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HISTORY
OF
KELSO AND ROXBURGH.

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VIEW OF KELSO FROM MAXWELL'S ENCLOSURE.

Edinburgh. Published by John Fairbairn 13, Waterloo Place.

A

TOPOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL

ACCOUNT

OF THE

TOWN OF KELSO,

AND OF THE

Town and Castle of Roxburgh.

✓
X

WITH A

SUCCINCT DETAIL OF THE OCCURRENCES IN THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND
CONNECTED WITH THESE CELEBRATED PLACES,

AND AN APPENDIX,
CONTAINING VARIOUS OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS, &c.

BY JAMES HAIG.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR JOHN FAIRBAIRN, WATERLOO PLACE;
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AS A SMALL TRIBUTE OF RESPECT FOR HER GRACE'S PUBLIC
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THIS WORK
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P R E F A C E.

IT is to be regretted, that amidst the numerous publications issuing from the press, so few relate to the topography of our own country; and, more particularly, as almost every town in Scotland has shared in the public events of former times. There are few people who are not attached to their native place; and, although not so interesting to the generality of readers, yet to those who reside, or who have resided, in the town now described, it is hoped the following sketch will not appear uninteresting.

The environs of Kelso have been universally admired for the beauty of their scenery; and few districts of the kingdom are so remarkable for events of military fame as the county in which it is situated. It is therefore matter of surprise, that while the pen of the topographer has been employed in giving consequence to

places much inferior in interest, no account of this celebrated spot has yet been offered to the public.

The beauty of the surrounding country naturally draws a number of strangers to this quarter, and the want of some account of the place has been much felt. To supply this defect, the present work was undertaken; and the author has only to regret it has not fallen into more able hands. He is quite aware of his inability to undertake such a task; but he has endeavoured to give a faithful account of the various important events that occurred. The description and history of the monastery of Kelso, (which for magnificence ranked in the first class of our ancient ecclesiastical establishments,) have been principally drawn up from rare and valuable documents; and the notices of the several Abbots, with the rental of the Abbey, must be received with some portion of favour both by the general reader and the antiquary.

To the lovers of Scottish history, the connected account of the ancient town and castle of Roxburgh, and of the various events of which they were the theatre, will not, it is hoped, be

found destitute of interest ; and as the principal events in this quarter arose out of the general affairs of the kingdom, so the sketch here given embraces a survey of almost every political and military transaction during the most important period of our national history. Particular attention has been paid to the description of the town of Kelso, its manners, customs, trade, the noblemen and gentlemen's seats in the vicinity; and a brief sketch of the lives of the most eminent men born in the county has likewise been subjoined.

To render the work more complete, neither labour nor expense has been spared : every work on Scottish history, worthy of credit, has been diligently consulted, and the different relations of the same occurrences (in many instances discordant, especially as to dates), have been carefully compared ; reconciled where it was possible, and, where this could not be effected, the grounds of the existing discrepancies have been explained in copious notes. To the whole is added an Appendix, comprising various authentic and official documents, illustrative of the circumstances noticed in the text.

The author is sufficiently aware, that many faults of method and style may be discovered in the course of the work ; but as he only aspires to the humble character of a faithful compiler, he ventures to hope, that the candid reader will be disposed to treat them with some degree of indulgence.

Advocates Library, August 25, 1825.

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INTRODUCTION.

IF the description of towns be either useful or interesting, few places in Scotland can prefer stronger claims to the attention of the topographer than the town of Kelso. The events of former ages, combined with the local circumstances of the place, give to it a varied and prominent importance, both to the antiquary and the statist. This town, and its immediate neighbourhood, have been illustrated by many remarkable events in the ancient history of our country, the remembrance of which, cannot fail to associate the scene of their occurrence with sentiments of peculiar interest.

Of the origin of Kelso nothing is known. It is not until the reign of David I. that we find mention made of such a place, although it is sufficiently manifest, that even at this early period, it was accounted of considerable importance.

No town in Scotland has ever been known under a greater variety of appellations, all derived from the same original, than the town of Kelso; and there is scarcely an ancient author who mentions that place,

who designates it by the same name. According to the most early accounts, we find this town denominated Calceo, Calcoe, Calko, Calcehon, Calcon, Calonia, Calcovia, Kalcehon, Kalso, Kalcho, Kalchow, Kelceo, Kelcon, Kelchou, Kelhou, Kelchehon, Kilchow, Kelcou, and Kelsow. The etymology of its ancient name is quite uncertain, but the most probable derivation of it is from an eminence near the Tweed, called the Chalk-heugh,* and which contained a quantity of gypsum, and other calcareous matter. *Calc*, in the Latin language, signifying *chalk* or *lime*, and *calc*, in the Irish or Celtic, as well as the Teutonic tongues, means the same; and *how*, a hill or height. Calchow is therefore evidently translated by Chalk-height, or Chalk-heugh.†

* This place, which was formerly a dry and barren rock, possessing a wild and romantic appearance, has assumed of late a very different aspect. Some years ago, it was projected to throw the whole of this eminence into gardens, a plan not only useful in itself, but conducing likewise to the general embellishment of the neighbouring scenery. The late Miss Paton of Kelso was the first to set the example, which was soon followed by the other proprietors. A wall is now carried along the whole base of the height; and the gardens on the face of it, from their sloping direction, and the tasteful manner in which they are laid out, produce an imposing effect.

† Chalmers' *Caledonia*.

HISTORY OF KELSO.

PARISH—AGRICULTURE.

THE parish of Kelso, in the county of Roxburgh or Teviotdale, exhibits the appearance of an irregular triangle, extending from north to south $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length; about the same in breadth from east to west, and contains a surface of nearly 6000 acres.* It is beautifully situated on both sides of the rivers Tweed and Teviot, which unite at the town of Kelso; the former dividing the parish into two equal parts. It is bounded, on the north and east, by the parishes of Earliston, Ednam, and Sproustoun, (the last separates it from Northumberland;) on the south, by the parish of Roxburgh; and on the west, by the parish of Makerston.

* The present parish of Kelso was formerly divided into the three parishes of Kelso proper, St James, and Maxwell. The parish of St James lay between the two rivers, the parish of Maxwell to the south-east, and the parish of Kelso on the north and west of both rivers. The ancient parish of Kelso belonged to the bishopric of St Andrews, and the parishes of Roxburgh and Maxwell to the Episcopal see of Glasgow; the Tweed being here the boundary of the two bishoprics.—CHALMERS, vol. II. p. 186.

In the northern part of the parish the surface is generally level; but, in the southern, it abounds in hills, which, though mostly arable, are better calculated for pasture; and considerable herds of black cattle and sheep are annually reared.

The soil, for an extensive range, on the banks of the Tweed and Teviot, is a rich, deep loam, on a bottom of fine gravel; and the system of agriculture here practised seldom fails in producing early and plentiful crops. In the north-west the soil is composed of a wet clay, and in the south it is thin and wet, on a red aluminous bottom; consequently the crops in these districts are considerably later than those on the finer ground.

The improvements recently made in agriculture are nowhere more conspicuous than in this parish. Previous to the general introduction of lime and marl as a manure, the general return to the farmer barely compensated him for his labour, especially on the cold and wet soils; but since their introduction, things have changed materially for the better.

Formerly the practice was to portion out the lands into six equal parts, each of which in succession received a summer fallow; this was followed by crops of wheat, barley, oats, pease, then oats or wheat, and afterwards they were either laid out in pasture, or again fallowed, each portion receiving, on its being first ploughed up, the whole dung of the farm. The consequence was, that often after the first, and generally after the

second year, the crops were very deficient ; but according to the improved system, by which the rotation of crops is limited to four, including turnip or potatoes, (which had not been introduced when the old method was in practice,) the land is kept clean, and in good condition, with far less expense. The system, however, varies, in some degree, according to the difference of the soil, which, in some places, being wholly clay, the crops are restricted to wheat, pease or beans, barley and oats, which are succeeded by fallow ; and in others, where it is cold and wet, the first crop after the summer fallow is wheat, succeeded by hay, and then, if not laid out in pasture, by oats.

The whole of the county of Roxburgh is excellently adapted for cultivation ; and in no part of Scotland has agriculture attained to greater perfection : It may, therefore, be interesting to the reader to give a short sketch of its progress and improvement in this county, from the earliest period we find it noticed in history.*

* Chalmers, in his *Caledonia*, speaking of the state of Scotland in more rude and barbarous times, has the following excellent remarks on the progress of civilization and of agriculture, to the conclusion of the 13th century.—“ The Caledonian woods long gave shelter and pasture to various animals which no longer exist within North Britain. Throughout many an age of rude society, hunting and pasturage were the principal occupations, as they were the principal subsistence of a wretched people. Long after agriculture began her operations, at the commencement of the twelfth century, the Scottish woodlands furnished mast, and pasture, and harbour, to numerous herds of swine, droves of cattle, studs of horses, and flocks of sheep. The introduction of a new people, who possessed the habits and the

When the Romans entered this county in the first century, they found it in its rude and natural state, covered with impervious woods, and interminable wastes ; and their conquests being merely a military occupation, they did little, except in the vicinity of their camps, for the improvement of the soil. The Saxons, who invaded it after the departure of the Romans in the fifth century, bestowed somewhat more attention on husbandry, began to cut down the woods, and to cultivate the grounds. But it was not till the middle of the 9th century that we find anything like an approach to civilization, when Ecgred, Bishop of Lidisfarn, built the village of Jedworth. The next settlement in the county, which is found on record, is Edenham, by

knowledge which they had acquired in countries of more refinement, gave unwonted energy, during the twelfth century, to all the pursuits of an improving husbandry. The woods were now cleared away, and villages were reared ; meadows were drained, and the fields were manured ; hay was preserved, and corn was cultivated ; mills were erected, malting was practised, and brewhouses were built in every hamlet. During that period, the kings and earls, the bishops and abbots, were the great farmers, who carried on their operations by means of their cottars and villeyns. They reared numerous beasts of every kind ; they cultivated corn of every sort, with such skill and success as to be scarcely credible in modern times : Horticulture was practised, and orchards were planted. As the result of all these georgical pursuits, we hear of the import and export of corn, amid the frequent returns of scarcity and of famine. The rude produce of the country, its wool, and skins and hides, were the articles of exportation to more industrious countries, which supplied the Scottish people with such luxuries as were then in vogue. Before the sad demise of Alexander III., in 1286, they had acquired, under a beneficent government, much happiness, plenty, and peace."

Thor-Longus, a vassal of Edgar, who conferred upon him, by grant, Ednam, then a waste or desert; which, with his own followers, and at his own expense, he commenced to improve, and built upon it a church, a myln, a malt-kyln and brewhouse, which in those rude times were the buildings first erected on the manors thus granted to a chief.

But although, even during the occupation of this country by the Saxons, the lands were divided into cultivated and uncultivated; it was not until the reign of that munificent prince, David I., that a plan of systematic cultivation was adopted. This wise and good prince was not only a great husbandman himself, but he was the spring and "moving cause of husbandry in others," as he possessed numerous manors, with all the necessary buildings, in every shire throughout the kingdom.

During the reign of his successor, Malcolm IV., we find the cultivable land in this county surrounded with hedges, and the wastes or meadows by ditches; and we also find the first mention of a dairy, which was established at Cumbeley by the monks of Melrose. In this age, the nobles and chiefs paid particular attention to agriculture; but the most intelligent, and perhaps the most extensive, agriculturists of those times, were the monks, who were endowed with extensive territorial property in this shire.

Until this period the labour of cultivation was per-

formed by *villeyns*,* with the assistance of the cottagers, for which they received a certain portion of ground ; but the monks, who were reckoned the most liberal masters, and who were ever forward to reward their serfs for their good conduct, were the first to convert their services into money ; so that, in progress of time, these villeyns and cottagers were intrusted with the cultivation of some husband lands, on paying rents, and yielding services for their cottages and lands.

The civil discord and contention which took place on the death of Alexander III., and which continued almost unceasingly for nearly three centuries, not only retarded improvement, but, in fact, destroyed agriculture in this district, which was the principal theatre of strife. From the accession of James to the English throne, to the time of the Union, things were not in a much better state ; and even when this great measure was effected, so reduced were the Scottish landholders, in consequence of the long-continued factions, broils, and civil wars which had devastated the country, that they were possessed neither of skill nor of capital to enable them to take advantage of the internal quiet and security which ensued.

Encumbered with such difficulties, it is not surprising that a long time should elapse before the vigorous

* The term *villeyn* signifies one who was bound to his lord as a member belonging and joined to a manor, of which the lord was owner.—BAILLY.

practice of improved husbandry was general in this or any other county. "The practice of draining, inclosing, summer-fallowing, sowing flax, hemp, rape, turnip, and grass seeds, was introduced by Dr John Rutherford, about 1740;" but a regular system of cropping was not adopted till 1753, when Mr Dawson, an enterprising and skilful farmer, began turnip husbandry, and his example has been generally and successfully followed throughout this district. About the same period, potatoes were first planted, drill-ploughing adopted, and the sowing of grass introduced by Dr Rutherford. Fans for winnowing corn were first used by Mr Rogers, at Cavers, in 1737, and marl and lime were first employed as manure in 1755.

The improved method of husbandry having thus obtained a firm footing, the old practice was gradually abandoned; and such was the progress of the new system, that, in 1773, on a survey of the county, by order of the Trustees for Fisheries, all the farmers were reported as "found busy in the practice of it." And when a second survey, by the same authority, was made about 1780, Mr Wight, in his report, states his surprise "at the amazing advances all had made since his former survey, as every field had assumed a better aspect from an improving hand." The consequence was, that in the twenty years previous to 1794, the rents of land in this county had increased to double their former value.

Since this period the agriculture of Roxburghshire

has continued in a progressive state of improvement, and may be said, from the increased capital employed in it, and the consummate skill of the farmer, to have almost reached the utmost perfection of which it is capable.

In the year 1813 an agricultural society was formed in this county, under the name of the "Border Agricultural Society," for the purpose of promoting emulation in every branch of this science, by premiums to be awarded to superior skill, enterprize, and industry; and, in the year 1820, this society having formed a junction with the Tweedside Agricultural Society, their interests and views were united into one, now denominated "The Union Agricultural Society." By the regulations of this society, exhibitions, for the purpose of bestowing premiums, are to be held at Kelso and Coldstream, or Cornhill, viz. two years in succession at Kelso, for one at Coldstream or Cornhill. Independently of the benefits which the county has derived from the breed of the different kinds of stock introduced by this society, a very great advantage has been conferred on the town of Kelso and its agricultural district, by the establishment of the monthly cattle markets, commencing in January, and ending in May.

Some parts of this district abound in freestone, while others are perfectly destitute of it. About a mile from Kelso there was formerly an excellent quarry, known by

the name of the "Quarry-holes," which, however, from the number of springs, it was found impossible to work to any advantage. When the new Town-house of Kelso was erected, the stones for the building were dug out of this quarry, after a great expense had been incurred by the late Duke of Roxburgh in drawing off the water ; but from the rapidity of its increase, it was found that the cost of keeping it under, far overbalanced the profit derived from the materials obtained, and it was in consequence abandoned.

Sprouston quarry, about three miles distant from the town, furnishes a very fine species of freestone, of a light blue colour, and of a hard and durable nature, and is the stone principally used for building in Kelso and the neighbourhood. At Sinless there is another quarry, of a bright yellow colour, but remarkably soft, which is generally employed in the construction of walls and fences.

There is also a quarry at Swinton, of a fine yellow colour, and very hard, and is reckoned the best in the county ; but from its distance, being upwards of ten miles from the town, the expense of carriage is too high to admit of its being brought into general use.

ANCIENT HISTORY.

It is stated in the Introduction, that the town of Kelso has been the scene of many important events ; and this assertion is fully warranted by the prominent place it occupies in the pages of the history of our country.

Situated on the Borders, and a frontier town of the kingdom, it was repeatedly desolated by fire and sword, during those unhappy conflicts which devastated both countries for so many ages. Kelso, or its immediate neighbourhood, was the usual rendezvous of our armies upon the eastern Marches, when the vassals were summoned either to repel an invading enemy, or to retaliate on English ground the injuries which had been committed on their own.

Kelso is also famous as a place of negotiation ; and many truces, or treaties, were here concluded between the two nations. It was likewise frequently honoured by the presence of the sovereigns of both kingdoms.

As the *Ancient History* of Kelso, connected as it is with the general history of Scotland, cannot therefore fail to be interesting to every one desirous of becoming acquainted with the deeds of his forefathers, the writer has endeavoured to gratify the reader by the following *Sketch*, drawn from the most authentic sources.

No event of historical importance appears to have occurred at Kelso prior to the reign of William I., surnamed the Lion, when, in the year 1209, the Bishop of Rochester left his See in England, and came to take refuge in this town, the kingdoms of England and Wales having been laid under an interdict by the Pope, on account of the contumacy of King John, arising from the following circumstance:—A vacancy happening in the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury, in the year 1205, part of the monks took upon them to fill it up, by choosing their own superior to the office; but falling soon under their displeasure, they ejected him, and, in concurrence with the suffragan bishops of the province, elected in his room the Bishop of Norwich, who enjoyed the favour of King John. A deputation of twelve of the monks being sent to Rome to notify their proceeding to the Pope, he declared both the present and the former election to be irregular, and consequently null; and having determined the sole right of election to be vested in the convent, he compelled the deputation to nominate Stephen Langton, an Englishman and a cardinal, to the vacant see. To this decision John refused submission, and, in his representations to the Holy Court, made use of such intemperate language as provoked the Pope to lay the kingdoms of England and Wales under an interdict, and this was ultimately followed by sentence of excommunication

against the king, and the fulmination of a bull releasing his subjects from their fealty and obedience.

The interdict, which was originally proclaimed in 1206, was renewed in still severer terms in the year 1209, so that "all order, all religion, all dignity, was laid prostrate, and no privilege favoured or allowed, except the baptism of infants, which was performed without the church. Then were seen bodies lying unburied outside the burying-ground, prelates as well as priests, clergy as well as laity, all heaped together in cross ways and public roads."

The clergy, thus prevented from performing the duties of their office, resorted to countries where they might exercise their functions; and accordingly the Bishops of Rochester and Salisbury retired to Scotland, and fixed their residence, the former at Kelso, the latter at Roxburgh. These prelates were hospitably received by King William, who gave them eighty chalders of wheat, sixty-six chalders of malt, and eighty chalders of oats.*

William de Valoines, Lord Chamberlain of Scotland, died at Kelso, in the prime of life, in the year 1219, and was interred in the Abbey Church of Melrose.†

In consequence of the internal troubles of Scotland during the minority of Alexander III., his father-in-law, Henry III. of England, found it necessary to interpose, with the view of restoring order, by giving li-

* Fordun, vol. I. p. 523. † Ib. vol. II. p. 43. Crawford, vol. I. p. 258.

erty and protection to the king and queen, who were kept prisoners in Edinburgh Castle by those to whom Henry had intrusted the care of them, on their marriage in 1251, till Alexander should attain the age of majority.

With this intent, in the summer of 1255, Henry and his Queen, attended by a large retinue of his nobles, proceeded to the Marches, where he had ordered a numerous force to be assembled in case of emergency. Alexander and his queen, who by this time had been released from their confinement, and were then residing in Roxburgh Castle, hearing of the arrival of their royal relatives at the Castle of Wark, proceeded thither to welcome them to the Borders. Alexander himself made no stay at Wark, returning the same day to Roxburgh, but his queen was prevailed upon to remain there with her mother, who had taken ill.

Henry, at the earnest solicitation of his son-in-law, proceeded the next day to Roxburgh, where he was received with every demonstration of joy, amid the loudest acclamations, by the king and his nobility. During his residence at the Castle, Alexander, in compliment to Henry, and in honour of his visit, formed a grand procession at Roxburgh, and introduced the king with great pomp into Kelso, and afterwards conducted him to the Abbey, where he had commanded a royal banquet to be prepared, at which most of the nobility of the kingdom attended. After partaking of the banquet, King Henry took occasion to address the guests, strongly recommending to them to intrust the care of the

king, and the administration of the government, to the Earl of Dunbar and his party, and, on leaving the entertainment, proceeded to Wark Castle on his return to England.* For further particulars of what occurred on this visit, see *Ancient History of Roxburgh*.

Edward I. of England, having summoned the Scots nobles to attend a Parliament to be held at York on the 14th day of January, 1297; on their failing to appear, ordered the kingdom to be invaded in the course of eight days from that date. The army destined for this service was accordingly assembled at Newcastle, consisting of 100,000 foot, 2000 horse, and 1200 men-at-arms; having entered Scotland, these troops proceeded to Roxburgh, and relieved the castle, at that time besieged by the Scots. After this, they passed the Tweed at Kelso, and marched to Berwick, which they took, the Scots having abandoned the town before their arrival.†

The town of Kelso, as has before been remarked, was often fixed upon as the place for arranging and settling truces and treaties between the two kingdoms. The first mention we find of any such occurrence there, is in the year 1380, when, agreeably to the tenor of a truce formerly concluded, the Kings of Scotland and England were, by the conditions of that truce, to send their ratifications of the same, in writing, under the great seal of their respective kingdoms, the former to

* Chron. Mail: p. 220-1. Ridpath, p. 145.

† Ridpath, p. 209.

the monastery of Kelso, the latter to the monastery of Melrose, on the day of the festival of the Epiphany of our Lord; but the exact day on which this festival ought to be observed being uncertain, they agreed to refer this disputed point to their councils, who were to decide upon it; and their pleasure in this matter was, in consequence, to be signified in the same way, at the same places, on the day of the festival of the Purification of the Virgin.

The foregoing truce not being likely to lead to a permanent peace between the two kingdoms, and the differences between them assuming a more serious appearance, it was proposed, in the year 1381, to refer the points in dispute to the decision of a jury chosen out of both nations, composed of persons of equal rank; but it being considered as degrading to the majesty of independent sovereigns to submit their concerns to the judgment of their own subjects, it was finally agreed upon by the commissioners on both sides, to refer every matter of difference to a foreign prince, unconnected with either party, whose award should be binding upon them. The difficulty attending such a reference, (especially in fixing upon a sovereign prince on the continent, against whom no objection could be brought by one or other of the disputants,) appeared, however, to be so great, that it was determined to prolong this truce for three years, in order to obtain this desirable end; and in the meantime to endeavour, by every means in their power, to adjust their differences themselves.

This having been agreed upon by the commissioners, the King of Scotland was desired to forward his consent to this arrangement, in writing, under the great seal of his kingdom, to the monastery of Kelso, before the festival of St Michael ; and the King of England was to do the same to the monastery of Melrose.*

Another truce was concluded at Kelso in the year 1391, the conditions of which do not appear to have been strictly observed, for in the ensuing year, 1392, we find the King of England appointing commissioners to meet those of Scotland, " in any place that may be fixed upon in the Marches ;" and in his instructions, referring to the above-mentioned truce, gave them directions strictly to adhere, in their future arrangements, to the stipulations contained in it ; and in the year 1393, a meeting of commissioners from both kingdoms was appointed to be held at Aiton or Kelso, to treat on the means necessary to be adopted for the faithful observance of the truces concluded between the two kingdoms, and for the preservation or continuance of them ; and also for the punishment of certain attempts, misprisions, and evil deeds, contrary to the form and tenor of the said truces, committed by the subjects of both kingdoms.†

The truce which was agreed to in the year 1397, between England and Scotland, was concluded at Dun-

* Rymer, tom. VII. p. 314.

Ridpath, p. 351.

† Rymer, tom. VII. p. 759.

fermline on the 2d day of October, being Michaelmas-day; and the complaints of the inhabitants of the Borders of either kingdom against the encroachments of the other, appear to have been the only grievance it was designed to remedy. The parties complaining were, by this convention, ordered to render a statement of their complaints; the English to the Abbot of Kelso or his deputies, and the Scots to the Constable of Roxburgh castle, who was to forward them to the Warden of the Marches; this truce to be in force for one year. The King of England, however, did not ratify this convention for some months, but at last he signified his pleasure, that, agreeably to its tenor, it should continue in force for the time specified, and that the indentures should be exchanged on the 16th of October, 1398; and it was farther agreed, that commissioners should meet on the 21st of the same month, to reconsider the terms of this truce, and to provide for an adjustment of all existing differences. The following is the clause in the original truce respecting the delivery of their complaints:—

“ Alswa it is accordit, for cause of mar playn and hastie redresse, yat al ye of the kinrik of Scotlande yat ar plantif of ony of ye kings leges of Inlande, yai sal sende yair billes, indented of yair playntes, to the Castel of Roxburgh, and delivir yaim to the lieutenant or the constable of the Castel before yhole nest commande; ye qwhilk sal receyve yaim, and sende yaim to ye conservatairs or his deputes, to ger yaim be warnit to finde borowis, to aper befor the forsayde lordes at ye forsayde day and place: Ande al yai of the kinrik of Ing-

lande yat ar plantife of any of ye kinges lages of Scotland, yai sal sende yair billes, indentid of yair playntes, to the Abbey of Kelsow, and delivir yaim to ye abbat or the segestayne of the same abbey, before yhole nest commande, yat yai may be sende furth to ye conservatairs of ye trewes or yair deputes, to ger yaim be warnit and finde borowis, to aper befor ye forsayde lordes, at ye forsayde day and place."*

Henry IV. of England having arrived at Newcastle, on his way to Scotland to claim the crown of that kingdom, wrote a letter, dated the 6th day of August, 1400, to inform the King of Scotland (Robert III.) of his intention, and requiring him to be ready to do homage to him, on the 23d of the same month, at Edinburgh, whers he meant to be on that day ; and also requiring him to summon all his peers, spiritual and temporal, to be present to acknowledge him as their sovereign. At the same time he also sent letters to the prelates and nobles to the same effect. These letters were intrusted to special commissioners, with strict injunctions, and under pain of forfeiture of whatever could be forfeited by them, to obtain, if possible, admission into the presence of the king and his nobles, and to read these letters to them ; but should this be impracticable, then they were to read them, openly and aloud, at Kelso, Dryburgh, Jedworth, Melrose, Edinburgh, and other public places within the kingdom.

This measure not producing the desired effect, King Henry advanced into Scotland ; and having arrived at

* Rymer, tom. VIII, p. 18. Ridpath, p. 361.

Leith, he sent a second letter, of the same purport, to the king, on the 21st of August, and also one to his eldest son, the Duke of Rothesay, at that time governor of the castle of Edinburgh, requiring him to surrender it into his hands. To this summons the duke replied, by a herald, that he would not surrender, but that he would, in the course of six days, give him battle, and either force him to relinquish his design of laying siege to the castle, or run the risk of falling in the attempt. The English king did not prosecute his object farther, but returned to England; and shortly afterwards a truce was agreed to, and commissioners appointed to meet at Kelso, to negotiate a peace between the two kingdoms. These commissioners met accordingly, and another truce for twelve months was signed on the 21st of December.

The following is a translation of the letter which King Henry sent to Robert, King of Scotland:—

“ Henry, by the grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, to the King of the Scots, health, that you may instantly do what We advise.

“ Whereas our ancestors and progenitors, by the right of superiority and direct dominion, from the most remote antiquity, viz. from about the time of Loctrinus, son of Brutus, governed the kings of Scotland and their dependencies in their temporalities, and received from the said kings for the kingdom of Scotland, and from the chiefs belonging to that kingdom, the oath of liege homage and fidelity.—We doubt not to receive the same from you.

“ And because our said ancestors and progenitors were, from about the time before mentioned, in possession of the

rights and dominion before said, **We**, retaining possession of the said right and dominion, and introducing nothing new, but being only desirous of preserving unimpaired the rights and prerogatives of our crown, to which we are obliged by the oath we have taken :

“ Therefore, **We**, by the tenor of these presents, require, advise, and exhort you, that, taking into consideration the effusion of Christian blood, and the other dangers and losses which may most likely happen, if, according to these premisses, the said homage and fidelity is not rendered to **Us**, even as your predecessors, the right and lawful kings of the Scots, and especially,

“ William, who to Henry II. and John his son, and

“ Alexander, who to Henry III. and to Edward, our ancestors, and

“ John de Baliol, who to the same Edward, and Edward, son of the said John de Baliol, who to

“ Edward III. our grandfather, Kings of England, did in later times ;—that you do the same at Edinburgh, on Monday the 23d day of the present month of August, where for this purpose, and also for the peace of our kingdoms of England and Scotland, we intend to be ; and that you shall cause all the prelates and chiefs of the kingdom to repair thither, on the same day, to perform the same.

“ Certifying to you and them, that, not from any presumption or elation of our heart, but that we may cancel the debt for which you are bound to us, we make this demand in this manner ; and we exhort you, and also order you, from the cause and force of this requisition, that you the more speedily and freely perform that homage and fidelity which is due to us, rather than (which will be the consequence of your contumacy and rebellion) you should provoke the extending the arm of our power.

“ Confiding in the kindness of the Supreme Judge, who bestows on every one what is his right, we hope that He (should you persevere in your rebellion and obstinacy) will

direct our deeds in a prosperous manner, to the preservation of our rights, and the confusion of our rivals and rebels.

“ In testimony whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent.

“ Witness myself, at the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the 6th day of August, in the first year of our reign.”*

Immediately upon the death of King James II., who was killed at the siege of Roxburgh castle on the 3d of August, 1460, by the bursting of a cannon, his queen with her infant son being at the time in the camp, she brought him to the nobles, who, availing themselves of the opportunity of their being assembled with the royal army, conducted him to the abbey of Kelso, where he was crowned with great solemnity, and received their oaths of fidelity and allegiance.†

The distress occasioned to the subjects of the two kingdoms, especially to those on or near the Borders, by the perpetual hostility and warfare which had so long existed between them, inclined the sovereigns of both countries to conclude a peace, on such a basis as would prevent in future the recurrence of so great a calamity. For this purpose, commissioners met at Kelso, in the year 1487, in order to prolong a truce then about to expire, to afford time for concluding a treaty of marriage between the eldest son of King James III. and the eldest daughter of the late King Edward IV. of

* Rymer, tom. VIII. p. 189. Maitland, vol. I. p. 582. Ridpath, p. 369.

† Sir J. Balfour, vol. I. p. 189. Maitland, vol. I. p. 652. Ridpath, p. 422. Abercromby, vol. II. p. 381—2. Holinshed, p. 279.

England, in the hope that, by this alliance, a perpetual peace and lasting friendship would be established between the two kingdoms. The ratifications of this agreement were to be exchanged at Kelso, as appears from the following concluding article :—

“ And moreover it is ordaint, and by the said commissionaris of baith the kings fully aggreit and concludit, that this present prorogate trewls, to the seid firste day of September, sal be firmly kept and observit, unto the playne expiration of the samyn day, and that ather of the said kings sal, before the xii day of the next Januarye, in the kirk of Kelso, under thare grate selis, interchangeably, sufficiently, and in due forme, ratifie and conferme thir presents, and the continues of the samyn.”*

In the year 1513, James IV., at the instigation of the King of France, invaded England with an army 100,000 strong. He advanced to Norham, and laid siege to the Castle, which, from the want of ammunition, soon fell into his hands. In the meantime, the English received a great accession of strength, being reinforced by the Earl of Surrey with an army of 26,000 men, and shortly afterwards by his son, with 1000 more.

King James had previously taken his station in a strong position upon the field of Flodden, where the battle between the two armies was fought, which ended in the total defeat of the Scots; the king himself and

* Rymer, tom. XII. p. 330.

the flower of his nobility being slain, and a vast number of all ranks made prisoners. The English themselves acknowledge that the king fought with the most determined bravery, and with great skill; and that even after part of his army had been put to flight, he continued to encourage the remainder to persevere in the conflict, and not to surrender to the enemy; and himself setting the example, he plunged into the thickest of the battle, where it is supposed he met his death. The army, discouraged by the loss of their king, were soon thrown into confusion, and being hardly pressed by the enemy, retreated in the utmost disorder. The loss on both sides was immense, and many of the Scots were made prisoners.*

The disastrous battle of Flodden-Field took place on Friday the 9th day of September, 1513. It is mentioned by Buchanan, that King James had been previously advertised of the issue of this battle, by a venerable old man, who appeared to his majesty, wrapped in a blue mantle, and advised him not to risk it, as it had been revealed to him, that if he persisted in so doing, it would prove injurious to him and his army.

* Sir James Balfour, in his Annals of Scotland, says, respecting this unfortunate battle,—“It was no meruaille the Scotts had the losse, for, of 48,000 men, not aboue 12,000 stayed with the king, bot all of them vent home 4 or 5 dayes befoe the batell, and wold not stay, because the king wold not follow the counsell and adwyse of his nobilitey and best capitanes, bot scorned and mocked them with idle reproches, wich was his ruine.”—Vol. I. p. 237.

Having delivered his message, he disappeared, and was never seen afterwards.

It is said that the body of the king was found the day after the battle by the English, who, having embalmed it, carried it to the Monastery of Sheen, in the county of Surrey, where it was interred.

Another account of this battle states, that upon examining the slain the following morning, the dead body of the king was found by Lord Dacres, who, after it was carried to Berwick, showed it to Sir William Scott, the Chancellor of Scotland, and to Sir John Ferman, his serjeant porter, taken prisoners in this battle, who immediately recognized it; and that after being embowelled, the corpse was wrapped in lead, and kept at Berwick until the king's pleasure respecting it should be signified.

Leslie and Buchanan affirm that the body found by the English was not that of the king, but had only a strong resemblance to him; and they farther assert, that the king was shortly afterwards seen at Kelso, whence he went to Jerusalem, where he died.*

Another report states, that the king, after leaving the field of battle, took refuge in the Castle of Hume, where he was murdered by the Earl (who had previously been gained over to the English interest) and

* This appears to have been, to say the least, barely possible; and, when we consider the *fabulous accounts* credited in those days, we are the more inclined to doubt the existence of the miracles said to have been wrought.

some of his adherents, which obtained considerable credit from the circumstance of one Carr, a follower of Lord Hume, having, the very night following the battle, turned the Abbot of Kelso out of the abbacy, which he would not have presumed to do, had the king been alive.*

Abercromby quotes the following passage respecting the body of King James, from a MS. History of Scotland, by the Earl of Niddale:—"That during the usurpation of Cromwell, a skeleton, girded with an iron chain, and involved in a bull's skin, was found among the ruins of the old castle of Roxburgh; and that the iron chain, which King James IV. did at no time lay by, made people generally believe that it was the body of that prince which they had discovered; but that the nation being then in subjection, there was no way to make a further enquiry into the matter; so the skeleton was interred, without any ceremony, in the common burial-place."†

The Duke of Albany, as Governor of the Kingdom during the minority of James V., arrived at Kelso in the year 1515, in his journey through the kingdom, for the purpose of ascertaining the measures proper to be adopted in order to put a stop to the murders and robberies then so frequent. Here the people presented many heavy complaints against Lord Hume, the Earl of Angus, and others, who had exceedingly oppressed

* Buch. Lib. XIII. Leslie, p. 349. Baker's Chron. 259—261. Pitscottie, p. 117. Ridpath, p. 495.

† Abercromby, vol. II. p. 537.

and wronged them, at a time when they had no one to whom they could state their grievances with any prospect of redress. The Governor, who had ever evinced a just regard for the good of the kingdom, expressed his sorrow at hearing such representations, assured them he should employ all his power in obtaining satisfaction for the past, and security for the future.*

The rancorous private feuds which about this period (1520) existed betwixt different noble families of Scotland, arising from their love and desire of power, of which the following is not a solitary instance, is a matter of melancholy recollection:—Andrew Carr, or Kerr, Baron of Farnherst, pretending that he possessed the power to hold courts in the Forest of Jedburgh, notwithstanding that the lands belonged entirely to the Earl of Angus, proceeded to exercise this jurisdiction. The Earl, irritated at this presumption, determined to oppose his carrying this assumed right into effect. Both parties appealed to arms. In this quarrel, Carr was supported by Sir James Hamilton, who came to his assistance with 400 men from the Merse, while the Earl of Angus was joined by several of the name of Carr.†

* Pitscottie, p. 125.

† The quarrel which had thus commenced between them and the provostry of Jedburgh, existed for many years after this period, for we find, in the year 1590, that the "Laird of Farnherst, being then deceased, and the heir left young, William Ker of Ancrum, as descended of that house, did what he could to maintain the reputation of it, which was an eye-sore to the other; and some time before this, this gentleman, in the trial of goods stolen from England, was so vigilant

The Baron of Cessford, at this time warden of the Marches, being informed that Sir James Hamilton had proceeded to Kelso, followed him thither with a numerous army, and having fallen in with him, gave him battle. The contest, however, was not of long duration; the Borderers, on whose courage and support he chiefly relied, deserted him, and, in consequence of his defeat, the Baron of Farnherst submitted, and held a court at Jedburgh as bailiff under the Earl of Angus, who held his court in the lands adjoining.

This dispute, though apparently adjusted, did not end here, but produced consequences still more fatal and disastrous; for the Hamiltons, regarding with jealousy the ascendancy which Angus and his party daily obtained, used every endeavour to increase the strength of their followers. Nor were they unsuccessful, for they

as to discover the thief, who was one of Cessford's followers, and, when it was denied, to bring clear testimony of it before the council, which was taken to be done out of spleen, and to rub some infamy upon Cessford, who was then Warden. This the Lady Cessford, a woman of haughty spirit, highly resented, and moved her son, then very young, to murder Ancrum, which he did in 1591. His death was much lamented, he being a wise and courageous gentleman, and expert, beyond most men, in the laws and customs of the Borders, which, and the manner of his death, exasperated the king, who resolved to use exemplary justice on the actor. But he, having escaped, after some months' absence was pardoned, upon satisfaction made to Ancrum's children, and, as was thought, by the intercession of Chancellor Maitland, who afterwards married him to his niece, a daughter of William Maitland, the secretary."—*Scott's Staggering State*, p. 103.

gained over to their cause many of the nobility, and with them the Chancellor, Archbishop Beaton. Notwithstanding, many of the friends of both parties, sincere lovers of their country, were anxiously desirous that a solid peace should be effected between them, and thus extinguish their former enmity. For this purpose, they succeeded in procuring a Parliament to be summoned to meet at Edinburgh the following year; but the Hamiltons, pretending they could not be safe in a city where a relation of the Earl of Angus had the chief authority, Archibald Douglas, at that time Provost of Edinburgh, resigned his office to Logan of Restalrig, upon which they came to town in a body. Instead, however, of intending to adjust the differences between them, the Hamiltons only projected means of revenge against the Earl of Angus; and finding him posted in the main street with about 100 followers, attacked him, and would most likely have prevailed against him, had he not been speedily reinforced by a number of his friends. The Hamiltons fled, escaping through the marshes to the northward of the town. In this affray about seventy of the Hamiltons were slain, including Sir Patrick, brother to the Earl. The loss of the Douglasses is not mentioned in history.*

The war between Charles V. and Francis I., which commenced in the year 1521, involved Scotland in hos-

* Leslie, p. 376. Maitland, vol. II. p. 776. Holinshed, vol. I. p. 307. Ridpath, p. 509.

tilities with England. Henry VIII. having first been applied to as umpire in the dispute between these monarchs, seemed to the latter to be so decidedly in favour of his opponent, that he refused to submit to his decision ; and in order to prevent him from becoming a party in the quarrel, he sent the Duke of Albany, Governor of Scotland, who had been in France upwards of four years, to reassume the government, with the view of creating a diversion in his favour, so that Henry might be prevented from sending any troops to the continent.

The Duke was received on his return with every mark of joy and affection, but not being prepared to commence hostilities against England, he summoned a Parliament, in which it was agreed to apply for a prolongation of the truce then existing between the two kingdoms, now about to expire. This application, however, was answered by Henry with proposals for a definite peace, the first condition of which was, that Albany should be deprived of his office of governor, and of the care of the king's person, alleging that it was dangerous for the king to be in the power of the next heir to the crown. These proposals were accompanied by letters from Lord Dacres, (who had entered the Scottish Borders in February, 1522,) to the Parliament, the queen-mother, and the governor, declaring, that if these terms were not accepted before the first of March, ensuing, the Scots might stand to their peril. They were, however, rejected by the Scottish Parlia-

ment, who, at the same time, declared their full confidence in the Duke of Albany.

In consequence, Henry levied, by royal proclamation, an immense force, consisting of all the males between sixteen and sixty, in the ten northern counties of England, and gave the command of it, and of the fleet which was to be employed in conveying it to Scotland, to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

This fleet having arrived in the Forth, the forces were landed and marched into the interior, laying waste the country in their route; and in their progress being joined by Lord Dacres, they entered Kelso, one half of which they destroyed by fire, the other they plundered, and also did much injury to the Abbey. The inhabitants of the Merse and Teviotdale, on this occasion, nobly flew to arms, and marched to the assistance of their friends and neighbours; and thus the progress of the English being checked, they retreated within their own borders.*

From the time that James V. assumed the reins of government, there never was any settled or lasting peace with England, although Henry VIII., having many internal commotions to contend with, resulting from his determination to overturn the papal supremacy in his dominions, seemed very desirous of maintaining a friendly relation with the Scottish king, his nephew, and made several proposals for an inter-

* Maitland, vol. II. p. 787. Pinkerton, vol. II. p. 215. Ridpath, p. 518.

view with him for this purpose. James, in an evasive manner, declined for some time to meet his uncle, but at last consented to an interview at York, in the summer of 1541, whither Henry went in great pomp, in the full expectation of his keeping the appointment; he, however, did not appear, and Henry, irritated at the affront thus put upon him, and learning, while there, that the Scots had made an inroad into England, left York, vowing revenge for this insulting and unprincipled conduct on the part of the King of Scotland.

James, although prevailed upon by his clergy to decline the meeting, was by no means desirous of provoking an open rupture; he therefore sent ambassadors to London to excuse his non-attendance at York, at the same time professing the highest esteem and affection for his uncle, and proposing that commissioners should be appointed to meet on the Borders to settle a dispute respecting some land in that quarter, which the Scots had seized. The commissioners met accordingly, (July 4, 1542,) but did not settle the dispute; and although they parted on friendly terms, and James had sent an especial ambassador to apologize for his late conduct, with offers of redress for any injury sustained, Henry determined to resent the insult he had received, and, at the same time, to protect his borders from insult. He accordingly placed strong garrisons in all his frontier towns and castles, and put every place in the best possible state of defence.

Henry, intent upon his purpose, and even when King

James's ambassador was still at his court, ordered a force to invade Scotland. The governor of Norham Castle, Sir Robert Bowes, accordingly collected about 3000 men, with which he entered Scotland, accompanied by the Earl of Angus, Sir George Douglas, and others of their party, who were appointed commissioners to superintend this invasion, with the intention of proceeding to Jedburgh, and laying waste the country in their route.

In the meantime, the Earl of Huntly, who had been appointed Guardian of the Marches, was not inattentive to their motions, and, having stationed garrisons in Kelso and Jedburgh, he set out with his trusty Borderers in quest of the enemy. Having fallen in with them at Haldan-Rigg, on the 24th of August, 1542, a battle ensued, which was so severely contested on both sides, that victory remained for a long time doubtful. Fortunately, however, Lord Hume arrived at the most critical moment with 400 lancers, which inspired the Scots with fresh vigour, and finally decided the battle in their favour. Many of the English were made prisoners, among whom were Sir Robert Bowes, Sir William Mowbray, Sir James Douglas, and others of equal note.

Notwithstanding this defeat, King Henry, persevering in his hostile designs against Scotland, ordered a more numerous army to be raised to march to the north, and appointed the Duke of Norfolk to the chief command. Previously to this army leaving York, King

James made an ineffectual attempt (which Henry believed to be insincere, and only for the purpose of gaining time) to treat for peace; and the negotiations being broken off, the English army was ordered immediately to advance into Scotland.

Whether James was sincere or not in his offers to treat for peace, it certainly was a good stroke of policy to prevent, as long as possible, the advances of an invading army, and it produced this effect; for the Duke of Norfolk did not cross the Tweed till the 21st of October, much too late for him to expect any great advantage from this invasion.

In the meantime, James, informed of the determination of Henry, had collected an army on Fala-Moor, 30,000 strong, from which he sent detachments to the Earl of Huntly, that increased the force under his command to 10,000 men; and, with the remainder, he retired to the Lammer-Moor, expecting that the Duke of Norfolk would endeavour by that route to penetrate to the capital.

Huntly, although unequal to any attempt upon the enemy while collected, prevented, by his hovering near them, any detachment being sent from the main body, and thus preserved the country from that devastation to which it would otherwise have been exposed. It was, however, impossible for him to save either the town of Kelso or the Abbey, which they burned. They also destroyed several villages in the neighbourhood, but the army becoming disheartened through want of provisions

and the rigour of the season, Norfolk recrossed the Tweed, and retired into England. The intelligence also that James was in the field with a well-appointed and numerous force, it is said, hastened their retreat, which the same authority states to have been most disorderly.

King James being informed that the English had withdrawn to Berwick, instantly proposed to his nobles to advance into England; but they all, with one accord, refused, objecting against such a measure the lateness of the season and the scarcity of provisions; alleging, at the same time, that enough of honour had been gained by the retreat of the enemy. The king, being unable by any argument to prevail upon them to accede to his wishes, returned with his army to Edinburgh, where it was disbanded.*

On the death of King James V., in 1542, Henry VIII. of England, with the view of terminating the discord between the nations, and uniting them under one head, proposed a treaty of peace and of marriage between the infant queen, (Mary,) and his son Prince Edward, (afterwards Edward VI. ;) and, to effect this, he brought over to his views the Scottish noblemen who had lately been made prisoners at the battle on the banks of the Solway, whom he sent to Scotland to use all their influence in promoting his designs. The Earl of Arran, at this time governor of Scotland, professing to

* Grafton's Chron. p. 1067. Maitland, vol. II. p. 831. Knox, p. 26. Buchanan, lib. XIV. Ridpath, p. 540.

be favourable to a reformation in religion, and desirous of obtaining the assistance of Henry against the queen-mother, Cardinal Beaton, and the French party, was applied to by the Lords on their return from England, among whom were the Earl of Angus, and his brother, Sir George Douglas, who seized this opportunity of returning from exile; and, having called a Parliament in March 1543, ambassadors were sent to conclude these treaties with the King of England, to which the Cardinal and his friends made no opposition, the party in favour of the alliance with England being too strong for him to contend with at present. But the Cardinal having gained over Arran, the governor, (a weak and irresolute character,) to his interest, another Parliament was called in December of the same year, which annulled the treaties, on the ground that Henry, in the interval between their conclusion and ratification, had seized some Scottish vessels which were bound to France with fish and provisions; but the real cause was the ascendancy which the Cardinal and the French party had now gained in the state.

Henry, irritated by this conduct, resolved to take revenge on the Scottish nation; and the Earl of Lennox, who had been sent to Scotland by the King of France to strengthen the party of the queen-dowager and Beaton, (now that they had gained over the governor,) being treated by them very slightingly, he, with the nobles in his interest, joined the English, and entered into a treaty with Henry, whereby it was agreed to assist him

in the conquest of the counties of Mers and Tiviotdale ; and Lennox also promised to place in his hands the Castle of Dumbarton, of which he was governor. This treaty being concluded, Lennox sailed from Bristol early in 1544, with a considerable force, for the River Clyde ; but Stirling, who held the castle under him, refusing to deliver it up, he returned to England, and shortly thereafter, in conjunction with Lord Dacres and Sir Thomas Wharton, entered Scotland by the West Marches, took and destroyed Dumfries, laying waste a great tract of country, and, having collected an immense quantity of booty, retired, without having experienced any resistance.

Another English army entering the country by the Eastern Marches, plundered and destroyed Jedburgh and Kelso, at the same time ravaging and burning the villages, &c., in the neighbourhood. They afterwards proceeded to Coldinghame, and having taken possession of the Abbey, they put the tower in a state of defence, by fortifying and leaving a garrison in it. In order to drive the English from this place, the governor, (Arran,) collected an army of about 8000 men, who, notwithstanding the severity of the winter, were employed day and night in battering and destroying the tower. The English, however, receiving a reinforcement from Berwick, Arran relinquished his attempts to reduce it, and dreading the resentment of his army, who he was afraid might deliver him into the hand of the enemy, set off privately for Dunbar. This pusillanimous con-

duct occasioned such offence, that the army, in retreating from before this fortress, would have abandoned all their artillery, had not the Earl of Angus taken the command, and with much difficulty brought it off. Sir Ralph Evers, or Eure, and Sir Bryan Layton, who had the command of this expedition, at the same time devastated the counties of Mers and Tiviotdale, pursuing their ravaging system with unparalleled barbarity;* and having returned to London to give the king an account of their success, and to demand a recompense for their services, he, by the advice of the Duke of Norfolk, bestowed upon them all the lands which they had already conquered, or should conquer; and, to enable them to protect what they had gained, and extend their acquisitions, he put under their command 2000 Borderers, and 3000 mercenaries, with which force they entered Scotland early in February 1545. This expedition they conducted with their wonted cruelty; for, having taken the tower of Bovinhouse, or Broomhouse, they consumed it, with its lady, her children, and whole family. Their predatory course, however, was

* The devastation perpetrated by the English on this occasion is next to incredible; and their booty was immense. The following is a statement of the destruction committed, and plunder carried off by them, taken from Hayne's State Papers:—"Taken and destroyed, towns, towers, stedes, barnekyns, paryshe-churches, bastell houses, 192. Scots slain, 403. Prisoners taken, 816. Nolt, 10,386. Shepe, 12, 492. Nags and geldings, 1296. Gayt, 200. Bolls of corn, 850. Insight gearre, &c."—HAYNE'S *State Papers*, p. 51.

soon checked; for the Scots, having collected a small force, proceeded to Melrose, where they were joined by about 1800 men, under the command of Lesly, eldest son of the Earl of Rothes, and Walter Scott of Buccleuch. The English, who were then at Jedburgh, hearing of the small force that was with the Governor and Angus, marched in the night to Melrose to take them by surprise; but their approach being discovered, the Scots retreated to the neighbouring hills, whence they could see the operations of the enemy, who, finding the Scots had left it, plundered the town and retired. The Scots, however, determined to give them battle; and having dismounted, and sent their horses to some heights in the rear, took up their position in a low piece of ground in the neighbourhood of the village of Ancram, where they were concealed from the English, who, conceiving, from the motion of the horses, that they were flying before them, made a rapid advance; and before they were aware, came full upon the Scots, who received them with an attack as gallant as it was unexpected. The consequence was, that the English were soon thrown into confusion, and a complete victory was obtained. Evers and Layton, and about 800 of their army, many of them persons of note, were killed, and 1000 made prisoners, among whom were "80 of good birth and qualitie."

The French King, in consequence of this victory, sent 3000 foot and 500 horse, under the command of

Lorges, to the assistance of the Scots, which arrived at Edinburgh in the month of July, and being joined by about 15,000 Scots, marched to the Borders.

An English army, under the Earl of Hertford, 12,000 strong, well equipped and provided, entered Scotland in September, and laid waste the Mers and Tiviotdale. While this army was plundering Kelso, about 300 men took possession of the abbey, which they defended most gallantly for some time, but being overpowered, the English took and destroyed it. The towns and villages burnt in this irruption amounted to *five score*, and the abbays destroyed were Kelso, Jedburgh, Melrose, and Dryburgh.

The Scots in the meantime, with their French auxiliaries, had crossed the Tweed, and reached Maxwellheugh, with the intent of retaliating upon the English; and having destroyed a number of towns and villages, they intended to have proceeded to lay siege to the castle of Wark, which, however, the want of artillery, and the lateness of the season, prevented them from doing; and the Earl of Hertford having withdrawn, the Scots did not feel inclined to follow them, so the army was dismissed, and the French were left to guard the Borders.

The Parliament, nevertheless, which was sitting at this time at Linlithgow, in order to guard against any irruption during the winter, appointed 1000 horsemen to remain near the Borders, and levied the sum of L.16,000 for their support. This precaution had the

effect of preserving peace to the Borders for the remainder of the year.*

The Queen-Regent having, in the year 1553, sent ambassadors to congratulate Mary, Queen of England, on her marriage with Philip of Spain, charged them also to demand a renewal of the treaty between the two nations; when it was agreed that commissioners should meet the next year for this purpose. The meeting not taking place, the Queen Regent directed her attention to the strengthening of the Borders; and for carrying her intentions into effect, she called a parliament, when it was determined to build a fort at Kelso, for the expense of which, a tax of L.20,000 was ordered to be levied, one half to be paid by the spiritual, and the other half by the temporal estate; but it does not appear that this resolution was ever carried into effect.†

England, in the year 1557, being at war with France, a very considerable force was sent into Scotland, under the command of M. D'Oysel, with the hope of inducing the Queen Regent to declare war against Elizabeth. But to this although she was much inclined, yet the nobles conceiving that the only advantage to be derived from it would accrue to France, they were equally averse; and the more especially, as commissioners from both nations were at the time sitting

* Maitland, vol. II. p. 860-1. Holinshed, vol. I. p. 338. Grafton, p. 1276. Hall, p. 101. Keith, p. 48. Godscroft, p. 267-270. Ridpath, p. 550-54. Lodge, vol. I. p. 90.

† Ridpath, p. 583.

at Carlisle, for the purpose of settling the disputes upon the Borders, and adjusting the differences between the two countries. The Queen Regent, however, as she could not obtain their consent, resolved to provoke England by some act of hostility; and this she did by ordering D'Oysel to rebuild the fort at Eyemouth, which, in terms of a former treaty, had been demolished, both nations being bound by the same treaty never to rebuild it, which had the desired effect. The deliberations at Carlisle were broken off, and Queen Elizabeth threatened with a declaration of war, if she did not withdraw her troops from France.

In the meantime the Earl of Huntly, who, as we have already mentioned, was lieutenant of the Borders, assisted by the French, entered England, destroyed several of their strongholds, and set fire to all the towns and villages which lay on his route. In these inroads he met with little resistance.

The Queen Regent having also collected a numerous army, it was marched, early in October, to Kelso, under the command of the Earl of Arran; where, being joined by the French with their artillery, it crossed the Tweed, and encamped at Maxwell-heugh,* and afterwards proceeded to Wark castle, which, however, they were not able to reduce. It was therefore thought advisable to withdraw the army, leaving only a garrison at Kelso and Roxburgh, for the protection of the

* A village, about half a mile from Kelso.

Borders. Shortly after this, Sir Andrew Gair, assisted by the nobility, invaded England with a powerful army; this coming to the knowledge of the Earl of Northumberland, (at that time warden of the North of England,) he collected his forces, and advanced to Cheviot, where the two armies met, when a severe and well-contested battle ensued. Both sides fought with unexampled fury, but the Scots maintained their ground. Shortly after, an order was issued, commanding the Scots nobility, in rotation, to take charge of the Borders; and the English receiving continued supplies of men, daily skirmishes took place between the two armies, detachments from which made repeated inroads into either country; the Scots destroying the towns and villages of the English Border, while the English, with equal success, pursued a similar system on the Scottish Borders.*

At this time the Lord James Stuart (natural son to King James V.) put Kelso in a state of defence, for its security against the repeated inroads of the enemy. We are informed, that "the same Lord James ys now buyldyng a howse of defence at Kelsey, and makyng a force about the towne."†

"The xxth of October, 1557, the intelligence sayth to the L. Eurye, and the L. Wharton, that the Duke,

* Holinshed, vol. I. p. 361. Leslie, p. 496. Knox, p. 98. Keith's Scotland, p. 72. Lodge's Illustrations, vol. I. p. 283-5. Ridpath, p. 587. Stuart's Reformation, p. 84. Gordon, vol. I. p. 183.

† Lodge, vol. I. p. 242.

the Erils of Huntley, Murtone, and Argile, with all the nobilyté, resolved to disparce th' army, the xviiith, in the mornynge; and the same daye thes noblemen wear with the Dowager and Docye* in Kelsowe; and there the Dowager raged, and reprievid them of their promyses, whiche was to invade and annoye England. Theyre determynacions to departe, and the conseyderacions they tolde hir; and thereupone arguments grewe great betwene them, wherewith she sorrowed, and wepp openlye; Doyce in gret hevynes; and with high words emongest them to thes effects, they departed. Docyè wished hymself in Fraunce. The Duke, wyth the others, passed to Jedworthe; and kepithe the chosen men on their borders. The others of their great nombre passed to their countreyes."†

About Whitsunday, in the following year, 1558, Sir Henry Percy, and Sir George Bowes, governor of Berwick, aided by other garrisons, invaded Scotland with a body of 800 horse, and 2000 foot; and, having plundered the adjacent country of all the cattle they could find, burnt the towns of Dunse and Langton, and re-treated. The Scottish army stationed at Kelso, and on the Borders, were sent to check this incursion; and, coming up with the English at Swinton, a sharp skirmish took place, in which the Scots were vanquished; the whole of the foot being either slain or taken prisoners. Shortly after, a body of Scottish horse and foot

* M. D'Oysel, general of the French.

† Lodge, vol. I. 292.

entered England, who began to plunder and lay waste the country. They were attacked by a superior body of horse, under the Earl of Northumberland and his brother, Sir Henry Percy, who forced them to re-cross the Tweed, which, nevertheless, they did in good order; and although pursued by the English upwards of two miles, still they could make no impression upon them. The enemy, however, did considerable damage to the country, burning and destroying the villages, &c., among which was Ednam, about two miles from Kelso.*

The robberies committed on the Borders being so numerous, and perpetrated with a boldness and daring effrontery that set the ordinary means of preventing them at defiance, it became necessary to resort to more powerful and decisive measures. Queen Mary, accordingly, anxious to restore tranquillity in this quarter, in the year 1561, appointed Lord James Stuart her Lieutenant and Judge over the courts held, or to be held, in Jedburgh, with the Earl of Bothwell as his assistant. Lord James, acting with that decision which existing circumstances required, did ample justice to his commission; for, upon finding the banditti too numerous for his present force to contend with, he summoned the counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles, the three Lothians, Stirling, Clackmannan, Kinross, and the shire of Fife, to his assistance. During the pe-

* Holinshed, vol. 1. p. 362.

† Ridpath, p. 589-90.

riod he exercised his judicial authority in Jedburgh, above twenty of the most daring of this lawless gang were condemned and executed. About the same time, a meeting took place at Kelso, between Lord James and the Lord Gray of England, for settling the affairs of the Borders, and for preventing the recurrence of such enormities in future.

The following is a copy of the instructions under which Lord James acted :—

Apud dictum Palatinum, 12 Novembris, Anno 1561.

Followis the Instructionis gevin be the Quenis Majestie to my Lord James, to be usit be him, and as he thinkis expedient, be the Advyss of the Counsale presente with him, in the proceedingis at the Justice-Court, now to be haldin, by continuatioun, to the 15th day of this instant month of November, 1561, at Jedburgh :

In the first :—

Item, Gif it be thocht expedient to the said Lord James, be the Advyss of the Counsale being present with him in ony part yairof the tyme of his remaning in Jedburgh; yat ony persone or personis dissobedient within the boundis of the Myddil Mercheis, or utheris partis, be riddin on and invadit by fyre and sward, the samyn to be als lauchfullie done as gif speciale commissioun wer gevin under the Quenis Majesties greit seill, to do the samyn upoun every particular, yair partakeris, assistaris or adheraris; and to asage houses, and gif yai be haldin, to cast down the samyn, as sal be thocht gude be him; and quhat sumever thing yat happynis to be done by fyre, slaecter, taking of gudes, presonaris or uttherwyss in yat behalf, na persons nor personis, subjectis of this realme, to have actioun yairfoir, nowther criminalie nor, ci-

vilie, bot ye said Lord James, or quhatsumever utheris being with him, or at his command, doand the premissis, to be fre of all the actionis foirsaidis, with power to him to direct letteris in oure said Soveranis name, to charge all and sundry ye inhabitants of the said Myddil Merchis, and utheris partis adjacent yairto to concur with him, to the effect foirsaid, under the pane of deid: And ordanis the Signet to answer letteris upoun his deliverance, and twa of the Counsallis handwrittis to the effect foirsaid, or any uyer effaris concernyng the weill of the countre during his residence yair.

Item, Gif it sal be thocht gude to the said Lord James to wryt to the wardanis of Ingland, or any utheris havand commissioun of the Quene of Ingland, for the weill of this realme, and keepyng of the samyn, and liegis yairof in quietness, that he wryt to yat effect, as he sal think expedient: And als, with power to the said Lord James to charge the wardanis of all the Merchis of this realme, and utheris havand charge within ye samyn, to do in all thingis, for the suppressing of malefactoris, as he sal charge yame, and as thai will answer to oure said Soverane upoun yair allegeance and particular bandis; with certificatioun to yame, and yai falze, yai sal be accusit yairfoir, as gif yai were chargit be oure said Soverane in particular.

Item, Gif ony persone or personis happynis to be convict at the said Justice-Court, for quhatsumevir cryme, gif the said Lord James thinkis yame to be replaitit, and ye execution yairof to be continewit, for the better execution of justice. That he continew the samyn, and transport, and cause the personis foirsaidis to be transportit to the burgh of Edinburgh, or sik uthir place he pleissis, quahle our Soveranis mynd be knowin thairintill.

Item, Gif ony persone or personis, being at the horne, or fugitive fra the lawis, with quhome he may not, without danger, intercommune with yame; that he speik and intercommune and cause utheris quhome he pleissis name, with thame, for the weill of the countre, and furtherasce of the

executioun of justice, als oft as he sal think expedient, for the quhilk yai sal incur na skayth nor danger in tyme to cum.

Item, Quhatsumevir uther thingis the said Lord James, be the advyss of the maist part of the lordis of ye secreit Counsale being with him, happynis to do, and put to executioun, for the weill of ye countre, ye samyn sal be haldin als lauchfullie done as gif speciale commissioun wer gevin to him or yame upoun every point and particle yairof, in the maist ample form under the greit seill.

Quhilkis instructionis the Quenis Majestie ordanis to be insert in the bukis of Privie Counsale, and to have the strenth of ane act yairof, and to remane yairin *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*.*

In the year 1566, Kelso was honoured by the presence of one of the most beautiful, at the same time, the most unfortunate of her sex—Queen Mary, who, in order to settle some disturbances on the Borders, determined to visit that part of the country. Previously to her setting out, the Earl of Morton had won over many of the Borderers to his party, and, among the rest, the Laird of Cessford, who at this time was warden of the marches. The queen, as may naturally be supposed, did not relish this faction; and, therefore, resolved, in order more expeditiously and more effectually to crush it, to hold a court of justice at Jedburgh, for the trial and punishment of her unruly and traitorous subjects. Her majesty, considering that the Earl of Bothwell, (who was also her lieutenant in that quarter,) might have considerable influence with the Borderers, sent him before her to Liddisdale, to prepare

* Keith, 200. Ridpath, p. 608.

them to pay that obedience and respect due to her as their queen ; but, on his arrival, he was roughly treated by the people, and being by them severely wounded in many parts of his body, was conveyed to Hermitage Castle, where he remained till his cure was effected.

In the meantime, the Queen had arrived at Jedburgh, where being informed of Bothwell's misfortune, and that his life was in imminent danger, she resolved to pay him a visit ; and accordingly left Jedburgh for Hermitage Castle; but her stay was very short, as she returned back the same night, having travelled in the course of that day about forty miles. The consequences of this rapid journey, from fatigue and exposure to the cold of a stormy winter evening, had nearly proved fatal to her ; as she caught a severe cold, which ended in a violent fever, attended with delirium, and for some time her life was despaired of.

The lords who attended her majesty to Jedburgh, judging it advisable, in these circumstances, to prevent any tumult or disorder, published the following proclamation :—

“ Proclamatioun to keip gude Reule at Jedburgh.

“ Forasmekill as the quenis majestie, movit of the zeale hir hienes hes continowallie borne to justice, reparit to this countrie accompanyit with hir nobilite for administratioun thair of to the uthir oppressit subjectis ; and for hir hither cuming, at Goddis plessour, hir Majestie is vexit with infirmite and seikness, quhairthrow her hienes is not abill, according to hir gude inclinatioun, to attend upoun that thing quhilk wes the occasioun of hir Majesties reparing in thir parts at first : And albeit the nobillmen and counsal present hes gude hoip and confidence of hir gracious convalescence and restoring to

helth, yit in the men tyme divers personis, luffars of unquyetnes and innemeis to this commoun weill, mair respectand thair particular quarrellis nor the quyetnes of the countre, may peradventure tak occasioun throw hir hienes disease and seiknes, to revenge thair privat quarrellis, and mak molestatioun and perturbatioun to the disturbing of all gude ordour; quhilk the nobilite and counsal tymeouslie fearand, hes with ane voice and mynd consentit, and in the presence of God, and on thair honors, faithfullie promittit to uthers, that all particularitie, feid, favour, or affectioun, set asyd, thai sall declair thamselvis innemeis to the persoun or persounis quhatsumevir comittaris of the said disordour and unquyetnes, as gif the offence were done to ony of thamselffis in particular. And thairfoir ordanis ane officiar of armes to pass to the mercat-croce of the burgh of Jedburgh, and thair be opin proclamatioun command and charge all and sundrie her majesties legeis and subdittis quhatsumevir, that thai, and ilk ane of them, contin thamselffis in quyetness and gude ordour, and on nawayis to tak upoun hand to put on armour, or to invaid, molest, persew, or inquiet utheris in bodyes or gudes, be word, deid, or countenance, undir the pain of tressoun; certifyeing thame that sall presume to do in the contrair, besyde the puneishment ordinar of the law and consuetude of the realme, thai sall be persewit and followit to the deid as traitouris to the hail realme; and the hail force and power of the nobilite sall be usit agains thame, as gif the offence were comittit agains ony of thair awn personis in particular.”*

The queen having recovered, expressed a desire to see Berwick, and as soon as she was able to undertake the journey, set out from Jedburgh for that purpose, taking Kelso in her route, where she remained two nights, and held a council, at which a private dispute was settled. From thence she proceeded to Hume Castle, and

* Keith, p. 353.

passing through Langtown and Wedderburn, arrived at Berwick, escorted by from 800 to 1000 horse. On reaching the Bounroad, she was received by Sir John Forster and the captain of the town, attended by a number of the most respectable of the inhabitants, who manifested the utmost joy on receiving this unexpected visit. Leaving Berwick she proceeded to Dunbar, and thence to her residence at Craigmillar, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh.*

In a letter from Lord Hunsdon to Cecil, dated Berwick, 18th of September, 1569, it is stated, that for the purpose of administering justice, and in order to suppress the petty feuds that were continually distressing the Border, the Earl of Murray had arrived at Kelso, where he intended to remain for five or six weeks. Accordingly, on his arrival, he dispatched a messenger requiring the attendance of Lord Hunsdon and Sir John Forster, that he might have the benefit of their advice to enable him to come to some determination as to the best means to be employed for accomplishing so desirable an object. They, in consequence, met him at Kelso, and made with him the arrangements deemed necessary.†

The Lairds of Buccleugh and Ferniherst, (two of the most strenuous friends of Queen Mary,) on the very night of the murder of the Regent Murray, at Linlithgow, (23d of January, 1570,) broke into England

* Keith, 351-4 Robertson, vol. II. 172. Chalmers' Q. Mary, vol. I, 191. Ridpath, 621.

† Haynes' State Papers, p. 523. Ridpath, p. 630.

with their clans, and laid waste the frontiers with unwonted ferocity. In this incursion they were accompanied by some English rebels who had taken refuge in Scotland; and their motive for it was revenge on Queen Elizabeth, for her treatment of Queen Mary, and also for the usage they had themselves received from the Regent, who they supposed had been instigated thereto by the Queen of England.

On receiving intelligence of this inroad, Elizabeth sent an ambassador to Scotland to complain of this insult, and to state, that, if the government of the kingdom was not able to prevent such outrages, or to punish the offenders, she would chastise them herself; at the same time, she would take care that the guilty alone should suffer. The lords, who at this time exercised the supreme power, declined returning any answer to the queen till a regent should be appointed, which, from the unsettled state of the country, was not likely soon to take place; she, therefore, in order to avenge this affront, and to punish those Border chieftains, as well for harbouring and protecting English rebels and fugitives, as for the outrages they had committed, and to make them, as Cecil expresses in a letter to Sir Norris, "feel the sword and firebrand," dispatched the Earl of Sussex, her lieutenant in the north, and Lord Hunsdon, governor of Berwick, into Scotland, who, in the course of a week, totally wasted, burned, and destroyed, the vales of Tiviot, Kale, and Bowmont, levelling fifty castles and strong-holds, and above 300 villages.

This force left Berwick on the 17th of April, and the same night arrived at Wark Castle. Next morning they entered Tiviotdale, burning and destroying all the castles, towns, and villages, till they came to the Castle of Mosse, belonging to the Lord of Buccleugh, strongly situated in a marsh, which they also destroyed, and afterwards advanced to Crailing, a strong castle of the Lord of Ferniherst, laying waste everything in their route. The same day Sir John Forster, warden of the Middle Marches, entered Tiviotdale, in the direction of Gatehead, with a very considerable force, and carrying destruction along with him, pushed on to Crailing, where both armies met. This castle they burnt and destroyed, with the other strong-holds and towns in the vicinity. The two armies afterwards marched along the Tiviot, burning and spoiling all the castles and towns on that river, till they came to Jedburgh, where they halted, and were courteously received by the magistrates and inhabitants, on which account they spared the town, where the Laird of Cessford having arrived and made his submission, and having showed the Earl of Sussex that he had not been engaged in these incursions for which the present revenge was taken, he received the same favour.

Next day, the 19th, the army divided, and one part passing the Tiviot, burnt the Castle of Ferniherst, and all the other castles and towns belonging to its proprietor, till they came to Bedruelle; and having reached Minto, both armies again joined and proceeded to Hawick, carrying the same destruction along both banks

of the river. Here they intended to have fixed their quarters for the night, but the inhabitants learning their approach, had deserted the town, carrying with them most of their valuables, after taking the thatch from their dwellings, and setting fire to it in the streets. The English, irritated by this conduct, took all the wood belonging to the houses and consumed it also, thus completing the destruction of the town, with the exception of one small house built of stone, in which the English commander slept.

The following day they marched to a house belonging to the Lord of Buccleugh, which they blew up, and afterwards proceeding to the northward of the Tiviot, they destroyed all the castles, towns, piles, and towers which belonged to that nobleman's kinsmen and adherents, and the same night returned to Jedburgh.

Next day, the 21st, part of the army proceeded to the river Bowmont, and the other to the river Kale, destroying the dwellings of every sort on both these waters, and then met at Kelso, (where the lord-lieutenant was waiting their arrival,) for the purpose of laying siege to Hume Castle, but being disappointed in receiving his artillery from Wark, he was obliged to return with the army to Berwick, without attempting this siege.

On the 22d, the army reached Berwick, having been absent only six days, and in all this time never did any Scottish force appear to oppose or resist them.*

* Notes to Sadler's State Papers, vol. III. p. 419. Stow, p. 417-19. Ridpath, p. 633-35.

Lodge, in his "Illustrations of British History," has preserved an original account of the depredations committed by the English on the Borders in this year. We shall therefore take the liberty of extracting the record from that work verbatim, as printed :—

" SIR ROBERT CONSTABLE to the EARL of SHREWSBURY,
1570.

" *Right Hon'ble, and my moste especiall good Lord,*

" Forasmuche as I wolde not be forgettfull of my deutie to yo^r lordship, I have thought good to troble you with these my letters, adv^rtising yo^r Honor the whole discourse of o^r enterprises here donn, sythen so^r coming into these partis.* First, my Lord Le
ed with my Lord Hunsdon,
and
hundreth armed pykes, and tow
from Wark, the xviith

of April, intred into the realme of Scottlande, and did burne and spoyle all alonge the ryver of Rowle, and the Water of Cale, and camped that night at Gedworth. The next morning he marched to Fernehurst† and overthrew it, and so burned and spoyled all along the ryver of Tyvyett, and so to

* This curious ancient Gazette contains a journal of the furious inroad made by Sussex, called here the lord-lieutenant, and Hudson, in 1570. The pretence for this expedition was the chastisement of the clans of Carre, or Ker, and Scot, which had lately committed some depredations on the English Borders, but the true motive was to awe the few remaining friends of Mary, and to prevent them from uniting while the regency remained vacant. Elizabeth issued a proclamation upon this occasion, declaring her inviolable friendship to the Scottish nation, but setting forth the necessity of punishing some particular offenders; and this was repeatedly read at the head of an army which was then employed in desolating the East and West Borders. The circumstances which attended this invasion have escaped the notice of historians. Even Camden, who lived at the time, makes no mention of so horrible a spoil.

† Ferniherst, in Tiviotdale; a house belonging to the Kers, ancestors of the Marquis of Lothian

Hawick, and burned and spoyled it. The next day he overthrew the strong house of the Lord of Buccleughe, called Brencksome,* and from thence to Bedrowell, a howse of Sr Andrew Trumble, and overthrew it, with dyvers other notable towers and houses all alonge those ryvers aforementioned: The next night we retired to Gedworth, where we camped againe. The next mornyng we dislodged and burnt all the cuntre alonge the ryver of Bowbanck, and burnt and spoyled the hole cuntre as we marched, and came back that night to Kelsay. The nombr of the townes and villages, by estimation, was aboue fyve hundreth, the terhor of the whiche caused the reste of the cuntre to cume and offer their submission to my Lord Leventen'ute, with all the frendshipp and service they cold do to hym and to hys, and so we retyred ourselves back againe for that tyme, so that we rested o'selves thre or fower daies. The xxviith day, my Lord Leveten'ute being at Warke, accompanid withe the hole bandes of fotement, and one thousande horse, with thre batterie peces and tow sacris, went to the sege of Home, where he planted his batterie, where, within twelve houres after the batterie was planted, the castle was surrendered to hym symplic, being within yt tow hundredth and fortie souldiours; so the souldiours dep'ted owt of yt in there hose and doblettas. Suerly, my lorde, yf I had had the charge, with fyftie souldiers, I wolde have thought me worthie to have bene hanged, drawne, and quartred, yf I had delyered yt within the moneth sege. My lorde hath appoynted M^r Wood his bande, and M^r Pykeman his band, tow of the bandes of Barwick, to have the keypyng of yt; and so my lord retyred back againe to Barwicke to refresh hymselfe and his companye,

“ Item, the iiiith daye of May he sent owte certeine bandes of horsemen, and also certeine fotemen, to marche towardes Fastecastle,† whiche, immediatlie uppon the horsemens co-

* Branxholme, near Hawick, the ancient seat of the family of Scot.

† A strong fortress, which likewise belonged to the family of Hume. It stood on a little promontory a few miles north of Coldingham.

minge, yelded themselves symplie; and there ys also certeine garrison appoynted there for the keypyng of yt. Assuredlie, my lorde, all the hole cuntre here

submytt themselves to my lorde

Haddington

newes that hathe here happened sythens o' arryvall here; and as occasion shall happen, I shall adv'tyse yo' Lordship from tyme to tyme, as I can gett convenient messengers. Thus, leving to troble yo' lordship ané further, I com^mitt you to the Almightye, who, ever p'serve you in helth and long lyfe, with increase of great honor. Frome Barwick, this vth of May.

“ Yo' Lordshippe's at com^maundment for ev',

“ (Signed)

ROB^t. CONSTABLE.

“ To the right honorable and his most
espehall good Lorde, th' Erle of
Shrosbury, gyve this.
In hast, hast, hast.”*

The measures adopted by James VI. with the advice of his ministers, (of whom James Stewart, Earl of Arran, was the chief,) who are represented as “ insatiable in their avarice, cruel in their malice, and unsatisfiable in their suspicions,” were considered by the Earl of Angus, the Earl of Mar, and a great proportion of the nobles, as subversive of both the civil and religious liberties of the subject; they, therefore, in order to rid the king of his mal advisers, and to save the country, resolved, after every other method had failed, to assemble their forces at Stirling, there to renew their supplications to his majesty, to intimate to him their

* Lodge, vol. II. p. 42.

grievances, and to issue a declaration expressive of their views and intentions. Having there met, they obtained possession of the castle, (18th April, 1584,) and a Colonel Stuart was sent with 500 men to take them prisoners, when, finding they had not force sufficient to make an effectual resistance, they retired during the night, with the determination to quit the kingdom. Passing, in their route towards England, near to Kelso, where the Earl of Bothwell, (grandson to King James V., and commendator of Kelso,) then was, he secretly came out and held a conference with them; after which, to make it appear as if he had done this in order to prevent their escape, a counterfeit chase took place for about a mile, till they reached English ground. Next day they proceeded to Berwick, where they were received, and there remained for some time; but this place being too near the Scottish capital for them to continue with safety, especially as Lord Hunsdon, the governor, was on friendly terms with the Scottish court, they were removed first to Newcastle, thence to Norwich, and afterwards to London, for the avowed purpose of answering to charges exhibited against them by the ambassador of the King of Scotland, as rebels and traitors. This, however, was merely a pretext, the real cause of their removal to London being to concert measures for their return. The Earl of Arran, who had so long governed the kingdom, having, by his injustice, cruelty, and rapacity, excited the universal disgust and indignation of the nation; the banished,

or rather fugitive lords, were accordingly brought to trial, in the month of April, 1585, before a certain number of the councillors of England, appointed by the queen; and although the Scottish ambassador (who was, nevertheless, though secretly, heartily attached to their cause) seemingly did everything in his power to procure their condemnation, their innocence appeared to be so clearly established, that they were acquitted most honourably of every charge brought against them.

The ambassador, having thus executed his mission, left England, where he secretly lent his aid in maturing the plan for their return; and the English ambassador at the court of James was, at the same time, ordered to use all his influence with his majesty to have them recalled.

In this state of things, the Earl of Angus, the Earl of Mar, and the Master of Glamis, left London, and arrived on the Borders in the month of October, 1585, where they remained a short time; and afterwards proceeded to Kelso, where they were kindly received by the Earl of Bothwell, with whom they abode two or three days, and were then joined by Lord Hume, and others of their friends. From this they went to Jedburgh, and there published a manifesto declaratory of their intentions, and also justifying their previous conduct as dictated by the imperious necessity of the case. They now openly avowed that their purpose was to rescue the king from the power of such wicked and dangerous councillors as the Earl of Arran and his

party, and called upon every subject, in the king's name, to assist in this work. From Jedburgh they pushed on by rapid marches, taking Hamilton and Falkirk in their route, to St Ninian's, in the neighbourhood of Stirling, having with them about 4000 men; and, on the very morning after their arrival, about daybreak, they surprised the town, which they took without almost any opposition; the Earl of Arran having made his escape, and the Earls of Rothes, Glencairn, and Errol, being made prisoners. The castle, where the king resided, being unprovided for a siege even of two days, his majesty, in great wrath, sent a message by his secretary to the Lords, demanding to know the meaning of this disloyal behaviour. They answered,—“Necessity.” And as they had no intention of doing any harm to his royal person, or to offer his majesty any insult, so would they, on their knees, beg pardon, if they were admitted into his presence. This answer, in some measure, calmed his fury, and he replied, “That although he did not approve of Arran's violent measures, yet he was not less displeased with their actions.” The nobles were shortly after received by the king, who granted them his pardon, which was afterwards confirmed by a Parliament held at Linlithgow; and the party, to the satisfaction of the country, was restored to favour.* †

* Godscroft, p. 388, *et seq.* Maitland, vol. II. p. 1181. Ridpath, p. 665-6.

† It is inferred, from letters of James which are extant, that he

On the return of James VI., in 1590, from his matrimonial expedition to Denmark, he and his council were much occupied with the numerous prosecutions which at this time were instituted against the lowest of the community, upon charges of witchcraft and sorcery; and it often happened that, to escape the horrid tortures to which the poor wretches who had the misfortune to be suspected of these crimes were exposed, many of them acknowledged their guilt, and made confessions which afford sufficient evidence that they were either extorted by, or emitted through the dread of, these tortures.

The Earl of Bothwell, an ambitious and intriguing character, and who, during the king's absence, held the second place in the council of the regency, was the object of fear, mistrust, and envy, to all those who were actuated by a similar ambition.

That he little regarded the means, whether of violence or deceit, by which he might attain his object, there is no reason to dispute; but there is every reason to doubt that a man of his intrepidity and intelligence would have resorted to means which, in his judgment,

was privy to the whole of this business, which he secretly encouraged; but, from weakness of intellect, or want of resolution, he could not be induced to act openly or decisively against Arran and his party, to whom he was still so partial, that before receiving the banished lords into favour, or conferring on them the government, he exacted from them a promise that they would not molest his former servants, and that they would bury in oblivion all personal or family quarrels between them.

he must have considered as altogether inadequate to his purpose. Be this as it may, history informs us, that in the examinations of certain witches and sorcerers, the king and his council received information that the earl, while the king was abroad, had consulted with some of these wretches how his majesty's life might be shortened. On this information the earl was apprehended, and committed to the Castle of Edinburgh (June 22, 1591,) upon a charge of high-treason, in order to take his trial. After two months' confinement, he effected his escape, and fled to the south, where, having collected a few followers, he was joined by the Lord of Hume.

The Earl of Bothwell, for this act, having been declared a traitor, and all who had connected themselves with him having experienced the same treatment, their fortunes and his became inseparable. The king, therefore, summoned a council, to which he required the presence of the Lord of Hume, with the view of engaging all his nobles to assist in the apprehension or subjugation of the Earl of Bothwell. Lord Hume refusing to attend this meeting, the barons of the district entered into a bond, in consequence of this refusal, to act against them both. Bothwell, in consequence, fled into England, and Lord Hume took shelter in Flanders; but shortly afterwards transmitting his submission to the king, he was pardoned, and allowed to return to the kingdom.

Bothwell still remained upon the Borders, and kept

up a correspondence with some of his majesty's domestics in the Palace of Holyroodhouse, who favoured his design of procuring possession of the king's person; and a fit opportunity, as he supposed, offering, he, by a rapid march, reached the palace, which he entered through a private passage, accompanied by a band of resolute and desperate men; and would have effected his purpose but for the intervention of some faithful and well-affected servants, who gave the alarm in sufficient time to allow the king to retire to a place of safety, and to obtain help from the city, (December 27, 1591.) The earl was, in consequence, obliged to retire, but his design was not abandoned, for he afterwards made the same attempt at Falkland, when the king very narrowly escaped falling into his hands.

The immediate effects of these two attempts to seize his person, were the assembling of a large force by the king to follow after and take Bothwell; who, aware of his inability to withstand this force, again took refuge in England, imploring the protection of the queen, and her good offices with the King of Scotland to receive him again into favour.

Although he did not obtain his object in this way, yet, through his influence with his friends, the Stewarts, he was allowed to return, and was admitted into the presence of the king at Holyroodhouse, (1598,) who, at the solicitation of this party, granted a pardon to him and his accomplices, with the restitution of all their property. The king, however, considering this

promise as extorted from him, took the earliest occasion that offered of calling a convention at Stirling; when, upon due deliberation, the king was absolved from this promise, and it was determined to send a message to the earl, offering pardon to him and his followers, if supplication was made in a certain time, but only on condition of his leaving the kingdom during his majesty's pleasure.

These terms were accepted by Bothwell; but learning that Hume had been allowed to return to court, he threatened the king that he would oblige him to fulfil the promise given to him at Holyroodhouse; and, despairing of this by negotiation, again took up arms to enforce it. He was, in consequence, summoned to appear before the council, and failing so to do, was a second time denounced a rebel.

Bothwell, aware of the distracted state of the country, and knowing well the irresolute temper of the king, had obtained the concurrence of a number of powerful nobles in his attempt to overthrow the present measures of the court; and in this he was encouraged, (though secretly,) by the English cabinet, who regarded James in heart, attached to the Catholic cause, which Elizabeth was endeavouring, by every means in her power, to destroy. The king, irritated by the obstinacy of Bothwell, yet desirous of avoiding the last extremity, summoned a convention at Linlithgow; wherein it was agreed to offer to Bothwell, and to his confederates,

(Huntly and Errol,) the restitution of their estates, on the condition of their quitting the kingdom. The clergy, however, opposing this, as betraying the cause of religion, and as contrary to the repeated declarations of the king, it became void.

Meanwhile the king, aware that the excommunicated popish lords had entered into a league to send to Spain for an army to assist them in the invasion of England, for the purpose of delivering the Spanish Catholics who had fallen into the hands of the queen, sent an embassy to the court of Queen Elizabeth, requesting money, to defend the kingdom against the landing of the Spaniards, to enable him to punish these popish lords ; and at the same time requesting Bothwell to be delivered up.

The Queen, still distrustful of James, did not comply with his requests to the extent he expected. A small sum of money was given to him ; and, with respect to Bothwell, her answer was, " that, agreeable to treaty, he would be delivered up, or sent from the kingdom." Still, however, she secretly encouraged Bothwell, who continued lurking about the Borders.

The rejection of the offers made by the king to Bothwell and his adherents, on the recommendation of the convention held at Linlithgow, to which, without doubt, he was stimulated by the promises of the English court, incensed his majesty to that degree, that he resolved to bring the whole of them to instant trial ; and for this purpose summoned them to surrender themselves prisoners in certain castles. This they refused ; and this

refusal, joined to the certain intelligence the King had received of the dealings of the English ambassador with these rebels, so irritated him, that he assembled a body of troops, (April 1594,) amounting to upwards of 1000 men, at Kelso, under the command of Lord Hume, Lairds Cessford and Buccleugh, to oppose Bothwell, should he attempt to enter the kingdom; where, after remaining for some time, they dispersed. Bothwell, apprized of this, immediately crossed the Borders, and arrived at Kelso with 400 horse, well armed and equipped, where he was joined by Lord Ochiltree, with 100 men. With this small force he left Kelso next day, and proceeding by way of Dalkeith, he marched to Leith, in expectation of being joined by Atholl and others.

Disappointed, however, in meeting these chiefs, he resolved to make good his retreat by the same route to the Borders; and accordingly, in the course of the night, leaving Leith, he drew up his men in order of battle on the plain between Leith and Edinburgh, where he continued till mid-day, in open defiance of the king's troops. On his advance south, when but a short distance from the metropolis, he was followed by Lord Home; but, turning suddenly upon him, he attacked and defeated his troops, pursuing them to the vicinity of the Burrow-moor, where the king was encamped with the citizens of Edinburgh, and his artillery; and the pursuit was only stopped on his receiving a fall from his horse, by which he was severely bruised.

Next day he retired unmolested to Dalkeith, and af-

terwards to Kelso, where his forces separated ; and he again retired into England.

Matters by this time having been in some measure explained and adjusted between Elizabeth and James, she by proclamation forbade Bothwell coming into England, or being received into any dwelling-house. He then returned to Scotland, where he made a fruitless attempt to obtain assistance from his old friends ; and after wandering for some time as an exile in Caithness, he again withdrew to England ; but fearing lest he might be apprehended, and sent to Scotland as a rebel, (according to the agreement between the two courts,) he took refuge, first in France, afterwards in Spain, and lastly in Italy ; dragging out a miserable existence, unpitied and forgotten.

Meanwhile his vast estates were confiscated by King James, who divided them among the following chiefs, formerly his partizans, but now his enemies. To Lord Hume he gave Coldinghame ; Kelso to Robert Carr of Cessford ; and Liddisdale to Walter Scott of Buccleugh ; while the wife and family of Bothwell were left with scarcely any support.*

From the period when the reformation in Germany had obtained something like a firm foundation, and the doctrines and principles of the two great leaders in that important event had gained a footing in England and Scotland, the whole power of the Roman Pontiff was

* Bidpath, p. 686.

exerted in both countries to prevent their dissemination and increase. Notwithstanding every attempt, whether by insinuation and flattery, or by force and persecution, to attain this end, these opinions soon obtained a preponderant influence in either kingdom.

The contention in both countries, while under separate monarchs, was principally confined to the broad basis of Protestantism against Popery; and in this warfare their success was complete,—Popery being so far abolished, that the Protestant became the established religion in both.

No sooner, however, was the government of the two kingdoms vested in one sovereign, than a scheme was formed for effecting a uniformity in rites, principles, and doctrine, throughout the empire; and the king, (Charles I.) easily falling in with the forms of worship and doctrine established in England, lent all his authority to the plans formed by the bigotted and persecuting bishops to carry this purpose into effect. Thus were sown the seeds of all the calamities which befel both countries in this and the three succeeding reigns.

The Scots, who under James had received a modified Episcopacy, soon imbibed so violent a dislike of an hierarchical polity, and their attachment to Presbytery (which had so powerfully been inculcated by the zeal of Knox and Melville) became so strong, that they regarded everything connected with Episcopacy as so many symbols of Popery. As such, they viewed the attempts of Charles I. to introduce a new Liturgy and

canons into the Kirk of Scotland, and entered into a covenant to stand by each other, even at the risk of their lives, in opposing this imprudent and tyrannical measure.

The king, however, notwithstanding of every remonstrance, still persevered; and, urged on by his advisers, of whom Archbishop Laud was the chief, determined, at all hazards, to force upon the Scots nation a form of worship no less obnoxious to their feelings than contrary to his own interest and duties. The consequence of this infatuated policy was a civil war.

The measure, however, being determined on, orders were sent to Scotland that the new Liturgy should be read in all the churches on Easter Sunday, 1637; but the opposition expected to be made to it so strongly appeared, that it was not carried into effect on that day, nor was it attempted to be read until farther orders should be received from his majesty. These orders soon came, and the ecclesiastics were commanded to perform this service, under high penalties. Accordingly, next Sabbath it was attempted in the Cathedral Church of St Giles, at Edinburgh, the archbishops, bishops, lords of session, and magistrates, being present; but the tumult was such that it became necessary to turn out the greater part of the congregation by force; and the doors being shut against them, the service was gone through; the multitude, however, continuing their riotous behaviour without, by assailing the church with stones, venting their execrations against the king and his

council, and threatening the lives of those who had performed the service, the military was called out for their protection. At the same time, petitions from various parts of Scotland were addressed to the king, complaining of this measure, and setting forth their reasons for refusing to obey his commands in this instance. To these representations the king returned a most unfavourable answer; at the same time, he issued a proclamation, forbidding the people to meet for framing petitions, upon pain of high-treason. Against this stretch of power a strong protest was taken by a number of noblemen, barons, ministers, and burghers, who asserted their right to petition the king, and declared, that all their proceedings in this affair were only for the preservation of the true reformed religion, the laws and liberties of the kingdom.

The assembling of such multitudes in contravention of the king's proclamation, inspired the council with apprehension of danger; they therefore recommended that the four classes above-mentioned should choose a certain number of delegates to meet concerning this business, till the king's pleasure should be known. This was agreed to, and the rest of the people returned quietly to their homes. These delegates having met at Edinburgh, commissioners were chosen by them to digest the matters agreed to by the whole body, whose decision on these points was to be final. The first thing the commissioners decided upon was the renewal of the solemn league and covenant subscribed by King

James, his household, and by the whole Scots nation; and to this was added a narrative of the different acts of Parliament, by which the reformed religion had been ratified since that time; and also a declaration of all the innovations that had taken place contrary to the king's coronation oath, and the established doctrines of the church; and that they would not yield obedience unto them until the same were sanctioned by a General Assembly and by Parliament. A copy of this act being sent to his majesty for his concurrence, he was so much displeas'd, that he set his face against it, and was determin'd not to be thwarted in his original design. This declaration, nevertheless, was signed with great solemnity and devotion at Edinburgh, in February 1638, and copies sent through the whole kingdom for the same purpose; and so eager were the Scots to subscribe, that, by the month of April, there was scarcely a Presbyterian whose name was not affixed to it.

Such bold proceedings on the part of the Scots had this effect, that the king was induc'd to call his council, in order to consider the measures proper to be adopted, to prevent the resort to arms; but, at the same time, to enforce obedience to his mandates. At this council it was determin'd to appoint commissioners to hear and to deliberate upon the grievances complain'd of, and, if possible, to effect a reconciliation:—should this prove ineffectual, to employ coercive means in order to obtain submission.

To second these views, the Marquis of Hamilton was

appointed his majesty's high commissioner to Scotland, with instructions, *for the present*, to suspend the use of the Liturgy, but, nevertheless, to require the covenant to be delivered up within six weeks. The marquis was very well received on his arrival at Edinburgh, but when the nature of his powers were made public, they were not found at all calculated to allay the ferment the former procedure of his majesty had produced ; so that, after making every endeavour to obtain the end of his mission, he was obliged to represent to the king the necessity either of yielding to the people, or of speedily quelling the malcontents by force. The latter advice was unfortunately followed, and his majesty, upon receipt of this intelligence, declared the Covenanters rebels, and made preparations to reduce them to obedience.

In the meantime, the Covenanters, aware of the king's determination, used every exertion to resist it, and for this purpose an army was raised, the command of which was given to General Lesley, (who was sent for from Germany, and who, upon this occasion, quitted the Swedish service ;) they also secured the castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton, but, at the same time, were miserably deficient in arms, ammunition, and money. The command of the king's forces was intrusted to the Marquis of Hamilton.

The army of the Covenanters, which amounted to from seventeen to eighteen thousand men, was ordered to rendezvous at Duase, from whence it went to Kelso.

In the meantime, the king having taken the field in person, arrived at Birks, in the neighbourhood of Berwick, where he pitched his camp; and where, on the 2d June, 1639, he received information that the Scots had established their quarters at Kelso. His majesty hereupon called a council of war, when it was determined to send the Earl of Holland against them with one thousand horse, and three thousand foot. This force crossed the Tweed the next day at Twisle, but, from the intense heat, although somewhat refreshed by crossing the river, they were scarcely able to proceed. Having, however, arrived within a short distance of the Covenanters' army, a herald was dispatched to demand the reason of such a warlike advance; but a large body of horse and foot, which had hitherto been concealed, coming suddenly upon the English, they, after a little deliberation, judged it prudent to retreat; and arriving at the camp, their discomfiture tended in no small degree to discourage the king's army,—a great portion of which was by no means hearty in the cause.

The following letter, sent from Sir Henry Vane to the Marquis of Hamilton, will show the state of affairs at this time:—

“ MY LORD,

“ By the dispatch Sir James Hamilton brought your lordship from his Majesty's sacred pen, you were left at your liberty to commit any act of hostility upon the rebels, when your lordship should find it most opportune. Since which, my Lord Holland, with 1000 horse, and 3000 foot, marched

towards Kelsey, himself advanced towards them with the horse, (leaving the foot three miles behind,) to a place called Maxwell-heugh, a height above Kelsey; which, when the rebels discovered, they instantly marched out with 150 horse, and (as my Lord Holland says) eight or ten thousand foot; five or six thousand there might have bin. He thereupon sent a trumpet, commanding them to retreat, according to what they had promised by the proclamation. They asked, whose trumpet he was? He said, my Lord Holland's. Their answer was, He were best to be gone. And so my Lord Holland made his retreat, and waited on his majesty this night to give him this account.

“ This morning advertisement is brought his majesty that Lesley, with 12,000 men, is at Cockburnspath, that 5000 men will be this night or to-morrow at Duncce, 6000 at Kelsey; so his majesty's opinion is, with many of his council, to keep himself upon a defensive, and make himself here as fast as he can; for his majesty doth now clearly see, and is fully satisfied in his own judgment, that what passed in the gallery* betwixt his majesty, your lordship, and myself, hath bin but too much verified on this occasion; and therefore his majesty would not have you to begin with them, but to settle things with you in a safe and good posture, and yourself to come hither in person, to consult what counsels are fit to be taken, as the affairs now hold. And so, wishing your lordship a speedy passage, I rest,

“ Your lordship's

“ most humble servant,

“ and faithful friend,

“ H. VANE.

“ From the Camp at
Huntley-field, this
4th of June, 1639.”

* That the nobility and gentry of England would never incline to invade Scotland, and thereby begin an offensive war.

The day following, the King's camp was thrown into considerable alarm by the approach of the Scottish army, which took up its station at Dunse Hill. This gave the king occasion to find fault with the director of his scouts, who had permitted this advance to be made without giving him timely information. At this period the two armies were encamped in sight of each other, but neither had an inclination to offer battle; and the provisions of the English beginning to fail, they were the less inclined for hostile proceedings. A council was accordingly held the second day after, when proposals for a reconciliation were made, which being accepted, the Scottish army was disbanded; the king having consented to allow them the free enjoyment of the privileges secured to them by various declarations and acts of Parliament.

This peace, however, was not of long duration; for we find the Scottish army advancing the year following to Newcastle, where a battle took place, in which they were victorious, and obtained possession of the town. Another treaty was shortly after concluded by commissioners appointed by both parties; but this also proving unsatisfactory, neither of them considered it binding.

Had, however, the king been sincere in his desire for peace, the above treaties, although defective, might have had the effect of preserving tranquillity; but from his vacillating conduct, in always granting what was wrested from him in the hour of danger, and receding

as soon as that danger ceased to exist, the Covenanters found that no faith could be placed either in his promises, his declarations, or his treaties. Accordingly, finding themselves so repeatedly deceived, they prepared for the worst.

At this time matters were in a very critical state; the king, who still had a strong party in England and Ireland, had been very successful in his operations in the west and south of England, which gave the English parliament serious alarm. In this dilemma, and when they daily expected that he would march upon the capital, they applied for assistance to the Scots, who consented to make common cause with them, but only on condition that the Solemn League and Covenant should be recognized and signed by the English nation, and thus become the bond of their union. This being agreed upon by the Parliament, and the Assembly of Divines, then sitting at Westminster, it was solemnly sworn to and signed by the House of Commons, and the Assembly, on the 25th of September. On the 15th of October, it was subscribed by the lords. The lords of his majesty's council were afterwards summoned to sign it, which some of them refusing, they were declared enemies to religion, their king and country, and their goods ordained to be seized, and their persons apprehended. To avoid the latter, many of them left the country. On the 2d February following, (1644,) it was published throughout the kingdom, accompanied with an exhortation drawn up by the Assembly, recommending the people to receive it, and requesting that all

above the age of eighteen years should subscribe the same.

The treaty of union being thus completed, the Covenanters ordered their army to march to England, which took possession of Berwick in the month of December, and on the 19th of January, 1644, crossed the Tweed, to the number of 21,000, under the command of General Lesley;* and being joined to the forces under Lord Fairfax, the Earl of Manchester, and Lieutenant-General Cromwell, they laid siege to the city of York, which being relieved by Prince Rupert, a battle took place on Marston Moor, wherein the prince was defeated, with the loss of 3000 men, and the whole of his artillery. He then retired to Chester, leaving the whole of the garrisons in the north in the power of the Covenanters, to whom they submitted in the course of the ensuing summer.†

* General Lesley was created Earl of Leven, Lord Balgonie, by King Charles, in 1641, and received his patent with great solemnity in the presence of the parliament at Edinburgh, on the 6th November, the king himself placing the coronet on his head. See Sir J. Balfour, v. III. p. 139.

† Kelso appears at this time to have been the depot where troops were collected, in order to furnish reinforcements to the army in England; as we see by a proclamation published at the Cross of Edinburgh, on the 11th of June this year, for the commanders and officers under the Earl of Kalender's charge to repair to the rendezvous at Kelso.—Robertson's Index.

In the same year, on account of some of the English forces in the king's interest being in the neighbourhood of Kelso, the Scots Parliament, on the 10th of April, passed an act, prohibiting the exportation of grain from Scotland to England by land:—

“ The Estatis presentlie convened, considering, that in respect of

The war being thus ended in this quarter, we hear nothing of the Covenanters' army, till, in the year 1645, we find the Marquis of Douglas and Lord Ogilvie sent, by order of Montrose, into the shires of Annandale and Nithsdale, to prevent Lesley from advancing with his army towards the Borders. In the meantime Lesley, having marched to Berwick, took the Earls of Roxburgh and Hume prisoners. On learning this, Montrose marched to Kelso, and from thence to Jedburgh, and afterwards to Selkirk, where, having quartered his cavalry in the town, he placed his infantry in a wood at a little distance from it. Lesley, however, having followed him unobserved to that town, came upon him by surprise, on the 13th of September, and taking him thus unawares, the English army was thrown into the utmost confusion; and before they could recover from it, Lesley had commenced his attack on their right wing. The English, unable to make any effectual resistance, were beat back, and forced to beg for quarter: Lesley, nevertheless, commanded them to be cut in pieces. The route being complete, the whole baggage fell into the hands of the Scottish army.

The next mention we find of the army of the Cove-

some Englishe trouperis lying on the way of Northumberland, That it is not saif that any meale be carried frome Kelso into England be land, Do therefore discharge all carieing of anie victuale into England be land, bot be order of the Comittees of Estatus of this kingdome; and recomendis to the Committee of Warre of Roxburgh, Selkirk, To see this order punctuallie observed."—*Acts of Parliament*, vol. VI. p. 84.

nanters, is in 1647, when, by an agreement entered into by commissioners appointed for this purpose, it left Newcastle, on the 30th of January, for Berwick; and from thence, on the 11th of February, marched to Kelso. This place had been fixed upon as the rendezvous of the whole army, which was to assemble in the abbey; and having there met, six regiments of horse were disbanded, on delivering up their arms, and taking the following oath: "That they should commit no manner of violence on the roads they were to take in going to their own houses; that they should continue faithful to the League and Covenant betwixt the two kingdoms; and, lastly, that they should never ingage themselves in any party against these two crowns."^{*}

The circumstances attending this prolonged and unnatural war are so well known, that we forbear to enlarge farther on the subject. The grand object for which both nations took up arms was obtained, and the Presbyterian form of worship fully acknowledged and established in Scotland. Happy it is for us that we live in an age when liberty of conscience is enjoyed, and every one is allowed to practise in peace whatever mode of worship is most congenial to his own mind and conscience.

In the year 1645, the inhabitants of Kelso were

^{*} Monteith, p. 59, *et seq.* Rushworth, vol. I. p. 19, *et seq.* Nelson, vol. I. p. 230, *et seq.* Thurloe's State Papers, vol. I. p. 19, *et seq.* Gordon's Fam. of Gordon, vol. II. p. 305-489. Neal, vol. I. p. 230, *et seq.* Burnet's Duke of Hamilton, p. 139.

doomed to suffer from one of the most severe calamities with which the human race can be visited. The plague, which for some time past had been raging at Newcastle, was brought thither, where it commenced its ravages with all the fury natural to that disease. How long it continued the scourge of the inhabitants we are not informed, but it afterwards broke out in Edinburgh, where it was so fatal, that Parliament removed from thence to Stirling, where the same distemper soon after appearing, they adjourned their sittings to the 24th day of July, to be then held at Perth.*

About the year 1648, the election of commissioners for the church gave rise to much contention, and occasioned many private quarrels, which it was feared might end in another civil war. In consequence, a number of English officers who had been discharged, tendered their services, and in a very short time upwards of 100 arrived at Kelso and Peebles, with the expectation of being employed. Apprehensive, however, that their views in coming to Scotland might be misrepresented or misconstrued, they sent two of their body as a deputation to Parliament, to explain their reasons for so doing; but no rupture taking place, their services were not required.†

No town in Scotland has been more frequently visited by fire, or suffered more from that destructive element, than the town of Kelso. During the wars between

* Guthrie's Mem. p. 189.

† Ibid. p. 261.

the two kingdoms, being peculiarly exposed to the inroads of the English, it repeatedly fell a prey to the flames, the invaders having, every time they got possession of the town, destroyed it more or less. It has also suffered much from wicked incendiaries, who have frequently attempted to lay it in ruins by setting fire to it in different places.

In the month of March, in the year 1684,* it was totally destroyed by an accidental fire which broke out at two different places, and raged with such fury, that the flames could not be subdued before the whole of the town was consumed. In consequence of this awful calamity, a proclamation† was issued on the 17th of April following, recommending a general collection throughout the kingdom, for the relief of the suffering inhabitants, and for the purpose of rebuilding the town. About eighty years ago it met with nearly a similar fate; and, since that period, it has suffered considerably at different times, from the acts of wilful incendiaries. So frequent were the attempts at wilful fire-raising, that the inhabitants were put in the utmost consternation from the dread of having their dwellings burned during the night; and it was deemed necessary to institute a nightly watch for their safety. For this purpose, a portion of the inhabitants were selected every evening, and placed under the direction of some respectable householder,

* Law's Mem. p. 261. Fountainhall, p. 35, 91.

† We are sorry we cannot procure a copy of this proclamation; but we find, from the records of the city of Edinburgh, that on this occasion a liberal sum was raised by subscription for relief of the sufferers.

whose duty it was to take care that they patrolled the streets from sunset till the break of day. Happily these precautions are now become unnecessary, nothing of this diabolical nature having been attempted for several years past.

The rebellion which broke out in the year 1715, for the purpose of replacing the house of Stuart on the throne they had for so many centuries possessed, was for some time confined to the northern provinces, the rebels not having acquired sufficient strength or confidence to proceed southwards. In the month of October, however, when they had obtained possession of the whole coast of Fife, they meditated an attempt on the southern counties; and, having landed a considerable body of their forces on the Lothian shore of the Forth, at Aberlady, North Berwick, and other places adjacent, they marched to Haddington and Tranent, where they quartered the first night; next day they marched to Edinburgh, which they expected to have taken by surprise, and to have been joined by a number of the inhabitants; but being disappointed, and learning that the Duke of Argyle was rapidly advancing from Stirling with a strong detachment of dragoons, they changed their plan, and resolved to attack the town of Leith, which they took possession of without resistance; and, to guard against surprise, they placed their troops in the citadel, (an old demolished fort built by Oliver Cromwell,) which they fortified with cannon taken out of the ships in the harbour.

The Duke of Argyle having, in the meantime, arrived, he hastened to attack them with 400 horse, and 200 foot, but finding them so strongly posted that he could not act against them without artillery, he returned to Edinburgh to make the necessary preparations for attacking them next day.

Informed of his intention, and aware of their inability to withstand the force he was able to bring against them, and, at the same time, despairing of any rising of the people in their favour, the rebels determined to effect their retreat under cover of the darkness of the night. Accordingly, taking advantage of the low ebb of the tide, they quitted the fort, and marching off by the head of the pier on the sands, they crossed the mouth of the river to the knees only in water, with so much silence, that they effected their escape unobserved, and marching eastward, came safe to Seaton-house, in the immediate neighbourhood of Musselburgh, with the loss of about forty stragglers only.

While posted there, several ineffectual attempts were made by detachments from the garrison of Edinburgh to dislodge them; but having received intelligence that a considerable rising had been effected in Northumberland in favour of the Pretender,* under the command

* Patten, in his History of the Rebellion, states, that the rebels who had taken arms in Northumberland, on learning of General Carpenter's approach, and that the Highlanders were on their march to Kelso, resolved to join them at this place, and having left Wooler for this purpose, when they came near to the town they halted on a moor to arrange their troops and to appoint officers. "Whilst they

of Mr Forster, and also of the south-country gentlemen under the command of Lord Viscount Kenmure; and at the same time receiving an express from Mr Forster inviting them to meet him at Kelso, they resolved immediately to quit this station, and to march to the south. They accordingly left Seaton-house on the 19th of October, and arrived next day at Dunse, where, after having proclaimed the Pretender, they took up their quarters for the night. The next morning, the 22d, they marched towards Kelso, where the English and Scotch horse, (*i. e.* the Northumberland and Nithsdale rebels,) had arrived; and so excessively were they exhilarated by the accounts they had received of the gallantry and good conduct manifested by the Highlanders in crossing the Frith, and their future proceedings, that the Nithsdale cavalry, without halting at Kelso, proceeded to Ednam Bridge to greet their arrival, and triumphantly conducted them to the town, where the whole of the rebel forces was now collected.*

were thus employed, there came some townsmen from Kelso and acquainted the rebels that Sir William Bennet of Grubbet, who had been in Kelso, and had barricadoed the town, pretending to keep post there, had gone off in the night with his men, and that they might enter the town without opposition; so they continued their march, and crossing the Tweed, though very deep at that time, and rapid, they entered the town. The Highlanders came into the town presently after, from the Scots side, with their bagpipes playing, led by old Mackintosh, but they made a very indifferent figure, for the rain and their long marches had extremely fatigued them, though their old brigadier, who marched at the head of them, appeared very well."

* Although the rebels acquired peaceable possession of the town at

Next day, being Sunday, Lord Kenmure, commanding in chief, ordered Mr Patten, chaplain to Mr Forster, to preach in the forenoon at the "Great Kirk," and gave orders that all the men should attend divine service. In the afternoon, Mr William Irvine, a Scottish clergyman, delivered an eloquent discourse, strenuously exhorting his audience to be zealous and steady in the cause. Next morning, the Highlanders were drawn up in the church-yard, and marched with colours flying, drums beating, and bagpipes playing, to the Market-place, where they were formed into a circle, having an inner circle composed of the gentlemen volunteers, within which stood the lords and other gentry. Si-

this period, it does not appear that the inhabitants were friendly to the cause; for, "on the 8th of August, the inhabitants of Kelso assembled in their church, and with the utmost unanimity subscribed the following agreement:—'We, subscribers, do, by these presents, bind and oblige ourselves, by the blessing of God, to assist and stand by one another in defence of our lawful sovereign, King George, the succession of the crown happily established by law, and the Protestant religion, in opposition to a Popish Pretender, and all his abettors.' Next day Mr Chatto, a magistrate, assisted by the neighbouring gentlemen, Mr Ramsay, the minister, and the principal inhabitants, concerted measures for their mutual defence. Besides those who were already armed, 120 muskets were given to a select number of the inhabitants, under the command of proper officers, and distributed through the several wards of the town. Such was the resolution of the inhabitants of this place, which was merely a burgh of regality belonging to the Duke of Roxburghe, that a hundred more offered their services than could be supplied with arms. They were reviewed by Sir William Bonnet, of Grubbet, and Sir John Pringle, of Stitchel, Barts. Indeed, the whole of Teviotdale displayed a great attachment to the principles of the Revolution."—*Charles' Trans. in Scotland*, vol. 1. p. 224.

lence being commanded, the trumpet sounded, and Seaton of Barns, who assumed the title of Earl of Dunfermline, proclaimed the Pretender, in the following terms :—

“ Whereas, by the decease of the late King James the Seventh, the imperial crowns of these realms did lineally descend to his lawful heir and son, our sovereign James the Eighth ; we, the lords, &c., do declare him our lawful king over Scotland, England,” &c.

Afterwards was read the manifesto of the Earl of Mar, and the other noblemen, gentlemen, &c., asserting the undoubted right of their lawful sovereign, James the Eighth, to the crown, and for relieving the kingdom from its oppressions and grievances, arising particularly from the union of the two kingdoms, the heavy taxes levied, and the large debts imposed for the maintenance of foreign troops ; which being finished, the people, with loud acclamations, shouted, No union ! No malt ! No salt-tax !

This ceremony having been concluded, the Highlanders were sent to their quarters, where they remained till the 27th, during which time nothing material occurred except searching for fire-arms and ammunition, of which, however, they did not find much, having only picked up a few muskets,* some pieces of cannon

* The following very uncommon accident happened while the rebels lay in Kelso, which, from its singularity, deserves to be recorded :—“ A Highlander having taken the lock from his musket, he laid down the barrel, &c., across the arms of a chair, whilst he, at two yards’ distance, having cleaned, and was trying the lock, a spark of fire flew from it directly, and most exactly, to the touch-hole of the

which formerly belonged to Hume Castle, some broadswords, and a small quantity of gun-powder which lay concealed in the church.

General Carpenter, commanding the royal troops who were sent in pursuit of the rebels, having now arrived at Wooler, and purposing to be at Kelso on the 28th, Lord Kenmure, on receiving this intelligence, called a council of war to consider the proper measures to be adopted, when it being agreed to retire from Kelso, he marched immediately from thence to Jedburgh; and it being afterwards decided that the army should advance into England, they proceeded to Preston, where they were surrounded by the royal army, and forced to surrender prisoners at discretion. Here the Earls of Nithsdale and Wintoun, Lord Viscount Kenmure, and Lord Nairn, were made prisoners.*

In the year 1718, a General Commission of Oyer and Terminer was appointed for the trial of those implicated in the late rebellion; the Right Honourable the Lord Justice-Clerk, Lord Pencaitland, and Lord Newhall, were the commissioners, and they were to sit at Perth, Dundee, Cupar, and Kelso. On the 15th of September they left Edinburgh for Perth, attended by a great number of gentlemen and lawyers, to commence their sittings; and having been detained longer in the

piece, which was loaded, and went off and wounded three children sitting round the fire; and it was the more strange, that at such a distance, by mere chance, a spark should direct its way to the touch-hole, and the bullet should wound all the three children who did not sit in a line."—PATTEN.

* Patten's Hist. of Rebellion, p. 18, *et seq.*

north than they expected, Lord Newhall was sent from Cupar to Kelso to adjourn the court for some days, till the other judges should arrive. The court, however, met at Kelso the 4th of October, when only a single case was presented for its consideration, which was against a Mr Cranston; but the grand jury having returned the bill, *ignoramus*, the jury was dismissed, and the court adjourned. On the 7th of October, the lords returned to Edinburgh.*

Notwithstanding the unsuccessful termination of the attempt made by the Pretender in the years 1715-16, to wrest the sceptre of these realms from the reigning family, he still maintained a secret correspondence with the disaffected nobles and others, who only waited a proper opportunity to renew the same scenes of bloodshed and misery which had accompanied and followed the former rebellion.

This opportunity seemed to offer itself in the year 1745, when, from the disputes in parliament, carried on with unusual acrimony between the Whig and Tory parties, foreign powers, but especially France, considered the nation ripe for revolt. That power, ever jealous of the increasing prosperity of Great Britain, judged this period, therefore, most favourable for assisting the Chevalier de St George to regain possession of the throne of his ancestors, the people being represented as groaning under the oppression of a foreigner, and burdened for purposes destructive of British liberty.

* Scots Courant, 1718.

The French ministry, desirous of distracting the British councils, and of forcing King George to withdraw his support from Austria and her allies, concerted measures with the Chevalier, then residing at Rome, for an invasion of these kingdoms.

Tempted by the lavish promises of support in men and money, the Chevalier readily fell into their views; but being incapable of engaging personally in the expedition, on account of his advanced age, he delegated this trust to his son Charles, who accepted the command with enthusiasm and alacrity. His brave and enterprizing spirit, and his amiable and courteous demeanour, soon secured to him the esteem and affection of those who favoured his cause; and, encouraged by the representations of the Highland chiefs, (who considered the measures of the existing government in attempting to dissolve their clans, to be destructive of their power and consequence, which they expected, should they prove successful in placing him upon the throne, to retain,) he resolved to make a vigorous attempt to recover the kingdom of his ancestors.

The design of France at first was to land a large army on the southern coast of England; but this force having put to sea, and come in sight of a strong English fleet which it was not thought safe to encounter, escaped into port, after suffering a considerable loss of transports in a severe storm. The plan of invading England on a large scale was, in consequence, abandoned.

Charles, by no means discouraged at this inauspici-

ous commencement, persisted in his application to the French court for a vessel to convey him to Scotland, which kingdom being represented to him as totally destitute of troops, he was led to believe would be an easy conquest; and his request being at last complied with, he embarked on the 15th of July, on board a small vessel of eleven guns, at the port of St Lazare, accompanied by the Marquis of Tullibardine, and some others, and, after a most boisterous passage, succeeded in landing at Borodale, in Lochaber, in the latter end of the same month.

Here he remained till about the middle of August, when, having collected about 1800 men, he determined to push to the southward. With this force, which daily increased, he advanced by Perth, Stirling, &c., to Edinburgh, the royal troops retiring on his approach; and on the 17th of September he reached the capital, and fixed his head-quarters at Holyroodhouse.

General Cope, who, on the first accounts of the landing of Prince Charles, had been sent to the north to oppose his progress, having, on his arrival at Inverness, learned the prince's advance to the south, hastened with his army to Aberdeen, where it was embarked for the Frith of Forth, and, landing at Dunbar on the 15th of September, marched immediately for Edinburgh. On receipt of this intelligence, the prince, on the 20th, marched to the eastward to meet him. The next day the fatal battle of Prestonpans took place, after which the prince returned to the capital, where he remained till the 2d of November, when, informed of

the vast preparations making in England to oppose him, he determined to advance into that country by the way of Carlisle.

On the same day the last of the Highlanders departed from Edinburgh ; and next day the rear of the army left Dalkeith, accompanied by Prince Charles on foot. The army advanced in three columns ; the right column, amounting to nearly 2000 men, marched by Peebles, Moffat, &c. ; the middle, by Lauder, Selkirk, and Hawick ; and the left, amounting to nearly 4000 men, by Kelso. Prince Charles marched with this column, and entered Kelso on the fourth, in the evening. From thence he sent a message to Wooler, to prepare quarters for 4000 foot, but instead of proceeding thither, he passed the Tweed on the 6th, and took the road to Hawick ; from whence he directed his route by Langholm, Cannoby, and Longtoun, towards Row-cliff, where he crossed the river within four miles of Carlisle, and, reaching Murray's on Borough-side, he halted on the 8th, waiting for the arrival of the other columns.

Many of the Highlanders deserted on the march, especially at Kelso ; and many of his followers, with their arms, were secured, and delivered to the governor of the castle of Edinburgh, and to the commanders of his majesty's ships in the Forth.

Notwithstanding these desertions, which were pretty numerous, the prince advanced and laid siege to Carlisle, which surrendered to him on the 15th of November, and, leaving there a small garrison, he marched by

Lancaster, Manchester, &c., to Derby, which place he entered on the 4th of December, at noon, with 450 horse and 2300 foot.

The approach of Charles so near the Capital filled the inhabitants with alarm, and every precaution was instantly taken to prevent him from obtaining possession of it. In the meantime the prince, disappointed in not finding the English, as he expected, flock to his standard, nor the French attempt an invasion of the south of England, as had been promised; and also finding himself hemmed in by the armies under the Duke of Cumberland and General Wade, called a council of war to determine what ought to be done. After mature deliberation, they decided for a retreat, in order to fall back on their resources, and to meet the army coming from Scotland. The prince was wholly averse to this step; but neither his arguments nor his entreaties could induce his officers to alter their opinion. Accordingly the army, on the morning of the 6th, commenced their retreat over a country covered with snow and ice, and closely pursued by the Duke and Marshal Wade. On the 20th of December, the prince arrived at Carlisle, where he only stayed one night, and then pursued his march toward the north by Dumfries; and on the 26th he arrived at Glasgow, which city he treated with great severity, quartering his troops for several days upon the inhabitants, and obliging the town to furnish him with necessaries to the amount of L.10,000. From Glasgow, Prince Charles proceeded to Stirling, and laid siege to the castle; but hearing of the approach

of General Hawley, he left a division of his army to carry on the siege, and with the main body advanced towards Falkirk to meet him. The two armies, accordingly, met on a moor in the neighbourhood on the 17th, when a severe action took place, which ended in favour of the rebel army. General Hawley being forced to leave the field, retreated to Edinburgh; and the prince the next day marched to Stirling, to press the siege of the castle, which was resolutely defended by the governor, General Blakeney.

On receiving intelligence of the battle of Falkirk, government made every exertion to arrest the progress of the rebellion; and the Duke of Cumberland was dispatched to take command of the forces, who, immediately on his arrival at Edinburgh, gave orders for the march of the army towards Stirling. On hearing of the royal army being near Falkirk, Prince Charles resolved to march from Stirling to offer it battle; but in this he was overruled by a council of war, and an immediate retreat to the north determined on. The consequence was, that the rebel army never halted till it reached Inverness. The battle of Culloden, which happened on the 16th of April, 1746, completely crushed this rebellion, which threatened the most serious consequences, and restored to the country peace and tranquillity.*

Happily for these kingdoms, the complete frustration of this infatuated attempt, for ever excluded from

* Charles' Trans. in Scot. vol. II. p. 11, *et seq.*

the thought of the expatriated family the idea of regaining the crown of their ancestors ; and since that period, the internal peace of the country has remained undisturbed. Of consequence, very little can be supposed to have occurred at Kelso that deserves the notice of the historian. It is pleasant, however, to remark, that during the time intervening, to the very date at which we write, this town has continued to prosper in every respect, and in no small degree ; and from its increased size and population, the enlargement of its trade, and the respectability and opulence of its inhabitants, it now ranks high among the provincial towns of the united kingdom. We shall, however, mention some circumstances that have happened here, (mostly within the memory of the present generation,) which may not be deemed too trifling for insertion in this work.

It will be remembered, that about 40 years ago, an intense interest was excited in this country by the daring and hazardous exploits of M. Lunardi, the celebrated aeronaut, who, in the course of the autumn, 1785, made ascensions from most of the principal towns of Scotland. On the 22d of October, in that year, he ascended from Kelso, in the presence, and amid the acclamations, of an immense concourse of spectators ; and after an excursion of an hour and twenty minutes, he descended in a field near Barmuir, in Northumberland.*

* Of this excursion M. Lunardi published the following account at the time :—“ I set off from Kelso at five minutes after 2 o'clock. I rose gradually ; had with me a barometer, and other instruments, for the experiments I intended to make, besides provisions, and

One of those strange and unaccountable phenomena, a whirlwind or tornado, which are so frequent in hot climates, visited Kelso in the year 1788, of which we find the following accounts in the journals of the day : —“ Kelso, May 28.—Yesterday, about one in the forenoon, a whirlwind for some time obscured the air in our wood-market, by collecting in its vortex the loose earth, dust, and straw, whirling it up to a great height. It forced a woman with a child in her arms against a wall, and bruised her arm ; it lifted up a cart, and

eighty-eight pounds of ballast. I kept myself just a mile high from the surface of the earth. I went in a cloud with the balloon, but the flag being 150 feet from the gallery, it remained in sight of the spectators. I was two minutes in the cloud, when I lowered again, not to deprive the people of the sight of my balloon. I kept myself hitherto constantly in sight of the earth. I went, an hour after my setting off, through a cloud, and above it the barometer fell to 26, five-tenths, when the earth was no more visible to me.

“ After being four minutes in this situation, I kept myself very low, when I perceived the sea to be no farther than six miles from me. I then began to come down so low as to hear distinctly the voices of the people. I anchored at Doddington Muir, and called people to get hold of the rope, and they came, and six got hold of the ropes from the car ; and after having shook hands with Mr Strother, who was the first gentleman on horseback who reached me, I ordered the men to carry me to Berwick. They carried me near Barmuir, in Northumberland ; but the wind blowing fresher, and the balloon dragging them after it, I thought proper to descend in a soft field, where I emptied the balloon.

“ Mr Richard Thomson of Barmuir ordered his servants to take care of the balloon and appendages, and, giving me his horse, conducted me to his house, where he entertained me with every civility in his power.

“ I touched the ground at twenty-one minutes past three o'clock, and finally descended, and emptied the balloon in the field, at four.”

twirled a pair of unshod wheels about which lay on the ground horizontally, like mill-stones in a mill. Some children at play on an eminence were carried off to a distance, and a cart was taken up and dashed against a house with such force, as to drive one of the shafts through the wall. Its violence being exhausted, it soon disappeared."

Government having selected Kelso as a most eligible place for the reception of prisoners taken during the late war, who were admitted to their parole, a considerable number were sent thither in the month of November, 1810, where they remained till June, 1814; when, upon the conclusion of the general peace, they were sent home. During their stay, they conducted themselves with great propriety, and received the most civil and hospitable treatment from the inhabitants, which they repaid by contributing not a little to their amusement, by their theatrical and other exhibitions, to which the more respectable classes were invited. The greatest number of prisoners on parole stationed at Kelso, never exceeded 230.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN.

THE TOWN OF KELSO is pleasantly situated, immediately on the northern bank of the river Tweed, at its confluence with the Teviot, in $55^{\circ} 36'$ north latitude, and in longitude $1^{\circ} 20'$ west from Greenwich; and is distant forty-two miles south by east from Edinburgh, nine miles west from Coldstream, twenty-three miles west from Berwick, eleven miles east from Jedburgh, and nine miles north of the English border. The woody hills which surround it on all sides, form, as it were, an amphitheatre of exquisite beauty.

The town is built much after the fashion of the Dutch and German cities,* consisting of a spacious square or market-place, with four streets and some considerable wynds, diverging from it in different directions.

The market-place is a square of large dimensions, chiefly composed of modern buildings, and containing the principal shops. On the east side of it stands the new Town-house, an edifice of considerable elegance. From this square issue the four streets, viz. Roxburgh-street, Bridge-street, the Horse and Wood Markets,† and the Mill Wynd.

* The towns in Germany and Holland have generally a large square used as a market-place in the centre, from which issue all the streets.

† This street, which was formerly very narrow towards its extre-



Andr. Malmson Sculp. Del.

Engd by R. Scott Edin.

TOWN HOUSE & SQUARE, KEILSO.

Edinburgh Published by John Paterson 15, Waterloo Place.

The principal street, which bears the name of the county,* is upwards of a quarter of a mile in length, and is esteemed the most healthy, as it certainly is the most pleasant, in the town, running in a parallel direction with the river Tweed.

Bridge-street, though not equal to Roxburgh-street in extent, surpasses it in general appearance, as it contains many elegant houses. From it run the Ovan Wynd, a lane leading to Ednam House, and the Abbey Close, formerly the passage to the old bridge.

GOVERNMENT OF THE TOWN.

At the Reformation the whole of the lands and revenues belonging to the monastic establishments in the kingdom, became confiscated to the Crown. The monks of Kelso previously held the regality of Kelso, which comprehended the town with its pertinents, the barony of Bolden, and the lands of Reveden with their pertinents. These the King granted to Francis, Earl of

mity, has lately been much improved by taking down several old houses. It is the public road to Berwick, and by its former narrowness, the inhabitants were exposed to considerable danger from the number of carriages, carts, &c. continually passing along it in contrary directions. This danger is now happily removed.

* Roxburgh-street was formerly of much greater extent, and it is even in the recollection of some of the inhabitants, that it reached as far as the middle of the Duke of Roxburgh's garden; the plan of which embracing the ground on which several of the houses stood, they were, in consequence, taken down.

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Bothwell, Admiral of Scotland, who being afterwards accused of high treason, in compassing the King's death, and having not only escaped from justice, but also taken up arms against his sovereign, his estates were, in the year 1605, escheated to his majesty, who, the same year, bestowed the regality of Kelso upon Sir Robert Kerr of Cessford, ancestor of the Duke of Roxburgh; which grant was confirmed by Act of Parliament in 1607. This regality, with the jurisdictions belonging to it, being, however, considered incompatible with the administration of justice and public quiet, was abolished in 1747, the Duke of Roxburgh receiving a remuneration; but the town of Kelso is still a burgh of barony, the property of his Grace, with baronial rights.

The government of the town is accordingly vested in a baron bailie, appointed by the Duke of Roxburgh, assisted by fifteen stent-masters or councillors, who act in conjunction with him in the assessment of the inhabitants. Of these stent-masters, his Grace has the nomination of *eight*, who hold their appointment for two years; the others are elected annually by the different corporations, and consist of the Preses of the Merchant Company, a Deacon Convener, the Deacons of the five corporations, viz.: Hammermen, Skinners, Shoemakers, Tailors, and Weavers, (one of whom is now elected Deacon Convener, which was not the case formerly,) and the Deacon of the Butchers, although they are not a corporate body. The chief and only duty of these councillors is the management of the revenue of the

town, consisting principally of an assessment which they are empowered to levy on the inhabitants for defraying the current expenses of the year ; such as repairing the streets, supplying the town with water, and any other incidental charges which may occur.

Previously to the year 1795, the heritors assessed themselves with stent for the support of the poor ; but since that period, the inhabitants at large are assessed for this purpose, according to their circumstances, or in proportion to the rent of their dwelling-houses. Payment, however, of this assessment for the poor, has been resisted by the inhabitants who are not proprietors, and in general successfully, as payment has never been enforced.

It is impossible to ascertain, with any degree of accuracy, the time when the trades of Kelso were first erected into corporate bodies, yet it is evident that this took place at a very remote period. About a century ago the books of the Merchant Company were destroyed by fire, which prevents us from learning the time of its commencement ; and no register of their proceedings was again kept till the year 1757. The books of the incorporation of tailors commence in the year 1619 ; but of the other trades we have not been able to obtain any information from which we could venture to fix any date to their original institution. The corporations are, in general, wealthy, and are able to make suitable provision for the indigent, and for the widows and orphans of their deceased members.

The baron bailie holds a court every Saturday, for the recovery of small debts within the jurisdiction of the town ; and the Justices of the Peace sit here once in every month for the recovering of similar debts contracted within the county, and for other matters competent to this tribunal.

Like most country towns, Kelso formerly suffered very much from want of a proper regard to cleanliness, to which little or no attention was paid by the ruling powers ; but latterly a most material change has taken place for the better ; and several customs have been abolished, which were not only most intolerable nuisances, but certainly a great detriment to the comfort and health of the inhabitants—such as the throwing of water, &c. from the higher windows, to the great danger of the passengers ; and leaving their ashes and filth in the streets. The former nuisance is now prohibited on pain of fine ; and to prevent the latter, a cart with a bell goes through the town at an appointed hour, to receive whatever the inhabitants may have to put into it. Another inconvenience to which Kelso, in common with the generality of the towns in Scotland, was long subject, and to which, even the metropolis, under its well-regulated, though expensive police, is still much exposed, has been removed, by proper and convenient places being erected in different parts of the town.

POPULATION.

The increase in the population of Kelso has, within the last seventy years, been considerable, as may be seen by the official reports made to Parliament during that period. By the return made in the year 1755, the number of inhabitants amounted to 2781; and by a similar account taken 1790-5, it had increased to 4234. They were again numbered in 1801, when there appeared to have been a trifling falling off, the population at this period being only 4196; but, upon another census being taken in 1811, a very considerable increase had taken place, the return at this time being 4408; and by the last report made in 1821, the population extended to 4860 souls, forming, upon an average of sixty-six years, an increase of thirty-one and a half annually, or 2079 in the whole.

This increase has been attributed to the vast influx of small farmers, mechanics, and labourers, who, on the system of letting small farms being given up, and most of the villages in the neighbourhood destroyed, were obliged to resort to the town both for employment and accommodation.

MANNERS.

The manners of the inhabitants of Kelso in general, are more polished than in most country towns, which in a great measure may be accounted for by its delightful situation, which constitutes it the resort of all the fashion in the vicinity, and of numerous visitors of the first rank in both kingdoms.

The higher class are affable and courteous in their address, and benevolent and liberal in their dispositions. The middle class are polite and obliging, hospitable and friendly. The lower class, in general, are sober, honest, and industrious; attentive to the interest of their employers, with a becoming deportment toward their superiors.

The upper ranks dress in the first style of fashion, and the balls and assemblies present an elegance of female attire not to be exceeded out of the metropolis.

The merchants, who form a most respectable class of the inhabitants, are just and honourable in their dealings, and are a credit to the station they occupy in the community. Indeed, it may be said of all ranks, that they perform the duties belonging to their different spheres, with the strictest propriety and decorum.

The community at large are also highly to be commended for a strict regard to their religious duties. Public worship is very generally attended, and the other

exercises of the Sabbath performed in a most exemplary manner, so that the scenes which too often disgrace the streets of the metropolis on that holy day, are quite unknown there.

CUSTOMS.

It was the custom formerly for a drum and bagpipe* to parade the town at five o'clock in the morning, to awaken the inhabitants to their labours, and at ten o'clock at night, to signify the propriety of their retiring to rest; but this practice has long since ceased. At present, the hours of commencing and leaving off work, are notified by the sound of the bell, which rings at the hours of six in the morning and eight in the evening. The bell also rings at ten at night, for the same pur-

* The custom of having regular pipers in each of the border towns, is of very long standing, and it is only within a few years back that such an officer was considered as an unnecessary appendage. Kelso continues to adhere to the old practice, and a piper is still kept by the town, who, however, only officiates on public occasions, and at St James's Fair. Leyden, in his introduction to the *Complains of Scotland*, states, that the pipers of the Border "rivalled the fame even of the Highlanders, and, at least in the opinion of their countrymen, were supposed to excel them in musical skill as well as graceful execution. In the official capacity of town-pipers, they commanded a much higher degree of respect from the peasantry than wandering musicians; and, traversing the country at particular seasons, chiefly in spring, for collecting seed oats from the farmers; and at autumn, about harvest-home, they exhibited the last remains of minstrelsy among the borders."

pose, it is presumed, as the drum and bagpipe were formerly employed, although this was also the case even when the former practice was in being.

A curious custom is still prevalent in Kelso, as in many of our country towns, to summon the inhabitants to the funeral of their deceased neighbours, by sending the bell-man through the town to remind those who are invited of the hour of interment.

The King's birth-day is here observed as a holiday, with every expression of loyalty. In the afternoon, the Chief Magistrate and council, or deacons, with the most respectable of the inhabitants, joined by the Bowmen of the Border, assemble in the square, where a table is placed, set out with wines, &c. and drink his Majesty's health, and other loyal toasts connected with the day; and about the time this ceremony commences, a large bonfire is lighted in the centre of the market-place, which is, during the evening, surrounded by a crowd of the younger classes, who amuse themselves with firing squibs, &c.; and the bells are set a-ringing, which continue at intervals until the evening closes the scene.

This is a day of excellent sport for the boys of the town, who take care to make sufficient provision for this bonfire, by collecting beforehand plenty of materials of a combustible nature; and they are not very nice about the manner in which they obtain them; considering it quite lawful to seize everything of that kind which they have an opportunity of laying their hands

upon, in order to testify their loyalty and joy upon so happy an occasion.

The Kelso St John's lodge of freemasons have a grand procession on the 24th of June, St John Baptist's day, on which the election of the office-bearers takes place.

The Society of Gardeners, on the second Tuesday in the month of July, the day of their annual general meeting, parade the streets, accompanied by a band of music, and carrying an elegant device, composed of the most beautiful flowers, which, on the company reaching the inn where they dine, is thrown from the window to the crowd, who soon demolish it in a scramble for the flowers.

On Michaelmas day, (September 29th,) the different corporations meet to choose their deacons, and after the election, each of these bodies walk in procession through the streets of the town. They afterwards dine at different inns, and in the evening they severally give balls to the wives and friends of the members.

On the Thursday following, the deacons, &c. meet in the Town-house to elect their Convener, on which occasion there is also another procession, and after it a sumptuous dinner, at which most of the principal inhabitants are present, and the evening concludes with a ball.

TRADE AND MANUFACTURES.

Kelso, though not entitled to rank among the commercial towns of Scotland, has nevertheless a considerable trade, which affords employment and support to a numerous body of the working classes.

The first and principal branch is the dressing of lamb and sheep skins, the tanning of hides and the currying of leather, all which are carried on to a vast extent, especially the former—the number of lamb and sheep skins dressed here annually almost exceeds belief, amounting, on an average, to not less than 100,000.

Pork is here cured to a great extent, which finds a ready sale in the English market.

The manufacture of flannel is pretty extensive, as is also that of different kinds of linen. Woollen cloth is likewise made here, but not in any great quantity, being principally for private use.

The manufacture of hats forms an important branch of the trade of the town; and the quantity of stockings made annually is considerable.

Boot and shoe-making is carried on upon a very large scale, supplying not only the town and neighbourhood, but disposing of immense quantities at the different fairs and markets in the north of England.

Candles are also made here, but not in sufficient

quantity to supply the consumption of the town and its vicinity.

The shop-keepers, or merchants, in Kelso, are numerous, and deal to a great amount in woollen-drapery, haberdashery, hardwares, and other household goods. There is also a great demand for the various kinds of grass and other seeds.

The alteration in the law regulating the commercial intercourse between the two kingdoms, which will allow the importation of Scottish spirits into England, upon more favourable terms than heretofore, promises also to be beneficial to Kelso;—a distillery upon a large scale being commenced, which holds out the prospect of a liberal return to the proprietor, and of employment to a number of labourers; as, from the shortness of the distance, and the consequent small expense of carriage, the places lying on the English border will resort thither for that commodity, instead of bringing it from the more northern counties.

One great and material inconvenience to which the town and neighbourhood is subjected, is the distance from whence the inhabitants have to furnish themselves with coal. Several attempts have been made to procure this valuable mineral in the immediate vicinity, but hitherto without effect. Some seams have been discovered, but they were either too bad in quality, or some other disadvantage attended the working of them,

so that, after very considerable expense had been incurred, the attempt was not persevered in. The nearest place from which they are supplied with this indispensable article is about fifteen miles distant, yet, notwithstanding, the price is not much higher than in Edinburgh.

This inconvenience, it is expected, will be greatly removed by the rail-road from Berwick, which will pass through, or near to, the places whence they derive their present fuel, by lowering the expense of carriage, and affording a more regular and plentiful supply for all the adjacent country. But not only will Kelso and the neighbourhood derive essential advantage in this respect from this grand improvement, but the facilities it will afford to trade in general, from the cheapness of carriage, and other conveniences, will serve as a stimulus to excite industry and invigorate commerce, and, consequently, it will prove the most beneficial undertaking ever attempted in this part of the country.

It is in contemplation to extend the railway to Melrose, by carrying it from the east end of Kelso round the back way, to cross the Tweed near the Chalkheugh.

BANKS.

There are in Kelso branches of the Bank of Scotland and the Commercial Banking Company, the form-

er placed here in the year 1774, and the latter in 1822, which have been of much benefit to the trader and agriculturist.

There is also a Savings Bank, which enables the labourer and others who wish to lay up any portion of their earnings, to do this with advantage and security. It is conducted upon the most liberal principles, and the money can be drawn, with interest, whenever the person who deposits it chooses.

FAIRS AND MARKETS.

In no part of Scotland is the farmer afforded more frequent or better opportunities, by means of markets or fairs, of disposing of his grain, and other produce, or of supplying himself with whatever is necessary for carrying on his agricultural pursuits, than in this district, where weekly markets are held on different days in every town.

The weekly market of Kelso is held on Friday, for the sale of corn by sample, and is the best attended in the county, being frequented by the corn-dealers from the northern part of the shire, and the places bordering upon it in Berwickshire and Northumberland, and also by victuallers from Berwick. The numerous assemblage of people thus collected every week, is of infinite advantage, and is, we may say, the principal source of

gain to the inhabitants. In this market, business is done to a great amount weekly.

There are, besides, *twelve* "high markets," in the course of the year, four of which are held on the two Fridays immediately preceding the terms of Whitsunday and Martinmas, and two on the Friday following each of these terms. The markets previous to the terms are for the hiring of servants, of every description, for the half-year; and those that follow are for the accommodation of servants changing their places, by giving them an opportunity of purchasing such articles of wearing apparel, or anything else of which they may stand in need. The concourse of people assembled at the latter markets is in general immense, who spend the day in festivity and mirth. On these occasions, the gain to the shopkeepers (especially to haberdashers and milliners, for ornamental articles of female dress) is incredible, as scarcely a servant leaves the town till the whole of their half-year's wages is expended. The other six "high markets" are held, four of them in March, for the purpose of purchasing horses for labour during the summer, and two in the end of autumn, for disposing of those for which the farmers have no occasion during the winter, and the keeping of which would be attended with too great expense. At the first of those in March, hinds and farm-servants for the year are hired.

There are likewise four fairs held at Kelso in the course of the year. The first is on the second Friday

of May ; the second, which is called the Summer Fair, on the second Friday in July ; the third, St James's Fair,* on the 5th of August ; and the fourth, or Winter Fair, on the 2d of November.

When the Summer Fair in July was first instituted, it was for the purpose of buying lean cattle to feed them during the summer and autumn months, which were disposed of at the Winter Fair, for the convenience of the inhabitants in laying in their winter stock of provisions, being then fit for the slaughter-house, whither they were immediately carried. The custom, however, of curing meat for the winter being now generally laid aside, these fairs are held for other purposes ; those in May and July are for cattle of different kinds, and that on the 2d of November for hiring servants, and for cattle to be fed on turnips, or kept on straw during winter.

St James's Fair, the greatest in the South of Scotland, (St Boswell's excepted,) is held on a green about a mile from Kelso, the site of the old town of Roxburgh, and near to the haugh where King James II. was killed, during his siege of the castle.

At this fair the show of cattle and horses to be fed on after-grass and turnip, is generally large, and a great quantity of woollen and linen manufactures are sold in

* The privilege of holding this fair was originally granted to the burgh of Roxburgh ; but owing to the complete extinction of this town, it is now ranked among the Kelso markets.

wholesale ; but the principal business of the farmer is the hiring of reapers for the ensuing harvest.

This fair is looked forward to by the inhabitants of Kelso with peculiar pleasure and anxiety, as a great proportion of certain classes depend upon it for remuneration for the past year. It is a day of general festivity, and most of the young people repair to the fair in the evening, to regale themselves with their " friends and favourites."

From a right which the town of Jedburgh acquired (at what time, or how, we cannot ascertain, but suppose it must have happened at the period when Roxburgh lost its rank among the burghs of Scotland) to a share in the emoluments derived from the privilege of holding this fair, a great jealousy for a long time subsisted between the two towns, which was always manifested on this day. It was formerly the custom for the Jedburgh people, coming on horseback, to enter Kelso by the bridge, and to ride through to the top of the town, where they again crossed the Tweed by the ford, to go to the fair ; which, as it was going at least a mile out of their way, the people of Kelso regarded as an insult, and seldom failed to resent it ; for, on these occasions, they were often pelted with stones, and frequent bickerings in consequence took place between them and the inhabitants. Happily these animosities have been put an end to by the people of Jedburgh relinquishing this custom.

The custom of the fair being divided between the

town of Jedburgh and the Duke of Roxburghe, the magistrates of that burgh, attended by their officers, come regularly to open it, by parading over the ground at twelve o'clock. Jedburgh receives one-half of the revenue gathered, and the duke the other half.*

BUTCHER-MARKET.

The butcher-market is a very commodious place, surrounded by a high wall, and is intersected by another nearly in the centre, which divides the space allotted for selling, from the slaughter-court.† The stalls are constructed much after the manner of those in the high-market of Edinburgh. It formerly belonged to the Duke of Roxburghe, from whom it was lately purchased by Mr Richard Allan, flesher in Kelso, who rents out the stalls to the rest of the trade.

The business in the market has of late fallen off considerably, owing to a number of the butchers having opened shops in different parts of the town, where they vend their meat.

* Since that part of this work was printed off which contains the regulations of the Border Agricultural Society, in respect to the cattle-markets instituted by it, the following information has been received :—" That in consequence of the Kelso and Coldstream markets being too close upon each other, the Society have determined, that, in future, the Kelso monthly markets will be held on the third Friday after the Coldstream market, which is permanently fixed to take place on the last Thursday of each month."

† Formerly it was the custom for each butcher to kill his cattle at his stall, but, by this plan of appropriating a portion of the area for this purpose, that nuisance has been done away.

A great number of cattle are annually killed here, the country, for several miles round, being supplied from this market, which is considered the best in the south of Scotland, both for the variety and quality of the meat sold in it.

SCENERY.

The scenery around Kelso excites the admiration of every beholder, and presents an extensive field for poetical imagination and description. Its appearance is beautiful and striking to the stranger, and an object of high attraction to the traveller. To attempt even a sketch, where such a number of charming and delightful prospects crowd upon the sight, is a difficult task; but to do justice to the grandeur, and to point out the varied and particular beauties of this *coup d'œil*, would require the ability of a more skilful pen.

From the Chalk-heugh, the prospect has a rich and delightful appearance. The eye is attracted by the Tweed, with the island in the centre, and the surrounding objects. Fleurs, the magnificent seat of the Duke of Roxburghe, with its encircling woods; the picturesque and ancient ruins of Roxburgh Castle; the seat of Sir James Douglas, together with Pinel-heugh and the distant hills, form a most enchanting scene. The views from Fleurs and Roxburgh Castle are also very fine; and that from the bridge is so particularly

striking, and exhibits so much of the picturesque, that it at once astonishes and delights the spectator. On the right, the town and Abbey are seen to the best advantage, as also the fine mansion of Ednam-house, and its grounds. Opposite to this the Teviot joins the Tweed, and forms the broadest part of the river. A little farther up are the gardens on the Chalk-heugh, Fleurs, &c.; and the grandeur of the landscape is much heightened by a distant view of Hume Castle, the hills of Mellerstain and Stitchell, and the windings of both rivers previous to their junction. In entering Kelso from the west, the lofty precipice of Maxwell, Pinnacle-hill, Wooden, and the banks of the Tweed, present a scene at once beautiful and grand.

The view from Pinnacle-hill, in consequence of its elevated situation, can scarcely be rivalled;—a scene of rich grandeur, rising gradually from the Tweed and Teviot, to the dark heath-clad tops of the Lammermuir-hills on the north, and the Eildon-hills on the west. At the feet of the spectator is seen the Tweed, rolling “dark and deep,” Teviot Bridge, Roxburgh Castle, Fleurs, Kelso, environed on every side by beautiful villas, the whole surrounded by thriving plantations. Beyond the woody boundary of this varied landscape, terraced fields are beheld rising over each other, in all the rich luxuriancy of cultivated nature, till the whole is crowned by the distant summits.

In point of picturesque appearance, Kelso, if not unrivalled, is certainly not surpassed by any town in Scotland, being so beautifully adorned with wood and wa-

ter. As has already been observed, it is surrounded on every side with rich plantations, so that to whatever point the spectator turns his eye, the scenery presents a delightful and variegated prospect. Few rivers in Scotland can be compared with Tweed for the beauty of their windings, and very few equal it in grandeur. From the number of its tributary rivulets between its rise, about thirty miles from Peebles, and its junction with the Teviot at Kelso, it gradually assumes a grand appearance, which is heightened at every winding by the beautiful and interesting objects of the surrounding country.

Those who are acquainted with Scottish song, will find the scenery in the neighbourhood of Kelso justly and admirably described for its beauty, in the writings of our most celebrated poets.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

There are seven places of public worship in Kelso, viz. the Parochial Church, Episcopal Chapel, Relief, Burgher, Antiburgher, Cameronian or Reformed Presbyterian, and Quaker Meeting-houses.

PAROCHIAL CHURCH.

The foundation-stone of this edifice, which is a plain modern building, was laid in the year 1771, and on the first Sabbath of 1773 it was opened for public worship. It is built in the form of an octagon, nearly ninety feet

in diameter within the walls, and, when originally fitted up, might have contained upwards of 3000 people. The dimensions, however, being too large for the compass of an ordinary voice, and the hearing rendered otherwise disagreeable by an echo proceeding from the roof, which was in the form of a cupola, or dome, it was deemed necessary to make such alterations in the interior of the building as would remove these inconveniences; and these, being agreed to by the heritors, were carried into effect in the year 1823.

The gallery fronting the pulpit is appropriated solely to the accommodation of the Duke of Roxburghe; the other heritors have their seats in the other galleries. The five incorporated trades have seats allotted to them in the body of the church.

The present incumbent of this parish, the Rev. Robert Lundie, is highly and justly respected, and esteemed for the urbanity of his manners, his unaffected piety, and other excellent qualities; and his ministry continues to be both acceptable and profitable to his parishioners.*

* The following is a correct list of the ministers of Kelso since the Reformation:—

1575—Paul Knox.	1695—William Jack.
1605—James Knox.	1707—James Ramsay.
1635—Robert Knox,†	1750—Cornelius Lundie.
1660—Richard Waddell.	1800—Leslie Moodie.
1683—James Lorimer.	1807—Robert Lundie, the present
1687—James Gray.	minister.

† He appears to have been a commissioner to the General Assembly in 1641, when he preached before King Charles I. and the Parliament.

The church-yard, or burying-ground, is very extensive, and, till within these few years, was not walled in, but lay entirely open, the common resort of the school-boys for their pastimes, and was crossed by foot-paths in every direction. The skimmers even made use of it as a very good and convenient place to dry their hides; and the cattle of those who were either unable or unwilling to go to the expense, found there a cheap and luxuriant pasture.

The impropriety, not to mention the indecency, of allowing the common receptacle of the dead, a place venerated and held sacred by the most barbarous of all ages and nations, to lie thus exposed to every violence, was long felt; but it was not till the year 1807 that it was determined to wipe off this stigma from the character of the town. In this year a subscription, which was soon filled up, was entered into by the principal inhabitants, for surrounding it with a wall.*

* About forty years ago, as the grave-digger of Kelso was opening a new piece of ground, he discovered a stone coffin of very large dimensions, of which, without opening it, he gave immediate notice to the minister, (Mr Cornelius Lundie,) who, having sent for Mr Douglas, an eminent physician in the town, they proceeded to the place to examine it. On removing the lid, there was found in the coffin a human skeleton in the most perfect order, with a rod of about a yard long, covered with leather, and gilt over, and some ancient relics lying by its side. The bones, immediately upon being touched, fell into dust. The coffin was afterwards carried to the Abbey, where it lay for some time, to gratify the curiosity of those who wished to inspect it; but when this curiosity ceased, it was converted to a purpose very different from its original use. It is now laid

EPISCOPAL CHAPEL.

This chapel is a neat Gothic building, erected in a pleasant retired situation on the banks of the Tweed, and immediately adjoining to the pleasure-grounds of Ednam House, and, though small, is constructed with great taste. It is furnished with an organ and a tolerable band. The congregation, though not numerous, is composed of a respectable class of the inhabitants. The late Duke of Roxburghe had a seat in this chapel, where he regularly attended.

The chapel is situated in the middle of a cemetery, where the members are interred according to the ritual of the English church. The Rev. William Kell, the present minister, is a highly popular preacher.

RELIEF CHURCH.

This place of worship, which was built in the year 1791, is a plain square building, situated at the east end of the town. It is very well attended, and many of the hearers come from a considerable distance. The congregation is happy in possessing so able an instructor as the Rev. John Pitcairn for their pastor.

down at the fountain-head, about a mile from Kelso, where it serves for leading away the superfluous water, and also as a very convenient trough for cattle to drink out of.

BURGHER MEETING-HOUSE.

This meeting-house is built much after the plan, but on a larger scale than the Relief. It is, however, better constructed in the interior, the roof being higher, and the gallery not so confined. It is regularly attended by a numerous and respectable congregation, a great part of which come from a distance of seven or eight miles.

The interior of this house has been lately enlarged, by removing the stairs which formerly led to the gallery, and placing them outside the building, at each end. This alteration has certainly tended very much to disfigure the building, as the wings do not at all correspond with the plainness of the edifice.

This place of worship is built in a very pleasant and central situation, being immediately behind the market-place, having a large square green belonging to it, which is inclosed with a high wall. The manse, situated within the green, joined to which is a very good garden, renders it a very desirable and healthy residence.*

This building was erected in the year 1779. The present minister, the Rev. Robert Hall, has zealously laboured among his flock since that period, and is highly esteemed by them.

* In the month of August, when the summer sacrament is dispensed, if the weather be favourable, a tent is erected in this green, and the congregation, here assembled, bring each their chair, according to the ancient custom in Scotland.

ANTIBURGHER MEETING-HOUSE.

This is a very plain fabric. The Rev. Patrick Mackenzie is pastor.

There were formerly a considerable number of Antiburghers of the "new light" in this town, but, in consequence of the union which has lately taken place between the Burghers and Antiburghers, they are mostly joined to Mr Hall's church. To this, in a great measure, is to be attributed the paucity of Mr Mackenzie's congregation.

CAMERONIAN MEETING-HOUSE.

This is a building of inferior appearance, and is adjacent to the Relief meeting-house. The number in this connexion is very small, and generally composed of the poorer class. For a long time they had no stated minister, and it is only lately that one has been appointed to this charge.

QUAKER MEETING-HOUSE.

A long time having elapsed since this plain building (having merely the appearance of a private dwelling, with a small burying-ground in front) has been used as a place of worship, the Society of Friends have granted the use of it for a lecture-room to the School of Arts, lately established. It is situated directly behind the parish church. *Vide* SCHOOL OF ARTS.

SCHOOLS.

Kelso is not deficient in seminaries, wherein the different branches of education are taught with much ability, and at a moderate expense. The public schools are the Latin and English, which are under the same roof, in a house near to the church, having a large plat of ground allotted for the amusement of the pupils. There are, besides, several private schools, which are well attended.

In the principal school, which is under the immediate superintendance of the rector, and occupies the upper part of the house, the pupils are instructed in the Latin, Greek, and French languages. The rector, Mr Gillies, is a gentleman of superior ability. He receives a pretty liberal salary, together with a house adjoining to the school, suitable for the accommodation of a number of boarders.

In the English school, which is in the lower part of the building, the principles of English grammar, writing, and arithmetic, are taught. The teacher, with but an indifferent salary, has no dwelling-house allowed him; but his classes being generally well attended, in some measure compensates for any deficiency in these respects. He has, besides, an allowance for teaching orphans, payable from the interest of legacies bequeathed for this purpose by two benevolent individuals of the names of Samson and Douglas.

There are also several schools for female education ; and two Sunday-evening schools, where children are instructed in the principles of religious education, which have been of infinite service to the young of the poorer classes.

A society, called the "Kelso Friendly School Society," was instituted here in the year 1816, for providing instruction to orphans and the children of indigent parents, which is supported by weekly payments of *one penny* by the members, and by donations and occasional collections in the different places of worship in the town.

KELSO BIBLE SOCIETY.

This Society was formed in the year 1813, in aid of the Parent Society, for circulating the Scriptures among the poor at home, and sending them to those countries destitute of this inestimable treasure. Its annual contributions to the general fund have been very liberal.

LIBRARIES.

The inhabitants of Kelso were among the first in Scotland to adopt the plan of establishing Subscription Libraries, by which, at a comparatively trifling expense, the members are supplied with the works of our best authors, and the various periodical publica-

tions of the day. Of these there are now three established in this town.

“Kelso Library,” which is the oldest and most extensive, occupies a handsome building, situated upon the Chalk-heugh, and commanding a most beautiful and attractive prospect. This library, which was opened on the 9th of September, 1795, consists of a collection of the most esteemed English authors, ancient as well as modern; and from the principles of this establishment, and the manner in which it is conducted, there is every prospect that, in a very few years, it will become a most valuable repository of English literature. It is open three days in the week, viz. Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, for the purpose of giving out books to the subscribers.

The librarian, besides a salary, has a very commodious dwelling-house in the lower part of the building, and a large garden in front of it.

The other libraries, though inferior in extent, possess a considerable number of valuable books in the various branches of literature.

SCHOOL OF ARTS.

An institution under this denomination, similar to those in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and many of the principal towns in the United Kingdom, has lately been established by voluntary subscription at Kelso. Like

them, it has for its object the instruction of the mechanic, and others, in the philosophical principles of their different arts, upon a cheap and economical plan ; and, from the success it has already met with, promises to be of the utmost advantage to those for whose benefit it is intended, and who, otherwise, were inadequate to the means of obtaining the knowledge here imparted to them.

On the 11th of February last this institution was opened by the Rev. Mr Gray, minister of Eckford, who, in the most handsome manner, offered to deliver a series of lectures on chemistry. Dr Douglas of Kelso, with equal liberality, has undertaken the superintendance of a mathematical class ; and, as soon as the necessary arrangements can be accomplished, it is proposed to have a regular and scientific lecturer on mechanics.

The donations already received by this institution have been liberal, and the annual subscriptions considerable. The fee paid by mechanics for the session is five shillings, which admits them to all the lectures ; and a library is now forming for their use, consisting principally of books in the various departments of science connected with the views of the institution. The number of names entered as regular pupils amounts to upwards of seventy.

To the Society of Friends the managers are greatly indebted for the use of their meeting-house (which, a number of years past, had never been used for a place of

worship) as a lecture-room, for which purpose it is now fitted up.

NEWSPAPERS.

There are two newspapers printed in Kelso, which have an extensive circulation in Roxburgh, and the neighbouring counties on the Borders. The Kelso Mail, which commenced in 1797, is published twice in the week, viz. on Mondays and Thursdays; and the Kelso Weekly Journal, which made its first appearance in 1809, is printed every Friday. Another paper, entitled, The Border Courier, was attempted in the year 1823, but from want of support, it was not of long standing.

DISPENSARY.

The Dispensary of Kelso was founded in the year 1789, and is wholly supported by voluntary subscription. It stands in a very healthy and airy situation near the head of the town, and at a short distance from the Tweed, and is now capable of accommodating a considerable number of patients, who receive advice and medicine *gratis*, and to whom nothing is denied that may contribute to the alleviation of their sufferings.

To the late Honourable Mrs Baillie of Jerviswood, is due the merit of having been the projector of this

institution, and her benevolence and active exertions mainly contributed to the support of this establishment, which has been productive of incalculable benefit to the suffering poor. No sooner had this lady made known her plan, than she received the cordial co-operation of the humane and opulent in the town and neighbourhood, who in a very short time had the satisfaction of seeing their laudable design carried into effect.

Several very considerable additions were made to the Dispensary in 1818, and cold and warm baths were, among other conveniences, then supplied.

BENEFIT SOCIETIES.

In Kelso, as in other towns, the trades, by their charters, constituted into several persons the power of making laws for the better securing of their privileges, and the government of their members, and were allowed to institute a fund applicable to these, or any other purposes beneficial to the corporation. The consequence was, that when this fund had accumulated to a certain amount, a portion of it was appropriated to the relief of decayed members, and to the support of the widows of those who had contributed to this fund. This was the origin of "Benefit Societies," which for many ages only existed in these corporations.

The beneficial effects resulting from such institutions

were at length so apparent, that particular classes of individuals following the same occupation, (though not incorporated,) formed societies among themselves for the purpose of contributing to the relief of the aged and the widow among them; and, in the course of time, these societies were thrown open to the admission of others not at all connected with these professions, thus extending their sphere of usefulness, and enabling many unconnected with any trade, to lay up a fund for their support, when, through sickness or old age, they should be rendered incapable of earning their daily bread.

That the institution of benefit societies has been of great importance, and productive of much real and general advantage, every one must allow; and the success attending them has been such as fully to meet the expectations of their instigators and promoters, who merit the commendation of both rich and poor.

Kelso, in common with many other towns, has participated in the advantage derived from the establishment of such societies, for many years past. Of these we shall now attempt to give a short sketch, according to the seniority of their institution; and the first of which we have any account, is

THE WHIPMAN SOCIETY,

which is composed of the whipmen and ploughmen of the town and neighbourhood, and is of very long standing; but the book containing an account of its first institution being lost, we are unable to ascertain the exact time of its commencement. It is supposed, how-

ever, to have existed upwards of 150 years. Neither have we been able to obtain a copy of its rules. This society was once very numerous, but has fallen off considerably within these some years past; its revival, however, is again confidently expected. Like societies of the same denomination in other country towns, it had an annual parade of the members, with races and other sports.*

* The following account of this show is taken from Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. II. p. 397 :—

“ There is a society, or brotherhood, in the town of Kelso, which consists of farmers' servants, ploughmen, husbandmen, or whipmen, who hold a meeting once a-year for the purpose of merriment and diverting themselves; being all finely dressed out in their best clothes, and adorned with great bunches of beautiful ribbands, which hang down over their shoulders like so many streamers. By the beating of a drum they repair to the Market-place, well mounted upon fine horses, armed with large clubs and great wooden hammers, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, when they proceed to a common field (the Berry Moss) about half a mile from the town, attended all the way with music and an undisciplined rabble of men, women, and children, for the purpose of viewing the merriment of *a cat in a barrel*, which is highly esteemed by many for excellent sport. The Generalissimo of this Regiment of Whipmen, who has the honourable style and title of *My Lord*, being arrived with the brotherhood at the place of rendezvous, the music playing, the drum beating, and their flag waving in the air, the poor timorous cat is put into a barrel partly stuffed with soot, and then hung up between two high poles, upon a cross-beam, below which they ride in succession, one after another, besieging poor puss with their large clubs and wooden hammers. The barrel, after many a frantic blow, being broken, the wretched animal makes her reluctant appearance amidst a great concourse of spectators, who seem to enjoy much pleasure at the poor animal's shocking figure, and terminate her life and misery by barbarous cruelty.

“ The cruel brotherhood having sacrificed this useful and domestic animal to the idol of cruelty, they next gallantly, and with great

Kelso United Weavers' Society, and Others, instituted July 11, 1766, is in a very flourishing condition, and consists of nearly 200 members. The funds of this society are raised by quarterly payments, and a weekly subscription by the members for the support of the sick.

Kelso Friendly Society of Gardeners, was established in the year 1777, by a number of gardeners, for the purpose of establishing a fund for the relief of themselves, their widows, and orphans; and, by their rules, others were admitted into the society, under certain restrictions and regulations. By their rules, no annuity is paid to widows or orphans unless the husband or father has contributed for ten years to the funds; and in case of his death before that time is completed, the widow or orphans have liberty to pay into the funds the remaining quarterly payments, when

heroism, proceed with their sport to the destruction of a poor simple goose, which is next hung up by the heels, like the worst of malefactors, with a convulsed breast, in the most pungent distress, and struggling for liberty; when this merciless and profligate society, marching in succession, one after another, each in his turn takes a barbarous pluck at the head, quite regardless of its misery. After the miserable creature has received many a rude twitch, the head is carried away."

The day's sport ended in clumsy races: the usual prizes were a riding and cart saddle; and frequently the company were amused by donkeys running for a small sum. The whole concluded with a dinner and ball, to which all the friends of the society were invited, and the evening generally ended in peace and harmony. The custom of the "cat and barrel" has long been given up, and it is very unlikely it will ever be revived.

they become entitled to the annuity, which is not fixed, but regulated according to the stock of the society. The widows enjoy their annuities till their death, the orphans till they are fourteen years of age. This society is divided into three classes, and the annuities are paid in proportion to the classes to which the members belonged.

Kelso Friendly Society of Cordwainers, was founded in August 1785, and is chiefly composed of the members of the craft. Its funds are very ample, and the allowance to the sick is liberal.

Kelso Friendly Society of Tradesmen, and Others, commenced in February, 1786, but does not appear to have ever succeeded; it is probable it will soon be relinquished.

Kelso Border Lodge of Gardeners, although yet in its infancy, having only commenced in 1821, has every prospect of soon being in a very flourishing state. By its regulations, the president must be an operative gardener.

Kelso St Crispin Society. This society was formed by the shoemakers, on the 25th of October, 1821, for mutual relief in sickness, and for defraying funeral expenses, &c.; and the allowance on both occasions are very liberal. The formation of this society on the anniversary of their patron, was celebrated by the coro-

nation of his representative, on which occasion there was a splendid procession, a public dinner, and a ball.*

FREE MASONS.

There are two lodges of free masons in Kelso, both holding their charter from the Grand Lodge of Scotland, viz.

St John's Lodge, of long standing, and The Kelso Lodge, constituted on the 5th of August, 1816.

BOWMEN OF THE BORDER.

The Society of the Bowmen of the Border is composed of the noblemen and gentlemen residing in this quarter, or connected with the Borders, and was instituted in the year 1788, by a diploma from the Royal Company of Archers of Scotland. The number of the

* The processions on the anniversary of this *august* monarch, which used to be pretty frequent in Kelso, afforded much amusement to the inhabitants; but a great drawback was experienced in the difficulty of obtaining a band of music, which could not always be procured either on these or similar occasions. To remedy this inconvenience, the St Crispin Society resolved to have a band of their own; and having raised a subscription among themselves, they carried their resolution into effect, and have now a band consisting of several musicians, all tolerable proficient on their several instruments, composing it. This band was formed in the year 1822; and, since its institution, has been generally called to perform at all the public processions and entertainments in the town.

members is restricted to *eighty*, under the command of a first and second captain. It meets on the 10th of January, the first Thursdays in May, July, August, September, October, and November, and on the king's birth-day, every year.

A society, denominated "The Thistle Club," was formed here on the 15th of August, 1823, the anniversary of the King's visit to Scotland, whose primary object is to commemorate that event.

There is also a Cricket Club, which meets once a fortnight during the summer; and likewise a Skaiting Club.

RACES.

Racing, and the sports of the field, forming the principal amusement of the nobility and gentry in this neighbourhood, much of their attention is bestowed on the rearing of horses of this description, of the most reputed breeds. **KEILSO RACES** have, in consequence, been long and justly stamped with celebrity.

The old race-ground of Kelso, Caverton Edge, a most excellent and level course, three miles, or thereabouts, in circumference, was at the distance of five miles from the town, and, for a long time, had no appropriate place for the horses, which were generally put up at Softlaw, a small farm-house, about one mile from the course, with very indifferent stabling. This inconvenience, however, was remedied by the late John,

Duke of Roxburgh, who built on the ground an elegant stand for the accommodation of the company, the lower part of which contained stables for the running horses, where they were kept during the races.*

The late Duke, however, having, in the year 1818, planted this course with forest-trees, he removed the races to Blacklaw, still farther distant from the town, which gave universal dissatisfaction to the inhabitants, and shortly after an attempt was made, by some malicious incendiaries, to destroy the whole of the planting at Caverton Edge with fire.

The Duke, not perhaps aware of the great unpopularity of his removal of the course, till this base attempt was made, with that benevolent attention to the interest and convenience of the inhabitants which so strongly marked his character, speedily determined to remedy the error he had committed; and having selected a spot, preferable in every respect to either of the former courses, measures were instantly adapted for carrying the Duke's intention into effect.

The ground fixed upon by his Grace was the Henry-

* This structure, which was so highly prized at first, was soon discovered to be an intolerable nuisance to the surrounding country, for bands of gipsies, finding it to be a safe retreat, where they might carry on their midnight revels without the fear of molestation, assembled here from all quarters, and took full possession of it, and never scrupled to borrow a sheep, or some other kind of farm-stock, as often as their necessities or their luxury required. They soon, however, by their nightly depredations, became so great an annoyance to the farmers in the vicinity, that they petitioned the duke to cause the building to be taken down, who having granted their request, it was removed.

ness, a perfect level, and scarcely a mile distant from Kelso. The inhabitants, therefore, sensible of the benefits that would result to the town from this change, unanimously resolved that every individual should contribute his share of labour requisite for converting this waste into a proper race-ground with all possible expedition. Accordingly, it was agreed by the incorporated trades, that they should lend their assistance in the execution of this work, which they did by turns daily, till the whole was accomplished, when, in honour of the noble donor, it received the name of the Duke's Course.

On the 12th of July, 1869, the foundation-stone of a very handsome stand was laid, on which occasion there was a grand masonic procession. This stand is now finished, and being erected after the model of that at Doncaster, is considered one of the most elegant in the kingdom, although it is reckoned by some to be placed too near the course. The ground-flat of this stand consists of, first, an area, fifty-two feet in length, receding thirty-two feet on the east side, and twenty-five on the west, appropriated for weighing the riders, a store-house, &c. ; secondly, an inner room, twenty-six feet by twenty ; and thirdly, a back room thirteen feet by nine. The principal entrance is from the west. The ascent is by a hanging stair of fifty-one steps, which leads to the main hall, ladies' room, and balconies. The hall is a handsome apartment, thirty-two feet by twenty, and fourteen feet in height, lighted by seven windows, each eleven feet high. Off from this is the ladies'

room, thirteen feet by nine. These rooms open upon the principal balcony, which is of the same dimensions as the area below. It is fronted by a very fine railing, and supported by seven arches of rusticated ashlar work. Above, is another balcony, thirty-one feet by twenty, also fronted with a railing the same as that below. The south and west fronts are of polished ashlar work, with a portico to the stair on the west. The back part of the building is forty-five feet, and the front part, thirty-one feet in height.

The first races on this course took place in the year 1822, and afforded excellent sport. The races are held twice in the year, viz. in spring and autumn.

The Royal Caledonian Hunt meets occasionally at Kelso, the neighbourhood of which affords abundance of game for the chase. During the week they remain, as well as during the time of the regular races, the town presents a very gay appearance; from the numerous company that resort thither on these occasions. Brilliant assemblies are held almost every evening during both meetings.

From its situation, and the fineness of the ground, this course may be considered as not inferior to any in the kingdom, and is a great point of attraction to the fashionables, and others in this quarter, the races being always attended by a numerous and genteel concourse of spectators.

Kelso is not without other public amusements, which

afford frequent opportunities for the display of the beauty and fashion of our fair countrywomen; and this is done to much advantage at the different assemblies, &c., which are given during the year, as well as at the theatrical exhibitions, which generally take place during a part of the summer season.

Mr Dubbs, of the Theatre-Royal, Edinburgh, as far as we have learned, was the first who introduced this polite amusement, by appearing with a respectable company of actors during the race-week in the year 1774; and, shortly after, a house in the Horse-market, built for the accommodation of the inhabitants when they could not obtain the Assembly-Room, at the Cross-Keys, for their balls or assemblies, was usually let to the manager, who fitted it up as a theatre on his occasional visits. But, to the French prisoners, who were here on parole during the late war, the inhabitants are indebted for having this place converted into a theatre, which they did at a very considerable expense, for their own amusement, performing in it occasionally, and distributing tickets of admission gratis; and at their departure, as a mark of their gratitude for the polite attention and kind treatment they had experienced, left the whole standing, with all their scenery and decorations.

STAGE COACHES.

The communication between Kelso and the capitals of either kingdom is daily, and with other towns with

which it is more immediately connected, as frequent as is necessary for the purposes of business or convenience. The Twendside and Eagle coaches leave Kelso every day in the week, alternately, for Edinburgh; the former on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday; the latter on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, returning next day, with the exception of Sunday.

The Commercial Traveller, from Coldstream, passes through Kelso for Edinburgh, and leaves it on the same days as the Eagle does.

The Wellington, from Edinburgh to London, passes through every lawful day, about noon, and from London to Edinburgh, every day, about four p. m.

There is also a coach to Hawick and Jedburgh, and one to Berwick, three times every week.

In addition to the advantages already derived from the frequent communication to different places, the mail passes through Kelso on its way to London and Edinburgh. It commenced running in May last, and it is expected will prove to be of much benefit to the town. Kelso now enjoys more intercourse with England and Scotland than any other country town in this kingdom.

NEW BRIDGE.

The inconvenience occasioned by the loss of the old bridge, which was swept away on the 26th of October, 1797,* was so great, and so universally felt, that it was

* " On the evening of Friday last, October the 25th, we experien-

absolutely necessary to adopt instant measures for the erection of another, the only passage across the Tweed being effected by boats, a mode of conveyance not only tedious, but frequently attended with considerable danger, especially in the time of great floods, that are so

ced one of the most tremendous storms of rain and wind which we recollect to have ever witnessed in this part of the country. The storm began at six o'clock, and continued to rage during the night with constantly-increasing violence. On Saturday morning the atmosphere continued gloomy, and the rivers were every moment swelling. The Teviot overflowed the island formed below Maxwellheugh-mill by itself and the mill-dam, together with the public road from the new bridge to Kelso Bridge, as well as a considerable portion of the adjoining fields. The island in Tweed, at its confluence with the Teviot, was so deeply laid under water, that the trunks of the trees growing in it were half immersed; whilst an immense body of water, from both rivers, descended with great velocity towards Kelso Bridge, rose very high behind the piers of the arches, and overflowed the banks below on both sides, inundating the road and fields from the bridge to the bottom of Maxwellheugh-mill—forming altogether a spectacle truly sublime!

“It was observed early in the morning, that the third and fourth arches had sunk a little below their usual level; from which it was concluded that the foundation had been completely undermined, and that, of consequence, these arches might every hour be expected to fall. Business and curiosity, however, induced a great number of people, most of whom had been warned of their danger, to pass the bridge on horseback and on foot. About twelve o'clock, a great number of persons belonging to the town, as well as many of the ladies and gentlemen connected with the Caledonian Hunt, assembled at the east end of the bridge, and on the adjoining ground, for the purpose of witnessing the event, which, from the evident sinking of the two arches, was every instant expected to take place. At the time two men were rash enough to pass the bridge on horseback. Many persons now made signals, and called loudly for the return of some foot passengers, whom curiosity had led to the opposite end of the bridge, and among whom were Colonel Baird of Newbyth, and Colonel Hamilton of Wishaw. They remained, however, apparently ig-

common here, and which last for several days. In such cases, no other alternative was left for those on urgent business, but to pursue their journey by the way of Coldstream, taking a circuit of eighteen miles, which not only occasioned much delay, but had, besides, many other disadvantages.

The noblemen and gentlemen of the county, in conjunction with the opulent of the town, having consult-

norant of their danger, till a young man, whose brother was among the number, rushed forward, almost to the middle of the bridge, exclaiming, "The bridge is falling!" His brother and another relative were the only two who ventured to return, while they felt the bridge shaking under their feet. The rest continued on the other side.

"In less than five minutes the two arches sunk very fast; a rent, which was formed at the bottom of the lower side of the pier which supported them, widened rapidly; and some large stones separated and tumbled from the top of the parapet into the river. In an instant the pier fell to pieces; the two arches sprang together, and their disjointed materials sunk almost wholly beneath the water in the twinkling of an eye. The foam ascended to a great height all around, and the water was dashed on either shore beyond its former limits for a considerable way downwards; whilst the agitated countenances of the anxious spectators greatly increased the awful solemnity of the scene. Fourteen persons, among whom were the two gentlemen already mentioned, and five young boys, now remained for three hours at the west end of the bridge; but were at length rescued from their disagreeable situation by the exertions of the people of Maxwellheugh. The active interest taken by several gentlemen of the Caledonian Hunt, previously to the accident, in behalf of the people whose curiosity overcame their sense of danger, was highly honourable to themselves, and has probably been the means of saving lives. Mr Monro Binning of Softlaw, in particular, exerted himself by rushing to the bridge, and loudly warning the people of the impending event, not many minutes before it happened. Providentially not a life was lost."—*Edinburgh Magazine*, 1797, vol. X. p. 467.

ed the most able engineers on the subject, fixed upon a place about fifty yards below the site of the old bridge, as a proper situation for the one to be erected ; and having disposed of as many shares as amounted to the value of the estimates, the contract was signed in the year 1800, with Mr Murray of Edinburgh, and Mr Lees of East Lothian, who engaged to execute the work, and which they completed in about three years.

This bridge is constructed according to the most approved plans, and, for elegance of workmanship, and beauty of design, it has perhaps not its equal in Scotland. It is formed after the new mode of bridge-building, with five arches of beautiful polished stone, supported by handsome columns and pilasters. A toll-bar was placed upon it when it was completed, to which foot-passengers were also required to contribute, in order to defray the expense of erecting it, and which was only to continue until this was accomplished ; but works of this description, when once established, appear to acquire, by every year's standing, a more solid footing ; the toll still remains, and at present lets for L.900 per annum, so that the revenues arising from this bridge are very considerable.

PRINCIPAL SEATS.

The natural beauty of the country bordering on the Tweed and Teviot, has long been pointed it out as a most delightful situation for the residence of the noble

and the affluent. Kelso is, in consequence, completely surrounded by the seats of noblemen and gentlemen, generally constructed in a superior style of elegance and grandeur, which give additional lustre to the rich and captivating scenery of the district, and to Kelso itself an advantage over almost every other country town in Scotland. We shall, therefore, proceed to notice the most remarkable in the neighbourhood.

FLEÛRS, the palace of the Duke of Roxburghe, is situated on the north bank of the Tweed, within a mile of Kelso, on a rising ground, with a beautiful lawn descending to the margin of the river in front, and lofty woods behind and on each side of it. This elegant structure was built in the year 1718, by Sir John Vanbrugh; and adjoining to it a handsome Conservatory was erected by the late Duke, James,* in which there is a most excellent collection of rare and valuable plants.

The old gardens, which are partly in the town, (a considerable portion of Roxburgh Street having been pulled down for the purpose of extending them,) being

* The town of Kelso suffered an almost irreparable loss on the death of the late Duke of Roxburghe. He was a nobleman possessing the most liberal and generous sentiments—kind, affable, and courteous; and his attention to the interests and prosperity of the town was unremitting. The present representative of this noble house being a minor, has it not in his power to render the same services, although the highest expectations are formed of his following the example of his much-esteemed and justly-regretted progenitor. The Duchess, his mother, is a lady of the most amiable and humane dispositions, but her sphere of benevolence is also naturally restricted.

found inconvenient on account of their distance from the house, others have been constructed nearer to it on the west side, formed on a grand scale, and laid out in the most tasteful manner.

At about the distance of four miles from Fleurs, on the same side of the Tweed, surrounded with fine old woods, is Makerstoun, the seat of the late Sir Henry Hay Makdougall, Bart., commanding a very beautiful prospect to the south.

To the north of Kelso, about five miles, and in the neighbourhood of the village of the same name, is Nenthorn, the residence of James Roy, Esq.; and a few miles farther north is Mellerstain, the beautiful seat of George Baillie, Esq., placed in a most delightful situation, and surrounded with numerous thriving plantations.

South-east from Mellerstain, and about three miles north of Kelso, is Stichel, the family mansion of Sir John Pringle, Bart., occupying a fine rising-ground, and commanding an extensive and picturesque view of the adjacent country; and about a mile nearer to Kelso is Newton-don, the residence of Sir Alexander Don, Bart., standing upon an eminence of southern exposure, having a rich and extensive prospect over all the country lying between it and the Cheviot Hills. Sir Alexander has lately made considerable improvements both on the house and grounds. The canal has also been much enlarged—forming altogether a beautiful and rich appearance.

On the east of Kelso the gentlemen's seats are numerous and handsome. On the road leading to Berwick by Swinton, are Paradise, Dr Stuart—Edenside, Captain Tait—Woodside, Lady Diana Scott, mother to the Laird of Harden, a lady remarkable for her piety and benevolence—Broomlands, James Innes, Esq., factor to the Duke of Roxburghe—and Sydenham, Admiral Dixon. On the road to Berwick, by Cornhill, are Tweedbank, Mrs Nisbet—Rosebank, General Elliot—and Henderside Park, George Waldie, Esq. On the south side of the Tweed, and opposite to Rosebank, is Wooden, Mr Walker, remarkable for a beautiful waterfall called Wooden-lin, in a very retired and romantic situation.

Opposite to Kelso, on the south side of the river, is Pinnacle-Hill, the property of Miss Elliot, built on the top of a lofty precipitous eminence, from which it derives its name, with woods leading to the water's edge. The view from it, as has already been observed, is delightful. Considerable improvements have, within these few years, been made on the house, by building a new bow-front, and making other material alterations; a handsome lodge has also been erected at the entrance, and the grounds have been laid out with great taste.

Springwood Park, the seat of Sir John Scott Douglas, Bart., is delightfully situated on the rising-ground opposite to the ruins of Roxburgh Castle, and close by the bridge over the Teviot. The present proprietor

has of late added greatly to the appearance of his mansion, by opening a communication to it from the south end of the bridge of Kelso, which is conducted along an elegant archway, with a handsome lodge at the entrance. The avenue has also been laid out very tastefully, and when the trees arrive at maturity, the beauty of the scenery will be highly increased, and add much to the appearance of the surrounding country. Sir John has also beautified the other entrances to Springwood Park, and built handsome lodges at the different gates.

Ednam-House, the beautiful seat of John Robertson, Esq. stands in immediate proximity to the town, on the banks of the Tweed, closely adjoining to the English chapel. The house is an elegant modern building, and the grounds are laid out with much taste—the whole forming a great addition to the beauty of Kelso.

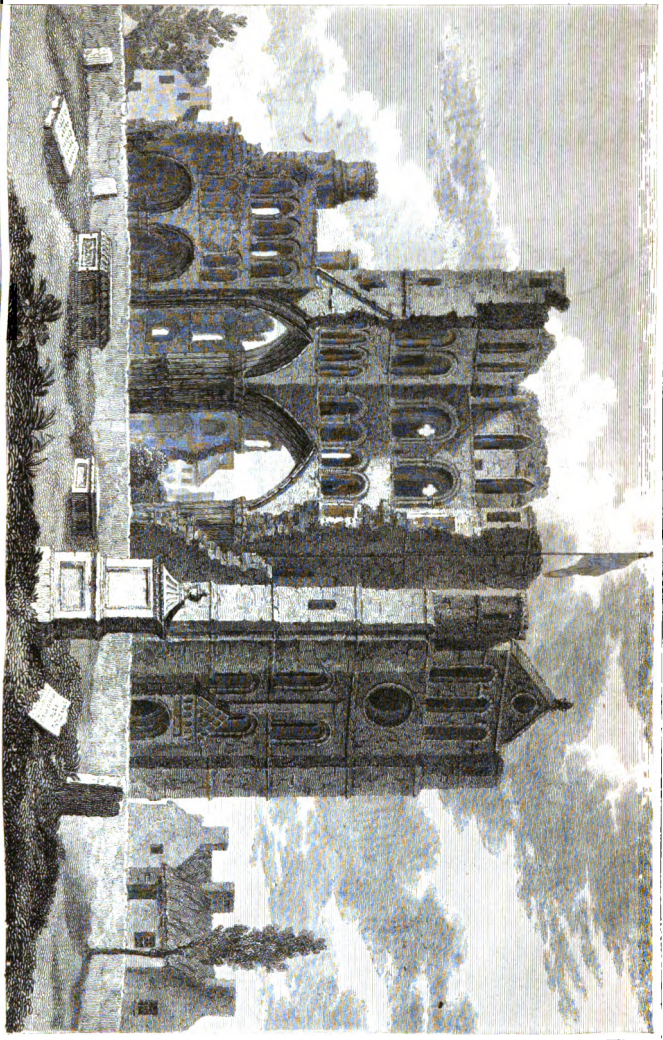
ABBEY.

DAVID, who, during the reign of his brother Alexander, was known by the title of Earl of Huntingdon, evinced, at a very early age, an uncommon piety and zeal for the church, which he manifested during his whole future life by a strict attention to its rites, and by the erection of numerous monasteries, which he endowed with immense revenues in lands, grain, and money.*

* The first introduction of monastic orders in Scotland, was long antecedent to the reign of David I., and everything recorded of the monks of those times, warrants us in believing that they were the only depositories of learning and the arts; and that the corrupt practices for which this class became afterwards so notorious, were in a great measure unknown among them in those days, although it is abundantly evident, the superstitions they practised among their votaries, even at this time, were grossly repugnant to common sense.

By means, however, of these superstitions, they obtained a complete and uncontrolled ascendancy over, not only the weak and unenlightened, but even over the more intelligent and better informed; and possessed of this power, which they deemed unassailable, they exercised it for many ages with domineering insolence and cruel rapacity. In consequence, their conduct became less guarded, and, by degrees, they arrived at an unparalleled height of open profligacy, and a total disregard of common decency.

That the Church of Rome has ever been indebted to ignorance and superstition for its chief and only support, is an undeniable fact; but that, in this enlightened age, men who have the means afforded (which they did not possess in the days above referred to) of obtaining education, the only requisite for dispelling the illusion of monastic priestcraft, should remain the willing dupes of their tricks and mummery, is an astonishing though lamentable reality.



Arch^d Mason Sam^l Del^d

Eng^d by R. Scott Edin^g

REMAINS OF ABERNETHY.

His possessions extending from east to west along the whole borders, he was naturally attached to this part of the kingdom ; and here the first ebullitions of his zeal were displayed, for we find that previous to his accession to the throne, he erected a monastery at Selkirk, about twenty miles distant from Kelso, for an order of monks which had become very celebrated in France. Having obtained a few members of this distinguished order, he brought them to his monastery at Selkirk, where they were regularly installed, agreeably to the institutions of the Romish church. These monks were denominated Tyronensian, from Tyrone, the name

Mr Ireland, in his history of " France for the last seven years," speaking of the bigotry and superstition of French priestcraft, mentions the following circumstance, as a melancholy proof of the state to which that country is reduced, and the public mind corrupted, by that class of bigotted zealots :—

" However, as a proof that I do not advance an assertion upon superficial grounds, I will appeal to all the population of Paris and its environs, whether, at the period upon which I am now speaking, (*vis.* 1820,) a priest, not seven miles from the capital, did not give his parishioners to understand, that a spot had been designated to him in a dream, where, under a stone, he would find deposited the *shirt* formerly worn by Jesus Christ ; a fact he repaired to identify, accompanied by his auditors, which, as may naturally be supposed, he took care should be verified ; and, in consequence, the precious relic was for several succeeding Sundays displayed in procession at the villages of Argenteuil, Courbevois, &c. &c. ; during one of which expositions, an old woman quaintly remarked, *that they must have had excellent thread in those days.* When such farces as these are tolerated, let us not be surprised that the baptising of bells should have taken place, nor wonder if we find renewed all the pantomimic illusions practised by monks in the earliest ages of barbarism and confiding ignorance."

of the town in France where this order was originally established by Bertrand D'Abbeville,* a disciple of Robert D'Arbrisson, the founder of the monks of the Fouterrand order.

* Bertrand d'Abbeville was born about the year 1046, in the jurisdiction of Abbeville, in the parish of Ponthieu, of honest parents, pious and eminent HOSPITALIERS; who, according to their ability, received the poor, and with much charity relieved their necessities. They were particularly careful in training up Bertrand in the paths of virtue, and bestowed on him a liberal education, in which he soon made rapid progress. From his earliest infancy he manifested so strong a partiality for a religious life, that he even wished to imitate the monks in their dress. This exposed him to the laughter and derision of his companions; but he withstood all their railleries; and, on reaching his twentieth year, he, in company with three others, who expressed the same desire, left his native place, and went to Poitou in order to retire into a monastery where strictness and regularity were observed.

They remained at Poitiers for some time, to make themselves acquainted with the ceremonies that were regularly practised in the monasteries of that province. At the age of thirty, Bertrand was made prior of the monastery of St Savin, about twelve leagues from Poitiers, upon the Gartemle. And here, from his zeal, mildness, and humility, and his unremitting attention to their comforts, he soon became a great favourite with the monks. So much so, that on the death of the abbot he was earnestly solicited to fill his place; but his modesty inducing him to decline this high office, he retired into Maine, for the purpose of concealment, till another abbot had been elected.

He was very soon after this chosen abbot of St Cyprien, and went to rejoin Robert d'Arbrissel, whom he accompanied in his apostolic missions. He afterwards went to Rome, to defend the rights of his monastery of St Cyprien, when he obtained what he demanded; and refused the dignity of cardinal, which was offered him by Pope Paschal the Second.

Bertrand being desirous of returning to his former retirement in the Perche, he was dissuaded from this by the mother of the Count

Bertrand, the founder of the Tyronensian order, is represented as a person of great reputation and ability, endowed with superior talents, and possessing high accomplishments, an ardent admirer of the fine arts, which he patronized and encouraged to the utmost of his power. And as this power did not extend beyond the jurisdiction of his monastery, he made it an invariable rule that no one should be admitted a member of his society who was not thoroughly instructed in some branch of science or of art; and this, as well to banish idleness (the general source of all vice) from their community, as to enable them, should occasion require, to procure for themselves the necessaries of life, which, at their first institution, they did not possess in superfluous abundance.

de Routron, who prevailed upon her son to grant to him and his monks a settlement in the wood of Tyrone. Here he laid the foundation of a monastery, which gave name to the monks of this order. It was at first built of wood. Yves of Chartres befriended this establishment very much; and mass was performed there for the first time by Bertrand, on the Easter-day following.

The fame of Bertrand spread far and near, and the order of which he was the founder was adopted and introduced into many parts of the world. Thirteen of his monks were brought over to England by King Henry I. David, King of Scotland, impressed by reports of his piety, undertook a journey to France in order to see him, but before he reached Tyrone he had died. He, however, brought with him twelve monks belonging to the order, and an abbot.

According to Souchet, Bertrand died in the year 1116, but Henschenius says, that this event did not take place till the year following. So great an example had this pious man shown while in life, that the number of the monasteries of this order increased considerably even after his death.—*Hist. des Ordres Monast.* tom. VI.

In consequence of his strict adherence to this regulation, there were found in this order artists and mechanics of every description, such as painters, sculptors, joiners, lock-smiths, masons, vine-dressers, labourers, &c. ; all which were subject to the superior, and their earnings were placed into a common stock for the general maintenance of the body.

By the rules of this society, the strictest poverty was enjoined ; and, indeed, at its first commencement, they barely possessed the merest necessaries of life. Frequently they were so much reduced as to be obliged to divide a pound of bread between two, and not unfrequently among four, of the monks ; and there were some days in which they were even destitute of this article of food, and under the necessity of subsisting on herbs and roots.

They were also debarred the use of wine, and the austerities they voluntarily subjected themselves to, appear scarcely credible. Notwithstanding the severity of their rules, applications for admission into this society increased so rapidly, that in less than three years, Bertrand had under his control not less than 500 monks. The dress first assumed by this order was *ash-coloured grey*, but it was afterwards changed for *black*. Their original institution was in the year 1109, when Bertrand founded the monastery at Tyrone.

Difference of opinion exists as to the exact period when the portion of this community of monks brought from France by David, arrived at Selkirk. Fordun

places their arrival in 1109, while Simon of Durham states it to have happened in 1113, and adds, that they remained there *fifteen years*. Fordun, however, appears in this instance to be the more exact historian ; for, had they come to Selkirk in 1113, and remained there fifteen years, according to Simeon of Durham, no interval could have elapsed between their removal from Selkirk, and their settlement at Kelso. Now, we are expressly informed, that David, on his accession to the throne in 1124, at the suggestion of his pious courtiers, and by the advice of John, Bishop of Glasgow, “ built a religious house at Roxburgh, and had the monks brought from Selkirk to that place.” And it is certainly very probable that David, from his partiality to the monks he had himself introduced into the kingdom, would readily adopt this advice, as, by this transference, he would have them nearer to his person, and more under his own observation.

Roxburgh, at this time the chief residence of the monarch, could not, as may well be supposed, be a very suitable abode for men of such recluse and austere habits. The hurry and bustle of camps, and the din of arms, did but ill accord with the privacy and seclusion to which they had devoted themselves ; and David, no doubt, soon aware of this, perceived the necessity of removing them to a more retired situation, where, free from disturbance, from the noise of war, they might peaceably and uninterruptedly perform the sacred duties of their religion.

No place appeared more eligible for this purpose than Kelso; and here David caused a splendid monastery to be erected, on which neither pains nor expense were spared to complete the elegance of the structure, and the convenience of the building.

This abbey was finished in the year 1128, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St John the Evangelist; and on the second day of May in the same year, the monks were removed from Roxburgh and settled at Kelso.

This monastery was richly endowed by the royal founder; and the gifts he made to it were afterwards confirmed to the church by Pope Innocent II., who died fifteen years after the erection of this building. From the liberality of David and his successors, and the donations of other pious individuals, the revenue of this abbey became immense.

David, high in favour with the Pontifical See, was anxious that some particular mark of distinction might be conferred by the Pope on this abbey, and he had the satisfaction of seeing this wish realised; for, shortly after the death of Innocent II., his successor, Alexander III., issued a bull, as appears from the chartulary of Kelso,* granting permission to the Abbot to wear a mitre and pontifical robes, and allowing him to be admitted at the meetings of all general councils.

Pope Innocent III. granted still greater privileges

* This chartulary is deposited in the Advocates' Library.

to this monastery. He freed the Abbot from the control of all Episcopal jurisdiction whatsoever; and he also wrote two letters in favour of this abbey, the one to the High Church at Kelso, to prevent its ecclesiastical endowments from being appropriated to any other purposes than those for which they were originally designed; and the other to the churches and other ecclesiastical establishments throughout the kingdoms of Scotland, enjoining them to refrain from all injury to the monastery of Kelso.

Robert, Bishop of St Andrews, also manifested his liberality to the monks of Kelso, who were then included in his diocese, but afterwards transferred to the see of Glasgow, by placing them in that independent situation that they might be ordained, and take the sacraments of the church from whatever bishop in Scotland or Cumbria they should choose.

DESCRIPTION.

The Abbey of Kelso is constructed in a form quite different from any other abbey either in Scotland or in England, being in the shape of a Greek cross. The architecture is Saxon, or early Norman, with the exception of four magnificent central arches, which are decidedly Gothic, and is a beautiful specimen of this particular style, being regular and uniform in its structure. This monastery, like most others in the kingdom, suffered much from the fury of the Reformers

in 1569, when many of its most beautiful ornaments were defaced, and a great part of the building destroyed.*

It is rather singular that this building should differ so much in appearance from either the Abbey of Jedburgh or of Melrose, which were erected by the same monarch, and within a few years of each other. The ruins of this abbey are, however, in such a state of preservation, as to give to the spectator a tolerably correct idea of the original magnificence of the building. The nave and quire are wholly demolished; the north and south aisles remain, and are each nearly twenty paces in length. False circular arches, intersecting each other, ornament the walls round about. The ruins of the eastern end present part of a fine open gallery: the pillars are clustered, and the arches circular. Two sides of the central tower are still standing, to the height of about seventy feet, but they must have been originally much higher. There is an uniformity in the north and south ends, each bearing two round towers, the

* It is much to be regretted, that so many fine buildings and noble edifices, of rich architecture, should have been destroyed at this time. Zeal for the reformed religion overpowered reason, and led the Reformers to the commission of acts of violence which, under any other pretence, would have been unpardonable. When we consider, however, the melancholy state of degradation to which this country was reduced, and the persecutions carried on by the superstitious and bigotted Church of Rome, we feel inclined to palliate these rash acts, presuming they were committed from the idea, that when they were demolishing the churches, they were at the same time destroying the religious system of the Roman Catholics.

centres of which sharpen towards the roof. The great door-way is formed by a circular arch, with several members falling in the rear of each other, and supported on fine pilasters.*

It is not certain when this abbey was first used as a parish church after the Reformation, but the record informs us that it was repaired for the purpose in the year 1648; and that it is very little more than half a century since, on account of its dangerous state, public worship was discontinued in it.†

The buildings of the abbey must at one time have occupied a very considerable space of ground, as not many years ago they extended as far east as the present parish school, and, from appearance, they must originally have reached a considerable way towards

* Mr Gillespie, in his report on the repairs of the abbey in 1822, states, "that from the remote antiquity of the abbey, and the style of its architecture, it stands high on the list of those ecclesiastical buildings in this country which form a dictionary of sciences to the artists of the present day."

† In the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, we find the following prediction of Thomas the Rhymer: "Another memorable prophecy bore, that the old kirk at Kelso, constructed out of the ruins of the abbey, should fall when 'at the fullest.' At a very crowded sermon, about thirty years ago, a piece of lime fell from the roof of the church. The alarm for the fulfilment of the words of the seer, became universal; and happy were they who were nearest the door of the predestined edifice. The church was in consequence deserted, and has never since had an opportunity of tumbling upon a full congregation. I hope, for the sake of a beautiful specimen of Saxon-Gothic architecture, that the accomplishment of this prophecy is far distant."—*Minstrelsy*, vol. II. p. 275, edit. 1802.

the banks of the Tweed, near which it is situated. In the three upper windows were hung the same number of bells, which are now removed; and when the old town-house was taken down, the clock was put up in another window of this building, where it remained for several years; but is now also removed, and placed on the front of the new town-house, lately erected.

The ruins of the abbey were, till lately, greatly disfigured by several modern additions; but of these, part were removed by order of the late Duke William, in 1805, and the remainder were taken down by the last Duke, James, in 1816, by which the ruins were restored to their original simplicity. By the removal of these excrescences, the noble transept, together with several windows and side-arches, which were by them hid, are now restored to view.

In consequence, however, of an apprehension that the ruins of this beautiful abbey would soon fall into a greater state of decay, a meeting of the noblemen and gentlemen of the county was held on the 27th day of January, 1823, to concert the measures necessary in order to prevent this unfortunate occurrence. The following report from Mr Gillespie, architect, Edinburgh, was presented, and read to the meeting:—

“ 1st, That it appears to him, from minute inspection, that unless a very speedy remedy be applied, a large portion of the building is in danger of falling to the ground; and that the bells should be immediately

taken down, as he is satisfied they have been the cause of much injury to the building.*

“ 2d, That as the greatest injury the building in general has sustained, appears to arise from water penetrating through the summit, and passing to the heart of the walls, all the loose stones should be fixed, the rents and crevices on the top carefully pinned and filled up, and then a coat of Roman cement, one inch in thickness, should be applied for the protection of the whole upper part of the abbey.

“ 3d, That many of the arches, and other parts of the building, which are in a very crazy state, should be strengthened; and that other repairs, which it is impossible fully to specify in writing, should be executed; and that the commencement of these necessary repairs should not be deferred longer than the month of April next.

“ In this report, and also at the preliminary meeting of gentlemen held on this business, on the 6th of January last, Mr Gillespie, in the most handsome manner, offered his gratuitous services in personally superintending and directing the repair. The report concludes with stating, as Mr Gillespie’s opinion, that if

* “ This report having been laid before, and partly considered by, a meeting of heritors of Kelso, held on the 28th day of November, 1822, the bells were, by unanimous agreement, ordered to be taken down, and were very skilfully removed from the belfry on the north front of the abbey, under the direction of Mr W. Elliot, architect, Kelso.”

his directions be faithfully carried into execution, our venerable abbey will be preserved for another century.

“ The meeting proceeded to deliberate on the report, and having formerly ascertained from Mr Gillespie, that the probable expense of these repairs would not exceed L.500 sterling, resolved, that a voluntary subscription should be forthwith entered into for their accomplishment ; and for managing said subscription, and conducting the business, a committee be appointed.”

A subscription was immediately entered into for defraying the expense of the repairs. The whole building has been run with cement, which will preserve it as an ornament to the town for a great series of years. A handsome rail now surrounds it, which will tend greatly to the preservation of this ancient structure.

The value of the endowments bestowed at different periods upon this abbey, and which belonged to it at the time of the Reformation, will appear from the following list of the churches annexed to it, viz. Selkirk, Roxburgh, Innerlethan, Molle, Sprouston, Hume, Lambden, Greenlaw, Symprink, Keith, Makerston, Maxwell, and Gordon, with some others, with their tithes, and also the schools of Roxburgh. And the revenue derived from these was very great, amounting at the same period to L.2501, 16s. 5d. in money, with 9 chaldrons of wheat, 52 chaldrons 6 bolls and 2 firlots of bear, 92 chaldrons 12 bolls 3 firlots and 1 peck of meal, 1 chaldron and 3 bolls of oats, 1 tidder of hay,

and 1 pound of pepper. The convent of Lesmahago, in Clydesdale, also belonged to this abbey, being a cell of Tironersian monks, founded by Fergus, Lord of Galloway. Its revenues amounted to L.1214, 4s. 6d. in money, with 15 chaldrons 8 bolls 1 firiot and 2 pecks of bear, 41 chaldrons 8 bolls and 3 firlots of meal, and 3 bolls of oats.

From the first foundation of this monastery till the reign of James V., every succeeding monarch vied with his predecessor in munificence towards it, so that its possessions were immense; and the reputation of the monks for sanctity and purity of manners procured for them grants and bequests from private individuals to an extent almost passing belief, so that the revenues of this abbey amounted to not less than 10,000 merks of annual income.

Besides the monastery at Lesmahago, with its dependencies, there belonged to it 34 parish churches, several manors, a vast number of lands, granges, farms, mills, breweries, fishings, salt works, &c. in the shires of Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles, Lanark, Dumfries, Ayr, Edinburgh, and Berwick; and even in the distant county of Aberdeen it possessed the church of Culter. By these grants and bestowments, the abbots and convent of Kelso were in possession of a revenue exceeding in value the income of all the bishops in Scotland.

The abbots of this monastery, besides, held a distinguished rank in the kingdom, having the precedence of all the other ecclesiastics on the rolls of Parliament;

the Abbot of Kelso being the first on the list, and next to him the Abbot of Melrose.

The Abbots of Kelso were likewise frequently employed on embassies ; and their names appear to many of the truces concluded with England, as commissioners specially appointed for these negotiations.

King David II., we learn from Robertson's Index, granted to this abbey the privilege of a free market, and also bestowed upon it all the *forfaultries* of all rebels, &c., within the town and county of Berwick ; and, in consequence of the damage it sustained from the frequent incursions of the English, he gave to the monks liberty to cut, from the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh, the wood necessary for the repair of these injuries.

King David II. also erected Kelso, Bolden, and Reverden, into a regality, the superiority of which he vested in the abbot and convention of the monastery, who retained it till the Reformation.

HISTORY.

The Abbey of Kelso being finished in the year 1128, King David I. brought the monks who were to possess it thither from Roxburgh, on the 2d day of May, the same year ; and in consequence of the king's residence in the vicinity, the abbot was appointed his chaplain.

Henry, only son to David, and heir-apparent to the throne, a prince esteemed and beloved for his many

virtues and excellent qualities, died at Roxburgh in the year 1152, and his body was interred in Kelso Abbey with great funeral pomp. His death happened about the middle of June.

A dispute having arisen in the year 1202, between the monks of Kelso and Melrose, respecting the division of some lands to which both laid claim, the Pope's legate, John of Salerno, was appointed umpire between them; but, after spending a considerable time in investigating the matter, and receiving large presents of gold, silver, horses, &c., from both parties, he departed the kingdom, leaving the dispute undetermined.

The above-mentioned dispute, which related to the division of the lands between Mole and Clifton, being still undecided, both parties agreed to leave it to the judgment of Pope Celestine, who, in the year 1208, enjoined King William, with a promise of the forgiveness of his sins, to undertake the adjustment of this weighty matter, commanding, at the same time, the abbots of both monasteries to abide by his decision. The king, in consequence, repaired to Melrose, where he summoned both parties to appear before him; and having minutely examined into the claims of both, he pronounced his decision with great solemnity, which was clearly defined, and particularly narrated in a charter executed by him this same year at Kelso.

In the year 1238, the Bishop of St Andrews, with others of the nobility, being sent to York to witness the solemnization of the marriage of Alexander III., to

Margaret, daughter to Henry III. of England, he was there taken ill of a fever, of which he died. His body was brought to Kelso, and interred with great solemnity in the Abbey Church there.

David of Bernham, lord chancellor of the kingdom, and bishop of St Andrews, a rapacious and wicked character, died at Narthanthira, in the year 1253, and his body, contrary to the protest and prohibition of the church of St Andrews, was interred at Kelso.

Edward I. of England having, in the year 1296, seized and confiscated to his own use all the lands, houses, and other property belonging to the ecclesiastics in Scotland, summoned a parliament to meet at Berwick, which was attended by a great number of all ranks from Scotland, who there renewed their fealty to him, and renounced all connexion with France; he then issued orders to all the sheriffs of the different counties to restore the whole property of the church. Letters of restitution were accordingly at this time granted to the Abbots of Kelso, Jedburgh, and Melrose, for the restoration of all their property.

In consequence of an article in the treaty between Edward III. and King Robert Bruce, by which the rights of the church in either kingdom were declared inviolate, Edward, in the year 1328, issued orders for the restitution of all the lands and pensions which the Abbots of Kelso, Jedburgh, and Melrose, held in England, and which had been seized by his father during the late wars, and which were still possessed by Ed-

ward III. The Scottish king, at the same time, ordered restitution to the monasteries in England, of all property of the same denomination which they held in Scotland.

During the repeated wars upon the Borders, the Monastery of Kelso was subject to frequent dilapidations, and its inmates often reduced to great distress from scarcity of provisions, which the neighbourhood, from its being generally occupied by either the Scots or English army, could not supply. In the reign of Edward III., (when he nominally held the sovereignty over this kingdom,) permission was frequently granted to the abbot to send to England for the purpose of purchasing provisions. The following is a copy of a proclamation issued by him in the year 1368, giving them this liberty, and providing for the safety of those who should be employed in this service, and is addressed to the governor of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and to all other governors of castles, &c. :—

“ KNOW YE, that as in behalf of our beloved in Christ, the Abbot and Convention of Kelso, in Scotland, who are in our faith and peace—it is made known to us, that the said Abbacy, its lands, tenements, and possessions, as also those holding of them, are very much wasted, and almost annihilated, by various losses through the war, as also by various molestations, inquietudes, and other losses which they are daily visited with; for that reason, the Abbot and Convention, by themselves, or their servants, ought to have liberty to purchase in England provisions for their own support and that of their family, which they have frequently been prevented

from doing.—We, therefore, taking these premises into our consideration, and graciously wishing to regard their security in this matter, have given to the said Abbot and Convention liberty that they, by themselves or their servants, may seek for and purchase in England, or wherever they please, provisions for the support of themselves and their family, and to carry them to the said Abbey, at their own proper charge, without hindrance or contradiction of any sort, taking under our special protection and defence, and also into our safe and secure conducting, the said Abbot and Convention ; also their said Abbacy, men, affairs, revenues, and all their possessions, within our realm, being either in England or Scotland ; and also the servants of the said Abbot and Convention, on their coming into our kingdom of England to seek for or purchase provisions at the proper expense of the said Abbot and Convention, and of their servants and friends, in conducting the same to the Abbey.

“ We are unwilling that they should be molested in any manner, either in their persons, provisions, or anything else belonging to them, (provided they conduct themselves properly and faithfully towards us,) by us, our assistants, or any of our subjects, whosoever they may be, as is generally wont to be in other letters of safe conduct.”

In the year 1420, the Abbot of St Andrews disputed the right of precedency claimed by the Abbot of Kelso over all the other abbots of the kingdom, in consequence of the privileges conferred upon them by King David I., the Holy See, and others, the dignitaries of the church, and brought the question before Parliament, when it having undergone a full and elaborate discussion in presence of King James I., he decided in favour of the Abbots of St Andrews, assigning to them the precedency of all the abbots of the kingdom, on ac-

count of the Monastery of St Andrews being the first that had been erected in Scotland.

On the night following the fatal battle of Flodden, in the year 1513, the Abbey of Kelso was seized by one Carr, a friend or dependant of the Lord of Hume, who turned the abbot out of the monastery, and took possession of it.

In the year 1516, John, eldest son to Alexander, Earl of Huntley, died on his passage from France to Scotland, and his body was brought to Kelso and interred in the Abbey.

The English, in the year 1522, having taken possession of Kelso, reduced the vaults of the abbey, the houses adjoining, and the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, (in which some beautiful Episcopal seats, or stalls, were constructed,) to a heap of ruins. They also burnt all the cells and dormitories; and, what is still worse, they unroofed all the houses of the monastery, carrying off the lead with which they were covered; and, from the interruption to all kind of work arising from these repeated inroads, the walls fell into a state of decay, and for some time continued to fall down piece-meal. During the time the abbey continued in this state, the monks resorted to the adjoining villages, where they celebrated divine worship, and were reduced to a state of great poverty and want.

At an assembly of the nobles of the kingdom, held in the year 1537, much time was occupied in an inquiry as to the efficiency of the king's (James V.) revenue to