pretty much to speak for itself, without any attempt to draw from it conclusions other than those it can naturally yield, and without any chance of obscuring it by extraneous additions.

There are many things set forth in the book which are not presented as discoveries, only as confirmations in the Records of this parish of things already known, but stated here in relation to the local reasons assigned for them.

As to the modern history and condition of Whitekirk Church, it may be added here that in 1884 it was entirely restored within, and as many renovations as were possible at the time were made to bring it back to its original condition. An organ also was then added. In 1891 the south transept was restored under the direction of Dr Rowand Anderson. In doing this, there was found through the south-west pillar of the tower a long chamber, no doubt an Aumbry, six feet long by about sixteen and eighteen inches square,—so long that it extends into the west wall. It was probably in use when the church ended with a wall at the east side of the tower, and

the altar then stood there. It was in 1439 that the extended choir was added. The church contains two stained windows by Mr Kempe of London; and a third has been kindly promised by the Earl of Haddington.

The shield stamped on one cover of the book is the coat of arms of some bishop or archbishop, but is now undecipherable: it is inserted above the small round window on the outside of the east gable. The stone with the two crosses, stamped on the other cover, is from the centre of the groining under the tower.

The various plates have been prepared by Messrs Walker & Boutall, London, from photographs made by Mr Crooke, Edinburgh; and the two ground-plans of the churches have been kindly placed at my disposal by Mr Hippolyte Blanc.

P. HATELY WADDELL.

The Manse, Whitekirk,
November 1893.

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AULDHAME.

Our present parish, called 'Whitekirk and Tyninghame,' on the coast of East Lothian, was in old days three separate parishes. Of these Auldhame was the oldest and smallest. There are no Records connected with it as a separate parish; but after the Reformation it is frequently mentioned in connection with the other two. Its traditions are all of the earliest date: it is said that they go back to Druidical worship and rites, for a large cave on the shore at Seacliff, with a huge rock-altar at the entrance, claims to be the scene of Druid sacrifice. Of St Baldred (or Balthere) of the Bass, however, we have more historic information, and it is with his name that Auldhame is chiefly associated. The ruin which stands in the Seacliff grounds is called 'St Baldred's Priory'; and although it is not probable that any part of it could be traced back to his date, yet it marks a very old foundation, and the building as it now stands is prior to the Reformation. St Baldred had his home upon the Bass, from which he made many missionary journeys

through the Lothians, and chiefly East Lothian in his own neighbourhood.

When we come down to later times, we find, from a minute in the Tyninghame Records, that 'Aldhame was not plantit after the Reform of religioun'—that is, no Protestant church has been planted there. But from the same Records we know that there still existed both a church and a churchyard: 'Apryl 11, 1619, the said day the laird of Skugallis sone callit Johne being half yeir ald or thairby was buryed in Aldhame;' 'Upon the twelff of October 1637, being Thursday, Margaret Gib the laird of Skugall his mother buryed at Aldhame kirk.' Until 1618 the parish had no direct church connection at all, some of the people going to Whitekirk and some to Tyninghame. In 1616 there is a minute which shows that then no arrangement had been made: 'Item the fourteine day of November being thursday cōpeirit Agnes Brysone some time servatrix to Jhone Auchmutie of Skugall before the Presbiterie of Dūbar as sho was injoynit becaus sho was dwelling in Aldhame befor, the pepill of qlk bounds for some yeirs befor wer in use to resort to the quhitkirk.' In 1619, on a Sunday in June, 'the minister also earnestlie desyrit the laird of Skugall personallie present to caus the pepill in muttonholl and the rest of the pepill of his boundis to come to the kirk, especiallie them in Muttonholl seeing they wer now of this parische;' which shows that by that time a settlement had been made. This took place in the year 1618,

when the minister of Tyninghame 'was presentit to the Parsonadge and Vicaradge of the kirk of Aldhame, by Johne Archbishop of St Androis.'

The laird of Scoughall, Sir John Auchmutie, who became also laird of Gosford, had his house in the neighbourhood of Auldhame. In other sources of the same time we find references made to 'a place called Adam and Master John Acmootye his hous.'

TYNINGHAME

THE RECORDS.

In coming to the history of Tyninghame we fall upon an interesting guide at once, in the shape of old Kirk-Session Records. We still have them here, and in very fair preservation—three volumes, bound in worn pasteboard or crumpled pigskin, and filled for the most part with very neat but minute and much contracted writing. They extend from the year 1615 to the year 1761, at which date the parish of Tyninghame was united with Whitekirk, and separate Records cease. In the three volumes there are only two breaks of any importance—one from May 1650 to September 1650, and so, unfortunately, depriving us of any reference to the battle of Dunbar, which took place only some seven miles from the bounds of the parish; and another from October 1694 to October 1699. There are, of course, several smaller gaps—leaves gone here and there, some apparently cut out, one or two blank, where sickness or absence intervened, and some almost undecipherable owing to the tearing and wasting of the paper. The

spelling throughout is very variable, differs often several times in the same minute, and seems to have no fixed law whatever. Capital letters also take their places as they please—come and go as they will. In names of persons, the capital as a rule is more frequently given to the Christian than to the surname. The contraction for *m* and the sign mark above *u* occur frequently, but with no regularity; they both occur always in the word 'Cōmŭnion.' After 1650, with a new hand, the *u* sign becomes commoner; the other almost never occurs, the writing being less contracted than formerly. In 1684 for a year or two the German *r* occurs, but by 1687 the writing is almost wholly modern, though the old reversed *e* is sometimes found still. The use of plural adjectives is very common: as 'the saids personis,' or 'uthers personis.'

The Records are naturally concerned chiefly with the kirk, and kirk discipline; but, fortunately for those who now read them, both because these subjects embraced the whole life of the hamlet where the kirk stood, and because of the wide and liberal view which the compiler seems to have held as to what should find entrance to the Records from day to day, we are dealing in them not with dry uninteresting documents, but with all the changing incidents of parish life in the days when the minister, the kirk, and Kirk-Session were the centres round which these revolved. Thus they became not a mere ecclesiastical register, but as it were a parish note-

RECORDS, 1615.

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book, for the commemoration of every event which affected the happiness or wellbeing of the parishioners. It was in reality a human interest more than an ecclesiastical one which prompted the selection and chronicling of the contents of the Records; and everything that had the slightest human or personal interest in the quiet routine of the village year found immediate access to the minister's manuscript, which has thus become for us, two hundred and fifty years later, a simple faithful record of the rustic life of the time.

This fortunate breadth of interest in the Records may be chiefly due to the fact that they are, for fifty years at least, the work of one man, the minister of the parish; and that they reflect the friendly patriarchal relation in which he stood to his people. His life was theirs; theirs was his. For fifty-two years the ideal of his life lay among his people; he was undisturbed by higher aims, undistracted by greater cares. He was not an official in the parish; he was its father, and as a father he knew no distinction between sacred and secular in the interest he felt for the life of his people. All that concerned them concerned him, and easily found its way into the record of their life he was keeping. It is this frank human interest which is now to us the most beautiful and sacred element in these records of a village kirk and congregation. There is little here to remind us of the ceremonial separation from the life of her people for which the Church has often been condemned: the relation between

them here is based on no official conception, no separate ordination, but asserts itself always as a living personal bond, the expression of a common humanity, sanctified and confirmed by divine appointment through the Church. And it is because the events of his little country cure are chronicled by one who breathes upon them this spirit, that they are saved from the fate of dry notes of history.

The Records, however, are not the diary of a garrulous old man. They are severe in their simplicity and even formality of tone. The minister was of strict, perhaps stern, character—a man of few words. There is here no gossip. Trifling incidents are not related in a trifling way; his pen gives a certain formal dignity to everything it touches. Nor is there in the Records any sense of humour; we cannot trace a smile in its whole contents. It may be said that Scotch kirk Records are not quite the place to look for humour. But the characteristic of these volumes is just the absence of the kirk record spirit; and were they only kirk Records we should not care so much about them. Still these notes of family, local, and parish affairs have in them only a solemn brevity, without a touch of humour. The circumstances are continually humorous, but the minister is not—he is too much in earnest. To have grafted humour on to his character would have spoiled it; it would have lost its unity and simplicity.

The only circumstances in which any latitude or freedom of expression is allowed and indeed enjoyed is in

the full record of legal cases and the unlimited repetition of ecclesiastical forms,—the sort of delight in amplitude of legal expression which Scott allows his characters to take, and which he saves from heaviness by humour. This ecclesiastical phraseology is here saved from legal hardness by the undercurrent it contains of gracious gospel terms, struck like fresh water as it were out of the very rock. This curious recurrence of unexpected and beautiful phrases makes it a style of writing quite unique and not unpleasing, and grants willing pardon to the minister for his occasional prolixity. But in everything here the Church is the man. The Acts of the Assembly may be the theoretical power, the actual influence at work is the character of the minister. Unconsciously all power is transmitted through that, and the authority of the Church is made alive in the person of her minister. He had no 'theory' of the Church, and was not troubled with mysticism: the Church to him was chiefly a great practical agency in the parish, appointed by God for the moral and spiritual good of the people. It may not have been a very elevated or ideal conception of the Church and her mission, but he conceived it to be Presbyterian and practical. And in this it was saved at least from the danger of the other extreme view—of becoming a mere impersonal agency. Here its work was always mediated to the people through a human life,—came to them clothed in the spirit of a man.

Our Records confine themselves chiefly to our own

parish; but we shall find that the neighbourhood of Tyninghame is often within reach of history. For it stood on the highway from Edinburgh to London and the Court, on the Dunbar and Berwick road, which lay for a mile or so by the side of the parish. There was, too, an alehouse on the same road, and within our bounds, at Kirklandhill, where no doubt coaches stopped, and stragglers from noblemens' retinues turned in, and where in war-time, as we shall see, 'fugitives' and others found rest and retreat. The minister himself also had to take his part in matters now become historical, and we have his testimony so far to guide us in the confusion of the times.

The Records also contain a register of baptisms, marriages, and burials. The register of the two former is from the beginning of the books; that of burials from January 1617. All are entered as they occur in the body of the book; but in 1650 and onwards they are written out together at the end of each year.

THE MINISTER.

Our minister's name was John Lauder, or, as he is generally styled by himself in the Records, 'Mr Johne.' This was no doubt the usual and friendly abbreviation of the people, which, in his simple and brief manner, he adopted,—the term 'Rev.' never being used except under rare circumstances. The name Lauder was so common in the district, and he had so many relations in the neighbourhood, that there can be little doubt he belonged to the parish or countryside. We know nothing of him, however, before he became minister at Tyninghame, where he must have been placed in 1610 or earlier; for in that year we find his name as a commissioner from the Presbytery of Dunbar to the famous General Assembly held at Glasgow on June 8th in that year. As he was still minister of Tyninghame when he died there in 1662, he must have been minister of the parish for fifty-two years at least, and probably more. Of the first five years

of his work we have no record, but from 1615 onwards he becomes the centre of all parish interest.

Of his family and friends we are able to make out that his father and a brother had died before the Records open. His father might quite easily remember the Reformation in Scotland, and possibly as a boy might have heard of Knox when he came to Gleghornie, which was but a few miles from Tyninghame, to visit his friend Major of St Andrews. His mother lived as a widow in Haddington, probably having removed there to live with one of her married children; while a daughter, Jean, kept the manse at Tyninghame for her brother. Tyninghame, however, was the real home of the family; it was at least their burial-place. A brother, Alexander, seems to have been chaplain and tutor at Whittinghame, about four miles off, where he died in his youth much regretted, in 1628. He died 'in my lord of Whittinghame his hous,' or, as our Record says, 'sleepit maist sweetlie in the Lord,' and was buried in Tyninghame 'besyd his father and brother.' The reference to his mother's death is in October 1640: 'the twelff day of October, being Monday, at sevin houris at nicht, my mother, Alisone Caldcleuche, depairted this lyff at Hadington, I being present with hir, and was brocht to Tyninghame upon the 13 day of October at nicht, and was buryed at Tyninghame upon the ffourteine day, being Wednesday.' Another brother, George, was married and settled in Tyninghame, and died there in 1644. Still

another brother was in the neighbourhood: 'Robert, my brother, minister at Quhytkirk;' whose manse lay only two miles from his own. This appointment of Robert to Whitekirk came about in a curious manner, which his brother at Tyninghame enters in the Records in his usual grave way. Mr Johne it seems resigned the charge at Tyninghame and went to Whitekirk, while his brother Robert was inducted in his place; then after six months they mutually exchanged their parishes, and settled down for life, 'to the great contentment of bothe.' Whether Johne disliked Whitekirk, or the Tyninghame people did not like Robert, we cannot tell, and the matter will never be explained. But we know that the two brothers lived on good terms all their days.

The minister had a second sister, called Isabella, of whom we hear when she paid him a visit in the summer of 1629 from Dysart in Fife. She was the wife of a 'mariner' there, probably the captain of some brig, and at the time at sea. During her stay at the manse a little child is born, and is baptised by the minister, but only on production of a 'line' from her own minister at Dysart. The 'said bairne was presentit by George Lauder hir brother,' and was named 'Robert,' apparently after the son of Lord Haddington, who had lately come to Tyninghame; for among the 'witnesses' or sponsors at the baptism are mentioned his two boys, 'Mr Robt. Hamiltoune and Mr Patrik Hamiltoune, sones to the Earl of Hadington:' all which makes a

very pretty little picture, and leaves a pleasant recollection of social life and habits at the time.

Up till this year, 1629, Mr Johne had been a bachelor, his sister Jean being housekeeper. In February of this year, however—that is, two months after Alexander's death—Jean was married; probably the marriage was delayed on that account, and took place quietly now. The two events are also associated by a third, which is recorded in the minute immediately preceding that of the marriage. It is the record of 'ane bairn baptisit to George Lauder in Tyninghame,' and named after its uncle Alexander, who had died at Whittinghame. The next week contains the following minute: 'febru. 19, 1629, George fforest and Jeane lauder, sister to Mr Johne lauder, minister at tyninghame, maryed.' Mr George Forest was brother of the minister then at Whitekirk, though he does not seem to have lived in the neighbourhood. Mr Johne tried housekeeping by himself for a year, but it did not succeed, for at the end of that time he agreed to be married himself. From the general idea we are able to form of his character, that word is the one which will best suit the circumstances; for we imagine he would much rather have continued as he was. Nevertheless he was married, and for the next nine years all his references to either wife or children are of the most loving and tender kind. His wife was a Miss Elizabeth Haitlie, who lived at Whittinghame, but her people belonged to 'the Merse.' They were married at Whittinghame on February 7th, and 'scho

RECORDS, 1650.

TYNINGHAME.

The kirk sessione of Tuynghame holden the 22 day of September 1650 yeirs, be Mr John Lauder Minr. Gilbert Johnstone & L the Earle of Hadingtone, John Pringle in Knowes, John Tait in Knowmill James Kirkwood in Strongate, John Bowie in Aldehame, Robert Kirkwood in Tuynghame, Jo. Nesbon yr, George Shortes yr, John Strongat yr, Jo. Airth yr Eldors and Deacons, Mr Thomas Elliot schoolmr & sessione clerk, James Paterson baddo.

This day collect & sworn was given to Alexr Lauder & John Knows.

This day William Donaldsone in Knowe and Mary Gilbony gaue up their names to be proclaimed, and consigned & made ad invicem to keepe good order, and were not called pro

came to tyninghame on friday therefter the 12 of febrŭari 1630.'

Then the quiet and patriarchal tenor of Mr Johne's life becomes for us after this even more beautifully simple, as we read the chronicle of journeys which they made now and then together, riding pillion, like the Vicar of Wakefield and his wife, on the manse horse,—the record being in such terms as these: 'We raid together to the Mers;' or 'The minister being in the Mers and his wyff wt him visiting hir mother and friends.' But of his wife we hear little except these short allusions to 'hir friends,' until we come to the notice of her death. She died in 1639, after being nine years at Tyninghame, on November 5th, 'about sevin houris in the morning;' and the little infant 'was baptised the said day' by the minister's brother from Whitekirk, and named James. The following minute closes the record of this short but happy union: 'Upon the sext day of November, Wednesday, 1639, the said Elizabethe Haitlie, spous to mr. Johne Lauder, was bŭryed, many gentilmen and pepill being present.' Mr Johne lived ever after in his widowhood, given entirely to the care of his parish and his children. There were four children: John (to whom we have a reference long after when he had become a man, as 'Johne, my sone'), to whom as an 'expectant' the Presbytery, in 1658, gave a certificate of licence; Alexander, named after the dear brother at Whittinghame; Agnes and James. About the children we find a very tender entry

in 1636, while their mother was still alive: 'This day my bairnis verie sick of the poxe; my eldest sone and dauchter bothe extremlie sick.' And under the next day's date, July 16th, we find that his daughter Agnes had died. In recording her death, he adds that eight children 'dyit of the poxe this yeir in tyninghame fra the twentie ffourt of Juni to this day, within four yeirs ald or thairby;' and he affectionately notes the name of each father 'wha lost ane bairne' that month of death.

Beyond the daily routine of his parish work Mr Johne had several different claims on his time which he very faithfully attended to. Such were the frequent exchanges with neighbouring ministers at the Communion times, the weekly visit to the Presbytery at Dunbar, which was on each Thursday for many years, but afterwards from 1655 the Wednesday, according to the minute: 'The Presbtrie ordaines a chaing of the day of meeting to the Wensday, in regaird Thursday thair present day of meetting is the mercket day of Dŭmbar and thairfor the peopell can not convenientlie on that day atend the exercise;' and to this he was regularly accompanied by the elder appointed monthly for that purpose. Then there were the journeys to the General Assembly, to which he was frequently sent as Commissioner from his Presbytery, having evidently among his brethren a character for strength and dignity; also to Commissions of Assembly, with regard to one of which, in 1648, we read that he was hurried off from his parish, 'being written for from Edin-

burgh;' and to the various and numerous provincial Assemblies, both far and near, to which also he was accompanied by a ruling elder. Difficulties, however, in these days of riding might occur, as we find from the following minute in 1641: 'Mr Robert Lauder was chosin to go as ruling Elder to the Provinciall Assemblie at Linlithgow; he promeisit to go. If his hors were abill, sall be abill to ryd, being crookit and not yit perfytlie haill, bot it will be against his will if he go not.' He was also several times 'ordained' to preach in Edinburgh in the stirring times of the Covenant. On these occasions he 'tooke his journey' on horseback to whatever distance, resting on the way at the manse of some brother minister, or as often as he could at Haddington, while his mother was alive. The short Records of these rural missions are very minute and quaint; and there is frequently a postscript of thanksgiving for his safe return, and once or twice for finding wife and children well.

Apart from these ecclesiastical excursions, his life was rarely broken in upon, or the routine of the parish interrupted. Now and then some distinguished strangers visited Lord Haddington, and are noted as 'present this day in kirk;' and now and then, as we shall see, soldiers. Sometimes also a distinguished preacher, being in the same way in the parish, took part in the service, as 'Mr Harry Rollock from Edinburgh,' or 'Mr James Row.' For company he had only the schoolmaster, or the 'chaplain and pydagog' in Lord Haddington's

family; and he saw his brethren in his parish at the time of the school examination and the visitation of the kirk.

He was of course by necessity a farmer on a small scale, having his own glebe to look after, and the teinds in grain to receive. He had also annually to be a commissioner with others to 'visit the gaits,'—that is, to examine the roads, or at least the posting roads connected with the parish, and to allocate the expenses of their upkeep. Indeed, there were few local events or undertakings in which the minister had not to take a share, whether they were civil or religious; but after all, his life and thoughts were almost entirely given to the general wellbeing of his people and parish, as that could be helped or attained by the regularly appointed church methods, in the church, Kirk-Session, and Presbytery. The two great aims of his life were eminently practical and always within his reach—the preaching of the Word, and the care of the poor. The one brings out the formal and severe tone of his character, while in the other it is all friendliness and charity. A hundred times in the year whatever was lacking for distribution to the poor was made up 'by the minister out of his awin purse.' It was indeed a public, not a private purse; and though sometimes the donations were entered in the Session books as a loan, yet the demands on 'the poore box' were so often in excess of its contents, that the minister's donations were seldom restored.

THE CHURCH.

THE foundation of Mr Johne's kirk went far back in tradition. Of it Skene writes: 'From the time when the great diocese of York was broken up in the year 681, its history has had no bearing upon that of the churches of Cumbria or Lothian. The diocese of Lindisfarne, however, extended to the Firth of Forth; and about this time the monastery of Tyninghame, at the mouth of the river Tyne in East Lothian, must have been founded within it by Balthere the anchorite. Simeon of Durham, in his history of the kings, records in the year 756 the death of Balthere the anchorite; and in his history of the church of Durham, he adds "in Tiningaham." He is popularly known in the district as St Baldred of the Bass. By Bower, St Baldred is connected with Kentigern [the story of whose mother is laid at Traprain Law, only a mile or two from Tyninghame], and said to have been his suffragan bishop; and he reports a tradition that, a contest having arisen between the parishioners of the three churches of Hald-

hame, Tyninghame, and Lyntoun in Lothian, for the possession of his body, and arms having been resorted to, they were at night overcome with sleep, and on awaking found three bodies exactly alike, one of which was buried in each church. This sufficiently connects St Baldred with Tyninghame; and Alcuin, who wrote in the eighth century, as clearly connects Balthere with the Bass. He was thus removed from Kentigern's time by more than a century, was in reality an anchorite, and connected, not with the British diocese of Cumbria, but with the Anglic see of Lindisfarne. This diocese contained the territory extending from the Tyne to the Tweed, including the district of Teviotdale; and we learn from the anonymous history of Cudberct that its possessions beyond the Tweed consisted of the districts on the north bank from the sea to the river Leader, and the whole land which belonged to the monastery of St Balthere, which is called Tyninghame, from the Lammermoors to the mouth of the river Esk.'

Another reference to Tyninghame is found in the Chronicle of Melrose, under date 941: 'Casting off the fealty which they had sworn to Edmund, the Northumbrians chose as their own king Anlaf, king of the Norwegians. He came to Hampton and besieged it, but prevailing nothing, he marched his army to Tamworth, and, having pillaged the whole country, he was on his return when he was encountered by King Edmund, and they would have immediately joined in battle had

not the two archbishops, Odo and Wulstan, appeased them. So peace was made, and Wathling Street was fixed as the limit of each kingdom. Immediately after having burned and plundered the church of Saint Baldred in Tininghame, Anlaf died.'

Again, Malcolm IV. (about 1153), in granting the privilege of 'sanctuary' to Innerleithen, ordains that 'the said church, in which my son's body rested the first night after his decease, shall have a right of sanctuary in all its territory, as falls to Wedale or Tyninghame.' This privilege of sanctuary had been granted to Tyninghame by King David not long before, and remains a pleasant memory to keep,—a little city of refuge, with its protecting church and altar.

These things, however, are only memories. But the connection of the church with St Andrews was of the sixteenth century, and in the Episcopal times, when the Records begin, is still in existence. The Archbishop of St Andrews took thence his title of 'Lord Tyninghame.' He was the same who, in the time of Charles, took also the title of 'Lord High Chancellor of Scotland.' The Archbishop who has most to do with our Records is Spottiswoode, and he was careful to retain what control he could over such dependencies as Tyninghame. Mr Johne was, however, both a Presbyterian and a Covenanter, and not likely to acquiesce more than was right in the Archbishop's demands. Still, being also a quiet-living man, and not seeking needless strife, he bore,

within the limits of reforming principles, with the claims of St Andrews to the utmost. The Session are not always so forbearing, and express their 'regraitt' now and then that such and such a collection 'for the new Colledge at St Andrews is necessar;' but having entered this protest, they allow the collections to go. But on two occasions, to save an open challenge to the Archbishop, the minister has to make up the usual sum by adding to the collection 'out of his awin purse.' There are frequent references to the maintenance of a 'burser' at St Andrews; and very often Mr Johne has to go there 'on business important to the kirk.' The following minute, 'Junii ellevint, the minister absent in St Androis,' doubtless refers to the funeral of the Archbishop who preceded Spottiswoode; for Row tells us that he died in May of that year, and that 'albeit his bodie behooved to be buried instantlie efter death, yet the solemnitie of his funerallis was maid in the moneth of Junii following.' In January 1616 he is again there, perhaps to pay his respects to the new Archbishop. In January of the next year he returns 'about the better provision of the kirk of Tyninghame.' And so, from year to year, the notes of his visits continue without much remark, except that on one occasion, in 1651, after the days of Episcopal supremacy, he remained in Fife for several months, and 'preiched often.'

The church at Tyninghame, of which any remains still exist, is of the twelfth century. All that is now

TYNINGHAME CHURCH,

Twelfth Century.

left are two fine Norman arches, enclosing the burial-place of the family of the Earl of Haddington, who has been the proprietor since 1628. As it was in the days of the Records, we have only a minute here and there which gives a clue to its arrangements, under the head of charges, changes, and repairs. It stood at the east end of the little village, and itself was built east and west; the arches which remain being those of the small chancel, and the apse attached. The length of the church we can roughly calculate from the number of 'couples' or rafters it contained, which we know from the following minute: 'September 28, 1634. Ordains twentie ane coupillis of the kirk to be upheld and pointit be the Earle of hadingtoun, and sevin coupill to be upheld and pointit be the laird of Skugall, and ane coupill be lochhouss and greinspott, and the glass windowis accordinglie.' Reckoning each 'couple' at thirty-five inches, the church must have been about eighty-five feet long. It was divided by stone arches, projecting on pillars into the body of the church, into four distinct spaces, which Mr Johne, without much artistic feeling, denominates 'rooms.' These rooms had seats on each side, and the one in the chancel had two 'lofts,' one for the Earl of Haddington and the other for the laird of Scoughall. Indeed it is owing to the rearrangement of seats in the church, necessary on the laird being promoted to a loft, that we are able from the minutes to

trace out its general outlines. The church, however, was not seated fully to the west, the last of the four divisions being used as a school, which also was the case at Whitekirk. The centre of the church, all the way down, was kept for the women, whose seats were not fixtures, but only 'furmes.' Many of them were only 'stooles,' which the women brought with them, but which they generally left in the church. 'Item, it was fund by the session and the minister that it had beene weill done that the seittis in the suthe syd of the kirk wer turnit wt thair faces to the pulpitt, or [=*i.e.*] to the eist; bot seing that the awiners of the seittis wer not willing heirto, and seing, if the seittis wer not maid shorter, the roome in the middest culd not be sufficient for the women, therfor the session thinks meitt and resolves and decrees.' Also 'Juni 1633. Item, this day James ffa his wyffis seit placet in the kirk by advyse of the session.' On the annual occasions of dispensing the Communion the women's seats were all removed, and the 'tables' were set up, and long forms provided by the village joiner—the charge for which work is regularly entered in the Records. A century later the Communion-tables were, when not in use, fastened up flat along the walls of the church: for we have an account 'for 3 oak dooks put into the kirk wall for supporting the Communion Table, the old ones being quite consum'd;' and again, a sum given 'to the Beadle

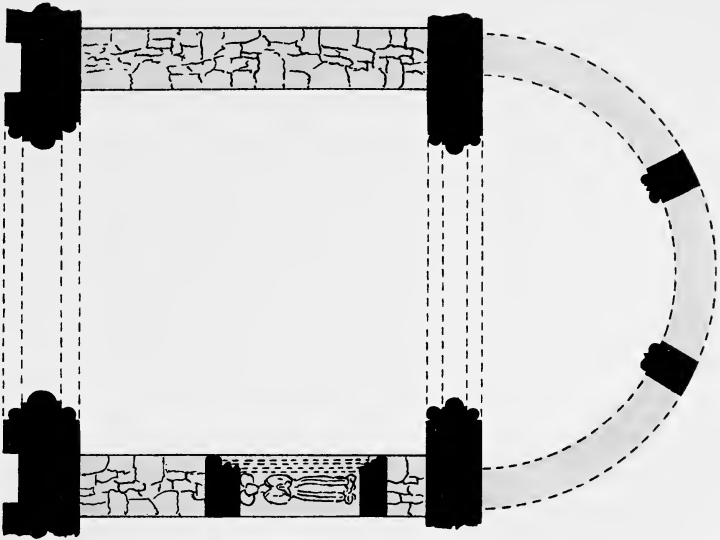
as usual for taking down the Communion Table from the church walls and putting it up again.'

The pulpit was just where the apse and chancel met; and the stool of repentance, a large erection of stone, lime, and wood, stood in front of it. There were two doors—one on the south side and near the east end, which was the door by which 'the minister was used to enter,' and next to which was 'the minister's seitt;' the other, under the 'steeple,' opened at the west end of the church. It was at this door that the 'jougs' were fixed, and near it that the 'stocks' stood. There were stocks also, for civil cases, at the 'croce' in the village. The steeple was in reality a tower, on which at first was a sun-dial, and much later a clock. In it was the 'bell-house,' where poor folks got many a night's lodging, as we find also at Whitekirk. In the bell-house, in 1625, after much difficulty and considerable cost, a bell was 'hing,' for formerly a 'litel bell' was rung through the village. The bell, along with a large Bible (still in use at Whitekirk), was presented by Sir John Murray, Lord Annandail, who held the lands of Tyninghame for a year or two before they passed to Lord Haddington. In November 1651 an interesting minute about this Bible occurs in the following terms: 'Given two pund eight schilling [Scots money always] to Jon. nisbet, debursed by him for bringing out the mortcloath and church byble out of

Tantallan, and carying of them thence in and out of the bass.' This refers to the neighbouring places of security, Tantallon and the Bass, to which, at the time of Cromwell's presence, church plate and Records from many parishes in Scotland had been transferred. We have further reference to the same Bible in the following minutes, of later date: 'given to Mr Robt. Taylor, bookbinder and stationer at South Berwick, for binding the Kirk-Bible;' and 'to Margt. Brown for bringing the Kirk-Bible from Lintoun, where the Berwick carriers had left it.'

The cost of 'hinging' the bell was paid out of an assessment of money, or 'stenting' of the heritors long before, for 'Communion cups' and 'table-cloths,' and 'basings for baptism,' in accordance with the Act of Parliament for furnishing of churches passed in 1617. This assessment had lain unused for more than seven years, while a lawsuit was going on against Lord Bass, a former proprietor of Tyninghame, and his mother, who had refused to pay their part. Lady Bass had already come under the rebuke of the Presbytery for interfering with the work of the Kirk-Session, and this refusal had probably something to do with that. The lawsuit was in reality against her, though in the Tyninghame Record-box the document was labelled, 'Inhibition, at the minister of Tyninghame's instance, against the Laird of Bass, founded on the Act of Parliament 1617, for providing cōmŭnion cups, cloths, and elements, dated

PLAN OF TYNINGHAME PRIORY.



Scale, 1 in. = 8 feet.

26th May 1621.' Lady Bass was succeeded by Lord Annandail at Tyninghame.

There is quite a little annual chronicle about the upkeep of the bell. In September are bought '11 fathoms of new Rops for the Bell;' in the next May an account is paid 'to Johne Cochrans servants for turning the bell tow;' and in the following October there is entered, 'Rd. for the old bell tow, sold to David Robertsone for Lord Hadintouns use, 14s.' From such entries we gather that the church tower must have been about 70 feet high at least; and that the bell was rung from the outside, for the rope was evidently worn against the stone, and was 'turned' every six months and renewed every year. But the annual outlay is not over, for something is paid 'to James Stewart, shoemaker, for a new thong for the Bell tongue;' 'to Will. Brown, smith, for mending the buckle of sd. bell tongue;' and finally, 'to Johne Cochran for puting to the new rop and thong to the bell.'

Below the bell-house was the west porch,—also used by poor James Buicam, clerk and gravedigger, for keeping his 'shoole and spade.' The door of this had once been broken open, and James got the Session to mend the lock and give him the exclusive right of entry. About the time of the 'bell hinging' the church was all repointed and cleaned, and the division of the assessment was made in accordance with the number of 'couples' or rafters in the church which the land of

each heritor should support. New glass was also put into the windows, with 'glasbands and iron cleiks.' Instead of the new 'utensils' for the church, which were never got, the 'iron' which held the old basin for baptism was repaired,—'for mending the kirk-door lock and the iron qlk holds the water to the baptisme.' There was also another 'iron' in the church, that which held the 'glass' on the pulpit to regulate the duration of the sermon: 'Given that day to the smythe for making ane iron to sett the glass in.' At this time of general reconstruction in the village church, Mr Johne, 'out of his ain purse,' added a new pulpit. At the visitation of the church, however, in 1656, we find that thirty years had done their work with Mr Johne's pulpit, for the Presbytery recommend to the heritors 'to build their settes and pulpet.' Besides these larger expenses, which were met by 'stents' on the heritors, there were continual smaller outlays, which had to be defrayed out of 'collections,' penalties, or the poor's box—though Mr Johne was loth to touch the box for such purposes. Still, spades and shovels needed mending; locks and hinges had to be made secure; the bell needed a 'tow,' and the wheel wanted 'greese'; the ladder in the bell-house would break, and the 'kirk-style' would fail; the children destroyed the seats when in church at school, and the 'doos' had to be shot when they became bold enough to enter from the tower. The kirk-stile was the wooden steps over the churchyard wall, and probably afforded a nearer entrance

to those parishioners who came from the east side of the parish. There was at the instance of the Session a 'calsay' of stone laid before it, 'because of the myre' in wet weather. The crossing of the stile to and from the church more than once gave rise to striving and quarrelling, which brought the delinquents before the Session; but the most grievous case was that of two women so 'slandering each the other,' that it had to be treated very seriously, as a matter for the 'jougs.'

At the visitation of the church in 1665, Mr Johne's successor reports 'that the kirk of Tyninghame is in good case, but that the manse is ruinous.' So Mr Johne seems to have thought more of the house of God than of his own. Later still we read of a 'new door' being built at the west end of the church, but this probably only means the old school-door. In 1700 more repairs were made, among them 'rigging-stones' were put on the roof. And at last, in 1711, Lord Haddington agreed to build a new manse. After the union of the churches in 1761, the church was in great part pulled down and destroyed, the churchyard ploughed through, the grave-stones taken away, the village itself removed, and the whole place at last became a green field, with only the two Norman arches remaining to remind us of all the life that used to centre round the little kirk on the banks of the Tyne.

There was of course a small glebe attached to the kirk; but it must have been of slender value, for Mr

Johne calls it always 'my bank and croft.' It is very interesting to see his anxiety about the scanty crops in a bad harvest-time, and his notes of thankfulness for a good one. There are many references also to 'teinding and thirding' the grain for the stipend, such as: 'All the knowis teind and thrid in almost, and all the rest of the quhyt corn in tyninghame almaist teindit.' The minister also had the grass of the churchyard for a cow; in Mr Johne's day there seems to have been nothing else set apart, except that the Earl allowed his cow to 'follow' with his own in the park, when the grass in the churchyard failed. Long after his day this matter of grass came up before the Presbytery at their visitation in 1702, when the minister complained that 'for grass he was very ill provided, for he had no more allowed him but the churchyard, the grass whereof about the middle of July and forward almost wholly faded, so that the beasts were like to starve, as was known both to the heritors and parishioners.' To this complaint Lord Haddington replied by 'proposing a piece of ground which should be allocated for grass to the minr.'s kine and horse in all time coming.' This was examined by farmers, accepted by the Presbytery and by the minister, though he protested that he did so only 'for peace-sake, for it lay at some distance.'

THE SERVICE.

The church was much more used in Mr Johne's day than in ours. The Sunday was not the only day for service; it had not then reached that bad pre-eminence. There was scarcely a day in the week that Mr Johne did not 'go east' from manse to church for service, fast, or thanksgiving; and when not engaged with either of these he had the school to examine. But the church then played a much larger part in the daily life of the parish than it now does. If we consider even the occasions of fast and of thanksgiving, appointed often monthly and sometimes more frequently, on ordinary week-days, we feel at once that we should now appeal in vain for such observances. The change of life and manners is such that it is needless to think of returning to it; but it strikes one in looking back on the reverent church spirit of these days. It is true men then had time, which we have not. No railways or posts, no telegrams or papers, no shopping or travelling disturbed those tranquil days. Time was not money, as it must always be now. During harvest

and herring-fishing it was, and it was then that human nature asserted itself, and the church services were relaxed. This we gather from the following note: 'To come to publick prayers again daily as they did befor harvest this gude quhill bygaine, seing now bothe the draife and harvest are perfytlie endit.' Minister and people were absorbed in their own concerns. Weeks and months came and went without knowledge of the world; days elapsed ere the news of the next parish arrived. Mr Johne had not to hurry through his paper in the morning, or fret to catch the daily post; and none of his farmers or his village tradesmen looked to hear anything of the markets except once a week at Haddington or Dunbar. So the sound of the kirk-bell was heard with equanimity or even pleasure at any hour, and on any day of the week. The kirk, too, was the meeting-place for conversation and news in those days when 'kirk and market' formed the legal phrase for places of public meeting in the rural districts.

The ordinary Sunday services were two—one 'before noon,' and one 'efter noon.' The warning-bell for the former began at 'aucht houris in the morning,' and sometimes, as at the Communion, at six o'clock. It was divided by the ringing of other two bells; the first of which intimated at nine o'clock the service which was held by the 'reader,' who was almost invariably the schoolmaster, and who conducted a service of praise and Scripture-reading and prayer. This service was, of

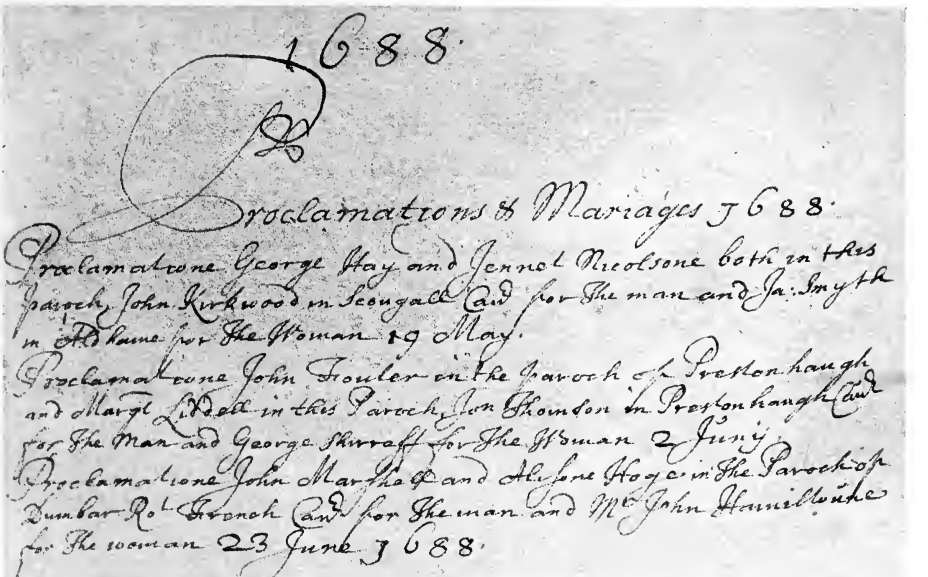
course, entirely liturgical. The prayers were those of Knox's Liturgy, and the psalms the early version, with tunes arranged. This service was always held, both forenoon and afternoon, whether the minister was at home or not; hence the frequent notices in the Records: 'No preiching this day at efternoon, bot reiding; the minister being at Quhytkirk, where he preichit efter Communion.' And during any time of vacancy in a parish, when the pulpit was not regularly supplied, this service of reading and prayer was never intermitted. The schoolmaster's engagement was usually coupled with the condition that he should 'reid and sing in the kirk.' He, as well as the clerk, received an extra payment for the services and attendance at the Communion, which lasted all day. Although they both received regular salaries, yet they were both usually in such poverty that often the Sunday minute contains the note: 'Collect given betwixt reiddar and clerk.'

All were expected to be present by the ringing of the second or nine o'clock bell; any one absent, or late, had to give an account of himself. We have a distressing case of a man who was rebuked for not appearing till after the second bell in the afternoon, 'that Lord's day his wyffe was bŭryed.' That does not sound charitable treatment in Mr Johne; but we learn afterwards that the company had been somewhat disorderly at the funeral, although all that the penitent alleged was 'that the dayis was schort, and they had far to cary hir corpis,

and the pepill did not conveine so timeouslie as he expectit.' At the third bell the minister entered the church, and, after a read or 'conceived' prayer, began the sermon. This arrangement we learn from the case of another delinquent, who is condemned by minister and session 'to be put in the stokis at the kirk doore, and to ly in them fra the first bell till the third bell be rung out, and the minister be in the pulpitt;' which would mean from about eight o'clock till ten. The service concluded with the singing of another psalm, as we can gather from the penance: 'To stand besyde the place of repentance the whole tyme of Divine Service, and after the singing of the second psalmes to confess publicklie upon her knees the said slander;' that is, just before the blessing. The morning service ended between eleven and twelve o'clock, and the afternoon service began about one. But in the winter, from October till March, Mr Johne found it better to give up the afternoon service and hold an 'examination' instead. For this purpose he divided the parish into seven districts, and each district came to the church in turn on the Sunday afternoons. The arrangement was made in October 1619 as follows: 'Item, the said day the minister thocht gude wt advys of the elderis that seing now the tyme was come to leave off preiching at the efternoone the nixt day as use was, to the end that the pepill micht be better instructit and the Sabbothe keipit, that thair suld be examinatioun at efternoone, and that the parische suld be

RECORDS, 1688.

TYNINGHAME.



1688

Proclamations & Mariages 1688.

Proclamatione George Hay and Jennet Nicolsone both in this Parech John Kirkwood in Seougall Cau for the man and Ja: Smyth in Ed^r^ Cau for the Woman 19 May.

Proclamatione John Fouler in the Parech of Prestonhaugh and Margt Reid in this Parech Jon Thomson in Prestonhaugh Cau for the Man and George Skirraff for the Woman 2 Junij

Proclamatione John Marshall and Alysone Hoyce in the Parech of Dunbar Rot Grenoch Cau for the man and Mr John Hamiltoune for the woman 23 June 1688.

divydit in sevin pairtis, and so the minister suld examin all in sevine Sabbothe dayis, and suld continew till pasche nixt.' During the winter he managed to hold these examinations three times over, and was as particular in requiring the presence of his people as at the usual service. Considering the strictness and severity of the minister's character, and the examination he was likely to hold, we are not surprised now and then to find a parishioner who, 'in respect of his ignorance, thocht shame to come to the examination;' nor are we surprised at the answer of the minister to this plea, 'that if he resortit mair frequentlie to the examination his ignorance would be removed.' Once, in exceptional circumstances, the examination was held by the schoolmaster.

Any intimations were made usually 'before the Blessing.' But it is possible to discover a habit of making a distinction between intimations civil and religious. The former, dealing with intimations about 'collecting the excyse,' 'stenting the heritors,' 'valuation of teindis,' or on mattters connected with the Parliament or the 'Committee,' seem to have been excluded from the service and read 'after the Blessing.' The latter, dealing only with matters ecclesiastical, were read before it. It was very usual to offer special prayers for sick persons during service: thus in April 1637 we have, 'This day threttie-and-thre pepill prayed for in the kirk;' and in April 1648 there is a note of a poor woman 'quha

was beddrall [bed-ridden] these ffour yeirs bygaine and blind, being always publicklie prayed for.'

During the week there was always service every Tuesday and Friday, and preaching on both days, or preaching one day and catechising the other. But for a long time there was daily service at eight in the morning; always reading and prayers, and often preaching as well. This was after 1638; and still in 1656, at a visitation of the church, we find the following: 'Inquired anent preaching upon the Lord's day, and week-day, and catechising, ansred, That the minr. preached twise upon the Lord's day and once upon the week-day. And that he catechised once a week.' The liturgical character of the reader's service was rigidly enforced; and one of the schoolmasters who, while reading the Scripture, 'did raise nots upon ane chapter'—that is, made a commentary upon it—was very severely dealt with by the Session. As the Presbytery met on the Thursday, that day was excepted in the arrangements for daily service. In June 1644 it is enacted: 'No baptisme nor marriadgis upon the Thursday, seing it is the Presbitrie day, under pain of ane dolor.' The service was to be that of the Reader alone.

There was thus in these early days, before the influence of the Covenant and the English Independents was felt, a great deal of variety and interest in the service, which afterwards was completely destroyed. At this early time, too, the people took more part in

the worship than ever after. The Lord's Prayer, and the Belief, and the Glory, were always repeated, and Psalms sung.

The Communion was celebrated once a year, usually in April or May, with great regularity, which was not the case in every parish. We find that Mr Johne continued this celebration even in the years (about 1650) when in many places it was almost given up, through the fanatical influence of Brownists, Anabaptists, and English Independents. That it was not always celebrated within the bounds of the Presbytery is seen from the questions about it in the visitations of churches. However, both at Whitekirk and Tyninghame, the Communion is noted every year. In the visitation of 1658 the question is asked, 'If Sacrament of the Lord's Sŭpper celebrat;' and the reply is 'ansred, it was.' After our minister's day things do not seem to have been so satisfactory; for at the meeting of Presbytery in 1667, when the brethren are asked 'what they had done about the celebrating of the Lds. Supper, reported they have ether done it, or are about in doing of it.'

Mr Johne intimated the Communion each year, immediately after he had completed the threefold examination of the people during the winter and spring, which he intended as a preparation for it. The result of the examination was not always so satisfactory as the minister could have wished: 'All ignorant personis debarrit if they suld not come on Tysday or Wednes-

day to the examinatioun and schew themselffs to be better scollars; . . . some that were ignorant the dayis bygain now schewing themselffs efter tryall to have more knawledge wer resaved, and scandalous personis and openlie profane wer appointit to absteine.' The celebration was preceded by a 'preparation sermon' on the Saturday at three o'clock; but we hear of no other services in connection with it. This left it still, if not a frequent, at least a natural service in the church year. Mr Johne did not care to adopt the then rising habit of fencing it round with Fast days, and Saturday and Monday services, until at last it became a terrible 'solemnitie' for the people, which they were afraid to think of or approach. The Scotch ultra-reformers came back in this to the secrecy and separation of the Roman Church, as in so many ways extreme dissent always does. Admission to the Communion was by 'tokens,' which were received by an elder appointed to stand 'at the entrie of the tabill,' as the people came forward to take their places. These tokens, usually referred to as 'tickets' in the Records, were small square, circular, or heart-shaped leaden tablets—sometimes moulded, sometimes cut — with the initials of the church stamped upon them, and often the initials also of the minister. Tokens both of Whitekirk and of Tyninghame are still in use in the parish—those of Tyninghame struck three years after Mr Johne's death. We have two sets of Tyninghame tokens, and one of

them may probably be referred to in the note of June 1665, 'Qrof given for tickets, 6 – 2 – 0;' especially when we remember that they were not in use after the year 1761, when Tyninghame church ceased to exist.

In the order prescribed by our minister to the elders each year to be observed at the Communion, we find that he still retains the old custom of making 'the collection,' or offertory, an essential part of the service, although on ordinary Sundays it was taken at the door, as: 'November 24, 1616, collect at the kirk doore be george shortus and James neilsone, 3 lib.' At the time of these orders, which he prescribes, the protesting party in the church had begun to condemn this, with so many other ancient and beautiful customs, as Popish. At a later period this party, in its fanatical search for evangelical purity, broke off to the uttermost and destroyed all historical connection between the Scotch Church and every other in Christendom, even that which still remained in such simple details of service as saying the Lord's Prayer, the Belief, the Glory; and in such a thing as this making the giving of alms for the poor an essential part of that rite which commemorated Him who preached the Gospel to the poor. It was said to savour of 'good works.' All these things were in common use in the early days of Mr Johne's ministry, and he seems to have preserved their observance; for in this matter, at least, we find that 'twa Elders are appointit to gather the collect.' Three are appointed 'to attend the tablis

and serve'—that is, one to hand the bread, one to hand the wine, and one to carry the large flagon of wine. Another is appointed to stand 'at the foot of the tabill, that the pepill micht come and go quyetlie and orderlie.' By degrees the arrangements for the Communion became much more elaborate, and the 'lists' of those who were considered 'worthy' to receive tokens more stringent. The collect also was transferred from the Communion-table to 'the kirk doors and stiles,' as the people entered.

The 'plenishing' of the kirk as regards both the Communion and baptism was often complained of as insufficient, and 'by no means so compleat as suld be.' The original assessment in terms of the Act of Parliament of 1617 was never, as we have seen, put to its proper purpose, and there was always afterwards considerable difficulty in keeping up the proper number of church utensils; and at last, in 1661, we find that Communion cups had to be hired from a neighbouring parish, the following item annually occurring: 'Given out for the cupps, 1 – 10 – 0.' This continued for many years; for although in the visitation of 1668 it is set down that 'the Brethren of the exercise recommends to the Heritors the reparation of the church and the providing necessaries for the giving of the Cōmŭnion,' nothing further seems to have been done; for at the visitation of 1675 it is reported that 'table-cloaths and cups for the Communion was wanting.' However, the want must have

BAPTISMAL BASIN FOR LAVER (pewter), 1705.

COMMUNION FLAGONS (pewter).

HAND-BELL.

TYNINGHAME.

been supplied before 1688, for in that year there is an entry of a payment made 'for mending a Communion cup.' At last, at the visitation of 1702, a better report was able to be given; for when 'the Modr. asked what church utensils there were belonging to the church and the poor, the Minr. told that they had two silver Communion cups, ane cloth of holland for the Communion Table, and two napkins, the one of holland, the other of linnen. Ane Baptism Bason with three napkins and a choppin stoup belonging thereto.' The former cups were pewter, and had been exchanged for the silver ones in Edinburgh; from 'Thomas Ker the Goldsmyth.' The large baptism bason we still have, and the round boss remains in the centre, on which the 'choppin stoup' or laver stood for holding the water. The 'water cloth' is also elsewhere mentioned. The Bible also we have, and the hand or 'litel' bell, which was carried in front of the funeral processions, and formerly the only one in use for all services.

Baptisms and marriages were always performed in church; and even when bad weather prevented children being brought a distance, the only relaxation of the rule was that they were taken to the parish church that was nearest, or were brought the next convenient day. Both marriages and baptisms often took place on Sunday, though the marriages usually on one of the week-days appointed for service. The baptisms took place 'before the Blessing,' at any service, Sunday or week-day. But

as a marriage or baptism usually attracted a larger congregation, Mr Johne got the Session to appoint such ceremonies to take place 'at efternoon service, seeing that the pepill did not resort so much to the kirk at efternoon as need were,' which was a more alluring way than the 'jougs' of coping with the 'absents.' Baptism took place when the child was one or two days old; and there were always several 'witnesses' present, who were the same as sponsors. Sometimes, as in the case of the death of the parents, or of a vagrant's child, the child was baptised 'to the Session'; and in such a case the Session continued its care of the child for many years. Delay in baptism, even for a week or two, was dealt with as a case of discipline.

Some alteration in the liturgical portions of the service was introduced in the 'Directory of Worship,' and many recommendations made by 'the rigid Presbyterian' party, then supreme in the country, which were quite subversive of the old customs in use in the Scotch Church. The Directory was drawn up by the Westminster Assembly in 1644, in terms much against the views of the ministers of Scotland who were delegates to that body, who themselves tried to urge on the Independent divines of England the retention in the service, both of the liturgical elements common to all Christian Churches and the methods and manners of worship usual since the Reformation. The Directory, however, was approved by the extreme party in the Church, and was sanctioned by the

Assembly of the Kirk in 1645. Orders were sent to the Presbyteries that the use of the Directory should commence in May 1646. At this time Mr Johne was absent in England at the Camp; but intimation was made to the people of the change in the form of worship on February 22d, and on March 1st two neighbouring ministers 'preached, and practised the Directorie.' The alterations consisted chiefly in minimising the liturgical and emphasising the personal element in the service, —giving large 'freedom' to the minister to arrange his own forms of service.

Another alteration in the service came through the introduction of 'The new Paraphrase of the Psalms,' which was first used in Tyninghame in May 1650. This was the version, chiefly by Rous the English Puritan, revised and printed by the Commission of the Assembly in 1649. It contained, however, many versions by Scotsmen, but fell short of the other in supplying no music.

THE PARISH.

As we have seen, what was once three parishes had, in our Record time, become two. Auldhame 'had not been planted since the great reform;' so part of the people 'war in use to resort to the Quhytkirk,' but those in 'Skugall' (though it belonged to the same property) were reckoned in Tyninghame bounds. The people in Scoughall, indeed, had rather a difficult position, for to whichever church they went they had a stream to cross, and bridges were unknown; but in times of storm and rain they chose Whitekirk, as the smaller stream lay in that direction. We have several times notices of baptisms and marriages being celebrated at Whitekirk for some 'indwellers at Skugall, owing to the gretness of the burns.' The same thing also occurs with the parishioners who live 'south of Tyne,' when the river is in flood; in that case the baptism or marriage is performed at Prestonkirk. There were only stepping-stones across the river. It was not till 1637 that a boat was placed for a ferry there; and its upkeep afterwards

depended chiefly on the Session funds. Magnus Clerk was the ferryman, and he comes often before the Session to get money for 'beiting the boat,' or perhaps for 'thre pynts of tarr to lay on the boat.' We have a minute to the effect that 'the Session ordered a rop to be bought to the ferrie boat on the watter, and have allowed the boatman 3 lib Scotts during the winter seasone for setting through strangers and the poore of the parisch on the Sabbath day coming to sermon, and have strickly dischairged the boatman that he sett no bodie through the watter on the Sabboth day in tyme of sermon, or any othar tyme of the day, as he will be ansrable to them.' He was also paid an annual sum for 'ferrying over the children on the other syde of the watter to and from schoole.'

The parish consisted more of a series of small hamlets than anything else, each hamlet being to a great extent self-dependent, though having very few houses or inhabitants. There were on the shore: Scoughall, Pefferside, Fisherhouses, and Ravensheuch. These all depended on fishing, and fish was much more common then as an article of food than now. There was a manufactory for 'the making of rid hering' at Dunbar. Then there were inland places: Easter and Wester Lochhouses, Easter and Wester Gateside, Kirklandhill, Knows, the Village, and Belpots, south of the Tyne, where the ferryman lived, and still called the Boathouse. There was also a place in the Auldhame district

which rejoiced in the name of Muttonhole, where was an alehouse and a good deal of Sunday drinking. It was far out of the way, and so not directly under Mr Johne's eye, who had to appeal often to his elder in that district to look after the 'wyff' that kept the alehouse.

The village itself stood much east of the present one, close to the church and river. It lay, like the church, east and west, and at the east end came to the churchyard. The manse was at the west end of the village; and the glebe was the present garden of Tyninghame House, together, apparently, with the 'bank,' which stretched down to the river. The manse was quite in the village street; for on an occasion we read that Mr Johne, in the absence of the clerk, took himself one Sunday afternoon part of the 'collect' to a poor woman, 'seeing sho dwelt nixt to his hous.' We can map out the village fairly well from the frequent references made to the districts of the parish which were to come in rotation for Sunday afternoon examination in the winter. On the north side of the 'toun,' the first examination was 'from James Paterson's hous to the Symddie wynd,' which must have been the larger half of the upper side of the village, for the next examination includes, besides 'the remaining pairt of the village eist from the Smyddie wynd,' several of the little hamlets on the shore. The 'nether' side of the village had a similar division, 'from Johne Tempill's hous to the Water wynd;' and the rest

of the south side went with some of the small farm places across the river. The 'hard-gait,' or 'hie-gait,' was the public road from the village to Prestonkirk.

The inhabitants also are not unknown to us. It had all its workmen within itself. We hear of the 'Smythe,' the 'Wricht,' the 'Tailzeour,' the 'Flesher,' the 'Webster,' and the 'Mellar,' and 'Maltman,' and 'Mason.' Besides these there were the 'Bailzie' and 'Civil officer.' Andrew Storie was the wright who for a long time did all the church work; and when he grew old and frail, the Session gave him a weekly allowance for several years; and Mr Johne enters him in the list of poor over and over again as 'still deidlie sik.' It was he who, with some help from John Paterson the mason, constructed and kept in repair the 'pillar' or stool of repentance; he was employed yearly to 'set up' the tables for Communion, as in June 1618: 'Given to Andro Storie, wricht in tyninghame, sex s. for mending and setting up the Cōmŭnion tables.' And now and then he got an order for 'ane great furme' to accommodate people in the church, on the occasion no doubt of baptisms and marriages on the Tuesdays. It was he also who was paid by the Session for 'shooting doos' in the church, when there was some communication loose between it and the bell-house; and to him and the tailor are entered the charges for providing 'kists' and 'wynding-sheitts' to any of the Session's poor. Once Andrew was rather hardly treated by the Session, and he grew sulky in

consequence. It was at the 'hinging of my Lord Annandail's bell;' for at the time there happened to be in the 'toune' a more 'skilful' wright from Fife, and he was chosen for this elaborate and difficult work. However, Mr Johne understood the case exactly, and gave to Andrew the order for the new pulpit 'out of his ain purse,' which set matters right again.

Then John Crawford was the smith, who in his kirk accounts has to be paid for putting 'jougs' to the kirk door, for the severer treatment of slanderers, 'especiallie women.' He mended James Buicam's locks and hinges; and several times had to make the poor's box so that it would 'open and steik,' besides supplying now and then a second key to the box, which was kept by the elders in turn. One night he lent his 'smiddie' to imprison a thief in the stocks, where at the time the stocks stood, before they were erected at the 'croce'; and was accused of having helped him to escape before morning, according to the minute in which 'the minister heavilie compleinit, and the elderis lykwyse, that thomas wilsone abouspeit [above specified] had brokin the stokis and the hous—viz., the smiddie—quhair he was wairdit and keipit, and was fugitive; quhidder he unlokit the stokis himselff or be help of his friendis it was unknown.' James Buicam was a tailor in a small way, and had to eke out his living by becoming clerk, or beadle, to the kirk; and he too afterwards was for many years supported by the Session. The alehouse in the village

COMMUNION CUPS (silver).

TYNINGHAME, 1703. (Made 1697.)

was 'Sandie Davidson's.' There seem to have been four in the parish altogether—one at Scoughall, one at Kirklandhill, one at Muttonhole, and one in the village. The Records have naturally a good deal to say to all four; and the village one was the scene of a good many quarrels, especially on a Saturday night. Strangers sometimes came here too on the Sunday, and annoyed the quieter inhabitants—a custom which the Session suppressed with a strong hand. Besides dealing with such practices at the alehouse, the Session often paid a small bill here to Sandie, for supplying cordials to 'poore bodies' and 'sick folk.'

George Shorthouse was the tailor of the village, and also the 'civil officer'; nevertheless he had the most disorderly family in the parish, which often gave the minister a sore heart. The son, Robert, was assistant to Sandie Davidson at the public-house, and so was not in very good company; and the daughter, Janet, was 'servatrix' or maid-of-all-work to Mr Alexander Knows, and she it is who has the honour of first appearing in the first minute of our Records, '14 Maii 1615.' It is a case of slandering,—so common among the women of Mr Johne's parish, that he was driven to have the jougs set up at the kirk door, to try to cope with it. Of the mother of the Shorthouses we know nothing; probably she was dead, and the young family had got into confusion and bad behaviour.

The 'Airthe' family had not a very good record either;

though the father, Thomas, was an elder. His son John was the young scapegrace of the parish, more thoughtless perhaps than wicked, but judged in a stern Roman spirit by his father when brought before the Session. We should like to remember John for another reason besides his faults; for at length his good qualities gained the upper hand, he turned over a new leaf, got married, settled down to sobriety, and, when years had blotted out his youthful transgressions, he at last became an elder and member of the Session. In connection with John, too, we should remember that his wife's father, James Neilson, was the last man who was buried 'in the kirk' in Tyninghame, and his burial had to be excused (for he 'owned ground'), as such a thing had been forbidden by Assemblies long ago. It happened in 1629, when the 'minister also demandit fra Johne Airthe ten merks, promeisit for Js. neilsone his bŭryall in the kirk sae against the minister his will he was bŭryit thair, or any uther ather, seing the minister had debarrit many fra buryall in the kirk quha wer in use to bury befor in former tymes.'

Many of the poor we can follow for years in the pittance which goes to them every Sunday through James Buicam the clerk. The sick, too, who received money 'for drogis'; and the number of little children who died every year of 'the pox'; the 'yong sucking bairne' also, and 'Patrik Jaksoun in tyninghame, being ffour score sex years past and going in his sevint year,' who both

were laid in the churchyard. Then there was 'ane bairne bŭryed in our kirkyard to ane stranger, being ane ald man, having as he alledgit nynteine bairnis deid and buryed befor and some yit living; given to the said old man sex schillings.' That story seems familiar to most of us; and in the use of the word 'alledgit,' Mr Johne himself perhaps implies that he had heard such things before. We hear, too, of 'George skugall in tyninghame, servitor to George lauder, quha depairtit on Monday the 20 of November, by ane strok of ane yong ox horn under the eye on Setterday efternoon, quhen he was binding the said stirk besyd the oxin.' In the time of the war there was given, amongst many others, 'to ane poore boy, being ane servand to David Steward in Peffersyd [who himself, two years later, was burned for witchcraft], newlie come fra Ingland, being sore woundit in the heid, and his wound lyklie to canker, threttie schillings; quha bewailit his going to England, and that it was sore against his will.' Some wanderers through the parish we also meet—as the 'man Ogilvie, communlie callit utherways Choppins' (from selling ale-measures about the country), who led a weary kind of life of wandering and poverty. When we meet with him in the Records, he had 'been in this toune and about it twentie dayis since,' but had been travelling again with bad success. His wife, too, had been travelling with him, sharing his poverty till she died, leaving Choppins with her only son, an infant,

to take care of. With this added burden, Choppins wandered about alone; he begged where he could, and lodged where he could, till at last, fairly beaten down, on a cold November night, he died 'in a byre' at Tyninghame. His poor 'bairne,' only 'ane quarter ald,' was found there in the morning, and had somehow to be taken care of. The minister got Janet Home in the village to 'nurisch' the child, and arranged that proper provision was further to be made, 'seeing it was most necessarie to have ane care of the bairne, and not to suffer it to perish.' But Janet's care came too late. Shortly after, we find that 'this day Choppins his bairne was bŭryed.' And so the little tale closes—father and mother and child, all gone.

We have a notice, too, of one of the 'Session's bairnes,' Elspeth Dun's son, 'who was lykelie to be a crepill.' The Session twice paid a considerable sum 'to the man wha promeisit a cure,' perhaps a local bone-setter or some other. This, however, was of no avail; and for a long time various sums have to be disbursed, 'in regaird that Elspeth Dun's sone is not like to mend.' But patience hath her perfect work, and at last one day the Session makes its final contribution, this time 'to put him to ane craft;' and on the 29th of August 1647, he was put to 'Alexr. Johnstone, tailzeour,' a craft chosen evidently as requiring little exercise. A short minute tells us how, 'upon the nynt of Januar 1644, Agnes Wawand, dauchter to Jn. Wawand in tyninghame, being about ffour yeirs

ald, was buryed, being weill that day sche dyed; it was lyklie sho was poysoned by eating poysonabill herbis.'

Another tale of child-life we have also, which only, as it were, opens the door of a house in the village and closes it again. It is the house of David Nicolson, from which is borne to the churchyard on November 10th, 1628, his boy Thomas, who 'dyed of the pox, being twelff or ffourteine yeirs auld; of gude expectatioun, if God had continued his lyff.' And we will remember the name even now of this little boy of promise, when two and a half centuries have come and gone.

THE LIFE.

THE Records are, as it were, a local register and chronicle of all events, traditions, and customs in connection with the parish. The routine of the year is never too monotonous for entry in its pages, until by repeated reading of details that interested the little hamlet in those days, we ourselves become interested and even excited. The state of the weather, for instance, comes up before us now with a quite unexpected appeal for our interest and sympathy; and there is nothing in the Records carries us back more effectually two hundred and fifty years than these wind and weather notes. They give such local colour to the narrative, such reality to its setting. Mr Johne might have tried in many ineffectual ways to give life and actuality to his Record as a literary composition, without the success which this simple and natural feature of the work confers. Continued notes of the following kind carry us along through the years with a sense of sharing all that befell the parish and its people, not being made partakers only of the

COMMUNION CUPS (silver).

WHITEKIRK, 1708.

important or historical events: 'Novem. 29, 1618, the qlk day ane small auditor in respect of the vehemencie of the wether.' 'December 6, 1618, ane small auditor in respect of the foulness of the weather.' 'Februar 10, 1622, ane bairne baptisit in Prestonkirk by Mr John Dalwell, minister thr, becaus of the graitness of the water and the waikness of the bairne.' 'Mairche 28, 1625, Monday, thomas Kemp his son buryed at prestonkirk in respect of the vehemencie of the weather and graitness of the water. twa or three dayis maist tempestuous weather that ever was sein, the sea filling far heigher nor ever was sein befor in this age, the weather being so tempestuous.' 'The 23 of September, being Fryday, ane great wind till the morn at nicht.' 'The third day of Februari, 1642, Thursday, ane veri windie day, yea, als great as ever was in our age.' '20 August 1648, the auditor not great, in respect of the greatness of the water, becaus of great rain on Setterday, quhairby the pepill on the South syd of the Water wer impedit.' 'The twentie sext day of August, being Setterday, ane violent tempest began of Fryday at 3 efternoon and continewit 24 hours; ane extraordinar graitt wave on Setterday.' 'Upon the nynt day of May 1638 befor noon ane gude rain, with some thunder.'

Among many other such, one or two require special note. 'October 14, 1621, the weather being verie tempesteous, the minister earnestlie exhortit the pepill to repentence to keep the Sabbothis, the weather being verie

vehement four days befor and this day, and was lykelie to qtinue for thre dayis following and more, his text being the 1 Joel, vr. 11, 12, 13, 14, &c. The pepill wer exhortit to keep the abstinence, the corn for the greatest pairt being out and verie little led.' In connection with which there follows a marginal note, written later: 'At this tyme the famin began, for the vehement rain began the 3 day of October and lastit till the tent day wtout intermissioun; famin for thre yeirs qtinuit—viz., 1621, 1622, 1623.' We may also note that the good man kept this sermon from Joel i. ready to turn such occasions to proper account. We find it do duty on several seasons of storm. For example: '24 August 1628, great rain and great spaitt water, text i. Joel 10.' And '8 September 1633, the minister stirred up the pepill to humiliation for thair sins, text i. Joell and tent vr., in regaird of the unseasonable waither. The Session held: The minister demandit if they wald keip ane fast, they answairit that they wold, seeing that the Lord callit them to it.'

The harvests were of course a continual concern, and a great many fasts and thanksgivings were held in connection with them. They seem often to have been late, and much interrupted with bad weather. Once there is noted, on September 20, 1643, 'Ane excellent gude and tymous harvest, praised be God. All the peis and cornis in tyninghame perfytlie led, the weather being extraordinarie seasonable and fair, praised be God thairfor for

this benefitt.' And this notwithstanding a great drought in the spring: 'This day and yesterday gude rain, praised be God, and lykwyse some rain on Wednesday the last of May, the drouthe being great this long tyme bygane.' But as a rule the harvest causes more anxiety than thanksgiving. It is, however, noted with unfailing regularity, both when it begins and when it ends. Mr Johne's own little glebe also receives its annual chronicle for good or ill, in such terms as: 'Our croft beir and some peis led. . . All the rest of my croft and bank led, and all my corn led.' 'Teinding in Tyninghame begun; all my corn led, bothe in the gleib and bank.'

The time of herring-fishing, or the 'draife,' as it is called, was the next event of annual occurrence which took up the interest of the parish. It happened usually in August, and fell every year within a very limited time, two or three days often comprising the whole fishing season. The herring came in shoals, and are noted now as appearing at North Berwick, now at Dunbar, and within the next day or so on our shore. The 'draife,' however, comes before us chiefly in connection with the discipline of the Session.

The life both of the landward labourers (called 'hynds') and the fishermen on the shore seems to have been rather hard and their income precarious: they managed to live, but had few comforts; and a great number of them received relief from the Session on the slightest occasion of sickness or accident. In 1684, we find that 'the Session

also orders Hynds, Taskers, and Carters to pay quarterlie for thair children 6s. 8d., and Tradsmen 10s.' (Scots money). It was probably this general sense of hardship in life which drove so many of them to seek some advantage from occasional Sabbath-breaking at the time of plenty in the 'draife.'

The record of travelling beggars is large. There were of course recognised beggars, with badges or blue gowns, who either belonged to the parish, or came and went without complaint, even with honour and credit, as members of an honourable profession or guild. Between the mere vagrant poor and the bluegowns, those occupied an intermediate position who were able to produce 'testificats' or 'testimonials,' either of their respectability, or that they 'had been helpit by uther kirkis.' There was also another class of beggars whose case was accepted in a good light; these were the casuals of the day, usually men who had suffered loss by fire, shipwreck, or accident, and unable to work or find employment. They are generally entered under the name of 'broken' men; as, for example, 'ane poor ship-broken man.' The first we hear of badges for the regular poor is in October 1616, when Mr Johne intimated to the Session that 'according to the practice of uther kirkis he was to give up the naimis of the pure that wer to take badges to the justices of the peace.' There were only two names sent in, 'Johne Hude and Adam Richesone,' and the Session spent some time in discussing what

form of badge they should wear. The elders agreed that Lady Bass should be consulted in this matter; but as she was not at home that might not be possible, in which case it was resolved that the badge 'suld be according to the fashion of uther badgis, and the naim of the parische suld be written thairon.' In 1643 there is part of a Sunday collection given to 'twa men having blew gownis.' These licensed beggars, however, were very few in comparison of the number of those who had no claim on this or any parish, and spent their lives wandering from one to another asking for daily bread. The multitude of these became so great that the Session could scarcely bear the expense. They got a share of the Sunday collection, especially at the Communion time, when they crowded to the church door; and they got also now and then a share from the poor-box as well as 'our ain poore,' for whom it was chiefly reserved. In May 1618 an Act by the justices of the peace 'anent vagabound beggers' was read by Mr Johne to the Session, 'for repressing this disorder,' in which a proposal was made that a man in each parish should be set apart 'to keip the parische, and pass on the wanderers to the next,' and that their own poor should be 'enterteined at hame,' and if they begged elsewhere 'they suld be sent hame and gett nothing.' The Session at this meeting invited the opinion of 'honest men' in the parish; but the conclusion was that the matter should be delayed 'till the Lady could be spoken.' We cannot

tell what came of this, but next year 'the act of the Secreitt Consill anent the restraining of idill and vagabound beggaris was red at the kirk door, in presence of the parishonaris.' And in January of the next year Mr Johne 'exhortit the elderis and honest men to hand' to carry out the Act, and see that 'their ain poore' took badges, that they might be known.

This exhortation is to be noted, for in it the minister draws a distinction between 'sturdie' beggars and others. The distinction was a well-known one between beggars 'sturdie and crepill.' The 'crepill' beggars were a terrible burden on the parish; for not only had they to be paid, but they had to be carried to the next parish. This 'carrying of crepills' continues to be a lasting anxiety to minister and Session throughout the whole Records. Numerous arrangements were made to meet the difficulty, but nothing was satisfactory long. As a rule, something extra was given to the clerk for carrying them away; when he was not at hand, then any one was gladly accepted, or even pressed into the unpleasant service. Mr Johne had some difficulty in this, and had to pay both the cripple and the man more who carried away the cripple: 'To ane crepill twa sch. Item, ffour schillings given for carying away this crepill. We culd geit naen in the towne to cary away this crepill the morn becaus of thair bussines.' At last the minister and Session 'enacted' that the 'toune' should be divided into four divisions, and each 'quarter' should carry away cripples

'thair week about.' However, this rather elaborate arrangement was only one of many which were tried. By degrees Parliament had to take the matter up, and then it came chiefly under the direction of the heritors.

'Our ain poore' always belonged to the care of the Session. They were provided for out of the collections, the penalties paid to the Session by delinquents, the fees for the funeral bell and mortcloth, and any other available sources. Sometimes by collecting provisions, as, for example: 'The minister earnestlie desyrit the Elderis that seing Alisone skugall was lying bedfast and was extremlie pure, having nothing, that some cair micht be had of hir, and thairfor ordainis James buicam to go about the towne and parishe for provisions for hir weiklie untill sho ather be restorit again or depairtit this lyff. The elderis allowit this course, seing that the portion sho getts out of the box is not sufficient to Interteine hir.' Sometimes by paying house-rent: 'Given out of the box to help to pay Margt. Brown hir hous maill, sho being pure, ffourtie sh.' Sometimes by appealing to the heritor: 'Gilbert Johnstone promeisit in the Earle of Hadintouns name to manteine all in his bounds according to thair necessitie quhair the box failed.' Later by renting seats in church, chiefly after 1697, when the school had been built. Also help was got from fees paid for erecting gravestones,—so much for 'headstones,' and more for 'through-stones.' The regular pensioners of the Session

received 'a double pension for the month' at the time of Communion.

This may be a proper place for recording what to the parish and Session was a great event—the purchase of the mortcloth. The subject is first broached in June 1647 in the words: 'The Elders desyrit ane Mortcloth to be gottin for the buriallis; and the minister promeisit to use diligence for obteining ane mortcloth.' In December 'it was concludit that ane mortcloth suld be bocht; and that if they culd gett sufficient moneyis, to buy ane another worse;' and that a collection should be made through the parish for this purpose, 'the maisters of families to be first begun at.' In January the elders 'reportit that they had made gude progress in collecting for the mortclothis;' so much so, that it was forthwith ordained 'that Robert Kirkwood and George Shortus go to Edir. and buy twa sufficient mortclothis, ane of blak velvet, and ane uther of blak London clothe, or clothe of the Steille' (style). The two elders were to leave for Edinburgh the next day, and were urged to take in this matter the 'advyse and concurrence of David Maccullo of Guilteris, and Gilbert Johnstone, qlk they promeisit to do.' On the 8th of January they returned with the two mortcloths, 'quhairwith the whole Session wer contentit and weill pleased.' They had also brought home a small surplus, 'qlk the Session with commune consent allowit them for thair expenses at Edir., since they wer ther ffour dayis from thair going away to thair hame cuming, and thair

horss with them.' It was then agreed that those who had contributed to the purchase of the velvet cloth, 'themselfs and wyffs and bairnis, suld have the use of it quhen occasioun offered, but not thair servands:' that certain fees should be charged for the use of the cloths within the parish, and larger fees when borrowed outside the parish; but this was 'besyd the drink silver to be given to the caryer of the mortclothis.'

Many years later it was agreed to get 'ane mourning hearse which would bring in some money to the box.' Tyninghame evidently meant to go with the times, so the big clumsy thing was got, with its black plumes; and it was borrowed by the whole country-side for a fixed fee, which always included 'six p. to the beadle for bringing out the hearse.' There was also a 'horse litter,' lighter and cheaper. 'The pryce of the hand-bell at burialls to be three schilling four pennies, and the great Bells pryce qn desired to be rung to burialls to be sixteine schilling Scots; qrof a shilling to the poore, and four shilling to the Beddall.'

There were frequently wakes, or 'laikwaiks,' at funerals; and they do not seem to have been interfered with by the minister or Session, except when there was any rioting, as sometimes took place, and the minister had to intimate about it from the pulpit, it being, as he said, 'rather a tyme of mourning nor of mirthe.' It was probably only in such connection that we find, in 1645, that 'the ordinance and act of the presbiterie was producit and red,

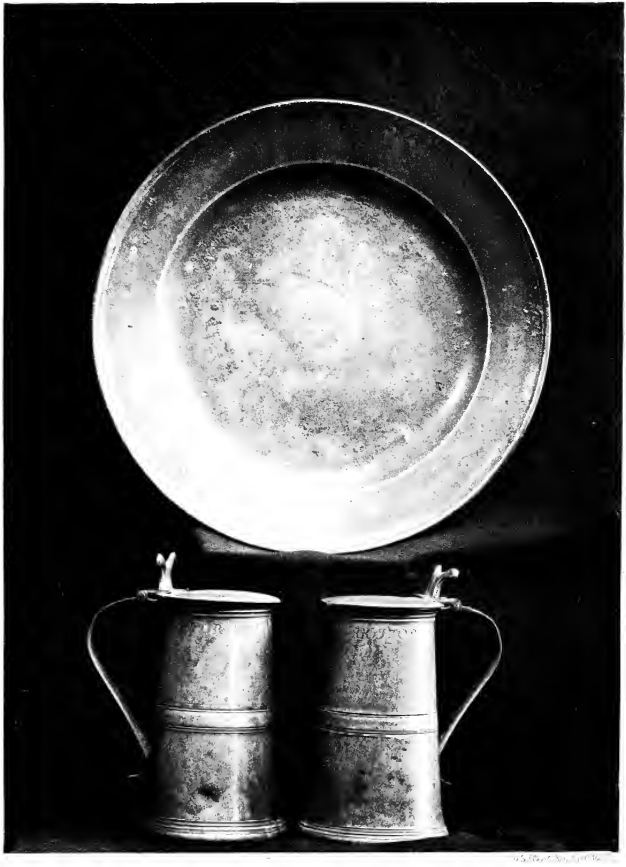
dischairging Laiqueakis according to the act of the General Assemblie.' For there are many notices which imply something of the sort as common, such as an entry for money supplied by the Session to a poor family for 'a candle and other necessaries at a child's death,' which probably refers to the same custom. There was, of course, always some sort of entertainment at every funeral. Even at the funeral of poor little 'Choppins' there was 'given, in presence and wi the advyse of the sessioun, sex sch. to Jonet Hoome for drink and breade to the folks that came to the bŭryall of the bairne.' As late as 1750 we have charge made 'for a candle.'

Several such customs, however, the Session had to take notice of. For instance, the disturbance made by the 'gysars,'—that is, masqueraders—near the time of New Year, when a good deal of drinking took place in the village alehouse; 'whingers' were drawn, and blood nearly shed. But whingers were also drawn at other times; as on that day in 1617, when our young friend 'Johne airthe desyrit Alexr. davidsone to sell him aill, and Alexr. davidsone said he wald not,' because he saw that John already had had enough elsewhere; 'thairfor Johne airthe rais up and said he wald put ane quhinger throuch baith his cheikis, bot as yit drew not ane quhinger, for the rest held him.' In the progress of this Homeric strife 'Alexr. davidsone drew his quhinger, appeirantlie to defend himselff, qlk maid the said Johne airthe the mair incensed against him, qrupon he drew his quhinger and

COLLECTION PLATE (pewter).

COMMUNION FLAGONS (pewter).

WHITEKIRK, 1700–1708.



manacit him, threatening to stryk him gif he had not beene deteinit.' When the assistant in the alehouse interfered, our hero 'almaist dang him downe to the grund,' but was at last pacified. Some very delicate points arising out of this came up for decision before the Session. It was agreed that 'Johne airthe his offence was far greater, bot that Alexr. Davidsone suld not be altogedder wytless.' Further, it was agreed that 'in the time of thair satisfactioun the minister suld aggravate Johne Airthe his offence mair nor the uther to the pepill.' But there was another point on which they could not agree: 'Quhidder Alexr. Davidsone was to satisfie as a breaker of the Sabbothe or not,' seeing that he was only defending himself; but this the minister 'referrs to the Presbiterie.'

But chief among the local customs which needed regulation were the 'Penny Bridals,' to which large numbers of people assembled, and gave way to all sorts of licence. The Presbytery, also, made strict enactments regarding them; and we have a long minute in 1645, in which it is laid down that the people invited to, or permitted to attend such marriages, 'on bothe syds sall not exceid the number of 20'—that is, ten for the bridegroom and ten for the bride. The expense per head also is limited: 'The brydall lawing sall not exceid ten shillings Scottis money for everie person, ather man or woman.' That these regulations might be observed, a sum of money had to be deposited with the Session as a guarantee

before the names of the 'pairties' could be proclaimed. In a similar connection we have, in 1650, 'ane act of the General Assemblie dischairging promisceous Dancing.' For the good of the parish it was also frequently enacted by the Session that single women who wished to work in the parish must bring a 'testimonial'; and that 'nain yong women be receivit in Cothouss, nor no Cothouss to be sett to them, without the consent and approbatioun of the Kirk-Sessioun.' Even 'the Woman quha learnis the Lassis in the towne to read, and quha is bot newlie come to the towne, is cited to the Sessioun the nixt day to produce ane testificat.'

We have notices of two old superstitions, both of which came perilously near the accusation of witchcraft. One was using 'foxterne leaves' in illness. In one case they were given by a mother to a weakly little child, which 'was never lyk ather to die or live; and everie woman that saw the bairne bad her use foxterne leaves, and so he would ather end or mend.' The poor child died, and the mother was reprimanded. Another superstition was the cure of the 'routin evil,' which was 'a sickness among beastis.' The alleged cure lay in 'digging ane graife and interring ane beast in it;' but such treatment was condemned by the Session under the head of 'witch-charming.'

We find no superstition about marrying in May. Marriages in that month are quite common.

THE OFFICE-BEARERS.

At the head of all religious government in the parish was the minister, both in his private capacity as 'Mr Johne,' and also officially as the Moderator of the Kirk-session. It is in this latter capacity that he is once or twice called 'Rev.,' which seems to give greater weight and dignity to the office. Once, in a rather grandiose exordium from a neighbouring Session, he receives even a fuller title: 'To all qm it doeth or may concerne, especiallie to the Right reverend the Minr. and kirk session of Tyninghame.' It is a hundred years later before the term 'Rev.' becomes common. It is, of course, impossible to tell all that the good man was to his parish these fifty years, as he went about day by day visiting the sick and helping the poor; but we see all his work as Moderator of the Session. The Session was a local court, nominally ecclesiastical, but really supervising the whole life of the community. There was almost no case of private or social wrong-doing which it did not or could not take up. The entire moral life and relations

of the people were subject to its control, as well as the whole care of the poor. It is difficult to say to what their jurisdiction corresponds in modern times, it has become so subdivided. The Session sometimes refer special cases to 'the civil magistrate;' but the line does not seem to have been very clearly drawn, or at least adhered to, in the government of a rural parish. On one occasion we find a sort of self-elected mixed court, to try a serious case, consisting of 'Bailzie, Minister, and Chamberlane;' and on another occasion the clerk is recommended, in executing the Session's orders, to ask the aid of the 'civil officer,' if needful. So that to all intents and purposes the Session remained the great moral factor in parish life with which every one had to reckon and deal; and if they did not respect the Session, then it was the Presbytery which they had to fear.

The Session met frequently, and could be approached by any one, and with any sort of complaint or appeal. Indeed it shows the complete isolation of such a country parish, and the easy slow routine of life, that either the people could be troubled making or the Session investigating many of the ridiculous cases which came before it. During most of the fifty years of which we speak, the Session met every Sunday, and as a rule on Tuesday and Friday, besides any other day if necessary, as it often was. We read of a restriction being put upon the number of their meetings in 1653, in the following terms: 'This day the Elderis thought fitt to keip the session

once in 15 days, in regard they were troubled be souldiers and other strangers, who by their continuall seeking of help defrauded the poore of the paroch of that qlk was collected to them.' All this depended, of course, a great deal on the minister, and the earnest way in which he chose to regulate even the minutest affairs of the parish. For among Mr Johne's successors the meetings and minutes of Session do not occupy half the space that they do under his *régime*.

The Session was a rather wonderful body of men—some eight or ten usually, but the number varies. Many of them were appointed and ordained for life, as is now the custom of the Church; but during several years of the Covenant supremacy, when 'orders' were not in favour, the elders were often appointed only for a year or term of years; and instead of ordination a form of oath 'to be faithfull' was administered, which they took 'with uplifted hands in presence of the people.' This was much commoner in the later Whitekirk Records than at Tyninghame; indeed there are few cases that could here be absolutely described in such terms. The same elders continue for many years members of the Session. The elders were all men, as it has been said, 'just such as the grund could produce;' men from the people, and all subject to like passions, yet elected to do what was best, as they should see fit, for the wants and welfare of the parish. We have a note reporting the minister's interview with some proposed elders, in

which it is stated that 'he found them all on one strain, that they were unworthy.' But this proved to be merely the Tyninghame form of *nolo episcopari*. All the Earls of Haddington, of course, took Communion, and had their children baptised in the kirk; but it was not till 1715 that one of them became an elder.

In choosing their elders, the Session, or the minister with temporary assessors, named them, but gave the people the right of objecting to anything 'in their life or conduct.' But once members of the Session, these men, who were friends and neighbours before, became for the people other men altogether. It is wonderful and beautiful to see the manly self-subjection of the whole people to men, if not chosen, yet approved by them, in matters touching life and religion, nay, sometimes almost touching life and death. They were reverenced and obeyed; there were no revolutions in the parish—scarcely two or three men contumelious. At times delinquents 'go furth from the Session in anger,' but they always do what the Session has decreed. Nay, we find now and then strong men 'on their kneis' before the Session, in penitent tears; and sometimes brawling bullies reduced by the exhortations of the Session to 'give each the uther the right hand, shedding tears of sorrow for thair falts.' In all cases they were respected, as holding a very special office among the people. William Pae confesses this when 'some of the elderis reportit that the last Lords day going fra kirk he did speak ill of the

sessioun and did bane the elders; accusit heirof, he confessit that he spak more disdainfullie of them than became him to speak of the elderis quha wer judgeis.' It was for this that he was put in the stocks from the first to the third bell; and a friend of his who was with him at the same time was told that if he did not conform to a similar satisfaction 'he wald be put off the towne; qrto he grantit.' Even the nearest relations are summoned, if need be, and are 'strictlie chairgit,' 'heavilie rebuikit,' 'vehementlie exhortit' for their good; and according to the nature of their fault they 'satisfie publicklie' before the congregation, and pay the proper 'penalties' into the poor-box. With such powers conferred on them, and such duties to perform both to the people and to the Church, it is no wonder that the minister reminds them now and then of their 'call and its wechtiness.' They seemed at times more or less to recognise that; and we read on one occasion that, when demanded of the state of the parish, and having nothing to report, 'efter thanksgiving to God, they depairted.' It is worth remembering that elders' thanksgiving; the careful pastor, and the people's elders, uniting to thank God for that day's freedom from discipline. The minister at almost every meeting, after the usual business is done, 'posits' or 'demands' of the elders if there be anything within their knowledge to be 'taken order with'; and if there be nothing more, the phrase 'Praisit be God' is his response. The minister is careful to keep them

to their duties: 'He lykwys desyrit the elders to keip the sessioun orderlie quhen it is haldin, and not to be absent wtout a richt excuse, and the absents to be censurit and unlawed.' Nevertheless he is no absolute master, as the following shows: 'The said Johne offert ffour merks, the minister refusit to take the ffour merks, yit by pluralitie of votis it was qcludit that the said ffour merks suld be resavit.'

One of the chief duties of the elders was the Sunday 'sairching of the toune, each his day about,' during time of service, to see who were absent 'from the heiring of the Word.' To this they are continually exhorted by the minister. He 'ordains the towne to be sairchit everie Sabbothe, that the pepill may keip gude order for heiring of the Word.' And they seem to require some exhortation to fulfil the ungrateful task. At the very opening of our Records, Mr Johne proposes that the elders should have help in this, and 'that the laird and ladie Bass be desyrit to caus the officer to go wt. them and poynd the absents.' In 1621 the same power was granted 'to poynd the absents, seing it was appointit at my lord of Annandail his last court that the officer suld put in execution the actis and ordinances of the Kirk Session qn. he suld be desyrit.' This backing up of the authority of the elders had the desired effect; for shortly after we read that 'the act anent the poynding of absents by the officer, causit the pepll to come frequentlie to the kirk at efternoon.' This arrangement, however, did not imply any corre-

COMMUNION PLATE (silver).

WHITEKIRK, 1871.

sponding authority of the laird over the Session; for Lady Bass having, in the absence of the minister, caused her chamberlain to summon a meeting of Session to deal with some case, she was severely rebuked for it, both by Presbytery and Session, and 'Alex. Cŭnynghame, serviter to the laird and ladie Bass, satisfeit befor the minister and elderis according as he was injoynit be the Presbyterie at the last visitatioun of tyninghame kirk for qveining some of the elderis at the ladie Bass cōmand.'

We have notice, too, of deacons in the parish, but no special explanation of their functions. They seem to be in a general way associated with the elders. One of the elders was appointed annually to be treasurer (or 'theasurer,' as it is often spelled), who had chiefly to look after the mortcloth fees and other accounts. In his annual statement we hear generally of so much money remaining 'in the box,' so much 'in the litel purse,' and so much 'in the leather wallet,'—all pertaining to the Session. In later years the Session became rich, and farmed out some of its money in bills to responsible 'honest men,' in what was called 'poores bills.' At last, however, it had to enter the law courts to recover most of it, and lost in the end a considerable sum. But that was after Mr Johne's day. One elder was appointed monthly to attend the Presbytery as 'ruling elder,' and another was appointed to attend the Provincial Assemblies.

The minister was the Session clerk, and wrote out all

the minutes until 1650, when the schoolmaster, 'Mr Thomas Ellot,' was appointed to that office; and his hand begins the second volume. There was, however, another clerk, the beadle—though the name beadle does not occur in the first volume at all. We have traces of several early clerks—John White, James Reddie, poor James Buicam, and others. The clerk, like the elders, took 'an oath of fidelity' when he was appointed; and he also was put under examination, as well as the minister and elders, at the visitation of the kirk by the Presbytery. His duty was to ring the bell for service and at funerals. Before the large bell was hung in the steeple, he had to go round the village three times on the Sunday morning and once on the Sunday afternoon with the hand-bell, in connection with which custom we have an interesting minute on the first page of the Records: '*Nota*, that in all the gatherings and collects to the pure, thair is the price of ane pynt of aill, given to the belman everie Sunday, becaus of the painis qlk. the clerk of the kirk maun take in going thrys about the toune befor noone and ance efter noone; this custome in giving sae meikle to the belman has beine usit of ald in this parische.' And there is in this payment in ale for extra Sunday work something so human and simple, that one longs for the return of a Sabbath spirit so natural and free from constraint as prevailed in the hamlet in 1615. After 1625, when the large bell was hung in the tower, this habit of going through the village on Sunday

morning was discontinued, and the bell was rung three times at the church instead; but there is no mention of the fee being withdrawn. The clerk also dug the graves, or 'houkit the graffs'; he took the weekly doles to the poor, 'wairned' delinquents, and served the church generally. In these days of the pint of ale he served the kirk in his ordinary clothes, but in 1621 'the minister and the elderis thocht gude that somthing suld be given to Johne Quhyt, clerk, to help him to buy ane clok or juip qrwt. he micht serve in the kirk.' This proposal was made probably because of the poverty of the clerks, who always, like the poor, had to be helped from the kirk collections; so that John White's clothes would likely enough not be very respectable, even on Sundays. But when next week he received 'four lib. for buying of claithis, he promeisit to tak no waidgis for ringing the bell until lambes come a yeir'—that is, until the second Lammas; and as this happened in May, it meant that the clothes were valued at about fifteen months' 'bell' salary. It soon became an annual arrangement, and the 'clerk's gown' was a regular part of the Session's expenses during the year. Next, two pair of shoes were added to the outfit, but they were to be used only for work in the churchyard. They were to cost 'half a crown a pair.'

Another office-bearer in the kirk was the 'Reider,' who was always the schoolmaster. In these days he was very poor, and was glad often to accept something from the

collections 'for his support.' All the schoolmasters at Tyninghame were paid little, and paid with difficulty: 'eight bolls of victual' and the fees is the bargain with one of them; but it had soon to be subsidised out of the baptism and marriage fees 'for his better help.' Sometimes also the 'penalties' had to be taken for the same purpose. The school was not even 'provided' or endowed at this time, much less built; and in 1622 'the minister earnestlie exhortit the gentlemen and elderis present to have ane cair for the schoolmaister, quha instructit the youthe, and red and sang in the kirk.' Nevertheless, with all this poverty, considerable requirements were demanded in the candidates for the post; and we read of 'ane yong man' who received something out of the box by way of softening his dismissal when he was refused, for 'he had offred himself to be schoolmr., but being not so weill qualefeit in literature as the parochin and Mr. desyrit, he was demitted, being examined by the minister anent his qualefications in the latine language.' In 1655 the Session 'appointit the parents of Children that learnes latine to pay the schoolmr. quarterlie 18s. and the Inglish 12s.' (Scots money, as always). Of another, we read that he 'was appointit by Lord hadintoun, after being examined in behavioure and litterature.' Besides reading and singing in the church, they had also in church to examine the children in the 'Catechiss.' In 1699 we find an order from the Session for 'three duzan Bybles, three duzan

Confession of Faith's, with some duzan Proverbs and Catechisms, for the children and poore of the elder sort.' A 'woman schoole' was established at Knows 'for lassies and grounding young ones,' over which 'a discreet woman' was appointed.

There were many complaints in the Assemblies at this time 'that schools were not mainteined throughout the country;' which was the beginning of difficulties after the Church lands had been given or stolen away. There was no school building till long after Mr Johne's day, school being held, as at Whitekirk, in the church,—the unused part at the west end. This was not to the advantage of the kirk, as Mr Johne saw; for in 1634 'he desyrit that ane hous micht be obteined or buildit for ane schoole, becaus the bairnis abusit the kirk by playing in the same, and breaking the seitts and glas windowis.' Even after a 'provision' had been made for the school, we read at a visitation in 1675 that still 'the children was taught in the kirk for want of school.' A school at last was built about 1697 (probably after the law passed in 1696), and we are told later that it was 'furnished with a desk for the master, three long formes, a writing table with a forme on each syde for the use of the schollars, a new half doore, and a litle glass-window to the outer doore for the greater light to the schoole.'

All the schoolmasters leave on our minds the impression of extreme poverty and distress. They complain again and again 'in regaird of the fewness of the

bairnis;' and at one time, when matters came to a crisis, we are told that the bairns are totally 'dissolvit.' So that with 'eight bolls of victual,' and 'the bairns dissolvit,' there is no wonder that there was misery in the schoolhouse. One of the schoolmasters, George Davidson, appointed in 1619, after much struggling and many doles out of the box, becomes unwell and melancholy, and at last goes out of his mind. So that 'the minister earnestlie desyrit the elderis to have ane cair of george davidson, schoolmaister, now in great distress, being somqt. distract in his witt, and desyrit that george Shortus, officer, wald caus some ilk nicht waik [watch] him, and that the minister and he wald go from hous to hous for his support.' His melancholy evidently took a religious turn; for once, in the minister's absence, he became quite regardless, and when reading the chapter in church, he took the liberty of expounding also, or, as the Record has it, 'raising notes upon ane chapter.' This was a serious breach of discipline, and the Presbytery had to take notice of it. At length we find that 'Mr Johne reportit that he hyrit ane man on his awin expenss to go to fyff for his father and brother to come to him, and that his father was now come.' Then, after a collection has been made for him, he goes away home with his people. The minister tried on future occasions to get a 'licensed' man, or 'stickit preacher,' so that when Mr Johne was from home he

could preach if required; and if he longed to 'raise notes' on any chapter, it would at least be lawful. This matter of commenting on the chapters read in church became, in the times of the Covenant, a serious question of church order. The rigid party, in their desire to do away with all that savoured of ritual or formality in the service, introduced the habit of the 'commentary.' The Assembly, while permitting this innovation, allowed the commentary only at the end of the reading. This was taken advantage of by the zealots to read a short portion of Scripture, and to add a long commentary, until at last the original reading was completely lost in the long 'lecture' before the sermon, which prevailed in Scotland till recent time. George Davidson, therefore, so far as our parish is concerned, holds a historical position, though we cannot help regretting the innovation which he was the first to make.

There was for some time in the village another such licensed preacher, Mr William Brown, 'pydagog' to Lord Haddington's boys. His first appearance in the village kirk is chronicled thus: 'Sept. 24th, 1628, Haddington and all his family in the kirk. Mr William Browne this day preiched befor noon; text Hebr. Cap. What chapter of Hebrews or what verse it was we shall never know; for Mr Johne, having been absent, left the space vacant, to be filled up when he had asked the elders what the text was, and having delayed too

long it was forgotten by them. No doubt on that day Mr Brown took one of his most effective discourses. In 1636 Lady Binning (wife of Lord Haddington's eldest son) left a sum of money to be divided annually between the 'poor and the schoolmaster,' and this made the place more comfortable afterwards.

THE DISCIPLINE.

THE idea of discipline was in those days the most prominent one in connection with religion. In actual parish work the minister regarded his duty chiefly as 'taking order' with local transgressions. The Record-books are full of testimony to this work of minister and Session. They are to a large extent the record of the weaknesses and frailties and sins of the people. But such a method of treatment affected these sins very little. It punished, but did not inspire; it condemned, but did not renew. Such as it was, however, it was used to its utmost advantage here: no slovenliness, no impatience, no carelessness—everything done in a solemn orderly way. One is almost sorry for this solitary ministerial figure, doomed to wrestle in vain for fifty years in such a way with sinful humanity. It is making a parish minister what he never was meant to be,—laying on him a task he is unable to bear, a duty foreign to his office and his call. He has to do the duty of a magistrate, with

the sympathy which a magistrate is not expected to feel. His relation to his people loses its simplicity; instead of being guide and friend, he is made also master and judge. It was, however, the way of the time; and it is wonderful to find how a parish minister was able, like Mr Johne, to fulfil such opposite and contradictory functions, and yet retain the affection and love of his people. And he remitted nothing of the severity of law to keep on good terms with them. He had no respect of persons, and meted out justice with an even hand. He brought up a soldier before the Session to answer for his sin of seven years past; and he laid his hand on Sir Alexander Auchmutie after three years, and compelled him to submit to the discipline of the kirk, in the presence of the congregation. Nor would he allow rich men, like this laird of Scoughall, to ride off by making large money payments to the poor. It was said 'he wald be content to give ane pecuniall soume and ane gude measure thairof for the behoofe of the pure, to be exeimed and freed from the stoole of repentance ather absolutlie or at leist twa dayis, bot rather absolutlie.' The minister, however, had always and only one answer, 'It was not in his powar.' Only once did he commute a penalty for a money payment, and it was in a difficult case, and 'ther wer many poore;' but he distinctly informed the Session and entered in the Records that it was not to form a precedent. But there was never a penalty inflicted without a fine;

1610—1662

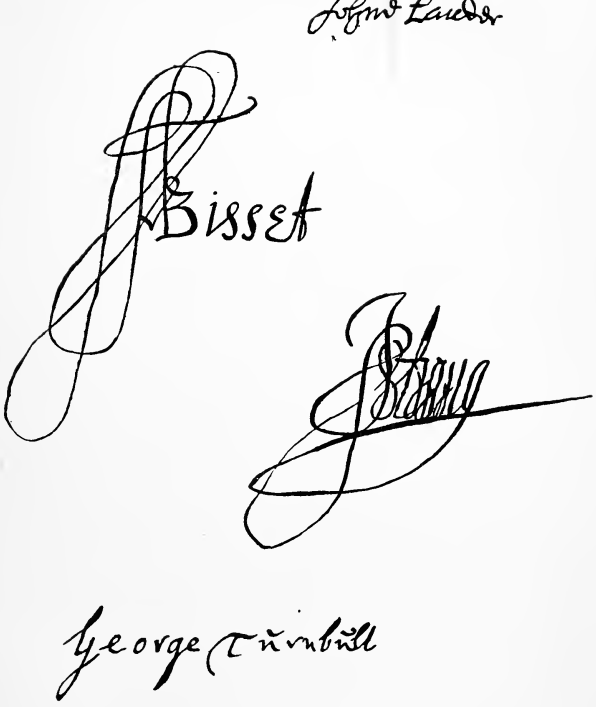
1663—1665

1665—1684

1699—1731

1732—1761

SIGNATURES OF MINISTERS—
TYNINGHAME.


Johne Lauder
Bisset
George Buchanan

and to undergo the penalty did not remit the fine, which was always added to the poor's box.

There were distinct grades of penalties, and distinct grades of fines. In fact, the moral machinery of the Church was arranged with mathematical care. The first and lowest form of correction and penance seems to have been to confess the fault, on the knees, before the Session: a more severe form was to do penance on the knees, in front of the pulpit, before the blessing; this was increased, according to the fault, to the same penance during preaching and prayers. These forms of penance were for faults where there was no moral guilt, commonly so called; but where moral conduct was concerned, the penance was at once transferred to the stool of repentance, or the pillar, as it was often called. Here the punishment rose from one day's penance to three, to six, to twelve, and even to twenty-six days; each having also an appropriate fine, and the extra humiliation of sackcloth when the Session so ordained. When the satisfaction was finished the penitent was said to be 'resaivit.' Of course this sort of treatment defeated its own aim; for its frequency made it without effect, and its circumstances made it often ridiculous. Indeed we can here and there read between the lines that the culprits made rather light of their days on the 'stoole,' and that the tears which the good minister registered as a token of grief were now and then produced at will. The 'linnen-clad' penitents could not sit for six days before the

congregation without making their sin have an amusing rather than an offensive aspect, although it was the custom of the minister to 'aggravate the sin in the presence of the people'—that is, to improve the occasion for their benefit. After all, the whole system was, like the law, carnal—in no sense spiritual. You cannot convert a parish by jougs, stocks, or stool.

It would be possible to attempt a classification of the cases of discipline mentioned in the Records; but it will be more interesting to give a list of some of them just as they occur, leaving out of account the frequently recurring cases of moral transgression, which form a large part of the whole. As we have seen, the first case which meets us is that of Janet Shorthouse and her sister-in-law slandering each other, in which the advice of the minister to Janet the maid-of-all-work is that, 'if railit upon, she sall hold hir peace,' which, of course, would end the matter. Mr Johne did not see much fruit of such advice; for it was very soon after that he had the jougs put up at the kirk-door, 'quhrin the delinquents micht be put.' Next comes a case of two men who had to 'satisfie publicklie' for absence from the examination and the Communion. Then a case of a man 'leiding lint from the loch on the Sunday,' who is 'obstinat' with the Session, and has to be handed over to the Presbytery. A game at 'footbal' on Sunday on the links, by a lot of idle young men, at whose head of course is John Airthe, leads only to reproof, 'seing they were verie penitent.' Then come the

'gysaris,' who 'drew swords and quhingers, and raist the pepill of the toune to red them and hold them sindrie,' and whose case also, from its serious nature, had to be referred to the Presbytery. Less serious is the case of the man found 'carrying ane laid on the Lord's day,' and who excused himself that his master knew of it and allowed it; 'to qm. it was answerit by the minister, that he suld raither obey God nor man:' and of those who 'yoked thair cairts about ten or ellevin houris at evene and led wair fra the sea.' But this latter case is made the ground of some new enactments regarding the Sabbath, which Mr Johne forced the elders to accept, and intimated to the people the following Sunday. For 'it was ordainit by Mr Johne and the elderis present that quhaever sall yoke to leid wair on the Sabbothe befor ane hour efter midnight or untill twelf houris at evene be past, sall make publick satisfaction in the kirk.' And in intimating this decision to the people, the honest man thought it well plainly to remind them that 'there are twentie-foure houris in the Sabbothe als weil as the rest of the dayis of the week.' For the unexpressed belief of these Sabbath-breakers was that the Sabbath ended at sundown; but of the twenty-four hours of that day the minister would not part with one. Sabbath-breaking forms a large part of the discipline cases,—whether it be in gathering 'powis' on the shore, or fishing 'flooks' in the sea, or trapping 'cunnies' on the links, or shooting 'solan geese' on the Bass, or digging 'sandeils' at low

tide, or playing 'nineholes' by the river, each of which in reality forms a separate case before the Session in the first year or two of the Records. There are more serious charges, under the head of 'sheiring corn,' 'threshing,' 'leiding grain,' and 'grinding,' all of course under the pressure of late and bad harvests, and often with reasonable enough excuse. In connection with harvest we have another discipline law: 'Intimation maid to the pepill that wer to fey sheareris in lintowne, to come hame to thair awin parische kirk to heir the preichings, seing the minister regrated that abuse in feying of sheareris on the lords day.' This was in 1620, and in 1640 the Scotch Parliament had to repeat the same injunction. Twice we have charges of 'playing golf' on the Sunday, but nothing terrible comes of them, for in one case it was only idle boys who played, and who were reproved; and in the other case it was some 'masonis wha wer bigging the ladie's hous, wha wer indwellers in Edinr., and since thair coming in amongst us had been cairful heirers of the word on all uther Sabbothes;' so they were dismissed with an admonition, and probably began to realise that they could not do what they pleased in Mr Johne's parish. Such leniency, of course, could not be allowed in the case of the two men who deliberately 'went tymeouslie to Skugall on the Sabbothe morning and there coft ane cow and brocht hir hame,' and who thought to appease the minister by alleging 'that they thocht to be in time for the kirk, but that the cow brak from them and ran away, and so the

PULPIT BIBLE (presented 1625).

TYNINGHAME.

ceiue, (to wit) Jeremias the prophet of God.

15 Whereupon Jeremias, putting forth his right hand, gaue to Judas the sword of God, & so giuing it, spake thus:

16 Take this holy sword a gift from God, with the which thou shalt wound the aduersaries.

17 Thus being well comforted by the words of Judas, whereby very good and able to decre them vp to battle: and in no wise by the force of the weapons, but they determined to put to the hazard, and manfully to trie the matter by conflict, because the City, and the Sanctuary, and the Temple were in danger.

18 For they were not so much carefull for their wiues, and children, their brethren, and kinsfolkes, whom if need should befall them: but the greatest, and principall feare, was of the holy Temple.

19 Also they that were without any cloathe nor the least care, being troubled by the comfort of Judas.

20 And now when an the tents had pitched before the campe, and the enemies were already not neere, and the armie knew their array, and the bendes remained in places, and the horsemen set in rankes:

21 Then the valiant Iudas the gouernour of the multitude, and the hearts prepared to all assaults, and the fortresse of the Iewes, therefore put his battle vnto the Hebrewes, and with them the Lord, that wonderfully ouerthrew, knowing that by vertue onely that by armes but turn as it seemeth good to him, he giueth it to such as be worthy.

22 Therefore in that prayer he did after the maner of Dauid, then indeed two Angel in the armie of Ezechias slew of Iudas, and twelue thousand in the hill of Semmacherib, an hundred, fourescore, and five thousand.

23 Wherefore now also, O Lord of heauen, send a good Angel before vs, for a feare, and dread vnto them.

24 And through the might of thine arme, let those be stricken with terrour, that come against thy people to blaspheme. Thus he exhorted.

25 Then Nicanor and they that were with him came forth with trumpets and battayle.

26 But Judas, and his company encountred the enemies with inuocation, and prayer.

27 So that fighting with their hands, and praying with their hearts, they slew no lesse then thirtie and fiue thousand men: for through the appearance of God they were greatly cheered.

28 Now when the matter was done, returning ag. ne with ioy, they knew that Nicanor was dead in his harnish.

29 Then they made a great noise, and a tumult, blessing the Almighty in their owne language:

30 Iea Judas, who was euer the chiefe defender of the citizens born to noble, and worthy, and his remembrance did last euen as his countrymen all his life, remembred to be strike off Nicanors head, and his hand. Hauly his shoulder, & long there to perticipate.

31 So when he was there, and had called them of his nation together, and set the Priests before the Altar, he sent for them that were of the castle.

32 And further cut off the Nicanors head, and the hand of that blasphemer, which hath stood boldly he had him free, and out against the holy Temple of the Almighty.

33 And when he had cut out the tongue of that impiety Nicanor he commanded that they should giue it by pieces vnto the fowles, and hang vp the reward of his madnesse before the Temple.

34 So euery man glorified toward the heauen the glorious Lord, saying, Blessed be he that hath kept his owne place vnuiolated.

35 He hanged also Nicanors head vpon the Tower, an euident, and manifest figne vnto all of the helpe of the Lord.

36 And they ordained all with a common vote at no time to let that day passe vnobserued: but to celebrate the thirteenth day of the twelfth moneth, which in the Syrian tongue is called Adar, the day before Mardochaeus day.

37 Thus much of Nicanors affaires, and from that time forth the Hebrewes had the citie in their power: and here I will make an end.

38 And if I haue done well, and as it becom the Story, it is that which I desired: but if slenderly, and meanly, that that I could: for as it is hurtfull to drink wine, or water alone: and as wine mingled with water is pleasant, and delighteth the taste: so the speech finely framed, by the conceits of the tales of this history. And here I will make an end.

THE END OF APOCRYPHA.

tyme was spent or they could come.' To whom from the minister 'it was answerit that it was evil done to mak any sik merchandise on the Sabbothe day, and that to byd fra the kirk was doubll wrong.' So also of 'selling of aill,' which several times is the charge before the Session, and is always severely dealt with. For example, 'Willm. Brown in Skugall and Agnes Taitt his spous' have to be taken to the Presbytery for selling ale to two men on a Sunday, insomuch that the men afterwards 'struggled togethter' on the road to Whitekirk. In a long summing-up Mr Johne gives them to understand 'that befor noon they suld not sell na aill at all, and that efternoon they suld keip thair hous als quiet as micht be;' so that the selling of ale on Sunday was only strictly forbidden during times of service. But drunkenness is more than once made an example of by the Session, as in the case of 'henrie Dishington, wha had been seen be some of the elderis drunken;' he answered that he was not drunk but sick; 'to qm. it was answerit that he gaid about to excuse his sin by ane uther sin, by ane lie.' In 1625 we find 'intimatioun made be the minister fra the pulpitt to absteine fra drnkness, utherwayis if any suld be fund giltie thairof suld be ordained to pay thre punds *toties quoties*.' Once more, in 1640, 'ane act made and appointit to intimat against druckenness, that if any be found drounk, he sall pay ffour merks.'

Swearing was frequently prohibited: 'It was inactit and ordainit be the session, that if any suld be fund or

hard sweiring or banning they suld pay twa sch. *toties quoties*.'

Fighting and flyting were also frequent sources of discipline: 'Intimat from the pulpitt that if any suld miscall thair nichtbour or flyt on the Heich Gait, that they suld be put in the Jogis or Stoks, according to ane act of the Sessioun.' Sometimes by men, as in the case where 'Johne fergisone callit patrik thomsone knaif and theif;' although this was explained in such a way that they 'at lengthe agreit, the said Johne first be taking the said patrik be the hand, and he him in lyk manner.' Sometimes by women, as 'the twa woman in muttonhole, compleinit on for skolding and fechting—viz., Archbald Nimmo, shephird, his wyff, and Wm. Ker his hynd's wyff—of quhm the shephird's wyff confessit that sho did flytt with hir nichbour, bot alledgit hir nichbour was in the wrong to hir.' Also 'Johne Jaksone and his wyff wer ordainit to satisfie befor the pulpitt on Sonday for scolding and flyting with Thomas Dennam quhen the pepill wer cumming over the kirkstyle, quhairby they gave great offence.' Under the same head may come the complaint made 'upon Janet Yorstone, wha affirmit that the said thomas had stollin hir hen:' this proved to be false, and Janet acknowledged that on pressure from the minister; but 'the said thomas forgave hir, and so they went away gude friendis.' Even domestic flyting was sometimes brought before the Session, for we find the minister reporting 'that Js. Yong, wricht, compleinit to him on his

wyff, that he culd have no peace with hir, and that thairfor he was to caus wairn hir to the sessioun;' however, a week later, when both were summoned to appear, 'it was answerit be some of the elderis that he was sik, and that he and his wyff wer perfytlie agreit, and that he had desyrit the elderis not to proceid farder heirin;' which looks as if his wife had gained the day. On the other hand: 'Ordainis Johne Brysones wyff in Skugall to be wairnit to the nixt session day for flyting with hir husband, and abusing him wt. hir unreverend and ill speichis.' Such cases Mr Johne sometimes leaves unrecorded, as in the comprehensive minute: 'The said day some pairties befor the sermon reconcilit that wer at variance,' which certainly was Christian preparation for the sermon. There is another domestic case, in which 'Alexr. Jaksone, accusit of disobedience to his parentis for menacing his father in his drunkenness and troubling the hous in his drunkenness, he qfessit his fulishness and oversicht in his drunkenness. Being shairplie and vehementlie rebuikit, promeisit amendment and craivit his fathers pardon; referris him to the civill magistrat to be punishit for his misbehaviour and offense.'

Of ecclesiastical offences there is frequently reference made to the 'not cōmunicants,' and to the 'absents.' Elders also, if absent from a meeting of Session, are required to tender an excuse, and it is often entered in the minute. There are also several cases of children whose parents have been negligent in having them baptised,

which is always a serious matter. To preserve order in church, 'it was enactit that nain go out of the kirk in tyme of Divin Service, befor the sermon, prayers, and blissing, except in case of sickness.' Boys also are 'dischairgit' from making a noise in church. One instance of misbehaviour in church is too curious to be omitted,—the case of 'Jn. Johnston in knowis and Alex. Wallace in Tyninghame, being warned for strugling together in the kirk in taking the bridegroomes gloves,' struggling, apparently, who should be best man. In which connection it may be mentioned that we have several cases of breach of promise. The first is that in which a man from Stenton appears 'to stop the proclamation of the bands of marriage betwixt Robert hay in Skugall and Besse Richesone, alledging that the said Robert hay had maid a promeis of mariadge to another woman thair present befor he had maid promeis to Besse Richesone. The sessioun assigned to the saids prsewaris fortie dayis to prsew him befor the commissaris, qlk. if sho did not, the minister wald proceid againe to the proclamatioun,' which indeed occurred. In the next (1625): 'It was this day reportit that Johne Jakson was not to proceid in mariadge with helen Bassenden, bot that the mariadge was given over, and thairfor qfiscats to the use of the pure and uther pious uses the fortie S. qsignit be him according to the order maid thairanent.' The case was continued for two or three meetings of Session, but no reconciliation could be effected; so the forty shillings Scots were

confiscated for the poor. These forty shillings were always deposited at the proclamation of banns, and if 'order was not kept' in regard to the marriage they were confiscated. This 'consignation money,' as it was called, was kept by the Session as long as they thought proper, and sometimes was not returned for 'thre quarters of ane yeir.' Hence the frequent phrase, 'Proclaimed the first tyme and consigned ffourtie sch.' Again, in 1643, 'Jonet Home' is advised that 'if scho will persew Thomas Gilpatrik for alledgit promeise of mariadge, to do the same befor the judge ordinar; the man constantlie denyit any sik promeise, and that he never thocht the same, far les promeised.' So that a fatal mistake with regard to his feelings must have been made by Janet. In later years all the personal interest passes out of these cases when they occur after Mr Johne's time; and a whole village life is recorded in a few words, perhaps only under the form of a fine—as, for example, 'And from Hercules Hunter, for passing from his mariage wt. Mary Edgar, 4 lib.'

There is one most curious case of slander, in which 'Johne Ewart compleinit on Alisone fowllar that sho spake some words efter Alexr. Jakson his deathe, pairtlie slanderous against the said Alexr. Jakson now depairtit this lyff, and pairtlie propheticall against him [John Ewart]—viz., that he suld die the same death and go the same gaitt that Alexr. Jakson did. Being asked if he could prove that by famous witness, answerait that he

culd.' This prophetical statement, however, as to the 'gait' John Ewart would go after death was never quite proved (at least not the meaning to be attached to it), although it came before the Session more than once. Alexander Jackson must in any case have been a questionable character, whatever gait he went, for a month or two after his death, when an accusation is made against George Shorthouse, the civil officer, 'of maiking ane ryme on some honest women,' the said rhyme gradually finds its way back to 'umqull. Alexander Jackson.'

Two forms of discipline are so distinct that they must be mentioned separately. One is in connection with the annual herring-fishing, or draife, which occasioned a great deal of Sabbath-breaking at the shore during the few days of the catch. This matter gave Mr Johne more anxiety perhaps than anything else, and he confesses himself to the Session at times to be 'heavilie grievit' (good soul) at this Sunday herring traffic. But he does not sit down and weep; he is equal to coping with brawling fishermen at the draife, as well as with the 'railers of the toune.' One year he takes some of his elders and the civil officer with him, and does his best at the shore to preserve the day. Another year he appeals to Lord Haddington and the Laird of Scoughall to give him some help in the matter. In the Session he dealt most severely with all such shore desecration. 'James Cunninghame and Alex. Ker from Peffersyd, accusit of setting thair netts the last sabbothe day at efternoone,

WHITEKIRK CHURCH,

FOURTEENTH–FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

answerit that they thocht it leasome seeing they brocht in na fische to sell, bot onlie set thair netis. The minister at lenthe informit them that it was ane break of the sabbothe, . . . wer ordainit to satisfie publicklie nixt sabbothe, and to pay as sabbothe breakeris according to order.' Of 'Johne huid,' it was only alleged that on the way to church 'he spak something about hering netis; quha being callit on cōpeirit and was absolvit becaus of his cōpeirance, yit rebukit becaus he spak about his nets on the sabbothe qn he suld have been thinking on heavenlie things and preparing himself to heir God's word.' When James Neilsone was accused of 'yoking ane cairt on the sabbothe efter efternoon sermon to cary nets to the sea,' he thought to escape the vigilance of the minister by alleging that he had not yoked a cart, 'bot had orderit his servand to tak the nets on ane hors back.' Of course a quibble of that kind could not succeed: sentence, 'to satisfie publicklie the next lordis day.' On one occasion, when on Sunday 'some boatis came in and began to sell,' an effort is made 'to poynd the delinquents;' and on another day 'the minister reprovit Js. Kirkwood (elder) becaus he took not all these herring and qfiscat them to the use of the pure,' as Mr Johne himself had done once when 'salt from the panis [Prestonpans] was brocht by ane man to this toune this day befor sermon to sell; to qm. presentlie the minister past and George shortus the officer wt. him arrestit the salt and put it in Robert quhyt his barn.'

It was in August 1629 that the 'great break' of the Sabbath took place, when human nature seemed to run riot, in defiance of kirk and Session. This was committed 'bothe be the fisheris and the countrie pepill, to the great grieff of the minister and uthers weill affected personis.' The next Sunday, when the minister 'appointit tryall to be maid bothe of the sellers and the buyers of the herring, it was answerit that the delinquents wer verie many, that hardlie discypline culd be usit against them all, and that it was extraordinarie;' nevertheless Mr Johne is undismayed: 'Ordainis tryall to be maid so far as culd be on the delinquents, to be censurit according to the order of the kirk and disciplin thairof.' Next year the minister intimated 'that those pepill quha did set netis on Seturday against the order maid, did qt. in them lyis to move the Lord to put away the draife and not to bliss it, and that he wuld delate them to the admirail, becaus the civill magistrat wer not so cairful heirin as need wer.' On another Sunday 'the minister chosit ane pertinent text and taucht thairon befor noon for this effect.' But his active measures for saving the Sabbath reached a climax on the day when he summoned civil officer and elders, and marching from the church after 'efternoone service,' he passed in this way through the parish to the shore, where he remained on duty till 'twelf o'clock evene,' which means midnight. There is an earnestness in that which might well shame the civil magistrate: the good man, after all his Sunday work

(service beginning at 8 A.M.), marching and countermarching on the shore, among a rough set of fishers, till midnight; and then, when the last stroke of twelve is gone, having preserved the day from desecration, marching home again to bed.

The last subject of discipline to be noticed is the most serious—namely, witchcraft. Actual trials for witchcraft and condemnations occur only in the years 1649 and 1650; but there are now and then references to the subject in earlier years, and remarks made which show how simply other charges might have developed into it. People and minister were always ready to suspect its presence. Thus, in 1639, our friend Alisone Fowlar very nearly involved herself under the accusation in connection with the same quarrel with the Ewarts; for she was reported to the Session to have said, 'If I burne befor noone for thaise speichis, Margt. Huntar will burne efternoone.' Alisone Fowlar's daughter also took up the quarrel, and alleged of the son of Robert Ewart who had died, 'that the devil did wishe him,' which gave further cause for examination. After several days' investigation, however, the matter was given up, Alisone's daughter keeping to the end to her cry 'that hir mother was no witche more nor Margt. huntar is.' The first direct reference to the subject is in the following minute: 'Ellevint Januari 1629, the minister being at Ednr. at command of the Presbyterie to assit Mr Js. Home, minister at Dunbar, anent the tryall of ane woman suspect of witchcraft.'

In 1634, in our own parish, a direct accusation of witchcraft is made, for 'betriche Miltone compleint upon Alex. Congiltoune, shepherd, that he had slanderit hir, affirming hir to be the caus of his dauchter's sickness, and lykwise that sho was the caus that his cow did cast calff.' The story as given by Alex. Congiltoune was as follows: 'He affirmit that he, having slaine ane swyne, his wyff, as she was wont to do at uther tymes, sent in to the said betriche Miltoune ane peice thairof wt. some puddings that same day, and that efter his dauchter did come back againe fra the said betriches hous withe the said flesche, his uther dauchter became verie sick till morning, till the cow cam hame, his cow growing sick and casting calff, his dauchter was therefter haill, and that the corbies did cry about the hous; but he affirmit qstantlie that he never sayd nor wald say that betriche Miltoune was the caus heirof.' The matter was referred to the Presbytery, and back again to the Session; and at last Mr Johne 'thocht best, seeing they wer nicbours and gude friens ilk ane to other in tymes bygaine, that they suld be agreit, and referis it to God till He give furder licht if thair be any mistery therein.' In 1644 there is another reference to suspected persons in Dunbar, but nothing else till the year 1649.

In August that year Mr Johne 'demands if any in the parische have anything against Jonet Nicolsone, suspect of witchcraft in Prestonekirk;' and in September of the same year we find that she was 'execut and brunt at Hailis for witchcraft.' In November he speaks of 'witch-

craft being so commun,' and the elderis 'promeise diligence' in the matter. The accusation now begins to come very near home, and the history of our relation to it may be best told in the minutes themselves, though here and there they are a little wasted and imperfect. 'On Monday the witchis in Whittinghame brunt, being thre in number.' 'The minister exhortit the elderis to search diligentlie such in this parische as wer delated by the witchis of Prestonekirk parische quhen the searcher. .' 'On Tysday ane man in Whittinghame parische brunt for witchcraft. . On Wednesday, the 23 of Januar, sex pepill of Staintoun brunt.' 'It was reportit that the man was not yit come to Prestonekirk quha searches them that ar suspect of witchcraft; . . in the meantyme that Agneis Kirkland and David steward suld be apprehendit; and George Schortus promeisit to adverteis his sone in Tranent to caus ane of the searchers of Tranent to come eist heir, quhen they suld come from the southe.' 'I went to Dunbar, being ordained to go, quhair ten witchis wer execut.' 'The session sett down orders anent the watching of these that ar apprehendit for witchcraft nichtlie, sex to watch everie nicht, and twa everie day, . . and ane elder every nicht with them.' 'The searcher in Tranent cam and fand the [mark] on these that wer suspect of witchcraft and imprisoned; and schortlie therefter they confessit.' 'The minister schew to the sessioun that the Commission was to be sent hame schortlie [for] putting them to ane Assyse, qlk. wold have

been sent befor this tyme if the Consill had sitten, as it did not, on Thursday last. . The elderis schew that it was hard to get pepill to watche all the day (albeit the watche was preceislie obseryed all the nicht), and thairfor it behoved to take something from the box, or rather to borrow. . The minister schew to the elderis anent David Steward and Agnes Kirkland, that now the Commissioun to put them to ane assyse was brocht eist, and that some that wer appointit and put in the commissioun did meitt heir yisterday, and appointit all things that wer to be done and in quhat maner, . and Tysday next to be the day quhairin to put them to ane assyse, . . appointit all the elderis and honest men to be present on Tysday. . Upon the nynt of April, being Tysday, 1650, David Steward and Agnes Kirkland was execut.' And so our share in such tragedies was over. If it be any consolation to us, we read how 'the minister went bothe by day and in the nicht-tyme' to visit the condemned, and to read and pray with them. Only once again, in 1661, do we find another reference to the same subject in the words of a disbursement account, 'a candle to watch the witch;' but happily we know no more about it.

THE COVENANT.

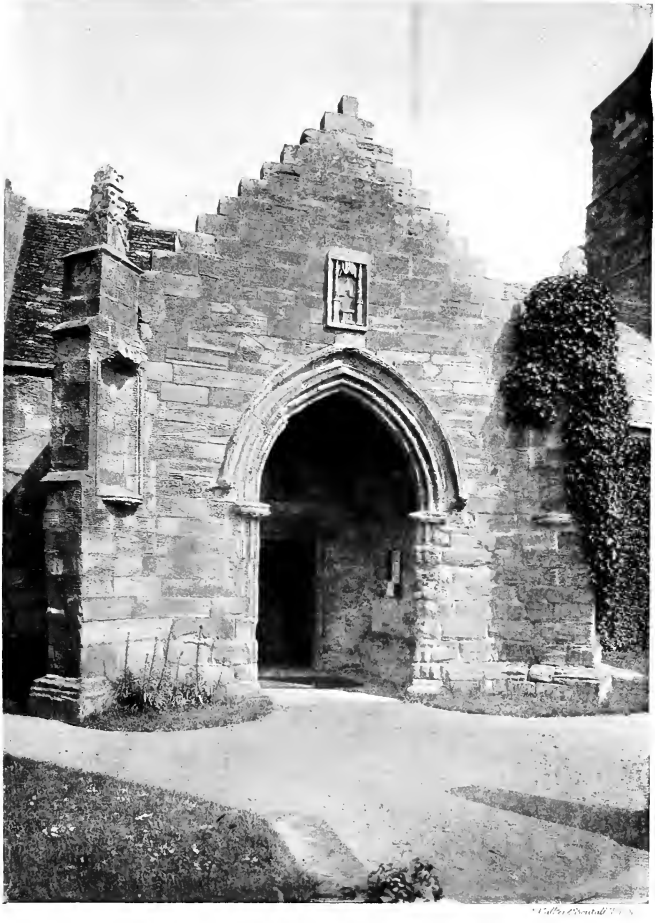
If the effect of the Covenant was bad for the Scotch Church, so far as its services and forms of worship were concerned, yet it brought out in its national relations all that was bravest and best in the characteristics of the people. It left behind it a Church separated off from all other Churches, and subjected in the outward expression of its worship to the fanatical caprice of extreme sects; but it also left behind it traditions of a national movement on behalf of the Church which have been the inspiration of all good and brave men since. Both sides of the movement we can so far distinguish, even in our little hamlet and kirk at Tyninghame. Mr Johne was a loyal Covenanter, and obeyed the behests of the Covenanting Assemblies even when they began to break in upon the beauty and simplicity of his old traditional services in the village church; but the better side of the Covenant work he also shows us in the earnest and manly spirit in which he expresses and upholds the independent free endeavour of the people

to throw off the prelatic supremacy and the power of external authority in the matters of conscience and faith. It was this desire to be free from the Episcopal control of so many years, and the lately increasing encroachments of the authority of the king in religious matters, which underlay and finally produced the covenanting revolt.

The objection of Jenny Geddes and others to Laud's Liturgy in Edinburgh was not that it was a liturgy, but that it seemed the climax to the foreign rule to which the people of Scotland had so long been subjected—the ultimatum, as it were, of Laud and Charles. Liturgies we had had, characteristic of the Scotch Reformed Church, and composed chiefly by Knox. The Book of Common Order had been in constant use at Tyninghame, both by the minister and the reader. It was when reading the Scriptures for the day, as arranged in this Scotch liturgy, that George Davidson so far transgressed as to 'raise notes' on the chapter. But Laud's Liturgy was another thing, and the chief meaning it had for the people was, that it came as the sign and token of the external authority which was being forced upon them in their religion. It was in this spirit that Mr Johne regarded and received it, and in this view of it he evidently had the people of his parish with him. He mentions the matter first to the Session in the following minute: 'Oct. 15, 1637. Item, the minister schew to the elderis that there hath bein impediment and resistance maid to the reiding of the Service book at Edir.,

WHITEKIRK CHURCH.

THE PORCH.



as they hard and knew [Jenny and her stool]; and that some urgit the imposing thairof as yit [Charles, Laud, and their Scotch bishops]; and lykwise schew to them that the Presbitreis wer to give in thair supplications against it [for this course of 'humble supplication' was the only loyal means the people had of opposing Charles —the only means they had hitherto used]; and thairfor demandit of them quhat wald be thair pairt heirin. They answerit that they wald lykwise concur to thair powar to supplicate against the imposing of it; and desyrit the minister to be cōmissioner [that is, to the Presbytery]; some of the gentlemen present promeising to assist the minister.' And so, in this quiet and loyal manner, minister and Session became 'pairt' of the whole community, on the side of the people and the Estates, in their resistance to the tyranny of Charles. It was a religious struggle in name; it was a national struggle in reality.

Next year the minister subscribed the Covenant: 'Upon the nynt of Mairche I subscryvit the Covenant at Edir.' Our short minute here does not give much idea of the times, or the feeling of the people, or even of the scene itself. But such an entry will doubtless be found in every session-book of that date, and will speak of the solemn earnestness that prevailed in every parish. Those who hitherto had been the 'Supplicants' were now the 'Covenanters,'—a word which recalls a great deal in the history of Scotland. Mr Johne could

not get to Edinburgh on February 28 to sign the Covenant in Greyfriars; but he 'raid in' as soon as possible thereafter. There the Covenant paper had been laid on one of the tombstones, and thousands had crowded to write their names,—some with vows and tears, some drawing their own blood to use for ink. It was not a new Covenant, but one which had already been signed in even darker days, when Philip of Spain, Queen Mary, and 'many Popish Lords' were in power,—a Covenant drawn up at a time of white heat, and brought forward now, as suited to the spirit of the people, and subscribed, it is said, 'with such mutual joy and content, as those who having long before been outlaws and rebels are admitted again in covenant with God.' A postscript, or 'addition,' had been put to it now to bring it home to the time, and it read like a handwriting upon the wall. 'Therefore from our knowledge and conscience of our duty to God, to our King and country, without any worldly respect or inducement so far as human infirmity will suffer, wishing a further measure of the grace of God for this effect, we promise and swear by the great name of the Lord our God to continue in the profession and obedience of the said religion, and that we shall defend the same, and resist all those contrary errors and corruptions according to our vocation, and to the utmost of that power which God hath put in our hands, all the days of our life.'

Mr Johne brought a copy of the Covenant to Tyning-

hame, and the following minutes give us an account of what occurred there. It will be seen that he gives the full name to the Covenant, for it was drawn up in 1581 as a 'Confession of Faith' then. 'Mairche 18, 1638. The said day the minister producit the Covenant to the sessioun, and red the same befor them. . Intimation of the Fast to be keipit nixt Sabbothe, and the Confessioun of Faith and Covenant red publicklie this Sabbothe, and the Covenant to be subscryvit the nixt Sabbothe, God willing. . The quhilk day the Fast weill keipit, praisit be God! the Covenant red; all sworn and subscryvit by all men that wer present.' That, too, is a scene to be remembered in the history of the little kirk and village. All the men of the parish, gentle and simple, for the moment solemnised and brought face to face with 'the great name of the Lord their God,' write their names below the glowing words, and feel like new men as they leave the church. Lauders and Cunninghames, Jacksons and Ewarts, Kers and Hays, for one day at least lifted above their common toil and out of their jealousies and strife, exalted with a new enthusiasm and bound together by the sacred pledge. For if the Records reveal men's weaknesses, they here give us a hint of their strength. Both hinds and fishers are leagued as one man; and in every parish in Scotland Charles will find them ready to respond to the appeal, and follow the banner of the Covenant to the death against his royal troops.

From this day Mr Johne's time is sorely taken up, between parish, Presbytery, and Edinburgh, furthering 'the bussinis of the Kirk,' and preparing for the great General Assembly at Glasgow. On May 20 he 'preichit at Cokburnspethe, and red the Covenant thair at the directioun, ordinance, and command of the Presbitrie, and raid to Edinr. upon Monday nixt, according to the ordinance and command of the Presbitrie, about the publick bussinis of the kirk.' During the summer there follow a number of fasts in view of this great Assembly, to be held now for the first time for twenty years. The last Assembly of the Kirk was held at Perth in 1618, by command of James, and so much under the domination of himself and his bishops that it was scarcely regarded as a true or 'free' Assembly at all. Since then the Kirk had never had control of her own affairs until this year. In 1638, Charles had been prevailed upon to allow an Assembly to be summoned, and was sending as Commissioner the Marquis of Hamilton, to preserve his authority during its deliberations. There was, therefore, the keenest interest over all the country in the proposed Assembly, and an earnest desire that it might set matters right between the country and the king. Mr Johne records the part which Tyninghame took in this spirit of preparation. 'Ane fast intimat to be keipit the nixt Lords day, God willing, befor the great meitting for the peace of the kirk. . . The fast keipit, praisit be God! verie solemlie, befor and efter noon.' 'The fast intimat to be keipit the twa

nixt Sabbothes throuchout all the land; that it wald please God to grant ane gude succes to the bussinis in hand, quhilk so concerns the glorie of God and the weill of the Kirk.' 'Fast for gude succes and blissing to the expectit Generall Assemblie; that it wald please God to mak us heir gude newis of the affairis of the Kirk, and that fitt commissioners be chosene to the meitting of the Assemblie.' We have two small notes regarding the Commissioner of the king. 'Upon the aucht day of August the Marquis of Hammiltone cam by;' that is, from Edinburgh on his way to London to learn the king's pleasure about the Assembly. And 'Upon the fifteine of September, being Setterday, the Marquis of Hamiltone cam fra Berwick to Dalkeith at nicht;' that is, on his return to Edinburgh, to represent the king at the Glasgow Assembly, and to open the Scottish Parliament. But the journey from Leith to Edinburgh the next day had to be performed between two lines of 20,000 'Supplicants,' whose supplications he had to receive for the king. This showed the seriousness of the case, which Charles had not yet suspected. And at Glasgow the temper and determination of the Assembly was such that the king's Commissioner at once declared it to be 'dissolved.' The ministers, however, and elders and Covenant 'gentlemen' refused to be dissolved: read their counter-proclamation at the Cross of Glasgow, transacted their business, and called the country to the help of the Kirk.

Mr Johne was there, an earnest and zealous member,

considering the serious preparation he and his people had made for 'the great meitting.' In September 'I cam fra Edir. with my gude sister Agnes Haitlie the Fryday befor, the 14 of September [that is, the day before the Marquis 'cam by'], being thair about churche bussines.' 'Upon the twentie ffourt day of September 1638 yeirs, being Monday, the ministers and ruling elderis within the Presbitrie of Dumbar conveinit at Dumbar, and thair did choose thair commissioners to the Generall Assemblie at Glasgow for this Presbitrie—viz., Mr Patrik Hammiltone, minister at Innerweek; and Mr Johne Lauder, minister at Tyninghame; and the Laird of Wauchtoune, ruling elder for this Presbitrie.' To these commissioners a third, 'Mr Johne Daliell,' minister of Prestonkirk, was afterwards added, with whom Mr Johne made his journey. 'Upon the sixteine day of November I tooke jorney to the Assemblie at Glasgow, as Commissioner, *Deo auspice*, and cam to Edir. at nicht, and the morn went with Mr Johne Daliell foreward, and came to Mr Johne Daliell his hous in Cliddesdaill on Sonday efternoon, having bein at thair parische kirk by the way befor noon at the sermon—viz., the kirk of Shottis; we cam to Glasgow on Monday, and the Assemblie began on Wednesday, being the twentie ane of November 1638 yeirs.' 'Upon the twentie thrid of December 1638 I taucht befor noon and catecheist at efternoone, having cam hame on Setterday at nicht; for the Assemblie was closit and dissolvit on Thursday at nicht, being the twentie day of December

1638,' which, of course, was not the day on which the Marquis in the king's name had 'dissolved' it. And again Mr Johne is back at his usual parish routine; for on December 30th (the next minute) we learn that 'the examinatioun was weill keipit this day in the second quarter of the toune.' But early in the next year other work as well had to be taken up.

At the Glasgow Assembly there came to an end the first period of Episcopacy in Scotland, which had lasted since 1610. Everything had been Presbyterian in form, both in the usual worship and also in the government of the Church, except that no Assemblies had been allowed to meet, and bishops were the nominal rulers. It was in 1617 that King James, on his return to Scotland, displayed his full Episcopal tendencies and intentions by the Anglican services he introduced in the chapel at Holyrood, and in the resolve to pass the 'five articles' at the Assembly he summoned at Perth the next year. The chief amongst these articles were the demands for the observance of Christmas and other sacred seasons, and the practice of kneeling at Communion. In 1633 King Charles passed along our Berwick road, on his long-expected visit to Scotland, to be crowned at Holyrood. All we hear of it in the Records is that 'the King cam to Seatoun fra Berwick;' and that 'the auchteine day of Juni the Parliament ridden the first day at Edir.;' for the old custom was to open Parliament by 'riding' to it. But this visit also meant a great deal for Presbyterianism in

Scotland: with Charles came Laud, and under him the same Anglican services were repeated and emphasised; and notwithstanding the 'grievances' which were then and later presented to the king, in a year or two the new Liturgy authorised by Laud was sent down. Now, however, both the Liturgy was condemned and Episcopacy abolished, until the period came of its second enforcement by Charles II. in the year 1661, just the year before Mr Johne died, and when he was too old to enter upon another campaign. That he then was allowed to retain his kirk at Tyninghame in peace was owing probably to the influence of Lord Haddington, whose father had been with Mr Johne on the side of the Covenant at the Glasgow Assembly.

The spirit of the Covenant was not at first extreme as regarded the usual services of the Church. And although neither Christmas nor Easter was celebrated, yet we find no remark made against such celebrations at this time in the Records. Indeed, up till 1635, several references are made at least to the name of 'Pasche day'; and once we have a minute which might be interpreted as a recognition of Christmas. The Communion had always been, and continued to be, celebrated in 'the old maner'—that is, sitting at 'tables.' But the first spirit of the Covenant, at least at Tyninghame, was an increase in the number of weekly services, as though the enthusiasm of the great Assembly had roused in the ministers again a fresh devotion to their Church, which was once more their

own. Daily morning prayer in the church was now introduced, in addition to the former services on Tuesday and Friday; but these days were still retained for preaching and catechising. In March 1639 'it was concludit be the minister and sessioun that publick prayers suld be in the kirk everie day in the morning, except Tysday and Fryday, for preiching and expounding the Scripturis, and suld begin at Genesis and go throuch orderlie, . . and the prayers or preiching to begin at aucht hours.' 'Intimatioun maid to the pepill of the prayers to begin the morn, and preiching on Tysday and Fryday, and Wednesday, Thursday, Setterday for prayers, God willing.' The daily services were intermitted during harvest and draife, but the Tuesday and Friday services were always observed. The daily service seems to have continued for several years, and we have no minute which directly interferes with it; but by degrees it must have dropped out of use, for by 1646 we find that it has ceased. Whether this is to be placed to the account of the continued disturbance of the parish life through the war, which at times came very close to Tyninghame, and at times took Mr Johne away to other work, or is to be accounted for by the growth of the extreme spirit of Independency from England among the Covenanters, and the action of the Directory, cannot well be ascertained. Probably both practical and doctrinal reasons were at work.

In June 1646 a day of worship is again to be observed each week, but the Assembly no longer calls it a service

of 'Prayer'; for the old habit of reading Scriptures and prayers in the church, either on week-day or Sunday, was fast passing away; now it is only for 'examinatioun' or 'catecheising.' We read in the Records: 'The minister and Elders thocht meitt to put in executioun the act of the Generall Assemblie anent weiklie catecheising and examinatioun of the pepill of the parische, and thairfor appoints Wednesday everie week to be ane day of examinatioun, and if baptisme ocur, ather examinatioun of the pepill to be, or preiching, everie wednesday; and this to be intimat the nixt Lords day.' In 1648 there is a minute which incidentally records the same change in the day: 'Upon the 16 day of Februari, being our ordinar day of examinatioun, ane bairne baptised.' In 1650 there seems to be a return to the Tuesday and Friday, at least to the Tuesday. 'Mairche 31, 1650. Item, the minister proponit to the sessioun anent weiklie preiching on Tysday and weiklie catecheising, quhairunto they grantit and agreit, and intimatioun thairof to be maid on Sonday nixt, to be begun on Tysday nixt therefter; and the examinatioun weeklie to be observed, seing the examinatioun weeklie was keipit befor, by and attour the examinatioun befor the Cōmŭnion.' The Communion and the preparation for it were, however, never intermitted at Tyninghame.

The observance of Christmas fared worst at the hands of the innovators; and by the year 1647 the extreme party, both in Church and in Parliament, had decreed

WHITEKIRK CHURCH.

INTERIOR—looking east.

its end, as one of the 'Superstitious Days.' Observance of Christmas had been decided to be slackness toward the Covenant, and it now was one of the chief tests of Conformity or Nonconformity. The Records in that year show how rigid the Presbyterian spirit was becoming; for on the day after Christmas, the minister 'demandit the elders (seing he cam fra Edir. yesternicht) severallie quhidder the pepill did abstain from work, or did work in thair callings on Yoole day, as on uther dayis. They answerit that ther was no keiping of Yoole, ather by feasting or playing or abstaining from work idillie; and that they wer all myndit to have yokit thair pleuchs, bot being ane hard frost some dayis befor, they culd not yok thair pleuchs except they had brokin them or spilt the land; . . and all promeisit everie yeir, God willing, to yok thair pleuchs, and inactit themselffs under any penaltie the minister wald injoyne to do the same.' 'Upon Monday the 25 of December 1648 all superstitious keiping of Yule abollisched, for all the pleuchs in the perische wer yokit.' 'December 23, 1649, intimatioun publicklie maid out of the pulpitt anent Yoole day, that the pepill suld go to work.'

But instead of these former and frequent services in the Church, we see recorded in this parish what was being substituted for them both by the tendency and legislation of the rigid party in the country—'Family exercise.' This phrase occurs at different times in the Records, in exhortations by the minister; but from the

year 1640 onwards the mention of it is continual,—it has quite taken the place of 'Publick Prayers,' and the 'Heiring of the Word,' in the development of that Covenanting tendency to seek for illumination in the freedom of the Spirit only, apart from the mediation of the Church. And so in January 1640 'the minister schew to the pepill out of the pulpitt the necessitie of familie exerceise, and exhortit the pepill thairto;' later the frequent expression is that the minister in the pulpit 'pressd familie exerceise,' or as frequently 'exhortit to hold haud to familie exerceise.' There is a new emphasis laid on the old recommendation; it has become not only a simple and natural injunction from a minister to his people, but a statutory clerical regulation—a distinct part of the Covenanting ritual. It is a sign of the introduction of that individualism into religion which not only shattered the ideal of a social Christianity, but also imported into its doctrine such an exaggerated sense of the value of individual salvation as to dwarf everything else to insignificance. To make the spirit of the family the ideal of the Church is the highest religious truth; but to exalt the family by degrading the Church is to go the wrong way about it. The Church is complete when it is penetrated with the family spirit; but the family can never be complete without the sense of universal brotherhood, which it is the mission of the Church to represent. You cannot isolate the family and make it a church; it

can only become the type of religious unity by acknowledging its relation to 'the whole family of God, both in heaven and on earth;' and this is the truth to which the Church bears witness. It was into this false individualism that the Covenanting religion fell; and we feel the difference of spirit creeping over the pages of the Records, and taking from them their first freedom, breadth, and simplicity. We feel the difference in such minutes as the following: 'September 30, 1649, The minister earnestlie exhortit the elders to observe and continew constantlie Familie Exerceise, and publicklie in his doctrin, and intimat yit again as often befor to the pepill to observe the same, and that he was to come to particular families and ane elder or twa of everie pairt of the parische with him to sie if it wer done, utherwayis he wald proceid against the neglecters thairof according to order.' 'Item, the minister schew to the sessioun that my Lord Hadintons familie had Familie Exerceise twyse everie day preceislie keipit, and catecheising in the familie twyse in the week to the gude exampil of the rest, and thairfor desyrit the elders to hold haud to the same.' The point of view is here entirely changed: the Church is nothing, the family everything; the truth of the Church for the world has narrowed itself down to 'Familie Exerceise.' The simple, liberal, classical spirit of the minute, 'Publick Prayers sall be in the kirk everie morning, and begin at aucht houris,' is gone, and is not

found again. And we regret it—not so much for the practice, as for the ideal, which the minute presents. In pursuit of this new aim the Assembly published 'Buiks of privat worship and mutual edification;' and Mr Johne throughout the parish managed to sell of them 'threttie copies.'

THE CAMP.

May 26th, 1639. To-day there is the clang and tramp of soldiers in the kirk, swords and spurred boots, and plumed hats lying over the 'loft,'—an unaccustomed sight in the little church. But this is what the Covenant has come to. They are a Covenanting troop, and 'heir the Word attentivlie and reverentlie; Mr James Row preichit befor noon, and Mr Johne Lauder efternoon; many souldiers being present.' It is 'Montrose his Regiment,' of which Mr James Row is chaplain; and they leave the village on the next Wednesday night, on their way to join General Leslie at Duns. For it has come to war; and General Leslie, a Gustavus Adolphus man, and uncle of the celebrated Dunbar Leslie, has gone to meet the king on the road to Berwick. The country was ready for the call; and Leslie had a splendidly trained and well-equipped army to lead—of which 'Montrose his Regiment' was a part, 1500 strong.

This was in May; but much had been done at Tyninghame before that. For: 'We conveinit at Wauchtoune

the 22 of Januari, being Tysday;' and on 'Mairche 24, intimatioun maid to the pepill to come to the mustering on Beinstoun Mure on Thursday nixt at ten hours, especiallie all that had subscryvit the Covenant or wer to stand by it, . . and information to the pepill publicklie red at great lenthe anent lawfulnes of our ain Defence by arms.' On April 7th: 'Intimat a fast to be keipit this day aucht dayis, for averting Gods judgments, and moving the Kingis hairt to peaceabill coursis.' Just about this time, while we were convening, Leslie had taken possession of Edinburgh Castle and other places, in the name of the Committee of Estates. On May 20th he paraded his troops at Leith, and the next day marched for the Border with 20,000 foot and 500 horse. All the troops were converging in this direction, and passed by, sometimes through, our village. On May 19th there were 'many souldiers heir this day going for Dunse law, quha came yester night and did abyde heir in this toune about ellevin dayis or twelff.' Argyll, aged about thirty, who had joined the Covenant at the Glasgow Assembly, was at Duns with his Highlanders; and Montrose, as we have seen, aged only twenty-seven. In the whole army religious enthusiasm and military discipline stood side by side. The king was at Berwick with ill-assorted troops; and when the Scottish army appeared on Duns Law, he thought it better to make a treaty than to come to actual strife. So deputations came and went between the two camps; and ultimately, many new promises

having been made to the Covenanters, we find that Mr Johne (who was at home and wearying for news) is able to record on June 26th that 'ane peace was conclud on Tysday; praisit be God! and the Scottische camp removit fra Dunse Law and cam to Dunglass.'

Next year, 1640, the minister himself gained some experience of camp life. The peace of Berwick had made no change between Charles and the Scots. The promises were not kept; the concessions were not made; the Assemblies were not free; the Estates were prorogued. Loudon and Dunfermline had gone to Court with a final 'Supplication,' but it was not opened; and they returned without any reply. On the way home Dunfermline stays for a day or two at Tyninghame with the second Lord Haddington, and the minister has him for an auditor in the 'loft' on Sunday. Argyll, too, we find from our Records, paid a short visit to Tyninghame about the same time. At length, about the middle of July, the disbanded army is summoned again, and Leslie is at Dunglass again with 20,000 foot and 2500 horse. A regiment has been raised in East Lothian by the Laird of Wauchton to join him, and is to be chaplained by the Dunbar Presbytery. Mr Johne received the first call to camp, and enters it in the Records on July 26th, 1640: 'The minister being ordainit be the Presbiterie to serve the leagour—viz., to perform Divin Service to the Regiment of Eist Lowthiane for a tyme—enterit upon Fryday the last of July at Dumbar; the Laird of Wauchtoune

being Colonel, and his eldest sone Levetenant Colnnel.' Another chaplain in the same army speaks of 'his sword, and two Dutch pistols at his saddle-bow, as the fashion then was;' so, doubtless, we must imagine Mr Johne journeying with the army in the same style. He went as far as Langton, and 'upon the nynt of August, being at the Camp, I taucht in the fields besyd Chousley, in the Mers, to the Regiment at a publick Fast befor noon. . Upon the fifteine day of August, bein Seterday, I came fra the Camp at Chousley in the Mers, being releivit be Mr Johne Daliell.'

On August 20th, Leslie, leaving Lord Haddington at Dunglass, crossed the Tweed at Coldstream, with young Montrose at the head; marched to Newburn and Newcastle, which was easily taken while the king was at York. Little fighting was needed; and the king, not much inclined to fight, bought him off with a fictitious peace, and payment of £850 a-day to the army for its expenses as long as it remained in England. This proved to be for more than a year; and during that time our Records are ever making more or less reference to the Camp,—as regards fugitives and new recruits, fasts 'for ane happie end to the bussines in hand,' and collections 'for souldiers clothes,' and 'women whose husbands are at the Camp.'

It was in this year, and after, as we have seen, Leslie left Lord Haddington at Dunglass, that there occurred the blowing up of that castle, and the death there of the

Earl and many others. The entry the minister makes about it is as follows: 'On the said 30 day of August, 1640, about ffour or fyve hours at evene, was that unhappie and lamentable exigence of the blowing up of the hous at Dunglas by powder; to our great greiffe and sorrowe, and of the haill countrie; for there the trewlie nobile and worthie Thomas, Earl of Hadintone, depairtit this lyff, and his twa brethren, Colonel Arskeine and James Keith, and sindrie worthie gentilmen of gude qualitie.' Another reference to the same occurs immediately after: 'The said first of September, the Earle of Hadintone of worthie memorie, and his brethren, Robert and Mr Patrik and Colonel Arskeine, buryed at efternoon, towards eivening.'

Once more, in July 1641, Mr Johne receives orders to mount. He 'took jorney to England to the Camp, and came to Durrhame saifflie, praisit be God! accompanit all the way by George Raburne and Johne Phillip, my servand, for the tyme I was thair. . Upon the sext day I mett with Mr Robert Lauder my brother, by the way, quha came fra the Camp, having bein thair ane moneth befor.' 'Upon the 19 day of August, the mutinie at Durrhame;' of which we hear nothing in history, but it would be important to the chaplain. Two men who were engaged in it 'wer schott at the post.' The army, when the minister arrived, was on the point of marching home again, and on the 20th they were near Newcastle; on the 22d they 'lay in the fields all nicht;' and on the

24th they 'crossed Tweid.' They had returned under renewed promises of Charles; and Scottish Commissioners had been sent to London to co-operate there with the English Parliament. Matters had now come to a height in London. Strafford and Laud were in prison, and were soon to be beheaded. The Parliament was in power, and was making arrangements with the Scottish Commissioners for help from Scotland in their civil war. In the meantime there were general 'sermons of thanksgeiving throuch the armie,' at which our minister assisted: 'My texte being the hundrethe twentie sex psalme, the first, second, and thrid versis.' And 'upon thursday nicht, 26 Aug., Wauchtounes Regiment cam to Dumbar, and I cam to Cokburnspeth with Mr James Wricht, minister there, that nicht, and upon the morn, Fryday, I cam to Dumbar, and about ellevin houris in the forenoone I maid ane exhortatioun to Wauchtounes Regiment in the kirkyaird of Dumbar; and so the regiment was disbandit, and I cam to Tyninghame saifflie that nicht at sevin houris, and preichit on Sunday, 29 Aug.' So ended Mr Johne's part in this year's war and camp-life.

Once more, however, we have soldiers in the kirk. In 1644: 'Ane Companie come fra Fyffe' marching south still. Last year, 1643, the Solemn League had been bound with England, as well as the agreement on the Covenant; and now, under the banner of the 'Solemn League and Covenant,' the Scots were enrolled in the great English civil war, on the Parliament side. The

COMMUNION TOKENS.

1692. 1741.

1665.

COINS FROM WHITEKIRK CHURCHYARD.

ROBERT II. CHARLES II.

CHURCH MEDAL.

LOUIS XIV. LOUIS XIV.


TK
MK
K
Augusta
1761

king's standard had been raised at Nottingham, and the Parliament and he were at war. The signing of this second Covenant was another solemn event at Tyninghame. The minister signed this, as he had done the other, at Edinburgh: 'Upon the twelff of October I raid to Edir. in the morning to the Committe of the Kirk, and upon the thretteine day, being Fryday, I subscryvit the Covenant with the Commissioners of Estaitt and Kirk in the Eist Kirk of Edir. verie solemlie.' When he returned, intimation was made to the people to prepare to sign it a fortnight later, the intervening Sunday to be set apart for reading and explaining the Covenant. Accordingly, on 'the 29 of October, the Fast being keipit bothe befor and efter noon, the pepill weill conveinit, the Covenant solemlie sworne and subscryved, being first red; Praisit be God! The pepill did sweire and subscryve the Covenant verie willinglie and devotlie, to our great contentment.' The chief aim of this Covenant was to establish 'uniformity of religion' between the countries; but the only means the Scots could see at present of aiding that vain project was to join the struggle in England, and fight for the Parliament and Independent side. They had the belief that they could persuade the Independents to become Presbyterians; but it fell out the other way, for Independency triumphed in the counsels of the Presbyterians both at Westminster and at Edinburgh; and the Presbyterianism which was left, after this coalition with Independency, was no longer

the Presbyterianism which had been. The Westminster Confession and the Directory left a mark both on the faith and worship of the Scottish Church which, unfortunately, endures to this day. The Scots had already sent Commissioners to Westminster; now they must send soldiers to Marston Moor. And Tyninghame begins to look out its contingent. 'Upon the nynteine day of November, being the Lords day last, ane letter sent from the Committe to the Parische kirks anent the giving up of the perfyt listis of the men, and the ffourt man. . Upon the ffourt day of December, Monday, the pepill in the toune assemblit about the choosing of the ffourt man, and culd not perfytlie agree. . Upon the 18 day the pepill in the parische conveinit anent the choosing of the ffourt man, and maid choice of the ffourt man, these benethe sexteine and above sextie being exceptit; they chosit twentie and twa men, uther thre yit to be chosin to mak out fyve and twentie, if they can be had.' The twenty-five were at last agreed upon and sent for training.

General Leslie, now the Earl of Leven, had once more been summoned to cross the Border, on the Parliament's behalf, to co-operate with Cromwell. The 'companie fra Fyffe' was on its way to the Border to join Leslie, by the Dunbar road from Leith to Berwick. Leslie crossed the Tweed on January 19, 1644, and, marching through Northumberland knee-deep in snow, went forward again to Newcastle—for he had learned in former years how

valuable that town was to London. During this month at home the pulpit at Tyninghame sends forth continual 'intimations to the pepill anent the Camp in England;' 'that all wha wer desyrit to go to the Camp suld go,' without delay; that no 'fugitives fra the Camp sall be receivit,' &c. In April a new detachment was evidently wanted by Leslie, who was still 'sitting' before Newcastle, and depriving London of its coal this bad winter; for at Tyninghame we have intimation of another 'randyvois at Beinstoun Mure.' In July another intimation is made 'of ane publick Thankisgiving, to be keipit this day aucht dayis, for the Happie and Glorious victorie at York, at Long Mastoun Mure,' where probably some of the Tyninghame men had been fighting under Cromwell, against whom six years later they were called to fight at Dunbar.

The 'Committe' was very busy at home, and took energetic measures for supplying the army both with 'claiths' and men. Several times an intimation is made from the pulpit against servants leaving their situations, in case they could not be traced and enrolled: 'Efter the Blissing ane act red from the Committe anent the not removing or flitting of servants for this halff yeir to come.' And the war is brought very close to us when an Act is read 'anent the drelling of souldiers on Thursday nixt twelff of this instant June, of Tyninghame pepill and Quhytkirk.'

The part of the army remaining at Newcastle seems

to have been in rather a bad way in the summer and autumn of 1644; for the pestilence, which had been threatening for some time, at last broke out in the ranks. And so at Tyninghame we are under orders from minister and session 'to admitt no ane from the armie, in regaird of the plaig and pestilence.' The Session here has become a war and sanitary committee, with Mr Johne as chairman; and orders are issued with determination and despatch. All strangers from England are placed in quarantine, whether they will or no—shut up in different houses. 'The minister did convocat the honest men in the toune to watche the toune' for this purpose. Even those who have 'passes dulie subscrybit' are to be 'keipit apairt for a tyme;' and those without passes are not to be received at all, 'at leist until the nichbours of the toune and parische convein thereanent.' So evidently Mr Johne is managing with a firm hand, and with help from his small experience of military life. One of our villagers, Robert Nisbet, who had not been to the war himself, 'being infirm,' has a son there. Hearing that his boy has been smitten with the pestilence, he sets off, even 'in his owne infirmitie,' to the camp to get news of him. He finds him safe, but himself is smitten. He travels slowly and wearily homeward till he reaches Reston, where he has to lie down; and lodges 'for ten dayis or mair in a byre there, for the pepill for feir of the pest wald not tak him into any hous.' The Session at home, on hearing of this, 'resolvit to send him some

support, if he suld live; but he depairtit this lyff within some dayis therefter.' Then there was Marin Skill, who came back from the camp in October, 'and was ordainit to be keipit close in hir hous at the west end of the toune, becaus of the suspicioun of pestilence.' She seems to have resented this treatment of the Session; for there is another minute which instructs that she is 'to be keipit quyet in hir hous, and ordainis the clerk to go throuch the toune for meitt and provisioun for hir.' 'Johne Milne and his wyff' also are 'enclosit in thair hous near ane month, suspect of pestilence;' but the Session provides them with food. Orders too are issued to James Davidson, who keeps the alehouse at Wester Gateside at the entrance to the parish on the Dunbar road, 'to lodge no strangers, and to leive off brewing and selling ale for a tyme; and James Smyth in Knows, ruling elder, to adverteise him of this.' And a week later James is again reminded of this order, to observe it, 'utherwyse he suld be severlie punisht.' And with these careful and stringent arrangements, we are, under Mr Johne, preserved from the plague.

But the war still goes on, and now comes closer to Tyninghame. The army in the month of May 1645 was still across the Border. On the 4th of May the great battle of Naseby was fought: and the next day, after his defeat, the king suddenly appeared, almost unattended, within the Scottish lines. The purpose of this strange movement has never been explained, and with that we

have not here to do. What interests us is that at the same time David Leslie, the nephew, passes the camp with a squadron of horse on his way to the North; enters Scotland at Berwick; and on September 11th comes within reach of our Records. On that day it is entered, 'David Leslie maid his randyvois with the shyres of Eist and West Lowthiane on Gladsmuir, with 4000 or 5000 horse.' He had come straight there, but not at first with so many men, only 'some dragoons.' But men gathered to meet him, and doubtless some from Tyninghame among them. It was to meet Montrose that he had come, and had sought battle with him first at Gladsmuir, by Prestonpans — a battle-field well known a century later. Montrose had all this year been ravaging the country with his Highlanders, now no more a Covenanter but a Royalist; and now no more in our Records named 'Montrose' but 'James Grahame' only. Before Leslie arrived Argyll had been defeated; and the 'Highland Rush' had driven the Covenanters before it at Tippermuir and at Kilsyth. Now it was to be tried on David Leslie and his troop.

At Gladsmuir, however, Montrose was not to be found. He was 'on the Border' now, seeking new recruits, and keeping within reach of the Royalist army in England. He was wandering about a good deal, to the anxiety and alarm of the inhabitants. The name of his Highlanders was a terror to all Southland men. And they came and went in their raids so quickly that men were ever in fear.

Even our inhabitants in Tyninghame could not stand the thought of this Highland host. In the beginning of September our Records announce that 'James Grahame his armie has not been far fra thair pairts all this last week;' down among the Border counties and the hills. At Tyninghame they are afraid of him coming 'farder eist' by Dunbar and the East Lothian fields, for stores in this harvest time. On September 7th things are brought to a pass; for on that day, Sunday, 'ane coming to the kirk door, cried that his armie was at hand.' It was, however, 'a false fray'; but notwithstanding 'the pepill dissolvit at the Blissing.' And once away, the people did not trouble the kirk again for that day; and though Mr Johne may have 'gone eist' from manse to kirk in the afternoon, yet the Record remains: 'No preiching at efternoon.'

However, Leslie wasted no time, and allayed our fears as soon as possible. Having discovered Montrose's whereabouts, we read that 'David Leslie his horse troopers mairchit south toward Teviotdaill and Mers upon Fryday the 12 September, toward James Grahame his armie.' So quiet and quick was he, that on the same night he lay within six miles of Montrose at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk. And 'on Seterday the 13 September 1645 James Grahame his armie defaitt utterlie at Philiphauch. Praisit be God.' Montrose himself escaped, but his army and his dreaded Highlanders were cut to pieces. On October 19th, we read that 'this day the publick

thankisgiving was weill keipit, praisit be God! for that notabil and great victorie, never to be forgot, at Philiphauch, where James Grahame and his forces wer utterlie routit and overthrown. We thank the Lord God of our Salvatioun throuch Jesus Chryst thairfor for ever.'

The same month he receives orders again to mount, this time for a longer spell of camp work than before. For 'Upon the fyfteine day, being Wednesday, the Presbiterie being conveinit at Dumbar, I, Mr Johne Lauder, minister at Tyninghame, was chosin to go to the camp in Ingland and perform Divine service and ministeriall dewteis to my Lord Humbies Regiment thair for the space of thre monthis.' This last order seems to have affected the minister a good deal. Whether it was the length of time, or his own age, or his separation from his family, cannot be told; but in any case he left home on this occasion with a rather heavy heart, and on the Sunday before his departure he took an apostolic farewell of his dear people and parish. 'November 9, 1645. This day the minister out of the pulpitt earnestlie exhortit the pepill to fear God, to abstain from sin, and to keip gude order, seing he was, God willing, to take jorney to Ingland the morn; he did pray for the pepill and commend them to the Grace of God, and did exhort them to pray for him, that the Lord wald be with him and assist him in the trust committed unto him, to the glorie of God and the weill of thaise to quhom he was sent, and lykwyse promeisit to pray for them, als weil being absent as

present.' The scene in its earnest simplicity reminds us of St Paul taking leave of *his* elders; and there may perhaps have been at Tyninghame also the same foreboding 'that they should see his face no more.' But Mr Johne was spared to return both to elders and people once more, and to minister to them for many years still. But for us the Records of his ministry may here best close; for, a few years later, he ceases himself to be the chronicler of the kirk and parish life. After the battle of Dunbar, and at the beginning of the second volume, 'Mr Thomas Ellot, schoolmr.,' takes his place as Session-clerk; and the Records soon begin to lose the interest they had, and become at last mere notes of routine and accounts.

Mr Johne died in 1662, just when the Kirk and the Covenant were entering their second fiery trial. Drumclog and Bothwell Brig had yet to come; and the boot and the rack for torture; and the Grassmarket gibbet; and the glens and moors and caves, to shelter the wandering Ark; and the Bass prison; and the cairns raised on Whitekirk Hill 'for those wha had sobscrybit the Covenant and wer to stand to it.' But he saw none of these things. His part of the warfare was ended. He had finished his course, and kept the faith.

WHITEKIRK

WHITEKIRK CHURCH.

THE CHURCH.

CHURCH history at Whitekirk is chiefly medieval, and is obtained from sources outside of the parish history altogether. It is with St Baldred here also, as at Auldhame and Tyninghame, that tradition commences, Whitekirk having been one of his foundations. In his day our church was called 'Hamer,' the chief hamlet or village. As distinguished from Auld-hame and Tyning-hame, Whitekirk was '*the* Hame.' Another very early name it bore was 'Fairknowe,' which finally was changed into Whitekirk, or White Chapel. But the greatest historical and most romantic interest of the church lies in the middle ages; and we have its history and ecclesiastical reputation in these days chronicled in what ought to be a most reliable way, in a document preserved in the Library of the Vatican at Rome. That there is such a document is a very interesting fact; but the history it contains is more interesting still. It is printed here from a copy brought home by the late Sir David Baird of Newbyth, one of the heritors of the parish.

'HISTORY OF THE CHAPELL OF OUR LADY AT FAIRKNOWE, IN THE EAST LOTHIANS OF SCOTLAND.

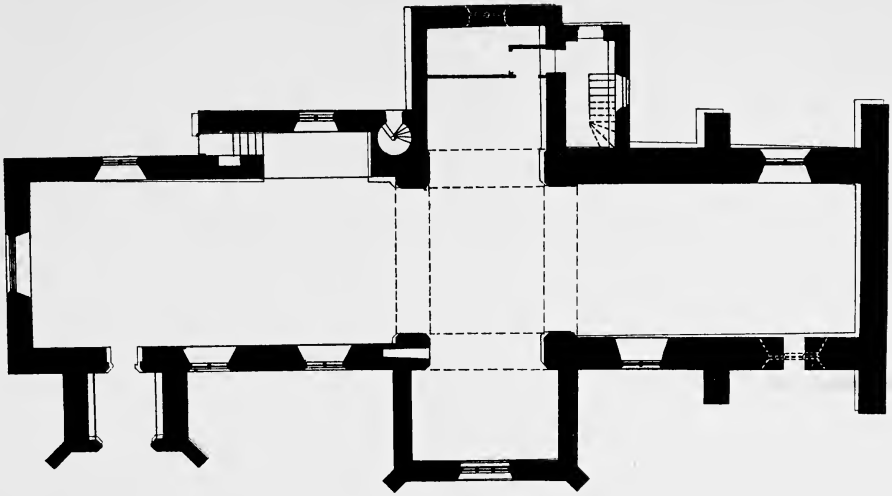
'In 1294, when Edward First of England had defeated the Scots army near Dunbar, many of the army fled into that castle, then commanded by Black Agnes, Countess of Dunbar, who, seeing the number within so great that the place must soon be surrendered, rather than fall into the hands of her enemies, made her escape by water in the night in order to have gone to Fife. But she, receiving a hurt while getting into the boat, and the wind being against her, was obliged to be landed on that part of the shore nearest to Fairknowe, to which she was carried. The English, however, ravaging the country, they were obliged to halt while a party of them passed, during which time, being in great agony, she prayed to the Holy Mother for relief, when an hermit came and told her, if she had faith to drink of that holy well she would find relief: which she did, and had no sooner done drinking than she was perfectly recovered from all bruises and made whole. This miracle she made known to Andrew de Foreman, Prior of Coldingham, and in the year following she built a chapell and a chantry in honour of our Lady, and endowed it with ten merks a-year for ever. The number of miracles performed at this well was so great that in 1309, John Abernethy, with the assistance of the monks at Melrose, procured a shrine to be erected and dedicated to the Holy Mother. In 1413

there were no less than 15,653 pilgrims of all nations, and the offerings were equal to 1422 merks. In 1430, James First, King of Scotland, being a good man, who loved the Church, built the Abbey of the Holy Cross at Edinburgh, and took the Chapell of Fairknowe into his protection, added much to it by building houses for the reception of pilgrims, called it the White Chapell, where he often went, and made it a dependant on his own Abbey of the Holy Cross. In 1439, Adam Hepburn of Hailes built a choir, all arched with stone, agreeable to the mode of Peter De Maine, and so it continued in great prosperity as a place of sanctity until the year 1540, that the cup of vengeance was full and heresy had covered the north. Oliver Sinclair, being poisoned by the letters written to his master by that infamous wretch his uncle, Henry VIII. of England, asked leave of his King to build him an house near the White Chapell, which the other too easily granted, in building of which he pulled down the pilgrims' houses, and made use of the stones for his own house. Times growing worse instead of better, and the great men longing to enrich themselves with the Church lands, as their neighbours in England had done, notwithstanding the great efforts of that apostolical man Cardinal Beatoun, and many more, now saints in heaven, the pilgrims were no more safe. The offerings, as well as all the other lands, then valued at 750 merks annually, were seized upon, and the shrine was beat to pieces. That Holy Chapell also shared the fate of many more, and was made

a parochial church for the preaching of heresy, and by them called "Whitekirk."'

The following description of the church at Whitekirk, from an architectural point of view, has already been published, and is sufficiently minute: 'The church at present standing has been for the most part built in the fourteenth century, with the alterations made with a view to the accommodation of the increased parish in the eighteenth century. The low square tower, surmounted by a corbelled parapet, is very characteristically Scotch, resembling the top of a "keep tower"—the impress on the general Gothic features of a warlike nation, more familiar with castles than churches — whose churches militant, moreover, were not unfrequently required to be prepared for defence. The general plainness of the details throughout, the plain *corbie-stepped* gables, the massive buttresses, and the heavy tower, give the church a sombre and rude appearance, unusual in churches of this date. A marked exception is the porch, which is of stone, as are the few remaining in Scotland. It is placed near the south-west corner—the usual position—and has a stone roof, and the *corbie-stepped* gable so familiar in the ecclesiastical as in the military and domestic architecture of Scotland. The tall proportions of the archway, which forms the entrance to the porch, gives it an elegance which relieves the general character of the details. The arch mouldings present the usual congeries of filleted rounds and alternat-

PLAN OF WHITEKIRK PARISH CHURCH.


Scale.
10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50
Feet

ing hollows of the middle Gothic style. These are continued down the jambs or *quasi*-shafts, having moulded capitals and bases. The hood moulding round the arch has terminated in carved *dupstones*, now too much decayed to be deciphered. The diagonal buttresses are enriched by shallow niches and brackets. The small canopied niche and corbel are said to have been found lying loose, and to have been inserted over the arch at the alteration of the church. This, probably, contained a statue of the Virgin, to whom the church was dedicated. The roof of the porch internally is groined with diagonal vaulting, having boldly-moulded ribs meeting in a carved boss at the apex. Along the side are stone benches. The inner doorway is square-headed, with the usual round and hollow mouldings. This door is also surrounded by a canopied niche and brackets. Compare this porch with that of Dalkeith church, recently restored, which is of about the same date. Dalkeith church was built in 1384.'—*Thomas Arnold.*

It may be added that about fifty years ago, when the church was rearranged, a large stone, with an effigy carved upon it, formerly inlaid with brass, was found under the pavement of the church. It now lies in the churchyard. And also that, on the key-stone of the arch, under the tower, two embossed figures are carved, XT, two forms of the Cross.

For the history of Whitekirk since the Reformation the natural source of Session Records is awanting. Two

volumes of these Records were burned with the schoolmaster's house last century, and the volumes which remain only begin in 1691. But the Records of Tyninghame are full of references to all that happens at Whitekirk. There are also other short historical notes, which can be gleaned from different sources, to fill up our account of it. Thus from Hill Burton's 'History' we learn that about 1355 'certain English sailors invaded the church at Whitekirk, where was a shrine of the Virgin endowed with costly gems. One man snatched a ring from the Virgin's image so rudely as to mutilate the finger it belonged to, when forthwith a crucifix fell from above and dashed his brains out. It was recorded that a ship laden with the spoil of this and other sacred places was attacked by a vehement tempest, and foundered off Tynemouth. . . It was probably on account of the particular form in which this shrine displayed its miraculous powers that the celebrated Æneas Sylvius, Pope Pius II., thought it would be a suitable recipient for his thankfulness on the occasion of safely landing in Scotland, after a stormy and perilous voyage. He made a pilgrimage accordingly, from which he frankly admits that he had anything but benefit in the flesh, whatever else he gained. In fact, the walking ten miles thither [from Dunbar] and ten miles back barefooted on the frozen ground seems to have given him a chronic rheumatism, which held by him to the end of his days, and even while he sat in St Peter's chair.' This was about 1435. Not long after, the widow of King

James I. (on a mission to whom Æneas Sylvius had come) proposed a pilgrimage to Whitekirk, as a ruse to escape with her boy from the power of Chancellor Crichton. In Covenanting times it had many relations with the Bass prisoners; and on the hill behind the church the last conventicle of Blackadder was held, while two cairns on the same spot are the mark of Covenant-martyrs' graves.

One of many such meetings is thus described: 'On the fifth of May 1678, being Sabbath, a large assembly of people, amounting to a thousand or thereby, met on the hills of Whitekirk, immediately opposite the Bass, within sight of the garrison, and almost within range of its guns. It was soon discovered to be a conventicle. Indignant at what he considered an insult at once to the Government and to himself, the deputy-governor, Charles Maitland, sallied out with forty soldiers, and some country-people whom they forced along with them, and boldly approached the obnoxious assemblage. Before they came up, a young man on horseback, named James Learmonth, was observed riding among the people and saying, "Let there be no cowards here this day, sirs, and let those who have arms go out foremost." On the approach of the soldiers the people sat close together, and when required to dismiss in the king's name, one of them replied, "that they honoured the king, but were resolved to hear the word of God when preached to them." Upon this one of the soldiers struck at the man, but he was immediately felled to the ground by the staff of a strong-bodied countryman.

A scuffle ensued, in the course of which one of the soldiers was unfortunately shot, and the rest having been surrounded and disarmed, betook themselves to flight. For having been present at this conventicle, James Learmonth, though he was proved to have been unarmed, was beheaded in the Grassmarket on the 27th of September following.'—*History of the Bass Rock.*

The 'Holy Well' has never been found, though search has often been made. But the romantic incident connected with it, and the beauty of the ancient church, and the many historical allusions with reference to it, still remain to preserve the memory of Whitekirk in time coming.

THE RECORDS.

THE Whitekirk Records which remain to us open in 1691 with the account of a vacancy and election of a minister into the parish. The late minister had not died, but had 'demitted his charge' a year or two before. He had also, we are told, refused 'to give up the Session books and poor's box and any other utensils belonging to the church;' all which, however, were afterwards returned from some one in Tyninghame, with whom they had been left. The reason for this demission of his charge, and probably also for removing some of the church documents, &c., was that the minister had been an 'Episcopal incumbent,' appointed by the bishop during the second Episcopal supremacy before the Revolution, and he did not feel inclined to remain after Presbytery had been restored under William and Mary. He was, all the same, the son of old Robert Lauder, former minister of Whitekirk, and a nephew of Johne Lauder, the Covenanting minister of Tyninghame. In response formerly to an appeal from his father, who was growing old, we learn

that 'the Lord Bishop of Edr.' had agreed to his appointment as assistant and successor to his father in Whitekirk; or, as the minute says, 'the planting of Mr George Lauder conjunct with his father in the functione of the ministrie.' The bishop is spoken of as 'patron' of the living; and Robert Lauder had already, as a preliminary, 'demitted his charge of the said kirk in the hands of the bishop,' from whom again he received it. After the Revolution the patronage of the parish was for a time uncertain,—it lay, apparently, in the hands of the people and 'sole heritor' conjointly; and we find appointments made on this principle between Sir William Baird and some representatives chosen by the congregation. But by the year 1711 the patronage of the parish had become 'her Majesty's'—as at that time of confusion, between the Revolution and the Union, happened to many parishes, being seized by the Crown.

Mr George Lauder, having been appointed conjunct minister with his father, seems to have taken his father's place in all public matters. It is only through the Records of the Presbytery that we hear anything of him; for he was Presbytery clerk, and attended all the meetings instead of his father, and his rather pedantic signature occurs frequently in their minutes. Of his father, who had been appointed to Whitekirk in 1636, we hear no more. The son must have resigned the parish as a matter of conscience, having completely gone over to Episcopacy, and being unable to take the oath of alle-

RECORDS, 1692.

WHITEKIRK.

Colected by Robert Turnet

May 29th 1692 after prayer Session mett
This day the communion was celebrated Mr John
Law begining the work and Mr James Webster
Minr of the parach preaching after him and
opening the work and Mr Kirkone Minr of Edr
preaching in the after Noon

Colected by Alexr Rule and Andr Robertson 5 : 11 : 2

May 30th 1692 after prayer Session mett
This day The thanksgiving sermons were preacha
by Mr Mathew Reid Minr of Northberwick &
Mr John Forrest Minr of Prestonhaugh and Mr
James Kirkone Minr of Edinburgh

given to ye poor	2	0	0
Colected by Rt Wright & Wm Heron	18	15	0

June 5th 92 after prayer Session mett

giance to the new Government. He was not 'ejected,' as many ministers were at that time, or 'rabbled' out of his parish, as many were in the west of Scotland, amongst whom there was great poverty and suffering, relieved often by collections throughout the churches. In these Whitekirk Records we have many references to such help being given: as, to an 'Episcopal minister,' an 'old minister,' a 'deposed minister,' a 'conforming minister,' a 'rabbled schoolmaster,' and others. On the other hand, we find Episcopal ministers from whom their people would not part; others who had been ejected were recalled; and in some parishes, as in Haddington, there were in the collegiate charges both an Episcopalian and a Presbyterian minister serving. Indeed the Church had been so long Episcopalian, that in some places, especially in the North, it continued so for many years after Presbytery was re-established; and there was sometimes a fear that if at that time a General Assembly were called upon to settle the form of Church government, the number of Episcopal ministers then in parishes might be able to insist on some form of Episcopacy being nationally recognised. But either the Government took, or were allowed to take, that matter into their own hands, and Presbytery was established without the intervention of the Assembly. But even under the Episcopal supremacy the Presbyterian Church courts were retained, except the Assemblies; and in many cases the forms of worship also were Presbyterian. These things represented, however, the outward

form only; for the Presbyterian and Episcopalian were in deadly feud, and the people were moved in their deepest convictions. Here we had conventicles on Whitekirk Hill, meetings by Blackadder and others. And the cairn remains which marks the spot where some of our parishioners were shot down by troops from the garrison on the Bass. The first General Assembly after the Revolution met in the year these Records open, in 1691.

Another difficulty which faced the newly restored Church was that, as the result of so many ejections and demissions among the Episcopal clergy, there were numerous vacancies in the parishes throughout the land which could not at once be supplied. The Presbyterian ministry had during the thirty last years of oppression been so reduced that it was impossible to find ministers to fill the vacant charges. This was especially the case in the north, where either the parishes were vacant or still under Episcopal incumbents. To meet this want, the Assembly appointed an annual mission to the north of so many ministers from each Synod, who remained there for several months at a time. The district to be supplied by the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale was round about Aberdeen; and several of the Whitekirk ministers had to take their turn at this kind of work, while their pulpits were supplied by the Presbytery at home. It was a work not much liked, owing to the long rough ride to the north, and the breaking up of family and parish ties at home. Indeed one of the ministers at Whitekirk abso-

lutely refuses to go, and lodges 'an appeal against the sentence of the Presbytery' sending him there, 'the tenor qrof followeth : Reasons for Mr Hamilton his appeal from the sentence of the Reverend Presbyterie of Dunbar appointing him to goo to the North the first of July next in this year 1698, unto the Reverend Synod of Lothian and Tweddall, to sitt at Edinr. the first Tuesday of November next.' The chief ground of his appeal is his age, which he himself reckons at sixty-three, but which his brother ministers consider to be not over sixty. The appeal is entered to the length of three pages of the Presbytery Records; is referred to the Synod, and their reply minuted to the extent of two pages more; but his arguments are completely subverted, and he is threatened with deposition if he does not go.

There was also another mission undertaken by the Church about the same time and for a similar purpose—namely, the formation of a 'Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.' This was intended chiefly for the benefit of the Highlands and Islands, to which in many parts even the Reformation had not penetrated. Many collections are made at Whitekirk for this, and the movement proved very successful so far as subscriptions went.

But the Revolution Settlement had to encounter smaller obstacles in almost every parish, chiefly in the form of refusals to sign certain tests, and take certain oaths in connection with the new Government and the new National Church. There was, for instance, the 'Act of adherence

to the doctrin, worship, and govrnt. of this Nationall Church,' including, of course, references more or less plain to the secular power, which 'Mr William Hamiltoun, minr. at Whytekirk, had not yet subscribed,' and to which he did not seem able to agree; for when the Presbytery 'enquired whether he was now ready to sign it, and urged him thrto, he replied that still he had some scruples anent it, but desired a double therof, qch. the Clerk was ordered to give him in order that he might consider it untill the next Presbytery.' In July of the same year, 1703, 'the Moderator is appointed to write a letter to Mr William Hamiltoun, minr. at Whitekirk, and therin in their name to summond him to appear befor the Synod of Lothian and Tweddale, to meet at Edenburgh the first Tuesday of August, in regaird he has not subscribed the Synod's act of Adherence formerly mentioned.' So that between his refusal to go to the north, and his refusal to take the oath at home, Mr Hamilton gave the Presbytery and Synod of these days some trouble.

There was a 'test' also for all persons holding any sort of parochial office in the country; it consisted in the signing of the Confession of Faith,—a test which has only been abolished within our own days. The test of course included the schoolmasters; and the schoolmaster at Whitekirk had to be dealt with about this subscription. For in 1704, when the Presbytery visited the parish and desired the schoolmaster to sign the Confession, 'he answered that he was not yet clear to doe it, not having

sufficiently considered the same; whereupon the Presbyterie appointed him peremptorie to be ready to subscribe the same the next Presbyterie day, and for that end to confer with any ministers near by to him about anything tht was difficult to him therin.' A former schoolmaster in Whitekirk had been alike obstinate with regard to an Episcopal test in 1681, when it is minuted in the Presbytery Records: 'In regaird that the schoolmaister of Whitekirk was unable to attend this meeting, the paper in which was contained the Test of Subscriptions was delivered to Mr Laudder, minr. of the place, ordering him to administer the Test to his schoolmaister, which done to returne it to Mr Millar, tht by him it might be returned to the Lord Bishop of Edr.' In 1700 we have a minute with regard to the Act for Elders and the Confession: 'The minister desired the Elders to read the Confession of Faith, and seriously to consider the same;' from all which we may judge that the new Church wished to keep herself strong in the Presbyterian faith. As to the order and forms of worship, we find that in 1705 'the minister read some acts of the last Assembly, especiallie the acts for the due observation of the Directorie for publick worship of God, approven by the Assembly holden in the year 1645, Session 10.' The use of approved Catechisms also for the children in school is frequently mentioned in the early part of the century. In 1715 'the Treasurer is appointed to buy a dozen of catechismes for the use of poor schoolars.' Later there are mentioned

'Allen's catechism,' 'Proof catechismes,' 'Proverbs,' and other children's books.

There are from time to time references in the Records to national and historical affairs. As on November 22, 1691: 'This day there was a proclamation for a solemn fast and thanksgiving Intimat to be keeped on Thursday the 26 of this moneth for his Majesties safe returne to England and his Intier reducing of Irland.' 'May 22, 1692, the which the minr. read from the pulpit a proclamation for a National fast, to be keeped every last Wednesday for five moneths, for the succes of thir Majesties forces by sea and land, and especialie for the preservation of the protestant religion.' 'June 14, 1692, this day was observed as a solemn Thanksgiving for the great victorie there Majesties fleet got over the french.' 'January 6, 1695, the same day ane proclamation read for a national humiliation, to be keeped on Thursday nixt, on accompt of the queens death.' 'Septr. 23, 1715, the unnatural Rebelion we dreaded being now begun in the Northren parts of Scotland in favours of a popish pretender, the session appoints a weekly meeting for Confession, Prayer, and Conference.'

The first minister elected under the restored Presbyterian government of the Church was Mr James Webster; but he remained at Whitekirk only two years, when he was removed to Edinburgh in June 1693. He seems to have been rather delicate, and both for that reason and others was frequently absent or unable to hold service

in the church. As all these occasions were noted in the minute-book by the Session-clerk, and form a considerable list, the minister before his departure dictated a long minute for insertion, explaining the causes of any absence or failure in duty, and certainly did not expect that they would be looked into just two hundred years after. The church was not finally 'planted' until 1694, and during the vacancy there were regulations made and allowances granted for supplying services, by bringing probationers and ministers from Edinburgh at least once a fortnight. This was arranged by contract with the local carrier, whose hires are all set down in the Session accounts. As—

'To Robert Neilson for ane horse to the minister from Edinburgh £2 8 0
To Jo. Thomson for fetching the minister from Edir. 1 6 4.'

Sometimes the service was simply one of 'reading,' as so frequently occurs in the Tyninghame Records; but it is not so regularly maintained as it was under Mr Johne.

The minister appointed in 1694 was the Mr William Hamilton to whom reference has already been made, and he remained until he died in July 1712. During his time the number of Acts and orders and proclamations 'sent down' by Government, Council, or Assembly, to be read or signed, is very large.

To him succeeded Mr Thomas Davidson, 'from the castle of Stirling,' who seems to have been of a more

evangelical character than some of the others, from references we find in his exhortations to the Session, and his forms and methods in services. He preached his farewell sermon on February 28, 1732, and was removed to Dundee.

Mr John Clunie, evidently the son of a farmer in the parish, was appointed in August of the same year, and continued minister for more than fifty years, till 1784, when he died. It was under him that in 1761 the two parishes of Whitekirk and Tyninghame were united, on the death in that year of Mr George Buchanan at Tyninghame. The conditions of union allowed even the two beadles to continue, and a medal was struck in commemoration of the event.

The next minister was Mr James Williamson, who was appointed in 1785 and died in 1806; and to him succeeded Mr James Wallace in that year, who remained till his death in 1852. The memory of 'Dr Wallace' and his characteristic figure and manners are still quite fresh in the parish. Thus in about the space of 220 years there have been eight ministers in Whitekirk parish, of whom three — Robert Lauder, John Clunie, and James Wallace — occupied the pulpit for 138 years between them.

The Kirk-Session was composed of elders and deacons, though the distinction between them is not stated: they were set apart by an oath to be faithful, 'with uplifted hand in the presence of the congregation,' and no other

1672—1688

1694—1712

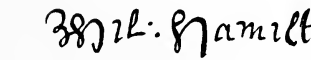
1713—1732

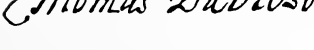
1732—1784

1785—1806

1806—1852

SIGNATURES OF MINISTERS—
WHITEKIRK.





ordination is mentioned. The part which they take in the ministration of the parish has increased as the tendency to abandon the church as the centre of the religion of the parish has become more emphasised; the visitation by the elders and family exercise take now a more prominent place: and there are no week-day services in the church. The elders have their respective 'bounds' in the parish, and take now a more ministerial relation to the people in their bounds than was the case formerly in Tyninghame. Sir William Baird, 'the sole heritor' of the parish, was an elder, and was usually appointed ruling elder for Presbytery, Synod, and Provincial Assemblies. In allocating the bounds to the elders, there is allocated 'to Sir W. Baird, his own Family,' which is a very reasonable and proper way of meeting certain social difficulties in the case, and yet observing definitely the responsibility under which he came as an elder. Their functions at Communion were similar to those of the elders at Tyninghame; but more stress is laid on going through the 'examination roll' (as the Communion roll has characteristically come now to be called), the giving out of tokens to those on the roll who satisfied them as to their life and conversation, and exercising 'Privy Censures' on themselves. There was a Session-clerk, and a treasurer, whose accounts were carefully 'reviewed' every year. The Session-clerk received and gave out certificates of church membership, on some of which a fee was levied; for we read

that 'for each certificat given to a single person, not being head of a family,' he was entitled to 'two sch. Scots.'

The exercise of discipline continues still a large part of the functions of the Session; but the scope of their jurisdiction does not seem here to be nearly so wide as in the old days at Tyninghame. The faults have come now to be only such as are of a certain definite character,—the supervision is not now so much over all the life of the parish: it is more legal, less social; more mechanical, less personal. One frequent cause of discipline is the matter of 'irregular marriages'—that is, marriages not performed by an ordained minister of the Church. Many cases fell under this head in which an ejected or deposed Episcopal minister had performed the ceremony. There were several such ministers in Edinburgh who, partly to earn a livelihood, were accustomed to celebrate marriages too freely. Private marriages and private baptisms were forbidden as late as 1731, though now so common. The phrase continually used with respect to witnesses in discipline cases is, that they are first by the moderator 'purged of malice and partial counsel' before giving evidence. Accusers are often required to lodge a sum of money as caution, which is not returned if the case fall through. Once or twice we have scandals described as 'fragrant' in the parish; and once we find the curious expression that a man stood at the kirk-door and sat on the stool in sackcloth, to complete his 'circular satisfac-

tion'—that is, a satisfaction made probably throughout the churches of the Presbytery.

Notwithstanding all the enactments with regard to the poor, they continue still to be the great burden of the Session and Church: but we find in these Records that the civil power is being more regularly appealed to for their support; more systematic treatment of them is becoming general; and towards the middle of the eighteenth century they are the chief subject of legislation on the part both of Assembly and Parliament, so far as our Records make reference to either. The 'civil officer,' or 'constable' as he is now frequently called, comes into much greater prominence than he possessed in the Tyninghame Records. The sources of revenue, as at Tyninghame, for dealing with the poor, were increased by the building and renting of seats in church, and also exacting fees for headstones in the churchyard. The lists of the annual tenants of the seats, together with the charges, is given in full in the Session books. Those who received regular help were called the Session's 'pensioners;' and what they got was usually valued in victual and 'house maill.' The casual poor received help chiefly at the kirk-door. There are several cases of infant pensioners, in which the Session's child receives board, clothing, and education free, and is finally set up in some trade. Little Barbara Boyd was for a long time cared for by the Session, and at length apprenticed to a lacemaker in Dalkeith, getting 'bobbens and threed' to start

with, and a quarterly remittance for 'cloathes.' Once or twice in such cases the effects of the deceased parents are 'publickly rouped' by the Session-clerk and beadle on behalf of the family. A case of this kind is recorded in which the whole available effects were 'a pot and pan;' but it is startling to find how much was realised by the sale of them. In 1692 an arrangement was made as to the poor, by which a 'birth settlement' was established; and another in 1699, in which three years of residence are to form a just claim for support. Different parishes had sometimes a difficulty in agreeing with each other as to receiving back their own poor who had no claim on the parish in which they were living. In September 1692 we read: 'Compeared James Young and Margaret Kelly, tuo of the pentioners, who were told by the Session that they must go to Dumbar paroch, qr. they were borne, and be maintained by that paroch, and from this day forth they could expect nothing from the Session and paroch.' But in November of the same year: 'This day compeared John Jack, dueler in Dumbar paroch, and did Instruct that he was born in this paroch and desired the benefite of the councels act, to whom the Heritors and Session ansuered, that whenever James Young and Margaret Kelly, there lat pentioners, shall be received by the paroch of Dumbar, where they were born, then the Session shall receive the said John Jack to be there pentioner.' On one occasion when there was a vacancy in the parish, and therefore few Sunday collections for the poor, the Session

allowed the clerk to shoot and sell pigeons from the church tower on their behalf. The 'poors' children' had to be paid schooling; and accounts for this are regularly inserted in each child's name, until, in 1737, a schoolmaster of a speculating turn of mind offered to teach them by contract, so much a year to cover the whole, whatever their number might chance to be; and the offer was accepted by the Session. The casual poor are represented by a continuous and ever-varying list, including 'gentlemen' and 'ladies,' soldiers from the wars, 'broken' tradesmen and sailors, people who have lost horses and houses, many who are 'crepill,' and one man at least 'with a tree leg.' As we have mentioned already, there are frequent references to ministers and ministers' widows, and once to 'a student of philosophy.'

As to the church itself: it was in general features exactly what it is now, since lately the south transept has been restored. At the visitation of the church in 1665 'Mr Robert Lauder reported that the kirk of Whytekirk is not yet repaired since it was defaced by the English,' probably in Cromwell's time, fifteen years before. But this defacement was chiefly internal: it may have been made a stable or a barrack. In 1668 the repairs have not yet been carried out, for 'the brethren found that church dyks was ruinous, that ther was no pulpitt, and other things needfull for Divin service was wanting.' But on this occasion the heritor (here, as often, called 'my lrd. Whytekirk') was

willing to build up a 'crosse wall' between the pillars on the west side of the tower, that the church might be half the size, and so more comfortable, the west end being used as a school. This appears to have been done, and the wall remained for nearly two hundred years, the nave being the school, or the schoolmaster's house, or once (in 1746) almost a granary; but this last use was prohibited by the Presbytery. In 1702 this 'petition wall' fell and did damage to the seats, but was repaired. In 1714 it was again rebuilt in a substantial form with stone and lime from the decayed south transept, which was called 'the ruinous Isl.' This transept must have been handsome, for several deeply carved arch-stones have been found which belonged to it. While the west end was used as a school it was entered by a door under the west window, but when a school was built the door was closed, and only the porch door used. The floor of the church was of clay and earth, but there was an entrance at the door of stone, as we find in the words: 'To John Thomson for laying the threshold of the kirk.' Sand and lime were frequently brought for pointing the church; and the Session had to make special regulations as to carting lime for the church. In September 1698 the Session, 'finding that the church stands in need of lyme to mend some places, they appoint Andrew Robertson and the good wife of Newmains to bring home tuo cartfull;' but in October,

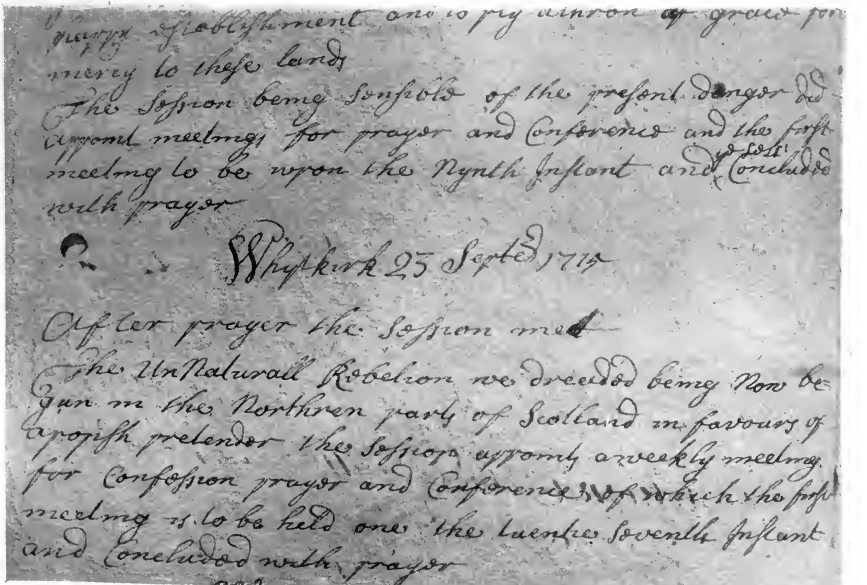
'finding that the Tennants in the paroch are Unwilling to bring home lyme or other materials for the upholding of the church or church yeard dyks, therfor they enact, If any heerafter shall refuse or be obstinate when it shall fall them to bring lyme, sand, or any other Materials for upholding the fabrick of the Church, the Session is to informe the Heritor, who will determine the samine.' The tower, or 'bell-house,' was then in flats, and afforded shelter to the casual poor for a night's lodging. In 1696 'tows' are bought for the bell; but in 1697 a new bell was given by Sir William Baird, to which a wheel and chain were attached, and afterwards there is a regular charge by the beadle for 'greese.' Also 'a cock and glob' were then put upon the steeple by the same heritor. There are long descriptions of the 'desks, pews, and furms' in the church, which three terms denote three distinct varieties of seats. Seats could be brought by members with them from other churches and taken away again, or sold to others who arrived. The women brought their own stools. When the Session altered and extended the sittings in church a good many desks were converted into pews by adding to them a 'sitting-board and a resting-board.' There were 'jougs' at the door, of which the lead fastening still remains on the porch; and there was a pillar, or stool of repentance, within. There was also a 'kirk-style' over the churchyard wall, and there was a 'louping-on stane' at the gate for riders.

As to the church 'furnishings' or 'plenishings,' the heritors did not seem willing to do their duty, even after remonstrances from the Presbytery; and in 1683 the Presbytery 'appoint the said Mrt. George Lauder to deal effectually with the heritors,' to this purpose. In 1655, at the visitation of the Presbytery, the minister and elders are questioned 'if they had necessaries for the sacraments;' they answered 'that they had not, bot should studie to have them.' In 1692 there seem to be no Communion cups, for payment is made to North Berwick for the loan of cups; but this may have been owing to the 'late Episcopal incumbent,' who took some things away with him. Probably it was so; for in the inventory left by Mr Webster in 1693 mention is made of 'two tin cups for the Communion;' in 1704 they are called 'two pewter cups;' and in 1708 there are 'two silver cups,' which are still in use in the parish. Other things also by that time were in better order; there were 'Communion cloathes, one longer and another shorter, of linnen,' also 'a baptisime towell and bason,' which is sometimes called a 'laver,' 'two pewter flagons,' and a 'collecting bason,' which stood on 'ane small table at the door.' There was also a 'sand-glass' and a 'money-box with shuttles' (that is, side drawers within).

The Communion was celebrated at Whitekirk once a year, and even then irregularly. There are found apologetic minutes regarding its celebration, as though it were almost improper to propose such a thing frequently. The

RECORDS, 1715.

WHITEKIRK.



prayer & Godly ayment and to pry amon & grace for
mercy to these lands
The Session being sensible of the present danger do
appoint meetings for prayer and Conference and the first
meeting to be upon the Nynth Instant and Concluded
with prayer

Whytkirk 25 Septr 1715

After prayer the Session met
The Unnaturall Rebelion we dreeded being Now be-
gun in the Northren parts of Scotland in favours of
a popish pretender the Session appoints a weekly meeting
for Confession prayer and Conference of which the first
meeting is to be held one the Twelfth Seventh Instant
and Concluded with prayer

Walker & Boutall Ph. Sc.

expressions also in use with reference to it are all severe and solemn. It is usually called 'the sacred solemnitie' or 'the great Gospel solemnitie,' and 'the great work.' It was preceded by an examination of the whole parish by the minister and elders, a close scrutiny of the 'examination roll,' and the distribution of tokens by the elders to those who were thought fit to receive them. In June 1692 there is a payment made 'to the smith for 500 tickets,' or tokens — little pieces of lead, with the initials of the church stamped upon them; and these were used again for the first time in the parish in June 1892, or exactly two hundred years later. Other and larger tokens were made in 1741, which also are still in use. The Communion was preceded by a Fast day on the Thursday, a Preparation day on the Saturday, and was followed by a Thanksgiving day on the Monday. Of these days — there were three sermons on the first, two on the second, and two on the last. On the Communion Sunday itself there were frequent services all day. On that day the first sermon is said to 'open up the work,' and the second 'enters on the work.' The elders had the usual functions, as at Tyninghame; and the collection on the Communion Sunday seems still to have been taken during service, though on other days it was taken at the door. Most of the Communion collection was at once distributed to the poor, who on these days gathered in great numbers 'at the kirk door.' The wine was brought from Edinburgh by the carrier;

and as much as 'five gallons' is ordered at one time: but of course this had often to serve for many more than the usual congregation, for people sometimes came from other parishes as well.

There were two services in church on Sunday from March till November, and one service during winter. There is no trace of any week-day service, only of the prayer-meetings now and then, already mentioned, and chiefly for the Session. The schoolmaster is as usual the 'reader,' and reads both morning and afternoon, receiving, along with the beadle, an extra fee for the Communion service—for 'their painful attendance,' as it is called. On November 27, 1698, the Session 'appoint the precentor too read every lords day the beliefe and the lords prayer and the ten comands, aye untill such time as the schoolars repeat the catechisms in the church;' but the repeating of the Belief, Lord's Prayer, and Glory by the people had ceased. As we have seen, the order of the Directory was reinforced in 1705, which probably diminished the force of the above enactment; but the style of the services was now more and more left in the hands of the minister, and one might vary in his opinion much from another. The collections were made in a box, whether at the door or in church, until 1708, when the basin takes its place. Up till that time complaints are frequent of bad coin being put into the box; afterwards these complaints become less frequent. All sorts of coins were found; and every year, at the making

up of the treasurer's accounts, a large assortment of 'bad copper,' 'doits and ill copper-money,' 'furren curreners,' and 'lettered turners,' was handed over to be sold in Edinburgh by weight, though once or twice they are given to the beadle for what 'he can get for them.' There were special collections for many purposes, chiefly those recommended by the Presbytery or Assembly; —some for poor 'deserving' people with testimonials; some for captives 'taken by the Turks;' many for towns which have suffered by fire or flood; and many for roads, bridges, and harbours all over the country. Bridges especially are included under the idea of 'pious uses' to which kirk money and collections might be applied.

In 1665 Mr Robert Lauder reports that 'the manse is sufficient.' Indeed all along the manse here seems to have been in better condition than the church, though it was otherwise at Tyninghame. There was a glebe for crops; and the minister had the right of 'grassing ane horse, two cows, and their followers, along with the tennants, through all their bounds.' But in 1713 a new arrangement was made, whereby a piece of ground next to the glebe, having been surveyed by qualified farmers and approved of by the Presbytery, was set apart 'for grass to the minister's kine in all time coming.'

In 1655 there was no settled provision for a schoolmaster at all; in 1665 the school is still 'not provided by law;' in 1683 'there is no schoolhouse nor house for a schoolmaster.' But after the Act of 1696 we find that

in 1699 steps are being taken to build a school and schoolhouse. We have many entries of money paid both by Session and heritors for the expense: for 'casting divots'—that is, cutting sods for building and roofing; for 'dails and trees'; and other things. In 1711 this wooden-and-turf roof is replaced by a slated one, and glass windows are also put in. The schoolmaster was usually both precentor and Session-clerk: he read and sang in the kirk, and taught the children 'the common tunes' for the Psalms, according to Act of Assembly.

THE END.

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