

Worship in Covenanting Times.

ABOUT forty years ago the late Dr Sprott published a little book entitled "Worship of the Church of Scotland during the Covenanting Period, 1638-1661". The subject was dealt with exhaustively, so far as the period indicated was concerned. The present paper deals with the worship of a section of the Presbyterians from the latter of the dates mentioned to the Revolution of 1688. The Church of Scotland from 1662 to 1688 was governed by Bishops; her General Assembly was not allowed to meet; and many of her ministers suffered exile and imprisonment; a few of them death. About three hundred parish ministers were "outed" because they refused to conform to Episcopacy, and many of those who remained made no attempt to change the methods of worship which had been in practice during the first covenanting period. The Bishops tried with varying success to restore some of the older and better ways which had been followed by the early Reformers, but had been swept away by what a contemporary writer called the "Donatism of the Covenant".⁽¹⁾ No attempt was made to bring in the Book of Common Prayer. Archbishop Sharp, in particular, set his face against any such thing. He had no wish, says another contemporary, to ride the ford where his predecessor drowned.⁽²⁾ The old Scottish Book of Common Order, however, sometimes called John Knox's Liturgy, was introduced into some dioceses.

During the Second Episcopacy the Presbyterians might be said to be divided into three groups. There were first of all those who conformed to Episcopacy, and continued to attend their parish churches, as they had done before the Restoration. Then there were those who "sat under" the "Indulged" ministers. In 1669 a number of the "outed" ministers were allowed to return to their old parishes, and three years later a number more of these were settled in parishes other than their own. These continued to be regarded as Presbyterians, and their presence was to some extent resented by the Bishops. From the fact that they were allowed to officiate by the Privy Council, they were known as

⁽¹⁾ Sage, *Fundamental Charter*, 360.

⁽²⁾ Row, *Life of Robert Blair*, 563.

"Indulged". The third Presbyterian party was composed of those who refused to worship with the Indulged ministers and who continued to go their own way.⁽¹⁾

Some of the "outed" ministers had taken to preaching in the fields shortly after they had been ejected from their churches, and as time went on others joined them in this work. These gatherings for worship in the fields and on the hillsides were termed conventicles and, though these were probably not so numerous or so well attended as some have tried to make out, they were a distinctive feature of the time. It is with the forms of worship used at such conventicles that this paper deals.

The "Directory for the Publick Worship of God" which had been adopted by the General Assembly of 1645 and to which the covenanting ministers professed their adherence, was in all likelihood more or less followed. The order of public worship as laid down therein, was: Call to Worship followed by Prayer, chapters from the Old and New Testaments, Psalm, Prayer, Sermon, Prayer, Lord's Prayer, Psalm and Benediction. The psalms were sung in the metrical version which we still use; though there must have been many who preferred the old Scots Psalter, which had been in use for fully eighty years after the Reformation. A number of the tunes we still sing were then in vogue, such as Dunfermline, French, York, and Melrose.⁽²⁾ At Drumclog, which was a gathering for worship though it developed into a skirmish, the covenanters sang the 76th Psalm, "In Judah's land God is well known" to the tune "Martyrs".⁽³⁾ The practice of singing the Doxology at the end of the Psalm had been continued in some churches during the first covenanting period, being a legacy from the days of Knox. Gradually, however, it was discontinued among the Presbyterians, its discontinuance being hastened by the fact that the Episcopal party wished to retain it.

If we are to credit a story told by Dr Simpson, the singing at these field gatherings was not always of a harmonious nature. He relates that while the assembly at a

(1) This party might be further divided into those who were willing to associate with those who attended churches where the Indulged ministers officiated and those who declined to countenance such a practice in any way whatever. It was to the latter group that ministers like Cargill, Cameron and Renwick acted as pastors. After 1681 they were organised as the "United Societies" and it was from their members that most of the covenanting martyrs came.

(2) See "The Psalmody of Covenanting Times": *Church Service Society Annual*, No. 6 (1933-34).

(3) The modern tune "Covenanters" is an American production and has no connection with the Scottish covenanters.

conventicle at Darngavel in the parish of Cambusnethan were engaged in worship, "raising aloft the voice of praise", the melody wafted by the breeze was heard at the farm of Blackhall, at the moment a trooper happened to call in passing. The sound reached his ear and excited his suspicion. The farmer, who was friendly to the covenanters, allayed his suspicions by telling him that "when my neighbour at Darngavel shears one of his sheep or taks off any twa o' his lambs he sets the hale flock a bleating". This seemed to satisfy the dragoon who departed without making further inquiries.⁽¹⁾ Singing which could be taken for the bleating of sheep could not have been of any high musical quality.

The Directory had enjoined that, where many in the congregation could not read, "for the present, the minister or some other fit person appointed by him and the other ruling officers, do read the Psalm, line by line, before the singing thereof". The Scots Commissioners objected to this; holding that in Scotland many who could not read knew the Psalms by heart, and that such an enactment was quite unnecessary. It is probably owing to their objection that the innovation was restricted to places where many could not read and also only "for the present". The practice however gained a firm footing in Scotland and is still followed in some places. A number of congregations among the Seceders owed their origin to the troubles which followed the discontinuance of the practice of "lining out" in parish churches.

It is questionable, however, whether this custom of "reading the line" was followed by all covenanting ministers. In 1685, according to Patrick Walker, the famous covenanting divine Alexander Peden held a conventicle among the Presbyterians in Northern Ireland.⁽²⁾ "He read the whole of the 59th Psalm; after reading, he charged his hearers that none of them open their mouth to sing but those that could do it knowingly and believingly. For some few lines none opened their mouths . . . the greater part could not forbear singing, but brake out with their hearts and whole strength, so that they were never witness to such loud singing through the whole psalm".⁽³⁾ This Psalm has no less than 16 stanzas, so that Peden believed in giving the people much more in the way of praise than did many

⁽¹⁾ *Traditions of the Covenanters.* Chap. xxii.

⁽²⁾ The Irish Presbyterians were chiefly emigrants from Scotland.

⁽³⁾ *Six Saints.* I.—65.

of his successors in the ministry in the Scottish Church. It seems evident that on this occasion "lining out" was not followed.

Contemporary records show that among the Scottish peasantry there were very many who could not write, and it may be taken that the proportion who could not read was also large.⁽¹⁾ These could join only in singing Psalms that they knew by heart. Many of the older worshippers must have been better acquainted with the Scots Reformation Psalter, which was laid aside in 1650, than with its successor. Consequently one feels that, whatever was the custom at large gatherings, there must have been many meetings for worship among smaller groups, where the praise was selected from the older book.

Dr Simpson⁽²⁾ tells an interesting story of a covenanter who, on being threatened with punishment by the dragoons if he would not sing for their entertainment, began "to chant in a low and solemn tone an old and forgotten hymn which commenced with the following lines:—

For all the babes in Bethlehem town
King Herod sent and slew.

Evidently we have here a fragment of an old hymn for Holy Innocents Day (28th December) which had survived among the hills of Galloway from pre-Reformation days.

With regard to the prayers offered at Conventicles, we know little except that these were always offered *ex tempore*, that usually they were very long, and that the intercessions were offered after the sermon, as was the practice in the days of Knox—a practice which has continued to our own day. The covenanters banned read prayers in public worship, though some of the more liberal were prepared to admit that there were occasions when such prayers might be profitably used.⁽³⁾ One or two fragments of prayers offered by covenanting ministers have survived, of which the following from one of Peden's prayers may be regarded as a fair sample. It was used "after sermon" at a conventicle at Collomwood on the Water of Ayr a little before his death. "Lord, Thou hast been both good and kind to old Sandy through a long tract

⁽¹⁾ In the year 1700 Wodrow defended the practice of "reading the line" on the ground that "after all our endeavours for educating youth there will still be several in the mixed congregation that will not be able to read". *Early Letters of Robert Wodrow*, 127.

⁽²⁾ *Traditions of the Covenanters*, Chap. xviii.

⁽³⁾ Andrew Donaldson, the covenanting minister of Dalgety, who was imprisoned for preaching at conventicles, held that read prayers were lawful, "though to conceive was better". *Pastoral Work in Covenanting Times*, 80.

of time, and given him many years in Thy service which have been but so many months: but now he is tired of Thy world and hath done the good in it that he will do; let him win away with the honesty he has, for he will gather no more".⁽¹⁾

Kneeling had been the posture at public prayer in the days of the Reformers and for many years afterwards in Scotland; but by the time we are dealing with it had in large measure given way to standing; though if we are to believe some of the controversialists of the period, there was only a minority who stood; the majority sitting both at praise and prayer.⁽²⁾ According to Patrick Walker, that well-known covenanting minister John Semple of Carsphairn "was so concerned for the right managing of the publick worship of God, that he could not endure anything that looked like carelessness and unconcernedness about it". From the way in which Walker writes, Semple was apparently somewhat exceptional in this.⁽³⁾

The reading of the chapters of Scripture had in the days of Knox and for long afterwards been performed by "Readers"; and such officiants were still to be found among the Presbyterians long after the Revolution. So far as we know there were no readers at the conventicles,⁽⁴⁾ and so the duty of reading the Bible to the worshippers would be performed by the ministers themselves, if it were done at all. All the evidence points to the fact that the simple reading of God's Word was greatly neglected during this period by Presbyterian ministers despite the injunction of the Directory, which they acknowledged as their guide in such matters.

The practice of expounding one of the chapters read had gradually come into existence after 1638, though there are traces of it before that date; and this in time led to the simple reading of the Bible being more or less dropped in public worship, its place being taken by what was called a "Lecture". This consisted of what to-day would be called an "Exposition". A chapter of the Bible was read verse by verse, fairly long comments being made on each verse. This,

⁽¹⁾ *Six Saints*, I.—95. "Auld Sandy" was the name by which Peden was generally known.

⁽²⁾ The Episcopal congregations were no better than the Presbyterian in these matters.

⁽³⁾ *Six Saints*, I.—198.

⁽⁴⁾ At least one Reader was a covenanting Martyr. George Martin, Reader at Dailly in Ayrshire, was hanged in the Grassmarket, Edinburgh, in 1684, after having been about four years in prison. Wodrow, *History*, iv. 57.

it may be said, was forbidden by the Directory,⁽¹⁾ which says that any comments were to be deferred until the whole chapter had been read. The covenanters, like many of their later followers, were sticklers for the law of the Church only in so far as the law pleased them.

This "Lecture" was quite apart from the Sermon, so that there was a full diet for those who attended. I have noticed that, when descriptions are given of services held over a whole day, the lecture in addition to the sermon was given only at the forenoon diet. In the afternoon, the sermon alone was delivered. The use of the lecture was forbidden to the indulged ministers by order of the Privy Council in 1670.⁽²⁾ The bishops also endeavoured to get the curates to stop the practice, and they appear to have been successful.

Another feature of covenanting worship was the "Preface". Alexander Henderson mentions that in his day (*circa* 1640) it was the custom of the minister to "preface a little for the quickening and uplifting of the hearts of the people". This preface was a short address, on something of the same lines as the exhortation before the General Confession in the Book of Common Prayer. Such a "prefatio" existed in the Gallican liturgy and was in use in the ancient Celtic Church in Scotland.⁽³⁾ In covenanting times, it seemed to have been the custom to base the preface on the first psalm that was sung, and this practice continued in some places in our land up to our own day. Usually the prefacing was done before the singing of the psalm, the minister making some comment on each of the verses.⁽⁴⁾

An interesting story, told by Patrick Walker, shows that in some places the preface came after the singing. "An old Christian sufferer yet alive in the parish of Orr (Urr), in Galloway, writes to me that in the year 1677 he heard Mr John Wellwood preach in the south, near the Border. A gentleman came four or five miles to stop him from preaching on his ground. Mr Wellwood had sung in the 24th Psalm 'The earth's the Lord's and the fulness thereof' and prefacing the same as their ordinary then was, said, 'Tho the

(1) It is a somewhat remarkable fact that when in 1694 the General Assembly recommended the revival of the "exercise of lecturing", which had evidently fallen into disuse in the parish churches, it was actually put into the recommendation that this "old custom" had "been introduced and established by the Directory". Comment is needless.

(2) *Register*, III.—123.

(3) Macgregor, *Early Scottish Worship*, 28.

(4) Some of the Prefaces had however little connection with the Psalm. See *Six Saints*, I.—65.

earth be the Lord's and the fulness thereof etc., yet the poor fools of the world will not allow a bit of his earth to preach his gospel upon '. The gentleman, standing at the side of the people, going to discharge him from preaching upon his ground, these words so pierced him, that he sat down and heard him through that day ". The usual result followed. Afterwards the gentleman " became a sufferer himself, but not unto death ".⁽¹⁾

At the famous conventicle held at the Hill of Beath near Dunfermline in 1670, the " outed " minister of Troqueer officiated, and there was a lecture as well as a sermon at the forenoon service. In the afternoon, " after some prefacing ", the sermon was preached.⁽²⁾ There is in existence " A Choice Collection of very valuable Prefaces, Lectures and Sermons preached upon the mountains and moors of Scotland, in the hottest time of the late persecution. By that Faithful Minister and Martyr of Jesus Christ the Reverend Mr James Renwick ", of which several editions have been published. This collection shows that with Renwick the preface often took the place of the lecture, and that sometimes the latter was preceded by what was called the " Preface to Lecture " instead of the preface being based upon the psalm.

Among the Wodrow MSS. in the National Library, Edinburgh, there is a detailed description of a conventicle held at Fenwick in Ayrshire in 1702. This was a number of years after the Revolution, but the minister who officiated, the Rev. John Hepburn, minister of Urr, had been a preacher in the days of the Covenant, and more than once had got himself into trouble with the authorities because of his disorderly ways. At this service, Hepburn had a preface of one and a half hours after the opening psalm, and before the first prayer. There was no lecture, but a sermon was preached, and this seems to have been of considerable length. In the afternoon, there does not seem to have been either preface or lecture, but after a lengthy sermon the minister held a baptismal service ; and at this, says the reporter, " He was tedious and prolix by giving a discussion (?) of the history of the Church of Scotland, from the Reformation ", and finding, it need hardly be said, many defections by the way.

The writer has also preserved part of the concluding prayer, and this indicates that, whatever Hepburn may

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, II.—110.

⁽²⁾ Blackadder, *Memoirs*, 157.

have been in his preaching, he was Catholic in his prayers. The closing prayer was one of intercession, and petitions were offered for the Church universal and for the suffering churches of Great Britain and Ireland, for all nations, for all holding office in the State, supreme and subordinate, for the ministers and for the healing of all divisions. In praying for "the King as supreme" Hepburn was to some extent departing from strict covenanting practice. Renwick, in one of his sermons, stated that James VII., "that tyrant", was not to be prayed for unless "for a sudden and sad temporal vengeance upon him".⁽¹⁾ One of the objections made by William Wilson, the leader of one of the largest of the post-Revolution covenanting sects, against Mr John McNeil, who assisted John McMillan as pastor of the Cameronians, was that he had prayed for Queen Anne, "which was an owning of her in her station as a queen, which was contrary to his profession oath and subscription".⁽²⁾ Peden and John Semple, however, appear both to have included the monarch in their intercessions.⁽³⁾

Baptism.—This Sacrament was never dispensed except after the preaching of the Word and in face of the congregation. The order of service used on such occasions was in all likelihood based on that given in the Directory for Publick Worship. The curates (who in this matter followed Knox and the other Reformers) made the engaging parent declare his assent to the Apostles' Creed. Among the covenanters this was not done, and the various ministers seem to have differed as to the vows which they required to be taken. Bishop Sage declares (though he is not altogether an unbiassed witness) that some ministers insisted on the parent engaging to uphold the Covenant.⁽⁴⁾ Patrick Walker⁽⁵⁾ tells us that, though Renwick refused to receive "certificates"⁽⁶⁾ from curates or indulged ministers, he would not refuse Baptism to any who "had a competency of knowledge in the fundamentals". If the fathers were ignorant or had "publick wrong steps in their life", he would allow the mothers to present their children, "the father standing by and receiving rebukes and exhortations to amend". There were occasions when neither father nor

⁽¹⁾ *A Choice Collection*, &c. (1804). 475.

⁽²⁾ Calderwood, *Dying Testimonies* (1806), 381.

⁽³⁾ *Six Saints*, I.—65, 185.

⁽⁴⁾ *Fundamental Charter*, 362.

⁽⁵⁾ *Six Saints*, I.—250.

⁽⁶⁾ These certificates indicated that the persons holding them were free from scandal.

mother was eligible, and in such cases Renwick was prepared to admit sponsors, "when no other course could be taken".

The practice of admitting sponsors in place of the parents was followed by McMillan in post-Revolution days when ministering among the Cameronians. But if Patrick Walker⁽¹⁾ is to be believed, McMillan was by no means orthodox regarding the conditions on which he would administer this Sacrament. "I can instruct place and persons", he writes, "where Mr McMillan refused baptism to an honest man's child, asking no other question but 'If he paid the cess'. He said it was not required of him. Mr McMillan said 'If it were would you pay it'? He answered that he would, for he did not look on the paying of it now as in the time of persecution. He (McMillan) said he would administer Church-privileges to none who were of that judgment".

The Dutch Reformed Church, by whose ministers Renwick had been ordained, practised triple affusion in baptism; and this, being different from the usual custom, was of course regarded by some stalwarts in Scotland as being "popish". Shields found it necessary to declare definitely that Renwick did not practice triple sprinkling.⁽²⁾

In the Gareland Cleugh, Kirkconnel,⁽³⁾ the place is still pointed out where Peden is said to have baptised a number of children at a conventicle. Garple Glen, near Balmacellan, in Galloway, is called the "Holy Linn", from the fact that Thomas Warner, the "outed" minister of the parish, is said to have baptised no less than thirty-six children there at one time. The baptismal water was contained in a hollow in the rocks. This, in all probability, happened between 1663, when Warner was driven from his parish, and 1672, when he came back to it as an indulged minister. Possibly, however, it was after 1684, when he was "outed" for the second time.

In the old parish of Killallan, now united to Houston in the county of Renfrew, there is a large rock boulder which is partly hollowed and which is known as St Fillan's chair, St Fillan being the old patron saint of the parish. Close beside this is another hollow, smaller but deeper, from which it is said St Fillan baptised his converts. Conventicles were held here in later days, and tradition alleges

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, I.—144.

⁽²⁾ *Life of Mr James Renwick*, 98.

⁽³⁾ In Upper Nithsdale.

that more than once children were brought and baptised out of the same font.

Though these children brought to conventicles must have been of varying ages, it seems to have been the custom that they should be brought as soon as was possible. Indeed we read of Peden on one occasion baptising a child immediately after birth.⁽¹⁾ Whether or not the child was in danger of death is not said. On another occasion he baptised a child in the morning before breakfast, but despite the early hour had a "discourse" upon baptism.⁽²⁾

The Lord's Supper.—The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was occasionally celebrated in the fields before 1680⁽³⁾, but probably never again after that date until the Cameronians had their great festival at Auchensaugh in 1712. We have a graphic description of a covenanters' communion from the pen of John Blackadder, and from this we learn that such a celebration did not differ very much from what was customary in Scotland up to a comparatively recent date.⁽⁴⁾

"The Communion tables were spread on the green by the water; and around them, the people had arranged themselves in decent order. . . . None were admitted without tokens as usual, which were distributed on the Saturday, but only to such as were known to some of the ministers. . . . All the regular forms were gone through; the communicants entered at one end and retired at the other. Mr Welsh (the "outed" minister of Irongray) preached the action sermon and served the first two tables, the other four ministers, Mr Blackadder, Mr Dickson, Mr Riddel, and Mr Rae exhorted the rest in turn. The table services were closed by Mr Welsh, with solemn thanksgiving. The Communion was peacefully concluded, all the people heartily offering up their gratitude and singing with a joyful noise to the Rock of their salvation. About a hundred sat at every table; there were sixteen tables served, so that about 3200 communicated that day. The afternoon sermon was preached by Mr Dickson, and the season of solemn service was brought to a close, with a sermon on

(1) *Six Saints*, I.—130.

(2) *Ibid.*, I.—68.

(3) Patrick Walker says it was celebrated at Maybole, Irongray, East Nisbet Haugh, and Haughhead in the years 1677, 78, 79. *Ibid.*, I.—33. Near Auldearn there is a place called Hogg's Strype where Thomas Hog of Killearn is said to have celebrated the communion before a large congregation. Macdonald, *Covenanters in Moray and Ross*.

(4) *Memoirs*, 200-1.

Monday afternoon, by Mr Blackadder ". This Communion took place at East Nisbet in Berwickshire in 1677. In addition to the tables at which the communicants sat, there " was one short one across the head, with seats at each side ". It was at this table that the officiating ministers sat, and there were those who objected to such " top " tables, though their use was in accordance with earlier practice in Scotland. Thus in 1643 the Presbytery regretted that at Perth " the Communion tables, one of them, stands always separate from the rest ".

The same arrangement is however to be seen at Irongray where the " tables " or rather the seats on which the communicants sat are still to be seen. In addition to the four rows of stones there is at one end " a circular pile of stones about four feet in height on which the sacred elements were placed ". The Communion was celebrated here in 1678.

The indulged ministers⁽¹⁾ celebrated after the same fashion ; but as all the communions in a diocese had to be held on the same day they could not get assistance, and so had to carry through the whole services themselves. They were forbidden to officiate outside their own churches, and there is at least one instance where a minister was put out of his parish because he had celebrated the Communion in the churchyard instead of in the Church.

Wodrow has several references to the Communion being celebrated in private houses about the year 1676. At Kippen " the supper of the Lord was dispensed in the night time, to a very numerous meeting ". Three ministers took part in the service, one of these being the Rev. John Law, afterwards minister of St Giles', Edinburgh. About the same time Mr Jamieson, who had been minister at Govan, " gave this sacrament in the house of the Haggs, within two miles of Glasgow, with very much power and liveliness ". At Eastwood, Hugh Smith, the " outed " minister of the parish, " likewise dispensed the Supper . . . to his own parishioners in a barn at Kennyshead ", having no less than three ministers assisting him. Unfortunately we know nothing of the form these services took.⁽²⁾

Marriage.—Marriage had to be solemnised in face of the congregation, and this rule seems to have been adhered to, although there must have been occasions when the con-

⁽¹⁾ John Semple followed early reformed custom in having the " Lord's Supper administered two Sabbaths together in this year ". *Six Saints*, I.—182.

⁽²⁾ *History*, II.—318.

gregations were very small. A casual reference in Patrick Walker shows that it was Peden's custom to marry immediately "after sermon".⁽¹⁾ Proclamations of marriages were made at conventicles, apparently "three several times".⁽²⁾

Burial.—There were no services at the burial of the dead. Such services were forbidden both by the Book of Common Order and the Directory. In this covenanter and curate were at one, and an English visitor to Scotland expresses his surprise that not only were there no services at funerals but that the ministers (curates) did not even attend their "most solemn funerals".⁽³⁾ Dr Simpson, that industrious writer of covenanting lore,⁽⁴⁾ represents the dwellers on the moorlands offering prayer by the graveside of some of the martyrs of the Covenant;⁽⁵⁾ but this is wholly imaginary. Dr King Hewison, a more recent writer, goes further, and pictures Alexander Peden attending a funeral, at which the local curate read the burial service from a "Prayer Book"; presumably the Anglican Book of Common Prayer. After this had been done Peden "offered a heart-searching prayer".⁽⁶⁾ It need hardly be said that there are no proofs given for such extraordinary proceedings. There is absolutely no evidence that funeral services were held in Scotland by any party, except possibly the Roman Catholics,⁽⁷⁾ during the Second Episcopacy. Occasionally there were what were called funeral sermons, such as that which Cargill preached at Shotts on the Sunday after his friend Richard Cameron had been killed at Ayrsmoss.⁽⁸⁾

Though there was no enactment about the matter, the old custom of burying the dead with their feet to the east was continued in Scotland after the Reformation. The graves of the covenanters on the moorlands always lie east and west, with the headstone at the west end. The Quakers who came to Scotland during this period showed their contempt for this ancient practice of the Catholic Church. John Howie mentions that "this wild sect made many proselytes . . . yea they flourished so well in Glasford parish,

⁽¹⁾ *Six Saints*, I.—60.

⁽²⁾ *Register of the Privy Council*, XIII.—130.

⁽³⁾ Morer, *Short Account of Scotland*, 68.

⁽⁴⁾ He was the writer of "Traditions of the Covenanters," an interesting but entirely uncritical work, as well as a number of other books dealing with this period.

⁽⁵⁾ *Martyrland*: Chapters v., xii.

⁽⁶⁾ *Young Scotland*: (1924-5), 263.

⁽⁷⁾ Any services held by the Roman Catholics were held secretly.

⁽⁸⁾ Herkless, *Richard Cameron*, 146.

that there is a churchyard⁽¹⁾ in that place, where they buried their dead with their heads to the east, contrary to the practice of all other Christians ”.⁽²⁾

Note.—Versions of Holy Scripture. Alexander Peden's Bible is still preserved. It is a small copy of the Authorised Version. A similar Bible belonging to Captain John Paton who was executed after Bothwell is also preserved. The Bible used by Cargill was printed at Cambridge in 1657. It is a copy of the Authorised Version. It bears on its pages the weather marks it received in the days of the persecution. On the other hand the family Bible of the Howies of Lochgoin is a copy of the Geneva Version, dated 1610. A similar copy of this Bible was used by Alexander McCubbin who was hanged for his covenanting views at Irongray in 1685. It is now preserved by his descendants.

(¹) There is no church near this Quaker burying ground. It should be called a cemetery. It is of no great size.

(²) *Scots Worthies*, Edited by Wylie, 381.

WILLIAM McMILLAN.