

DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY
NATURAL HISTORY & ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY.

FOUNDED 20th NOVEMBER, 1862.

TRANSACTIONS
AND
JOURNAL OF PROCEEDINGS

1931-33.

THIRD SERIES, VOLUME XVIII.

EDITOR:
MRS. E. SHIRLEY.

DUMFRIES:
Published by the Council of the Society
1934



Photo. by Miss E. F. SHIRLEY

BALDOON CASTLE GATEWAY.

See Page 210.

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CONTENTS

SESSIONS 1931-33

	PAGE
Abstract of Accounts:	
1931-32	420
1932-33	421
Annual Meeting:	
1931-32	9
1932-33	225
Armistead, W. H. Nature Notes from Galloway	288
Birrell, Adam. A Ramble Along the Upper Solway	257
Britton, C. 18th Century Meteorological Observations in Dumfriesshire	282
Cuthbertson, W. Annan Churchyards	28
Duncan, Arthur. Some Observations on Birds from a Dumfriesshire Hill Farm	271
Duncan, W. Bryce. Some Notes on the Western Himalayas	243
Exhibits	419
Field Meetings, 1931-32:	
Tillietudlem and Cadzow	202
Hexham and the Roman Wall	203
The Scott Country in Galloway	203
Field Meetings, 1932-33:	
Spedlins Tower and Corrie	371
Neidpath and Traquair	390
Borgue	397
Gourlay, W. R. Merlin's Grave	391
Henderson, John. Borgue House	398
Senwick Churchyard	406
Grierson, R. A. An Old Dumfries Diary	71
Herries, D. C. Scots Peerage Law	298
Horne, J. G. Some Dumfriesshire Dialects	245
Johnston, Henry. Bird Life Between Tide Marks	34
Laidlaw, Maxwell. Volcanic Rocks: Research in Carron Water and Locherben	40
Maitland, J. Pelham. The Early Homes of the Balliols	235
M'Cargo, J. A Corn Bin	81
M'Crindle, J. Ailsa Craig and its Birds	242
M'Intire, W. T., B.A., F.S.A.Scot. Kinmont Willie in History	49

CONTENTS—*Continued.*

	PAGE
M'Kerrow, M. H., F.S.A.Scot. Sweetheart Abbey	226
M'Millan, Rev. Wm., B.D., Ph.D. Post Reformation	
Ministers of Sanquhar	98
Notes from Sanquhar Kirk Session Records	327
Sanquhar Church after the Revolution	314
MacNae, Wm. On Two Forts near Springkell	243
Obituary	419
O'Reilly, Mrs. and F. Miller. Unpublished Letters of	
Joanna Baillie to a Dumfriesshire Laird	10
Presentations	418
Rainfall Records:	
1931	367
1932	369
Reid, R. C. The Kinsmen of Kinmont Willie	62
A Drumlanrig Estate Book	85
Armstrong of Woliva	338
Gillesbie Tower	376
Corrie Castle	385
Shields, J., and R. C. Reid. Note on an Earthwork at	
Enoch	82
Shirley, G. W. Dumfries Printers in the 18th Century ...	129
Smith, A. Cameron. Dalswinton Before Patrick Miller ...	187
Taylor, Thornton L. The Development of the Scottish	
Castle	34
Hutton Mote	378
Thomson, Rev. J. Ramsay. Spedlins Tower	372
Wallace, Robert. Permian Volcanoes: Progress in Geology ...	34
Young, R. T. A Borgue Covenant	402

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
Gateway of Baldoon Castle <i>Frontispiece</i>
Dumfries Printers of the 18th Century:	
Mr Peter Rae, V.D.M.	129
Rae Press:	
A New Method of Teaching the Latine Tongue, by	
Mr John Hunter	134
Sober-Mindedness Press'd upon Young People, by	
Matthew Henry	136
A Short Answer To Mr John Hepburn, by	
Mr William Vetch	136
The Dumfries Mercury	139
Duncan, John: Collection of Psalm Tunes	142
Jackson, Robert: The Dumfries Weekly Magazine	152
M'Lachlan, Cuthbert: The Bonny Lass of Dumfries, by	
A. M'Laren	152
Mains of Dalswinton in 1768	193
Pennyland of Dalswinton in 1768	200
Architectural View of the Castle of Gui de Bailleul	238
Plan of Bailleul-en-Vimeu...	240

EDITORIAL.

Members working on local Natural History and Archæological Subjects should communicate with the Hon. Secretary. Papers may be submitted at any time. Preference is always given to original work on local subjects.

The Editors do not hold themselves responsible for the accuracy of scientific, historical, or personal information. Each contributor has seen a proof of his own paper.

Exchanges, Presentations, and Exhibits should be sent to the Hon. Secretary, Mrs Shirley, Lanerick, Kingholm Road, Dumfries.

Enquiries regarding purchase of copies of *Transactions* and payment of subscriptions (10s per annum) should be made to Miss Rafferty, M.A., LL.B., 37 Castle Street, Dumfries.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
Dumfriesshire and Galloway
Natural History & Antiquarian Society.

SESSION 1931—32.

30th October, 1931.

Annual General Meeting.

Chairman—Mr M. H. M'KERROW.

The Chairman, in his opening remarks, referred to the losses by death sustained by the Society, and made particular mention of the late Captain Stewart of Shambellie and Mr W. H. Armistead of Kippford, the latter of whom had contributed papers at various times to the *Transactions*.

The minutes of the last annual general meeting were read and approved.

A letter was read from Mr Jas. Taylor saying he wished to resign membership of the Society, as he had left Kirkcudbright and was now in Bathgate. Mr Taylor had also acted as one of the editors of the *Transactions*. The Chairman referred to the loss to the Society of Mr Taylor's activities, and hoped he would like his new sphere of labour.

The Secretary's and Treasurer's reports were afterwards read and approved, the latter being read by Mr M'Kerrow in the absence of the Treasurer.

Mr Shirley proposed the following as a member of the Society: Mr Jas. Shields, 72 High Street, Lockerbie; and this was approved.

At a meeting of Council held previous to the present meeting it was recommended that the present office-bearers be re-elected, and this was unanimously agreed to.

Mr M'Kerrow thereafter gave his Presidential Address on "Sweetheart Abbey." (Part I.) See second section of present volume.

20th November, 1931.

Chairman—Mr M. H. M'KERROW.

Unpublished Letters of Joanna Baillie to a Dumfriesshire Laird.

Edited by Mrs W. H. O'REILLY.

This paper was read, for Mrs O'Reilly, by Mr Frank Miller, Annan, who prefaced it with a few sentences about Joanna Baillie's life and writings. He said:

Joanna Baillie, author of *Plays on the Passions*, was born in the Manse of Bothwell in 1762. Her father, Dr. James Baillie, minister of Bothwell and subsequently professor of Divinity in Glasgow University, belonged to an old Lanarkshire family, and her mother was a sister of the famous anatomists, William and John Hunter. The first volume of the series of plays which gained for Miss Baillie wide fame appeared in 1798. In 1800 her tragedy of *De Monfort* was brought out at Drury Lane, John Kemble and Mrs Siddons taking the leading parts; and in 1810 her Scottish play, *The Family Legend*, with a prologue by Scott, was successfully staged in Edinburgh. Her last collection of plays, which was issued in 1836, contains some of her best work. Professor Allardyce Nicoll, in his recently published *History of Early Nineteenth Century Drama*, says that "unquestionably, Joanna Baillie's art developed with maturity," and refers to the "psychological strength" which marks some of her later plays. In addition to her dramas, Miss Baillie wrote not a few songs and miscellaneous poems. Her songs in the Scottish dialect include excellent versions of "Saw ye Johnny comin'?" and "Woo'd, an' married, an' a'."

The evening of her life was long and tranquil. She was personally acquainted with most of the eminent literary men and women of her time. Miss Mitford expressed warm admiration of her character, and Wordsworth remarked to Henry Crabb Robinson that "if he had to present anyone to a foreigner as a model of an English gentlewoman it would be Joanna Baillie." She died at Hampstead, where she had long resided, on 23rd February, 1851, aged eighty-eight.

"Our immortal Joanna Baillie," as she is styled in *The Bride of Lammermoor*, where some of her lines are quoted, was praised by her contemporaries as the only woman who had worthily contributed to the dramatic literature of England. Byron, Southey, and Professor Wilson acknowledged her genius, and Scott, in the introduction to the third Canto of *Marmion*, paid her an extravagant compliment :

"Avon's swans, while rung the grove
With Monfort's hate and Basil's love,
Awakening at the inspirèd strain,
Deem'd their own Shakespeare lived again."

Among Miss Baillie's friends in Scotland was Lieut.-General Alexander Dirom of Mount Annan (1757-1830), who is described in one of Burns's letters to George Thomson as "a well-known military and literary character." The General became connected with Annandale in 1793, when he married Magdalen, daughter of Robert Pasley of Mount Annan (then called Cleughead). Lady Maxwell, wife of Sir William Maxwell of Calderwood, in the parish of East Kilbride, was Mrs Dirom's sister, and no doubt it was at Calderwood that General Dirom first met the poetess. Miss Baillie visited the Diroms about 1820, and admired the beautiful river scenery on the estate of Mount Annan. Her letters to the accomplished laird—which were all written in the eighteen-twenties—are in the possession of a member of the Dirom family. General Dirom's great-granddaughter, Mrs W. H. O'Reilly, to whom I have often been indebted for interesting information about Dumfriesshire authors, has kindly copied and annotated them for the Society; and I shall now have the honour of reading her paper to you :

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF JOANNA BAILLIE TO GENERAL DIROM.

London, May 6th, 1821.

My dear Sir,

I received your very gratifying letter a few days ago by Dr. Bell,¹ and beg you to accept my best thanks for all the kind and flattering things which it contains. Of all the friendly cheerings I have received from my friends on this occasion, there is scarcely one that has given me more satisfaction, or is valued by me more highly, than this unexpected and most welcome letter from Mount Annan. That I have given you and Mrs Dirom, and the young ladies any amusement is very pleasant to me, and if critics, as competent, were in general as indulgent, I should look forward to the popularity which you predict for these Legends² with more confidence than I venture to do at present. . . .

London is now very full, and everybody looking forward to a Coronation in June—though nobody seems to be perfectly sure that there will be one at all. The Laird of Abbotsford, who was the delight and great object of curiosity in every Society a little while ago, is to return to London for this great occasion—if it does take place.³ I'm sure they had better let him have the arrangements of it, if their Heralds manage such pageantry no better than they do Royal Funerals.

Farewell, my dear Sir, and believe me,

With much esteem,

Your obliged and obedient Servant,

J. BAILLIE.

My dear Sir,

Feb. 16, 1822.

I should a great while ago have sent you my grateful

¹ Dr Andrew Bell, founder of the Madras System of Education. General Dirom's son Andrew (who was drowned in the Annan at the age of 5) was called after him.

² *Metrical Legends of Exalted Characters* (1821).

³ Scott attended the Coronation of George IV., which took place in July, and wrote a description for Ballantyne's *Edinburgh Weekly Journal* (see Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, V., 88-97).

acknowledgments for the very great pleasure I have received from reading your Indian Campaign,⁴ but various circumstances, tedious to mention, have till now prevented me, tho' it is three weeks at least since I read the last page (sorry that it was the last) of that clear, interesting and masterly narrative.

And now, my dear Sir, having thanked you for one favour (as the way of the world is), I am going to ask of you another. There is a friend and old schoolfellow of mine, Mrs Stirling, formerly of Glasgow, whose husband is dead, and has left her with a family of daughters in distressing circumstances; and I have offered to edit a collection of poems to be published by subscription for her relief.⁵ It is to consist of only one vol. octavo, and I wish it to be chiefly composed of MS. poems, or such as have been privately printed but not published. To accomplish this, I am begging contributions from my various poetical friends. Will you permit me to put your verses upon the Annan into this collection? I shall be very much obliged to you. If you grant this request, I shall, with your leave, take the liberty of altering a word or two in it which will make no alteration in the idea, but only remove what may be felt as a degree of obscurity, especially to those who are unacquainted with the scenes which you celebrate.

My sister unites in kind regards to Mrs Dirom and all the family circle at Mount Annan. I hope they have been well since I heard from you last. And how do Sir W. and Lady

⁴ General Dirom's chief work, *A Narrative of the Campaign in India which terminated the War with Tippoo Sultan in 1792.*

⁵ The anthology was issued in 1823 under the title, *A Collection of Poems, chiefly Manuscript, and from Living Authors. Edited for the benefit of a Friend.* Among the famous poems contained in it are Scott's "MacDuff's Cross," Wordsworth's sonnets, "Not Love, nor War," and "A Volant Tribe of Bards," Southey's "Cataract of Lodore," and Campbell's "To the Rainbow." Two Dumfriesshire writers are represented in the collection, James Hyslop and General Dirom.

Maxwell do?⁶ We hear of them sometimes by Miss Millar,⁷ and Agnes⁸ wrote to her Ladyship some time ago, but she has not had an answer yet, and we have had no account lately. We had a tremendous storm here Saturday sennight in the night, mingled with thunder and lightning which shook our house very much, but did us no injury, tho' many of our neighbours were not so well off. The weather is now mild and dry, with plenty of primroses in flower in our little garden. A very uncommon season! How sweet the banks of the Annan must be now, if your weather has at all resembled ours!

A newspaper from Dumfries was sent to us some days since with a long account in it of the commemoration of Burns, by which I see you did me the honour to propose my name amongst the various toasts that were given.⁹ I felt gratified with this proof of your friendly partiality, and that thro' you I was, as Burns says in the Cottar's Saturday Night, "Respecket like the lave." It seems to have been a meeting of great cordiality, and sons of the Poet turning out such respectable men in India must have added much to the general satisfaction.¹⁰

⁶ Sir William and Lady Maxwell of Calderwood, in East Kilbride. Lady Maxwell was Mrs Dirom's sister.

⁷ Miss Millar of Milheugh, in Blantyre parish.

⁸ Joanna Baillie's sister. She died in 1861, aged 100.

⁹ The meeting was held in the Commercial Inn on Friday, 25th January, 1822. Present 50 gentlemen, including John M'Diarmid (in chair), General Dirom, John Syme (croupier), and James Hogg. "In the course of the evening the General proposed also the following toasts:—'Miss Joanna Baillie, the amiable authoress of the celebrated Plays and the Historical Lectures,' 'Mr John Syme, Vice-President, the firm friend of Burns during his life, and of his family and fame since his death.'"—*Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, 29th January, 1822.

¹⁰ William Nicol Burns and James Glencairn Burns, who both ultimately became Colonels—obtained their commissions in the East India Company's service through the influence of the Marchioness of Hastings. As General Dirom was a warm admirer of Burns, whom he once entertained at Mount Annan, and as the Marquis and Marchioness of Hastings were intimate

Believe me, my dear Sir,
 With much esteem,
 Your obliged and obedient Servant,

J. BAILLIE.

P.S.—Since writing the above my sister has received a letter from Lady Maxwell, and we were sorry to learn that Sir William had been so much indisposed.

Hampstead, March 10th, 1823.

My dear General,

I am very much obliged to you for your very kind and friendly letter, and the gay pleasant verses on Burranswork Hill.¹¹

My sister and I are happy to learn that you, Mrs Dirom, and your young ladies intend visiting London next spring. It will give us great pleasure to see you then, and till then we have, I am sorry to say, no chance of meeting. You are very kind in planning a party for us to Burranswork Hill, and other pleasant things, and we feel it very sensibly, but we do not leave home this summer, but contrarywise, expect to have friends from Scotland with us—Miss Millar of Milheugh, who is Mrs Dirom's acquaintance, and one of her sisters. They have been much afflicted with the death of their brother Archibald, who was the one most united to them, and on whom they leant on every occasion when advice or service was required. He was most kind and affectionate to them and they will miss him sadly. We hope that being with us awhile, and the total change of scene, will cheer

friends of his, it is natural to conjecture that he was the person who recommended William and James Burns to the notice of the Marchioness. In an unpublished work the General states that "Francis Moira [his sixth son] was named after General the Earl of Moira, now Marquis of Hastings, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the East Indies" [the boy's godfather]. General Dirom often begged commissions for talented young men. His second son, Captain Alex. Dirom, got his commission through Lord Hastings.

¹¹ The verses relate to a picnic on Burnswark.

them a little and do them good. Mr Archibald Millar was man of business for Sir William Maxwell. He will be missed in that quarter too, I should guess.

Have you read Lord John Russell's tragedy?¹² We have been extremely pleased with it, admiring both the poetry and the characters. The literary people here, however, seem very unwilling to do it justice, because, being a political character and already known as a prose writer, they did not expect him to be a poet, for we are very unwilling to allow what our sagacity beforehand did not expect.

I received along with your letter a very obliging note from Dr. Bell, who is, I find, in the press with an enlarged edition of his account of the Madras System. How gratifying it must be to him, in the evening of his life, to look back on the useful and successful labours of his lengthened day, and to anticipate the general good to be derived from them to posterity! His system will soon deprive the Scotch of their proud superiority over England in point of education; but we will give that up with a good grace and soothe our national vanity by thinking that all this general advantage is the work of a Scotchman.

Believe me, my dear General,

Your obliged and faithful,

J. BAILLIE.

Hampstead, April 7th, 1825.

My dear Sir,

I received your friendly letter a few days ago, and feel very much gratified by your remembrance of me and my collection of poems—which has already been so much indebted to your Muse. Your very pleasing sonnet upon "Sleep" would have further enriched it had we any intention of publishing a second edition. But having from the first, when we collected subscriptions, promised to the subscribers that the book should never be printed for common

¹² *Don Carlos; or Persecution.* The reviews were mostly unfavourable.

sale, I am of course not at liberty to do so; and this gives the book (as was intended) a degree of value from being rather scarce.

How kind you and Mrs Dirom are in expressing a wish to see my sister and me at Mount Annan, and we shall certainly never be in Scotland without endeavouring to avail ourselves of your invitation. I am sorry, however, to say that we have no prospects at all of going Northward this summer. We rather expected to hear of your coming with Mrs Dirom and some part of your family to London. You mentioned some intention of this kind last summer; what has become of it? You have not, I hope, set it aside altogether. But your home with all its young and amiable inmates is too happy; and, with the Muse in your Closet and the superintendence of a flourishing town of your own creation out of doors,¹³ your adventions are too interesting and important to allow you many inducements to travel far afield. Those who are less happily situated are glad enough to visit all the capitals in Europe in the vain search for what you have within your own premises. Long may you enjoy it! We are very glad to hear that our good friend Sir W. Maxwell has been so long well—at least without material indisposition. I hope this may continue to be the case now, and it will make some amends to himself and his friends for the unavoidable decay of age. In this decay I do not include the kind feelings of a very friendly heart which, I think, will always remain the same. If you write to Calderwood soon, be so good as to mention us to him and to Lady Maxwell, as offering them our best remembrances and regards.

¹³ Brydekirk, a village built by General Dirom on his estate at the beginning of last century. In a paper printed in Singer's *Agricultural Survey of Dumfriesshire* (1812), he refers to a "woollen manufactory upon a large scale" in the village, and in "The Retrospect," a later sketch still in MS., he says:—"In 20 years the population of Bridekirk amounts to 400 thriving and industrious inhabitants. A corn mill and two woollen manufactories have been built by them."

We have got a bright sunny spring with cold winds, and everything backward; but we make the best of it, and my sister has been as busy in our little garden of forty feet long as if it were a more ample domain. This does her immediate good, and to me by sympathy; for I may not interfere with her supremacy over this dominion. All I pretend to do is to carry a jug of water (a scarce article here at present) now and then to refresh her drooping plants. We both unite in kind regards to Mrs Dirom, and hope that your young ladies still remember us sometimes.

Believe me, my dear General,

Your truly obliged and faithful servant,

J. BAILLIE.

Hampstead, Wednesday evening,

June, 1825.

My dear Sir,

I have received the enclosed from Mr Longman,¹⁴ and regret that my negotiation with him has not proved more satisfactory, though from the present state of literary matters I had no very strong hopes of a favourable answer. I send along with this all the MSS. left to my care, that you may, if you think fit, make use of the note of introduction to Mr Murray, and put them into his hands before you leave London. With kind regards to Mrs Dirom and your daughter,

Believe me, my dear General,

Yours very faithfully,

J. BAILLIE.

Hampstead, August 17th, 1825.

Dear General,

I received your obliging note written on your road to Scotland from an inn where Miss Dirom's illness had detained you for two days, and had it not at the same time

¹⁴ General Dirom had offered Longman a poem on Napoleon; but the publisher thought the subject had lost its attraction.

informed me that she was better and your departure fixed for the day following, we should have been very anxious to hear from you again.¹⁵

Since I had the pleasure of seeing you I have visited Mr Longman twice, with proposals from two poetical friends, the one for a translation, the other for a volume of original poems of the highest merit which had already met with the most decided approbation from many literary people; yet though such was the case, and the Poet himself a man of high literary character, Longman declined having anything to do with the original poetry. I was more successful in regard to my translator, but how it will turn out in the long run I cannot guess. I think that by and by people will cease to publish poetry altogether, except in the periodical works with which we are now overlaid.

Your mention of Sir John Malcom [sic] in your note brings to mind that I have been very lately getting a great deal of information from his work on central India.¹⁶ His general views and observations are just and able, as far as I can judge, but there are so many similar accounts of similar princes and tribes etc. that I got confused amongst them. I was greatly delighted, however, with his history of Ahalya Bae, one of the most perfect monarchs and perfect female characters that ever existed.¹⁷ I was not prepared to learn that women are of such importance in that part of the globe. If they would find many such Princesses as the said Ahalya of the Holkar family, it would be well if the men would give up all rule into their hands entirely.

¹⁵ The General and his family were detained for a week at Wetherby, owing to the dangerous illness of his third daughter.

¹⁶ *A Memoir of Central India*, 1823. Sir John Malcolm was cousin to Mrs Dirom.

¹⁷ Malcolm says of this ruler:—"In the most sober view that can be taken of her character, she certainly appears, within her limited sphere, to have been one of the purest and most exemplary rulers that ever existed."—*A Memoir of Central India*, vol. I., pp. 194-5. Miss Baillie wrote a poem on "Ahalya Bae" (properly "Ahalya Bai").

Mrs Baillie¹⁸ has been in London all the summer, so it is high time that she should leave it for a while. My nephew has been in Gloucestershire, and is now in North Wales or in Ireland. He means to see the Lake of Killarney and would fain have a look at the Giants' Causeway also, but they lie far apart, and he may probably give up the latter till another summer.

My sister sends her kindest regards and wishes to Mrs Dirom, Miss Dirom and her sisters, in which I unite with her very heartily. I must now take my leave, and do so in hopes that you will have the goodness, my dear Sir, to write by and bye to your faithful and obliged

J. BAILLIE.

Hampstead, Oct. 12th, 1825.

My dear General,

I thank you for your last obliging letter, which gave us such a pleasing account of Miss Dirom's restored health and the enjoyment that you and Mrs Dirom have had in the midst of your cheerful family during the summer, which has been the warmest and the longest that we have had for many years. . . . To your kind enquiries after my health and our Devonshire excursion I have a very favourable answer to return. We passed our time very agreeably, and were very much out of doors walking or driving through a beautiful cheerful country, and that did us all good. I got perfectly well, the ringing in my ears excepted, which I am told is of little consequence, and Mrs Baillie's health and looks are considerably improved. After having been absent nearly five weeks, Agnes and I are returned to our own home again very well satisfied. We found your letter and the Dumfries newspaper lying on our table, both of which we read with interest, and were much pleased with the account of the Horticultural Meeting and the appropriate, sensible, encouraging address of its President. . . .

It is very kind in you to express a wish that we should

¹⁸ Widow of the dramatist's brother, Matthew Baillie, a distinguished physician.

visit Scotland next summer in company with Mrs Baillie and her son. I wish indeed this might be, and we again have the pleasure of being for a short time the inmates of your hospitable mansion, but I fear she will never be persuaded to make another visit to Scotland. The recollection of how differently she was circumstanced in the former one would press painfully on her mind, and spread a gloom over everything.¹⁹ My nephew has been in Ireland lately, an expedition of mere curiosity, and it would be well for him, I think, to know something more of a country with which he has a closer connection.²⁰ He came to us yesterday with a book in his hand that interested him much, and read to us some very striking passages from it—the Life of Paul Jones, who besides the daring activity and resource of his character, wrote letters that would do honour to the best educated gentleman in England, and verses that would do no discredit to the pen of Campbell or Byron. It gives a view of the man's mind which is quite astonishing. If you have not yet seen it, pray procure it. You will be interested in it, I know, whatever hard names we have formerly given him as a pirate or a rebel.²¹

My sister unites with me in all kind regards to Mrs Dirom and your young circle. Farewell, my dear Sir, and believe me to be very faithfully your obliged friend &c.,

J. BAILLIE.

Hampstead, Dec. 9th, 1826.

My dear General,

My sister and I would be very ungrateful if we did not take a friendly interest in whatever concerns the happiness and welfare of your family, and we have learnt with

¹⁹ Since her last visit to Scotland she had lost her husband.

²⁰ Scotland.

²¹ Paul Jones, the American naval hero, was born in the parish of Kirkbean, Kirkcudbrightshire, in 1747. His father, John Paul, was head gardener to Craik of Arbigland. Miss Baillie exaggerates the merit of Jones's verses, but they certainly show that he had a cultivated taste.

pleasure the approaching marriage of your second son to the daughter of General Peters,²² a young lady entirely approved of by you and Mrs Dirom, and deserving to be so. Permit us then to offer our hearty congratulations to you both, and to all your family, on this hopeful event. . . .

Your last letter is of so old a date that I don't like for my own credit to think of it. It is one indeed which, strictly speaking, required no answer, yet the friendly kindness of it well deserved a grateful acknowledgment. That you and Mrs Dirom liked my Drama of the Martyr²³ was very gratifying to me, and cheered me when I had need of cheering. Had Agnes and I gone so far north during the summer it would have given us great pleasure to have passed some days at Mount Annan; whether that be a pleasure we may still venture to hope for, I dare not seriously examine.

The latter part of the letter, which mentions your Military History of India from the Invasion of the Greeks, gives a welcome promise to all those who have read your Narrative &c. and I hope you have by this time entirely completed it, as you speak of it as being in a great state of advancement. It is a work which I should guess Longman would like to be engaged in, and whenever you please to make use of me as a conveyance, I shall be ready and happy to put specimens of it into his hands. Military works by able and experienced officers are always read with particular interest and attention. The world is eagerly looking forward to Sir W. Scott's promised Life of Napoleon,²⁴ and were he in addition to all his other endowments a soldier, nothing would be wanting to satisfy its utmost desires.

²² General Thomas Peters, formerly of Crossbasket, Lanarkshire, was then residing at Greencroft, Annan. He entered the Army in 1775, and went straight to North America, where he took part in several battles; acted for four years as A.D.C. to Lord Howe, and raised the Canadian Fencibles. He married Barbara Cunningham of Lainshaw, Ayrshire, and died at Craigmaddie in 1828.

²³ This drama relates to the martyrdom of an officer of the Imperial Guard of Nero, who had become a Christian.

²⁴ Scott's *Life of Napoleon* was published in 1827.

However, we cannot have everything, and when this work does appear, people will be too much interested to look after minute faults.

The poor in this village, though we have no manufacturers, seem much worse off this winter than we ever remember them, and this leads us frequently to think how much worse off the poor must be in our own native country. Lord A. Hamilton's speech on presenting the petition from the Mechanics of Lanarkshire has had a great effect on the public mind, and something essential, I hope, will be done for their relief.²⁵ Your manufacturers, I suppose, not being very numerous, are less miserable, for some misery must exist everywhere where mills and looms exist. Farewell, my dear Sir, and believe me, with much esteem and respect,

Yours,

J. BAILLIE.

Hampstead, March 31st, 1827.

My dear General,

I have three favours of you to acknowledge, and have been too long of thanking you. By Dr. Duncan²⁶ I could not write, as he left London suddenly on account of his daughter's illness; and then I delayed doing it, as I hoped to receive your pamphlet,²⁷ which, however, has not yet arrived.

You have probably had some account from Capt. Dirom²⁸ of my very short interview with him in Cavendish

²⁵ Lord Archibald Hamilton (1770-1827) was M.P. for Lanarkshire for 25 years. His powerful speech in support of the petition of the distressed weavers was delivered on December 5th, 1826.

²⁶ The Rev. Dr Henry Duncan, minister of Ruthwell.

²⁷ *Remarks on Free Trade, and on the State of the British Empire*, 1827.

²⁸ Captain Alexander Dirom, second son of General Dirom. He married Joanna Peters, daughter of General Peters; served in East Indies and in North America; retired in 1833; and died in 1837, aged 37. His portrait, painted by Raeburn, was sold with the portraits of his father, mother, and eldest brother at Christie's on 27th July, 1928.

Square, and receiving the large packet of papers from his hand, directed to Mr Longman. We were very sorry we could not see more of him, but as his stay in London was so short we thought ourselves lucky in having seen him at all. I gave in the packet at Mr Longman's house next day, and saw him two mornings afterwards, before he had time to examine the contents. . . .

I think you must have managed well to get the people in your village kept at work in these bad times even at very low wages; and it must have been a great satisfaction to you to keep misery away from those so immediately under your wing. Our friend Mr Craig of Edinburgh, a relation of the Catherwood²⁹ family, has had a severe loss in the burning of his flax mills, but his first care (or rather his wife's, who went immediately to the spot, he being in the west country) was to find work for the poor spinners who were set idle, which by her great activity she very soon accomplished. That she could do so is a sign of trade in some degree soon reviving, and if a law would be passed making the price of a passage from Ireland five shillings instead of fivepence, I suppose the Scotch weavers and labourers would not be very ill off.

Mrs Baillie is now at Brighton with her daughter, and her son is by this time in Rome or near it. Were she by me she would beg to thank you and Mrs Dirom for your obliging mention of her in your last letter. My sister and I thank you sincerely on our part. We should not go to Scotland without availing ourselves of your kindness, but at present we have no prospect of going so far north. We have no particular plan for the summer, but must be guided by circumstances which will probably keep us on our own perch on the top of Hampstead Hill for nearly the whole season.

With all kind wishes and regards to Mrs Dirom and

²⁹ Calderwood miswritten.

your daughters, in which my sister begs to unite, I remain,
my dear General,

Your obliged and faithful,

J. BAILLIE.

P.S.—I should like very much to know how Dr. Duncan's
daughter is now. I hope she is recovered. Have the
goodness to remember me to him when you meet.

Hampstead, April 13th, 1827.

My dear General,

Your remarks on free trade came to hand a very short
while since, and, about two days after, I received a copy
which Gen. Ross³⁰ had the goodness to send me with the
supplement. I have read it with much interest and instruc-
tion, for it is written with great clearness; and the good
sense and prudent moderation of many of the observations
and proposals for future improvement could not but strike
me in a pleasing and forcible manner. . . .

Mr Longman expressed to me that he did not wish to
publish the Military History unless at the author's own
risk, and this no doubt he has fully explained to yourself,
and may probably have added that the fairest and best way
both for author and bookseller is to publish it so, and sell it
for the author by commission. This would indeed be true
if they published all works on such terms, but when they
have given prices for copyrights, or publish at their own
risk, they are much more careful to promote the sale of a
book, and when this is not the case are often very careless
of its success.³¹ . . .

Your friend, Dr Bell, is our neighbour at present,
though from various circumstances we have seen but little
of him, and is very busy in improving the arrangements of
our national schools and instructing our young ladies who
take charge of the girls' school, how to proceed in a right

³⁰ General Alexander Ross, the friend of Lord Cornwallis.

³¹ Acting on Miss Baillie's advice, General Dirom decided
not to publish the history at his own risk, and at his death (in
1830) it was still unprinted.

method. I met him pacing along the other morning with a gay young lady by his side, and he looked so pleased and so active that he seemed to have become young like his companion. He must indeed have great satisfaction in knowing how useful he has been; a satisfaction he is well entitled to.

My sister unites with me in best regards to Mrs Dirom. Remember us particularly to Miss Dirom, if she is with you. I remain, now and always, my dear General, your obliged and faithful friend and servant,

J. BAILLIE.

Hampstead, May 1st, 1827.

My dear General,

I have to thank you for two friendly letters, the last received yesterday. Since I wrote to you before, Mr Longman has sent me the manuscripts, which I shall send, as you desire, to your friend in Portland Place in the course of a few days, when I shall have a safer means of doing so than by our ordinary Hampstead stages or carrier.

I have read the four or five chapters of the Military History, as well as the Preface, not from supposing myself a judge of their merits, whose opinion could be of any use to you, but in hopes of receiving pleasure and instruction for myself, in which I have not been disappointed. The subject seems to me well arranged, and the principal events set in a striking point of view, both as taken by themselves and as connected with one another.

The Poem of Chess and Backgammon is improved, and the description of the grand procession with the Elephants and horses &c. &c. and of the countries thro' which it passes, brings many pleasing pictures before the imagination. I am, however, decidedly against publishing it. Didactic poetry is not popular, nor likely soon to be so; and there are so many poems of great merit published every season without success, even with considerable loss to the authors, that to hope for better fortune is, I should fear, a vain expectation.

Your Soldier's Song is full of spirit and deserves its name, and I thank you very much for the pleasure I have had in perusing it.³²

I congratulate you and Mrs Dirom in having your young people collected about you again. I wish you a pleasant summer together; such a family in such a place cannot well fail of happiness, if health is added, as I hope will be the case. The kindest wishes of my sister and myself attend you.

I am sorry to say that my good account of Dr. Bell could not have reached Mount Annan before I learnt that he was taken ill in town and confined there. He is, however, better again, and returned to his cottage here, though a good deal shook—so I am told. I have not seen him.

Believe me, my dear General, very truly yours,

J. BAILLIE.

P.S.—We now look with some curiosity to the assembling of Parliament after all these political changes. I am very anxious that a Ministry composed of so many Whigs should do right and give the nation cause to like their domination. Have you heard that our friend General Millar³³ got a very excellent appointment from the Duke of Wellington just before he gave up his office? I don't know the name of it—Master, I believe, of Artillery Machinery. His nephew Mylne told us of it. Such an appointment does honour to the Duke, for he was unacquainted with Millar, who neither asked nor expected the preferment, and is a man of no political interest whatever.

³² MS. copies of the "Poem of Chess and Backgammon" and the "Soldier's Song" have been preserved.

³³ Of Milheugh.

Annan Churchyards.

By W. CUTHBERTSON.

Some years ago the question of the responsibility for the upkeep of Annan new churchyard arose in a definite form. Direct evidence was singularly inconclusive, and I was led to make a careful search of the minutes of Annan Town Council from the end of the 18th century onwards in the hope of tracing the history of the churchyard. The Town Council having rights of property within the burgh was interested in its status as a heritor. There are two churchyards on the north of Annan High Street—the “old churchyard” near the Town Hall, and the “new churchyard” at the Parish Church. The status of the old churchyard is certain and defined. It was the churchyard of the parish, provided and maintained by the heritors, and at the present day, although closed for the purposes of sepulture, it is under the care of the Town Council. On the other hand the liability for the preservation and upkeep of the new churchyard is unsettled. It has been left to public subscription in the past to make the necessary provision, but as time goes on the number of lairholders or their representatives tends to decrease, with the probability that in course of time this spot will become an unconsidered relic of the past.

In order to avoid this dismal destiny to a place once so sacred and enshrined in the affections of many, the parishioners who have a personal interest in the matter endeavoured to arrange for the churchyard being taken over by a public body. They first of all presented their case to the Parish Council, who were then responsible for providing burial ground, but the Council, acting on the advice of the Local Government Board, found that they had no powers in this particular case. The petitioners then approached the heritors, who, up to recent times, had the duty laid upon them of providing burial ground for the parishioners. In the case of the heritors no evidence has been produced or discovered to show that they have any responsibility in the matter. The heritors' books prior to 1850 are not available.

It is known that the new churchyard was laid off about the beginning of the nineteenth century, shortly after the building of the present Parish Church. The association of a church and churchyard is a familiar feature in all Christian countries, and at one time was an association that was seldom interrupted. But in Annan the heritors did not consider the church and churchyard an indivisible unity, and it is probably the disjunction of the two in their minds that is causing a good deal of trouble to-day.

Their attitude is quite intelligible. When the Parish Church was built, the old churchyard was far from being full, and apart from age, sentiment, and practice, there was no need of another churchyard. In the early autumn of 1798 a meeting of heritors was convened to consider the "propriety of purchasing ground for a new burying place at the New Church." The Town Council met on the 15th August to discuss what instructions should be given to the Provost as their representative at the meeting, and they came to the conclusion that it would be desirable to obtain ground at or near the new church to the extent of an acre and a half. The minute adds that "though the quantity might be more than was at present thought necessary, it would enable the heritors and the burgh, when an opportunity occurred, to remove and set back certain houses on the east side of the church and the west, so as to give the church itself and the new steeple a better effect, and be a real improvement to the police of the burgh. If the heritors thought the whole field was necessary the burgh ought to pay a proportional part, should the Earl of Hopetoun be willing to sell it." The mention of the Earl of Hopetoun introduces an unfamiliar name not associated with the great land-owning families of Annandale. The Earl was the third of his line in the Scottish peerage, and belonged to an ancient family of Hopes domiciled in Linlithgowshire. On the death of his grand-uncle of the half blood, the third Marquis of Annandale, in 1792, he succeeded to the large estates of that nobleman, who was the owner of ground within the royalty of Annan. The Earl also succeeded to

the titles of the Earl of Annandale and Earl of Hartfell, but never assumed either of them, only taking the additional surname of Johnstone.

The meeting of heritors was held in due course, and at a meeting of the Council on 16th November, 1798, the Provost submitted a minute of heritors. The heritors' ideas were of a more modest character than those of the Council. They decided that half an acre was sufficient, and recommended that the proportions of the purchase be in terms of the division of the church—one-half for the burgh, one-third of the remainder for the Earl of Hopetoun, and the remaining two-thirds of the half for the heritors. The heritors also recommended that the Town Council take the remaining part of the proportions of the heritors who had not agreed to purchase. The Town Council first proposed to purchase one-fourth part of the new burying ground, but now agreed to go the length of one-half, and to pay a proportional share of the cost of building a wall round the burying ground. There is evidence here of considerable difference of opinion regarding the churchyard. It is significant that there was a minority of heritors unwilling to have anything to do with the matter, but, notwithstanding this, the usual course to follow would have been for the heritors to proceed by a resolution of the majority and involve the whole of the heritors in the undertaking. Apparently the minority must have had strong grounds for their opposition, one of them being no doubt the fact that the old churchyard was still available, and the heritors evidently thought it wise to refrain from coercion. The problem as it left the heritors is by no means clear. It almost looks as if the heritors were suggesting a quasi-private arrangement among the individual heritors, not acting in a corporate capacity, with the Town Council shouldering the responsibilities of any delinquents. Almost certainly the arrangements fell through.

There is silence for over a year. The churchyard cropped up in a new form in December of 1799. The minute is undated beyond the year, but it could only have been held in December. The Council had recently purchased part of

the field of Kilncloss for the sum of £433 for the purpose of a burial ground amounting to a little over three acres, and, finding that the whole of this would not be needed, they agreed, after laying off the burial ground to the extent of one rood, to sell it, and that portion fronting the street in small parcels for building, a part to be thrown into the street so as to widen the entry into the burgh from the east. The minute adds: "The burial ground to be taken at £34 7s 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ d, of one half of which Colonel Dirom has engaged to relieve the burgh upon the half of the ground being allocated to him."

The heritors have now slipped out of the picture, and as to what came of the churchyard after this there is no record. The burgh's affairs at this period were conducted in a way that would scandalise modern purists, and we should be very unwilling to accept any resolution passed by the Council as substantial evidence that it was carried out. The financial difficulties of the burgh were notorious. The payment of interest on bonds was in arrear; the Town Clerk had not received any interest on money he had lent to the burgh for two years; many feu duties owing to the burgh had not been paid for forty years, and trace of others was lost; valuable documents had got into the hands of "undesirable" persons who kept them for the purpose of avoiding pecuniary obligations; and the infamous division of the common muir was about to begin. Upon it all the trustee of the Earl of Hopetoun wanted payment of the money for the churchyard, and the Council decided to borrow £600 from Hannah Graham, the daughter of the Town Clerk. Whether Hannah was gratified at the prospect we cannot tell, but it seems obvious enough that if the Town Clerk could not get interest on his money, no one else, not even the Town Clerk's daughter, would fare any better. The Council, however, borrowed more than they actually required to meet capital expenditure, and some of the balance, no doubt, was used to provide interest for the payment of impatient creditors. This line of research now comes to an end. It leaves the ground for the churchyard

in the possession of the Town Council, but gives no evidence as to the ultimate arrangement that was actually come to.

I subsequently searched the old files of the *Annamdale Observer* in the hope of finding some fresh light. Several meetings, not of heritors, but "of owners of the burial ground in the new churchyard," were held in the spring of 1859. The designation of the meeting indicates clearly that at that time there was no doubt in whom the ownership of the burial ground rested. Heritors are not mentioned at all. The object of the meetings was to consider the dilapidated state of one of the boundary walls. Quite naturally the question arose as to the proprietorship of the wall, and whether it was not the joint property of the owners of the burial ground and the adjoining nursery proprietor, Mr Cook. The minutes of the heritors were thoroughly searched, presumably from the time the burial ground was laid off, and there was no reference in them to the building of a boundary wall at all. Some interesting information, however, was forthcoming in another direction. The Town Council purchased three acres of ground at Kilncloss in 1799, and joined with General Dirom of Mount Annan in allocating a part of it as a burial ground. The remainder of the field was let in 1803 by the Town Council for the purpose of a nursery to Mr Robert Dickson. Mr Dickson was still alive in 1859, and resident in Glasgow, and he gave the information that when he took over the ground on a lease of thirty years he raised the boundary wall from the elevation of about three feet to its present height, in consideration of being allowed by the Town Council to train fruit trees against it. The Rev. Mr Monilaws, who became parish minister of Annan in 1825, and must have been very familiar with the whole situation, was quite definite as to the history of the churchyard. He said that the ground forming the churchyard was purchased about the end of the eighteenth century by the Town Council and the late General Dirom, and that they erected the wall round it. So much we are already acquainted with from the records of the Town Council, but Mr Monilaws added

that the proprietorship of the ground had since passed from these parties into the hands of the owners of burial ground, and upon these owners the responsibility of maintaining the wall now devolved. At the final meeting it was agreed to accept this point of view, and to repair the wall by voluntary subscription on the owners. The cost of the repairs amounted to a little over £20.

We may readily believe that in the year 1859 it was possible to ascertain the facts both regarding the origin of the churchyard a little more than half a century before, as well as the course of its subsequent history. There is a moral certainty, however the matter may be looked at from a legal point of view, that the churchyard is a private burying ground, a position that was consistently maintained by the late clerk of the heritors, Mr C. Watson. The heritors as such have really nothing to do with it, although as individuals they may take a benevolent or sentimental interest. There is a remarkable absence of evidence of a documentary nature. The minutes of the Council are silent regarding any transfer of ownership. One good reason for this may be that there never was any definite transfer between one corporate body and another. What, no doubt, happened was that the transfer took place gradually. Some form of title was given to each lair-holder as he applied for it, and in the course of a few years all the space was taken up, after which the Town Council ceased to concern itself further with the matter. The ownership of the lairholders seems to have grown up either in consequence of the indifference of the Town Council or because the lairholders were expressly permitted to exercise superior rights over the ground. It is unfortunate that the individual owners never appear to have been organised. Ever since the beginning they have been dependent, on questions requiring common action or consideration, on one individual more energetic or more interested than the rest, taking the lead and assembling them for a particular purpose.

8th January, 1932.

Chairman—Mr R. C. REID.

Bird Life Between Tide Marks.

By HENRY JOHNSTON, Edinburgh.

[The lecturer described the various kinds of birds found on our shores and gave some interesting sidelights on their habits. The lecture was illustrated by lantern slides from photographs mainly taken by the lecturer himself and by Mr Horace Bonar.]

30th January, 1932.

Chairman—Mr M. H. M'KERROW.

The Development of the Scottish Castle.

By THORNTON L. TAYLOR, of Dumfries Academy.

[The lecture was illustrated by lantern slides, mainly of Dumfriesshire Castles.]

17th February, 1932.

Chairman—Mr M. H. M'KERROW.

Permian Volcanoes: Progress in Geology.

By ROBERT WALLACE, Dumfries.

In the interest of scientific progress it is desirable that local collections of rocks and fossils should be described and displayed in whatever centre is most closely connected with their collection.

The wide expanse of Dumfriesshire and Galloway affords a rich field for the display of Nature's handiwork, and this Society has been in the past the only home to house these

treasures. Our Society was born and cradled by men of scientific gifts. From the days of its inception by Sir William Jardine and others this passion for research and for deeper insight into the workings of Nature was inspired by a close contact with those great minds throughout Europe who were leading advanced thought in the realms of geology and physics. Our study is the Permian Rocks and their contemporaneous volcanoes now exposed in Nithsdale; but let us first of all review the history of this research as bearing on our own particular problem. When the Society was founded in 1862 Britain was leading the world in scientific thought—it was the golden age of geology. Sir Roderick Murchison, president of the British Association, and director of the Geological Survey of Britain, had been invited by Russia to examine her geology in the economic field. On his third visit he discovered in the ancient kingdom of Permian a massive display of red sandstones, overlying the Carboniferous Formation. Their steep, false bedding flags suggested that they had been formed by wind-blown sand during the violent sandstorms of a Continental area suffering from desert conditions. Murchison was so greatly impressed with this new feature that on his return he gave the name “Permian” to the New Red sandstones of Britain, because it was evident that they had been formed during the same period and under similar conditions to those of Russia. About this time Professor Harkness was working with great enthusiasm at the various stratigraphical formations in this his native district. In 1850 he published his famous paper, “On the New Red Sandstones of the Southern Portion of the Vale of Nith,” in which he described the sandstones and breccia of the Dumfries basin and proved that these deposits were of true Permian age. Further discoveries which were continually being made in the various fields of natural science engendered an atmosphere of enthusiastic research. In 1862 this Society was inaugurated, and in the following year the president, Sir William Jardine, addressed an outdoor meeting of the Society at Gotterby Hill, overlooking the red sandstones of the Lochmaben basin. Unfortunately almost

nothing had been gleaned concerning the animal life of the Permian period—probably this absence of fossil life was due to the great salinity of these inland seas, which resembled the Dead Sea of to-day in having no outlet except evaporation. In America, however, a house doorstep made of red sandstone was found to contain impressions of footprints, and they were footprints of an animal entirely unknown to the zoological world. Expert opinions were invited, and Charles Lyell suggested that they might be the footprints of birds. An American writer, who found further fossil prints, contended that they were the tracks of reptiles, and published a book on the subject, entitled “The Ichnology of New England.” This was immediately followed by another discovery of footprints in our own country. This took place in Greenmill Quarry near Bankend, and was chronicled and footprints named by Robert Harkness. Later on large slabs were found, in the quarry of Corncockle Moor, containing various impressions of the feet of tortoise-like animals, and these were named and figured by Sir William Jardine in his famous book, “The Ichnology of Annandale.” These slabs with their fossil footprints are still the best record in existence of the animal life of the Permian period, and they probably represent the earliest form of amphibians or reptiles known to the world.

In the following year (1865) Patrick Dudgeon of Cargen read his first paper to the Society on “The Rare Minerals of the District.” For several years, with the help of Archibald Geikie, he had been studying the igneous rocks of Galloway. Assisted by Professor Heddle he discovered and recorded several new minerals, and compared the crystals of Allanite and of Sphene as found at Kirkconnel with those in the Plutonic rocks of Criffel. This paper was the earliest contribution to the Society in the field of mineralogy, and led the way to brilliant research in later years.

In the same year Archibald Geikie of the Geological Survey was making remarkable progress in the Permian basin of Ayrshire. He found a great mass of volcanic lava underneath those red sandstones, and observed that the

streams of lava and the beds of sandstone were intercalated with each other, thus proving them both to be of the same age. He also discovered numerous volcanic necks marking the vents from which these materials had been erupted. This discovery of volcanic activity at the base of the Permian series gave the British deposits a new sense of superiority in the councils of Europe, and was fully reported in the *Geological Magazine* for 1866.

Joseph Thomson of Gatelawbridge, who was deeply impressed with the marvellous rock display in his native valley of Thornhill, contributed a paper to this Society on "The Origin of the Permian Basin of Thornhill," in February, 1877. This date is important as being a few months in advance of the Survey's publication of Memoir to Sheet 9, thus proving his work to be wholly original and the result of close personal study. He contributed several other articles, and discovered a rare fossil fern (*Neuropteris loshii*) in the underlying Carboniferous shales. Undoubtedly these early activities in his own beautiful valley heralded the way to his brilliant career of discovery in the jungles of Africa during his later years. The Geological Survey of Scotland had for several years been publishing the results of their work in various sheets. For the series drawn to the one inch scale Nithsdale was featured in Sheet 9, and was published with its accompanying memoir in June, 1877.

This memoir explains that in this area there are four hollows or basins of red sandstones—those of Moffat and Lochmaben in Annandale, and of Thornhill and Dumfries in Nithsdale. These ancient hollows which had been eroded out of the Silurian tableland were first of all filled up with Carboniferous strata which, after a pause, was largely removed, and the basin refilled again with the younger Permians. The Ayrshire, Thornhill, Lochmaben, and Cumberland basins all agree in retaining this saucer-like remnant of Carboniferous strata, but in the Dumfries basin it is wanting.

The Thornhill basin agrees with Ayrshire in displaying a large mass of volcanic rocks lying at the bottom of the

Permian series. The memoir describes these as beds of porphyrite or lava streams, which flowed on the surface of the land and were contemporaneous with deposits of sandstone. Between the lavas and the sandstones there is often a layer of breccia, consisting of volcanic dust, bombs, and fragments, which had been exploded from the vents of the volcanoes some distance away. The memoir supposes the Carboniferous strata of that basin to belong to the Calciferous Sandstone age, which is low down in that series of rocks, and consequently much older than the coal measures. In 1897 Sir Archibald Geikie gave to the world his great book, "Ancient Volcanoes of Great Britain." He insists that the existence of Permian volcanoes was first recognised in the Ayrshire basin, and that Ayrshire and Nithsdale give the finest display of Permian volcanics throughout the whole of Britain. He estimates that the Ayrshire volcanic group cannot exceed a thickness of 500 feet, while that of Nithsdale is very much thinner.

If we sum up this research work from the days of Murchison to that of Geikie it is evident that the solution of one problem opens the path to new inquiries which were impossible to a past generation. In all this record of work the one outstanding questionaire was Joseph Thomson's discovery of fossil plants (*Neuropteris*) belonging to a much higher series of rock. This new idea led the writer of this paper to again search the valley for this important fossil. Along with the late William Dickie, Maxwelltown, we found shales in Crichton Linn to yield fragments of what the Survey Collector regarded as *Neuropteris heterophylla*. Continued research in the following year enabled me to find clearer specimens, which were sent to the Survey and determined by Dr. Kidston to be *Neuropteris ovato*—thus establishing beyond dispute the presence of coal measures in that basin.

The Scottish Survey has taken up the quest and re-surveyed that particular district. As a result there has just been issued by Dr. Pringle and J. E. Richley, from the Summary of Progress of the Geological Survey for 1930, a

paper dealing with the "Carboniferous Rocks of the Thornhill Basin." In the Crichton Linn they found a band of ironstone to contain a group of Mollusca in fine condition. These were determined by Professor A. E. Trueman to contain five different species of the genus *Carbonicola*, which would probably prove the presence of Zone *Similis Pulchra* and establish a high horizon in the productive coal measures of Scotland. The writers assume that there may be nearly 700 feet of coal measures under the alluvium in that area.

From this brief review of past work in this field we may visualise the conditions governing the production of volcanic activity in Scotland during early Permian times. As this basin of Thornhill is deeper and wider at its centre than it is at its southern outlet, we may infer that it had not been formed by erosion but by flexuring. Enormous earth movements must have taken place at the close of the Carboniferous age in order to produce the new conditions prevailing in Permian times. The warm Carboniferous seas, teeming with life, were converted into land, which was elevated into a plateau and swept by cold arid sandstorms destructive of all living things. In this change of continents intense compression had gradually forced down the weak hollows into geo-synclines or troughs and created a new series of ridges in between. As this first movement of compression came from the east, it gave the ridges and troughs a north and south direction, for example, the Pennine Range in England. Further pressure later on coming from the south gave foldings tending east and west known as the Hercynian.

How can we account for these volcanic eruptions? These uplands of Nithsdale have at least three separate ridges of mountain folds of different ages, crossing at different angles. Possibly it may be proved by further study of these volcanic rocks that the buried Hercynian Mountains lying underneath the Nithsdale valley have overridden the older Caledonian range, also buried, and created a period of volcanic activity. This is a problem for the future.

Volcanic Rocks : Research in Carron Water and Locherben.

By MAX. LAIDLAW.

Chairman—Mr M. H. M'KERROW.

A volcano consists chiefly of (a) the vent or neck, that is to say, the chimney that connects the crater of the volcano with the magma, or molten lava beneath; (b) the crater, or the mouth of the volcano — the opening from which the volcano emits the molten lava; (c) the lava that wells up in the crater; and (d) the detritus or lapilli, the agglomerate, etc., by this we mean the stuff which has been thrown up by the volcano, and has cooled and incidentally solidified on the slopes of, or in the proximity of, the volcano. Dr. Tyrrell, University of Glasgow, thus describes the formation of a volcano :—“ Take a piece of wood with a hole in it, and force sand through the hole from underneath the board. It will be noticed that the sand collects in a heap, the summit of the heap having a little depreciation. This heap is exactly the same as a volcano.”

A Lop-Sided Appearance.

If the experimenter were to blow a little in a constant direction while the sand was being forced up through the hole the heap would be a little lop-sided. So with a volcano. If there is a wind blowing at the time of eruption the volcano has a lop-sided appearance. Examples of this may be seen either on Etna or Vesuvius. It is only very rarely one sees a volcano more or less symmetrical. Cotopaxi, in Ecuador, is one of the best examples of a symmetrical volcano in the world. The mountain is very irregular at the base, but the entire cone, say above the snow line, is a perfect mathematical cone, except, of course, for the crater.

The cones of some volcanoes have a definite arrangement of their materials. The cone is made up of a number of layers, each of which slopes in opposite directions, towards the centre of ejection and away from that centre. These layers are thickest along the line of the circle where the change in slope takes place, and they thin away in the direction of the two opposite slopes. The cause of this

peculiar arrangement of the materials is evident. The "ejecta" thrown up descends in a shower and tends to accumulate in a circular heap round the orifice, the area of this circular heap being determined by the force of the blast. Within this circular area, however, the quantity of falling fragments is not everywhere the same; along a circle surrounding the vent at a certain distance the maximum number of falling fragments will be found to descend, and here the thickest deposit will take place. As this goes on a circular ridge will be formed, with slopes towards and away from the centre of ejection. As the ridge increases in height, the materials will tend to roll down either one slope or the other, and gradually a structure of the form shown in the diagram will be thrown up. The materials sliding down the outer slope will tend to increase the area of the base of the cone, while those which find their way down the inner slope will fall into the vent to be again ejected.

Volcanic Cones.

Volcanic cones composed of this "ejecta," dust, etc., are found to have exactly the same internal structure as is exhibited by the experiment already mentioned. The more or less regular layers of which they are made up dip in opposite directions, away from and towards the vent, and thin out in the direction of their dip. In small cones the crater is of considerable size in proportion to the size of the whole mass, but as the cone grows upwards and outwards the dimensions of the crater remain the same, while the area of the base and the height of the cone are continually increasing. This is the normal structure of volcanic cones formed of fragmental materials, though many irregularities are often produced by local and temporary causes. In some cases the central vent of a volcano scoriacone may be filled by subsequent ejections. A beautiful example of this kind was observed by Abich, in the case of a small cone formed in the crater of Vesuvius in 1835.

On a volcano one sees very often a small or minor cone, undoubtedly caused by a minor eruption. Such a cone is to be found on Stramboli, in the Mediterranean. All that

is in eruption nowadays is the small cone, and from further up the mountain side Tyrrell tells us that a vulcanologist can obtain a wonderful view of the interior of the crater and watch with comparative safety the motions of the boiling liquid. If one wishes to imagine what the interior of a crater is like a wonderful representation may be had from a pot of boiling porridge. Huge bubbles appear all over the surface of the molten rock, and these burst with the sound of escaping steam.

Carron Water Basin.

The rocks surrounding Dumfries are of the Permian Age. They are what are known as breccias and are sedimentary. They have been deposited by an inland sea. To the east we have another outcrop of Permian rocks in the Lochmaben district. To the north we have the Permian region with which I am going to deal to-night, the Thornhill basin. It will be noticed that these basins are all surrounded by Silurian rocks.

I propose to deal chiefly with those Permian rocks of the Carron Water Basin, as the Carron cuts wonderful cross sections, and here we have evidence of volcanic activity.

The Permian rocks of the Carron Water Basin extend along the valley of the Carron Water northwards to the mouth of the Dalveen Pass. While merely a prolongation of the Permian Basin of Thornhill, the rocks in the valley of the Carron Water differ from those of the same series further south, in the greater abundance of volcanic rocks, and of volcanic detritus in the sandstone. The whole of the Permian series in the Carron Water Basin is full of evidence of contemporaneous volcanic activity, while southwards this evidence dies out, and in the centre and south of the Thornhill area ceases to be traceable; but not, however, towards Locherben. The following, in descending series, is the succession of rocks along the Carron Water:—(b) Brick red sandstones full of trappean detritus, and with bands of trap-tuff, and occasional thin sheets of Porphyrite; (a) Porphyrite, in different beds, resting on the Carboniferous series. (a) The lower division of the Permian series here consists of

various beds of porphyrite, which rise from under the brick red sandstones, and form a marked ridge between these and the underlying carboniferous rocks along the west side of the Carron basin. On the east side they are partly overlapped by the red sandstones, and do not there form so striking a surface feature as on the other side. These lavas have a general dull purple or chocolate brown colour. They vary from a fine crystalline compact to an earthy amygdaloid or an open scoriaceous rock. In the amygdaloids seatite abounds in the cavities and cracks. All of these rocks appear to consist of a base of triclinic felspar, to which titaniferous iron, augite, and in particular a red, furruginous, decomposed mineral are added in various proportions. In most cases they are more probably properly classified under the general term porphyrite, though in some cases where the augite and titaniferous iron are conspicuous they could not be separated from that augite, closely allied to basalt which Horne termed melaphyre, now a word not used by geologists. They perfectly resemble the Permian volcanic rocks of Ayrshire. (b) Above the porphyrites comes a conformable series of brick red sandstones and tuffs, forming the basement beds of the Thornhill Basin.

The whole of this series of rocks is more or less marked by diffusion through it of trappean detritus, sometimes in the form of minute grains, sometimes as gravelly intermixture, sometimes in large blocks and trappean bombs, sometimes in regular interstratified bands of trap-tuff. Occasionally, as at Durisdeer Mill, a band of porphyrite is intercalated in the series.

Red Sandstone.

Above the carboniferous rocks of the Thornhill Basin lies a group of strata consisting chiefly of red sandstones. There is good reason to believe that both the volcanic sheets and the red sandstones overlying them, instead of being restricted to an area of only 30 square miles, once stretched over the lowlands of Ayrshire; and not only so, but they ran down the valley of Nithsdale and extended into some of its tributary valleys, if indeed they were not continuous across the

valley of the Annan. Traces of the lavas and tuffs are to be found at intervals over the area here indicated. The most important display of them, however, occurs in the valley of the Nith above Thornhill, whence they stretch continuously up the valley of the Carron for six miles. They form here, as in Ayrshire, a band at the base of the brick red sandstones, and consist mainly of bedded lavas with basic characters above referred to. These lavas are, however, followed by a much thicker development of fragmental volcanic materials.

The brick red sandstones are the same as those that extend up the Nith from Annan, by Dumfries to Friars' Carse, and form a continuation of the well-recognised Permian series of Cumberland. They are also identical in lithological character with the red sandstone series which overlies the upper coal measures in Ayrshire, and in which, as in the Thornhill basin, they have at their base an intercalated series of igneous rocks. They may be grouped into two zones—a lower volcanic series and a thick overlying mass of brick red sandstones.

Beds of Porphyrite.

The base of the Permian series in the northern part of the Thornhill basin consists of a succession of beds of porphyrite. These are not intrusive sheets, but from their internal character, their association with the bands of tuff, and their occasional interstratification with the sandstones, are undoubtedly lava streams contemporaneous with the formation of the Permian rocks of this district. Lying at the bottom of the Permian series, they form between that series and the underlying carboniferous strata a belt which throughout most of the ground rises to the surface as a distinct ridge. At the north end of the basin it slopes up the valley of the Enterkin, and runs southward, acting as a dividing ridge between that valley and the Carron Water. On the other side of the valley its influence on the physical features is not so decided. From Nether Dalveen the band rises along the east side to a range of swelling slopes, and here and there a hillock as far as the farm of Gateslack. A little

further south it crosses the valley from side to side, so that the red sandstones to the north of the barrier are encircled by it and form a small detached trough. Traced still southward on the eastern side, the porphyrite, like the carboniferous sandstones below it, appears only now and again between the brick red sandstones and the Silurian hills. A considerable mass covers the carboniferous rocks at Morton Castle, whence it stretches eastward to the Cample Water, dipping eastward under the red sandstones as usual and rising from underneath them in one or two places along the flanks of the Silurian hills, so as to form a second minor trough.

Similarity with Ayrshire.

As no detailed account has yet been given of the volcanic rocks of this district, a more particular description may be desirable. The porphyrite retains throughout its course a common type of lithological character which is identical with that of the Permian volcanic rocks of Ayrshire. It is a dull purple or purplish grey porphyrite, passing from a fine crystalline compact to a dull earthy amygdaloid or rough vesicular and scoriaceous rock. It appears to consist essentially of a crystalline basis of plagioclase felspar, throughout which is diffused much hæmatite, usually in the form of angular shreds and irregular fragments, but sometimes in crystals. On my expedition to this district I was not fortunate enough to obtain a specimen of this. The iron has often become hydrous, and sometimes in this condition appears to be pseudomorphic after augite or other minerals. In the fresh crystalline parts of the rock the iron assumes somewhat of the brilliant metallic lustre and a red streak of specular iron, but where the rock is more decayed it takes a dull red colour, and often occurs so abundantly as to give a distinct red tint to the rock. In these circumstances it is soft, fragile, and is very soluble in boiling hydrochloric acid. In some crystalline portions of the porphyrite, augite crystals appear conspicuously; but they are often absent altogether. Olivine and magnetic iron also fail, or are at least rare. Most of the rock is much decomposed. Where amygdaloidal,

the cavities are usually filled with seatite or other magnesian silicates, the result perhaps of the alteration of augite.

Porphyrite Described.

It may be desirable that the description and definition of porphyrite should be given. Certain lavas look just like bottle glass, and when examined in thin sections under the microscope no trace of crystalline texture can be made out of them. In the process of manufacturing window glass a mixture of silicates is fused and allowed to cool somewhat rapidly; the result is the familiar character of glass, a substance in which no crystalline substance is observable; the constituents have not had time to sort themselves out into crystalline compounds, and a structureless body which has no action on polarised light is the result. If, however, the molten body cools more slowly, it becomes cloudy and partly opaque, and even stony; this is due to the formation of minute crystals, which break up the light as it passes through the mass. Similarly with lavas. Those which cool quickly are glassy and structureless; indeed they are dark coloured glasses. More usually there is time taken in cooling to allow the formation of small imperfect crystals, which are well seen in a slide of obsidian lava. In the lavas from Vesuvius, crystals of two minerals, leucite and augite, large enough to be seen with the naked eye, are common, floating as it were on the glassy ground mass or matrix of the stone. These are indeed floated up with the lava when it wells to the surface, having formed during slow cooling on the way to the surface. The lavas of Etna consist of similar crystals of augite, olivine and felspar. Crystals like this, conspicuously larger than those in the rest of the rock, are spoken of as porphyritic crystals, and they are a common phenomenon in many crystalline rocks. On examining a slice of such a lava under the microscope it will be seen that such a matrix contains tiny, imperfect embryo crystals of recognisable minerals in the form of minute rods, plates or globes, possessed of some, but not all the properties of crystals. These are called crystalites or microlites, and they are often arranged in radiating, feathery groups.

Cross Sections.

Several streams in the Durisdeer district have cut good sections across the porphyritic beds. The Hapland burn, about half a mile south of Durisdeer, has cut a very fine cross section through the porphyrite beds, from top to bottom. This section exposes a succession of compact and amygdaloidal beds of porphyrite with the usual characters. If, beginning on the slopes between Castlehill and Durisdeer, we proceed to trace the rocks southwards, we discover that some sandstone begins to appear in the porphyrite below the Durisdeer Church; and that while the portion of the latter rock overlying this sandstone dies out southwards so as not to appear south of Gateslack, the sandstones in a corresponding manner swell out until, on the cessation of the porphyrite, they coalesce with the strata which covered it, but the igneous sheet under this sandstone intercalation continues to hold its course along the margin of the basin, appearing there at intervals as has already been described. The upper surface of igneous beds is exposed in several places in the Carron Water. A few yards below the junction of the Gateslack burn with that stream the porphyrite dips below the dull red sandy tuff. At Durisdeer Mill it is again seen in a similar position. The course of the Carron Water, however, shows the best cross section in the district of these overlying strata. Abundant volcanic detritus is diffused through overlying sandstones, sometimes as gravelly intermixture, sometimes in large slaggy blocks or bombs, and sometimes in intercalated layers of tuff, while an occasional sheet of the dull red lavas may also be detected. The final dying out of volcanic energy in a series of intermittent explosions, while the ordinary red sandy sediment was accumulating, is here also admirably chronicled.

Volcanic Breccia.

The last of the lavas presents an uneven surface, against which various kinds of detritus have been laid down. First comes a coarse volcanic breccia made up of angular and subangular blocks of different lavas embedded in a matrix of red ashy sand. This deposit is succeeded by a band of

dull red tufaceous sandstone, evidently formed by ordinary red sandy sediment, into which a quantity of volcanic dust and lapilli fell at the time of its accumulation. Some of the ejected blocks which are in the finer sediment are upwards of a foot in length. A more vigorous discharge of fragmental material is shown in the next bed, which consists of a coarse nodular tuff, mingled with a little red sandstone and crowned with the blocks of the usual lava. Beyond the locality of this section these tuffs are found to pass up insensibly into ordinary Permian sandstone.

Eastside Cottage is about 100 yards above Durisdeer Mill. If a straight line be drawn at right angles to the road, the point where the burn is crossed by that line is roughly the point where the nodular tuff lies on the original hard Permian lava. Good specimens may be obtained.

An Interesting Phenomenon.

In the Locherben district the Permian rocks are absolutely isolated from the main display in the Nith Valley by the Silurian rocks. Here we have a very interesting phenomenon. On the extreme left of this cross section we have the Silurian rocks. Next to it we have the Upper Carboniferous, then in the centre the Permian sandstone. But look what we have on the right. Permian rock in the centre and immediately next to it the Silurian Llandeilo, the Upper Carboniferous having been cut out altogether. We must immediately seek out a reason for this. The rocks have been laid down according to their age, as might have been expected. The oldest, i.e., the Silurian, acts as the base. On top of this we get the rocks of the next age, that is to say the Upper Carboniferous, and lastly we get the youngest of all the rocks afore-mentioned, the Permian sandstones, on top. Now we see why on the narrow cross section we find the Upper Carboniferous rocks omitted on one side. Apparently this was once a Silurian valley of about one and a half miles broad. Along came a deposit of Upper Carboniferous rocks. The extent and depth of the valley was considerably lessened. As we see, either the Upper Carboniferous was laid down unsymmetrically in this valley or

else at some later date glaciers or something or other lifted that part and deposited it in another district. The rocks themselves are agglomerates and tuffs, as met with in the Carron Water basin.

Mr Laidlaw was accorded a vote of thanks on the motion of Mr T. A. Halliday, Parkhurst.

4th March, 1932.

Kinmont Willie in History.

By W. T. M'INTIRE, B.A., F.S.A.(Scot.).

Of all famous Border reivers none, with the possible exception of Johny Armstrong, of Gilnockie, has left behind him memories more vivid than has "Kinmont Willie." Thanks to the grand old ballad which relates in stirring strains the story of his wrongful detention in Carlisle Castle and of his gallant rescue by "the Bauld Buccleuch," his name is upon the lips of every Borderer, and it is a striking tribute to the innate sense of justice and appreciation of gallant actions among the populations of both sides of the Border that the story is no less a favourite one with the nation at whose expense the exploit was performed than with Kinmont's own countrymen.

With the ballad itself, Mr Frank Miller, in a paper read before this Society in 1911, has dealt in such a manner that it will be unnecessary here to do more than briefly to refer to it when dealing with Kinmont's escape from Carlisle. What is attempted in the present article is, by the use of contemporary documents, to reconstruct as far as possible the story of the career of this famous paladin of the Border. It must be acknowledged that the details thus supplied are somewhat meagre, but they are not without interest to the student of the political conditions prevailing in the Western March during the later years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

William Armstrong or "Kinmont Willie" was a member of one of the junior branches of a family which for

several generations had been in turn the protection, and in turn the terror, of the Debatable Land and the surrounding district. Though Satchells, writing in 1688, maintained that Kinmont "was from Giltknochie sprung,"¹ it has hitherto proved impossible to trace the connection of the Armstrongs of Morton Tower with the family of the famous Johny Armstrong. Some interesting details of Kinmont's descent and relationships are to be found, however, in the "Report of Border Riders," made by Thomas Musgrave to Lord Burghley in 1583.² In this document, which by the way contains much information of value to students of the history of the Western March, it is stated that Kinmont's father was Sandy or Alexander Armstrong, the son of "Ill Will Armstrong" whose name occurs elsewhere in connection with Border raids. In the pedigree of William Graham or "Long Will Graeme" and his sons supplied to Lord Burghley and printed as an appendix to the *Calendar of Border Papers*,³ the further information is added that:— "In the wars with Scotland Alexander Armstrong, father to this Will of Kynmont, with eight others of his sons, were pensioners to King Henry VIII., who, for good service done, gave them lands in Cumberland called Guilcrookes (Gilcrux), which his grand-child yet possesseth." A reference to Nicolson and Burn's *History of Cumberland and Westmorland*⁴ shows that this land was granted to Alexander Armstrong by Philip and Mary upon service of providing and maintaining five horsemen ready and well furnished, whenever summoned to do so. This estate was parcel of the confiscated lands of Calder Abbey.

This statement is of interest in illustrating the fact that the Armstrongs made frequent alliances with the English. At Ancrum Moor in 1545, it will be remembered that a party of Armstrongs who were serving with the English, feeling

¹ *Families of the Right Honourable Name of Scot*, edit. 1894, p. 12.

² *Cal. Border Papers*, vol. I., pp. 129 ff.

³ *Cal. Border Papers*, vol. II., p. 826.

⁴ *Nicolson and Burn*, vol. II., p. 115.

their patriotic prejudices predominate, when the battle began, tore their badges from their arms, and, falling upon their quondam allies, contributed to the victory of the Scottish cause.

Musgrave further states⁵:—"Wille Armstrong, called Kynmount, married Hotchane Grame's daughter, sister to Hotchan's Ritchie." Another Graham, "Gorth Grame," married Kinmont's sister, and, as Lord Scrope complains, the notorious Thomas Carleton, land serjeant of Gilsland and one of his bitterest foes, married Kinmont's daughter. "So his wife's friends," he adds, "will come on the day to him and her and spoyle on the night as they goe home." This alliance with the Grahams and with Thomas Carleton, as we shall see shortly, is a most important point for the consideration of anyone who wishes to understand Kinmont's career.

It is impossible to find the exact year of Kinmont Willie's birth, but several documentary mentions of his name help us to obtain some approximation to the truth. He is named in the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* as entering upon a pledge for the good behaviour of himself and his kin in 1569,⁶ so he had attained the age of manhood by that date. He had sons old enough to commit a raid in 1581, for James Sowrebie makes a complaint against them in that year. Taking these points and the statements referring to his relationships and marriage into consideration, it would not be unreasonable to suppose him to have been born about 1530.

His tower was situate at Woodhouselee on the Esk, where traces of the foundations of an ancient stronghold are still to be seen. The statement has sometimes been made that it was upon the Sark, and Aglionby's *Platt of the Border* of 1590⁷ gives some colour to this supposition, for in it "Kinmothe's Toure" is placed nearer to the Sark than the Esk. Musgrave, however, is quite definite upon

⁵ *Cal. Border Papers*, vol. I., p. 122.

⁶ *Reg. Privy Council of S.*, II., 44.

⁷ *Cal. Border Papers*, vol. I., p. 69.

the point. Describing the course of the Esk below its meeting with the Liddell, he writes: — “Then it taketh the devysyon of the realmes untill it come to a place called Morton rigg, where Will of Kinmont dwelleth.”⁸ Timothy Pont’s map of the early 17th century seems to confirm this statement.

We must now follow as closely as we can the events of Kinmont’s life. The first mention of his name is that of 1569, already referred to. The Borders were then in a disturbed state owing to the unfortunate rising of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, and Kinmont had to offer himself with other members of his clan as a surety for the preservation of peace. It is a significant fact that on this occasion Lord Maxwell, “the Machiavelli of the Border,” answers for him, and in 1590 he is mentioned as his landlord.⁹ Under the powerful protection of this nobleman, possessed of landed property in England and supported by his alliances with the Graemes and Carletons on the other side of the Border, Kinmont was thus a formidable antagonist to anyone who might incur his displeasure. Though in 1570 he had to make submission in respect to feuds between himself and the Turnbills,¹⁰ he was at times able to defy the royal authority. He is described as “the starkest man in Teviotdale,” and as being able to bring together with his sons a following of 300 men; in fact he had become the terror of the Borders.

In 1585 he took part in the raid made by Angus upon Stirling, where Angus hoped to capture the Earl of Arran. On this occasion the Borderers emptied the stables of horses, pillaged the houses, and carried off the iron gratings of the windows. It will be remembered by readers of the *Lanercost Chronicle* that the Scots when they invaded Furness in 1322 were delighted to find some iron, and went off with it, preferring this to any other booty.

A royal expedition in 1587 to Dumfries for the purpose

⁸ *Cal. Border Papers*, vol. I., p. 121.

⁹ *Reg. Privy Council of S.*, IV., 796.

¹⁰ *Reg. of Privy Council of S.*, III., 169.

of capturing Kinmont Willie and his ally, Robert Maxwell, the natural brother of Lord Maxwell, failed ignominiously, for the reivers, probably secretly aided by Lord Maxwell, escaped to the impenetrable fastness of Tarras Moss and set their would-be captors at defiance. Evidently the quarrel with the government was shortly afterwards patched up, for on August 14th, 1590, a proclamation was made for the pacification of the Borders, in which it was declared that "the lands debatable within the West Marches shall be sett heritable or in long takkis or rentale" to certain persons, Kinmont being one of the tenants specially named.¹¹

But while Kinmont had thus made his peace for the time being with the Scottish king the letters of the English Warden to his government were full of complaints of his depredations. Lord Scrope, the recently appointed Warden, was in a difficult position. His appointment was resented by the Lowthers and other powerful local families, and Thomas Carleton, the henchman of the Lowthers, gave him infinite trouble. The latter's connection with the Graemes and with Kinmont enabled him to abet the reiver in his incursions into England, and he seems deliberately to have encouraged these inroads in order to discredit Scrope's government.

In 1584 we find Scrope, on the occasion of his meeting the Laird Johnstone at Rockcliffe Castle, asking for "Will, alias Kynmont," and "Jocke, his sonne," in exchange for two prisoners, Walter Graeme and Robert Graeme of the Fauld. The exchange was refused.¹²

In 1587-88 bills were filed by the Commissioners at Berwick upon "Will. Armstrong, called Kynemothe, Ector Armstrong of the Hill house, and other 300 men, who ran a day foray, took away forty score kye and oxen, three score horses and meares, 500 sheepe, and burned 60 houses, spoiling the same to the value of 2000 l. sterling and slaying 10 men, at Michaelmas, 1584."¹³

¹¹ *Reg. of Privy Council of S.*, IV., 799.

¹² *Cal. Border Papers*, vol. I., 149.

¹³ *Cal. Border Papers*, I., 314.

In 1593 John Forster writes to Burghley the news that "William Elliot of Lauriston, the Laird of Mangerton, and William Armstrong called Kenmott, with 1000 horsemen of Liddisdale, Annandale and Ewesdale, ran an open day foray in Tyvedale, and drove off nine hundred five score and five head of nolt, 1000 sheep and goats, 24 horses and mares, burned an onset and mill and carried off 300 l. sterling of insight gear, though when complaint was made to the King at Jedburgh, he replied that it was contrary to his pleasure, but nothing done despite his son's offer to remain as a hostage."¹⁴

In another letter of the same year from Scrope to Burghley the warden complains of further raids by Kinmont, and that Carleton, who was sent to waylay the freebooters, after capturing two notorious English thieves, Carrock and Bungell, allowed them to escape, being abetted by the Captain of Bewcastle. Scrope requires redress.¹⁵

No redress was obtained, though James VI. had promised Bowes, the English ambassador, "to fyle this bill ourself upon three of the persons contained therein, to wit Will and Martyn Ellotts and Will Armstronge of Kynmothe,"¹⁶ nor were Scrope's endeavours to induce the king "to appoint an officer over against him, to provide for quietness till the evill of the winter be past," attended with better success.

Scrope indeed tells Cecil that "it has been thought profitable to drawe an assurance (such as hath been accustomed in tymes of like necessitie) from Kynmont, the chiefe of the Armstrongs of Scotland." The king had sent "a cattalog of the names of his branch and partakers to the number of 300 persons verie near." The "gentlemen of the country," however, "thought these conditions inconvenient," and did "assaye for the alteryng of them."

Thus Scrope failed to bring the offenders to book, and, moreover, incurred the enmity of Sir Walter Scott of

¹⁴ *Cal. Border Papers*, I., 508.

¹⁵ *Cal. Border Papers*, I., 510-11.

¹⁶ *Cal. Border Papers*, I., 512.

Buccleuch, the recently appointed keeper of Liddisdale, whose bold and hot-tempered spirit took offence at real or imaginary slights put upon his authority by the English warden.

The two rivals soon had an opportunity of bringing their quarrel to a head. On March 17th, 1595-6, a wardens' meeting took place at the time-honoured rendezvous of Kershope Foot. Among other Border notabilities, Kinmont Willie was present. Exactly what occurred we shall probably never know, but it would seem that certain Salkelds and Musgraves who came to the meeting, seeing their arch-enemy unarmed and unattended, bided their time, and following Kinmont as he departed upon his way home, upon the Scottish bank of the Esk, forded the stream a short distance below its junction with the Kershope Burn, and after a short struggle took him prisoner.

Kinmont was brought to Carlisle and kept prisoner in the castle, despite the representations of Buccleuch, who protested against this violation of Border law.

It is interesting to read Scrope's letter to his government explaining his reasons for refusing to deliver up his prisoner. It is dated March 18th, 1595-6, and deserves quotation in full:—

“How Kynmont was taken will appear from the copy of the attestations by his takers, which, if true, it is held that Kynmont did thereby break th' assurance that daye taken and for his offences ought to be delivered to the officer against whom he had offended to be punished according to his discretion. Another reason for detaining him is his notorious enmity to this office and the outrages lately done by his followers. He pertains not to Buccleuch, but dwells out of his office, and was also taken beyond the limits of his charge, so Buccleuch makes the matter a mere pretext to defer justice and to do further indignities. The above day for redress and delivery was the 17th of this month, which night Kinmont was taken and brought here, where I detain him, thinking it best to do so till good security be given for better behaviour of him and his in time coming and recompence of damages lately done to the people here.”

It will thus be seen that Scrope maintains, firstly, that Kinmont himself had violated the truce, and, secondly, that

the affair was outside the jurisdiction of Buccleuch. Unfortunately the "attestation" to which he refers is missing, and we are deprived of the opportunity of learning not only exactly how the capture of Kinmont took place, but also of judging whether Scrope had any real excuse to make for his conduct in retaining his prisoner. It must be owned that, unsupported by very strong evidence, the value of the letter is not very great. To the account of the rescue of Kinmont Willie, given by Mr Miller in the paper mentioned above, there is not much to add, except that it seems probable that the "Stanishaw" bank mentioned in the ballad is the declivity now known as Stoney Bank and not Stanwix. The position of the former place fits in better with the topography of the poem, and would be in Buccleuch's path if he crossed the Eden close to the point where that river is joined by the Caldew.

The question which arises out of the study of the ballad is whether the rescuers of Kinmont Willie were assisted or not by the collusion of some of the garrison.

In a letter of April 14th, the day after the exploit, Scrope thus recounts the event to the Privy Council:—

"Yesternighte in the deade time thereof, Walter Scott of Hardinge, the chiefe man about Buclughe, accompanied with 500 horsemen of Buclughe and Kinmont's frendis did come, armed and appointed, with gavelockes, and crowes of iron, handpacks, axes and skailing lathers unto an outward corner of the base courte of the castell and to the posterne dore of the same—which they undermined speedily and quietlye and made themselves possessors of the base courtes, brake into the chambers where Will of Kinmont was, carried him away, and on their discoverye by the watch, lefte for deade two of the watchmen, hurt a servant of myne own, one of Kinmont's keepers, and were issued againe oute of the posterne before they were discried by the watch of the innerwarde and ere resistance could be made. The watch as it shoulde seeme, by reason of the stormye night, were either on sleepe or gotten under some covert to defende themselves from the violence of the weather: by means whereof the Scots achieved their enterprize with lesse difficultie. The warding place of Kinmont, in respect to the manner of his takinge and the assurance he had given that he would not breake awaye, I supposed to have bin of sufficient suretie and little looked that any durst have attempted to en-

force in the tyme of peace any of her Majesty's castells and a place of as good strength. Yf Buclugh himself have been thereat in person, the captain of this proude attempte as some of my servants tell me they heard his name called upon, etc. —.'¹⁷

This letter, which discloses all the annoyance of a man who has been made a laughing stock, brings out two points. Kinmont Willie was not confined in the keep and he was not chained. One must reluctantly abandon the picturesque story of the removal of his fetters by the smith near Longtown.

Scrope, however, goes further. In a letter, also of April 14th, to Lord Burghley he states :—

“ . . . and regarding the myndes of the Lowthers to do villany unto me, havinge been assured by some of their owne that they would do what they could to disquiet my government, I am perswaded that Thomas Carlton hath lent his hand hearto; for yt is whispered to myne eare that some of his servants, well acquainted with the corners of this castell, were guydes in the execution hearof.”¹⁸

Scrope, moreover, tells Henry Leigh in another letter that “ the Graemes were privy and acted with Buclugh in the enterprise of the castell . . . also the sonne of one of them brought Buclugh's ringe to Kinmonte before his losinge for a token for his deliverance by him, and one of them knowne to be in the castell courte with Buclugh.”¹⁹

An anonymous writer to Scrope on April 24th adds the information :—

“ Albeyt the Layrd of Bucklughe took the deed in hand there is others that sarvis more to blame—Thomas Carlton and Richy of Brakonhill. He came to Carlisle and appointed a meeting with Geordi's Sandy's Grame and Buccleuch, while he and Ebes Sanday was the firste that ever brake the hole and came in about Kinmont.”²⁰

On July 25th, 1597, Scrope wrote to Burghley a letter, enclosing a copy of a letter from Buccleuch to “ a great

¹⁷ *Cal. Border Papers*, II., 121.

¹⁸ *Cal. Border Papers*, II., 121.

¹⁹ *Cal. Border Papers*, II., 123.

²⁰ *Cal. Border Papers*, II., 126.

man in Scotland," which, if it is genuine, proves the fact of collusion :—

“Whereas your lordship desires by your letter to know of mee what borderers of Ingland were my greatest friends for the recoverie of Kinmoth, I remember I told your lordship the matter at full length when I returned to Edinburghe, after that turne was done. Yet to satisfie your lordship, I assure you that I could nought have done that matter without great friendship of the Graemes of Esk, and specially of my gude frind, Francis of Canabie, and of his brother, Langton, frinds of my brother, Bothwell, and of Walter Grame of Netherbye—who we are the chief leaders of that clann. From Sawile the 12 of June, 97, your l's guid and affectionate frinde, Buclughe.”

Here, again, the original letter is not forthcoming, though Scrope seems to have been asked more than once to produce it.

Finally, we have a report of an examination of Andrew Graeme before Lord Scrope and Sir Robert Carey. The examinee stated that on April 7th, 1596, he went with Ritchie of Brackenhill and Will's Jock from Brackenhill's house to Carvinley, where in the house of Simon Tailer, an Englishman, they met Thomas Carleton and Lancelot Carleton, his brother, with one Thomas Armstrong. They rode thence together to Archerbeck in Scotland, and met Buccleuch, Gyp Ellwood, and Walter Scott of Harden. There they discussed the rescue of Kinmont, and Will's Jock said some of the watchers “were made privy thereto, but that it was dangerous to tell anyone else.” Carleton suggested that they might murder Lord Scrope and divide Mr Salkeld from him. They were four hours together discussing the breaking into the castle. Buccleuch told the conspirators that all the Graemes had met at Sandbeds the day before and were ready to help.

Whatever may be the value of much of this testimony, it seems probable that there was some kind of agreement between the rescuers and some member or members of the garrison. The Scots must have been informed, for instance, where the prisoner was confined. After all, the fact remains that a few resolute men succeeded in carrying away from

one of Elizabeth's strongest castles a prisoner whom she had set her heart upon retaining.

Before quitting the subject it is interesting to notice that Kinmont's capture gave rise to a discussion as to the duration of a day of truce, as Kinmont's captors maintained that the day of truce was at an end at sunset. The question was referred to Eure, who in a letter to Burghley gave his opinion, firstly, as to the duration of a day of truce, and, secondly, as to whether it was to be held universal or not. Eure expressed the opinion that the duration depended upon agreement between the wardens, but that its usual continuance was from sunrise to sunrise. If the truce was a "general" one, it was universal in the sense that it applied both to those present at and those absent from the wardens' meeting. Eure added that Scrope's position was a disadvantageous one as compared with that of Buccleuch, in that the latter was not a warden.

Kinmont Willie was thus again at liberty and in a position "to pay his leasing," as he expresses it in the ballad. He had a further cause for resentment in the fact that his house had been raided during the time of his incarceration. Later, in 1597, he made complaints of two such visitations, in the second of which his outbuildings were burned and two of his men slain.²¹

He was, moreover, attacked on one occasion after his return home. Writing to Burghley, Scrope describes a punitive raid, to avenge the sack by Carleton and his Scottish friends of Gilsland and its neighbourhood. The English, he tells us, attacked Kinmont's Tower, took 300 horses and kine, and gave their booty to the despoiled inhabitants of Gilsland to recoup them for their losses. These beasts were stolen, however, by the Graemes, who were said by Mr Aglionby to have captured Kinmont himself but released him.²²

He does not seem to have lost much time in taking to his old profession of reiving, for in 1597 he, along with

²¹ *Cal. Border Papers*, II., 394.

²² *Cal. Border Papers*, II., 366.

Krystie Armstrong and John Skynbank, assumed the leadership of a marauding band of Armstrongs, who earned the opprobrious soubriquet of "Sandie's Bairns." Subsequently his appearances upon the troubled stage of Border history become less conspicuous; possibly he was beginning to feel the effects of old age. Evidently he still retained his appreciation of a good horse, and took part from time to time in the forbidden practice of buying English horses into Scotland. Sir Richard Lowther, writing to Cecil in 1600, complains about "a mare of Thomas Sandford of Howgill, which mare, being a rynnner, was bought by Kynmont Willie, who rode upon the same."

In 1601 Scrope reports that he has been haunting Scotby "for no good purpose, banishing the King's subjects and oppressing them by blackmail. On my coming, conscious struck, he withdrew to Scotland." Soldiers were stationed at his house. "He has said," continues Scrope, "he will enter himself to the Queen and not to me, a bad example to the evil dispersed, if such an infamous person should prevail by outcry."

Shortly afterwards, in 1600-01, he is accused of burning the two Heskets, and on another occasion of being one of the band of Carletons, Musgraves, and other "disobedient English" who alarmed the inhabitants of Rickergate in Carlisle by a night raid. They tore up the posts, to which were attached the chains guarding Eden Bridges, made a demonstration against the city with cries of "A Dacre! A Dacre! A reed bull! A reed bull!" and forced the burgesses to throng the walls of the city in arms and to kindle the beacons.

One more appearance of Kinmont Willie is recorded in Border history. On January 4th, 1602-03, his house was raided, "because occupied by one Johnston who had robbed the King's merchants of 1000 l. sterling, and, with the Lard's Rinion, was there in Kinmont's house." This is the last mention of the veteran reiver, though there are allusions to his sons—Jock, Francie, Geordie, and Sandy.

There is no record of his having been brought to justice,

though it is sometimes assumed he was eventually executed at "Harribee." Surely so notorious a reiver's death on the gallows would have received a public notice of some kind. One really hopes and trusts that so brave a ruffian lived to make some amends for his wrongdoings, and ended his life in the odour of sanctity. Did not the gallant Buccleuch, after unselfishly surrendering himself to appease the wrath aroused against Scotland in Queen Elizabeth's bosom by his rescue of Kinmont, live to amend his ways and to become a prominent enemy of that disorder which in his earlier days he had done not a little to foment?

The lateness of its date—1656—of course makes it impossible that the tomb of the William Armstrong, who is buried in Sark Churchyard, can be that of Kinmont Willie. Of the date of his death or the place of his burial we know nothing.

For many years the question of complicity in his escape formed a favourite subject of bickering among members of the Cumbrian nobility and gentry. Charges and counter-charges were rife. One such dispute occurred between "Belted Will" Howard and one of his retainers, Sir William Hutton, whom Lord William wished to expel from Shank Castle, and who proved a staunch "limpet" in cleaving to office.

Such was Kinmont Willie, a typical reiver of the class so graphically described by old Leslie, but a man rigid in the observance of his own code of honour, and one whose blood-stained hand, one still might grasp as that of a brave and—according to his lights—an honest man, across the gap of three centuries and more which separate our times from that of that stirring exploit at Carlisle Castle in the dark morning hours of April 13th, 1596.

The Kinsmen of "Kinmont Willie."

By R. C. REID.

Kinmont Willie's status as a landholder may never be cleared up. He did not hold direct of the Crown, and no Baron Court Records for the district are known to have survived. He may have been a kindly tenant without any documentary title. No descendants of his are known to have held Kinmont. But he certainly left a son, for on 28th October, 1610, John Carruthers of Holmains granted to William Armstrong, eldest son to Francis Armstrong "called of Kinmonth," a charter of the £5 land of Newlands, the 20s lands of Glaisters, and the £4 land of Creiffe.¹ This grant amounted to a very considerable acreage, so the family must have prospered, but whether the wealth was acquired honestly or represented the accumulated profits of successful forays in the past it is not possible to say.

Kinmont Willie himself would seem to have been a son of one Alexander Armstrong or Sandy Armstrong, several of whose sons and others of the clan are mentioned in a Horning arising out of a typical foray in 1582, not across the Border but into Lanarkshire—thus Sandiis Ringan Armstrong, brother german to Will of Kinmont, indicates that Sandy was father of both Kinmont Willie and Ringan. Other brothers were Sandiis Fergie Armstrong in Kirtillheid, Robert Armstrong, and Jok Armstrong called Wallis. Along with them were Francie and Thom Armstrong, sons to Will of Kinmont.² This Francie Armstrong, in absence of clearer proof, may be identified with the father of the grantee of Creiffe.

But it is from a contemporary Report sent to London by Thomas Musgrave, deputy captain of Bewcastle, to Lord Burghley, the High Treasurer, that we learn most about

¹ *Calendar of Holmains Writs*, No. 177. This charter was borrowed by Holmains on 25th July, 1715, from John Armstrong of Creiffe for production in a lawsuit.

² *D. and G. N. H. and A. Soc.*, 1910-11, p. 300.

the Armstrong family. Written in 1583,³ it provides material for a fairly substantial pedigree for which there is no substitute, but which can be checked and added to from other sources. It states that there were three main stocks of the Armstrong family—(1) the Laird of Mangerton, who was chief of the clan, and his family; (2) the Armstrongs of the house of Whithaugh Tower; and (3) the offspring of Ill Will's Sandy. It is only with the last that this note is concerned. The progenitor was William Armstrong called "Ill Will," and this source only provides the name of one of his sons, Alexander or Sandy Armstrong, who received from Henry VIII. a grant of land in England.⁴ Alexander Armstrong is given the following children :

- (1) Ebby (Edward) Armstrong, goodman of Woodhouselees, who had as issue :
 - (a) William Armstrong, who as " his eldest son dwelleth in England and enjoyeth the land that Henry VIII. gave old Sandy."
 - (b) David.
 - (c) Alexander (Sandy).
 - (d) Christopher (Creste), called Sande's Creste, who had as issue "Creste Armstrong his son."
 - (e) " Other sons whose names I know not."
- (2) William Armstrong " called Kynmont, married Hotchame Grame's daughter, sister to Hotchame's Ritchie," by whom he had—
 - (a) John Armstrong.
 - (b) George (Gorthe) Armstrong.
 - (c) Francis Armstrong.
 - (d) Thomas Armstrong.
 - (e) Alexander (Sandy), who with his brothers Jok, Francis, and Geordie were present at their father's escape.⁵

³ *Cal. of Border Papers*, I., pp. 122-3.

⁴ It was this Alexander Armstrong who suggested to the English Warden the capture of Lochwood Tower in 1547 (*Annandale Book*. I., xliii.).

⁵ *Cal. of Border Papers*, II., 122.

- (3) Ringan (or Ninian) Armstrong "called Sande's Ringan," who had a son Thomas charged with theft in 1580 and warded in Edinburgh Castle with others of his clan.⁶ Once released Thomas returned to his nefarious ways, ending up with the murder at Raeknowis of Sir John Carmichael of that Ilk, Warden of the Western Marches. For this he was apprehended, his right hand struck off, and on 14th November, 1601, hung in chains.⁷ Sir Walter Scott attributes to this Thomas the authorship of "Armstrong's Guid Nicht." In the murder he was assisted by Alexander Armstrong, called Sandie of Rowaneburn, who also was hanged, and by Ringan, his father, and Lancie, Hew, Archie, and Watt, brothers of the said Thomas.⁸ Another brother, David, son of Sandie's Ninian, was hanged in 1604 for slaying John Johnstone, parson of Tundergarth, and the burning of the Oistler's House in the Lun.⁹ Ninian, the father, would seem to have been alive in 1600.¹⁰ Ninian may be identified by a reference to "the sons of Ninian Armstrong of Auchinhedrig called Sandy's Ringean" who in 1590 had raided the lands of Dryffe owned by Alex. Jardine, younger of Applegarth.^{10a} Rowie Armstrong, son of Sandie's Ringean, was held as pledge by Lord Maxwell whilst casting down the house of Auchenhedrig in 1580.^{10b}
- (4) Archibald Armstrong, "called Sande's Arche."
 (5) Fergus Armstrong, "called Sande's Forge."
 (6) Jok Armstrong, "called Castills."
 (7) Jok Armstrong, "called Walls."^{10c}

⁶ *Pitcairn*, I., 93.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II., 505 and 363.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II., 364.

⁹ *Pitcairn*, II., 441.

¹⁰ *Annandale Book*, I., 70.

^{10a} *R.P.C.*, IV., 796.

^{10b} *R.P.C.*, III., 321.

^{10c} Yet in *R.P.C.*, III., 535, John Armstrong, called Casttells, is described as son to Will of Kinmont, and "[] Armstrong called Wallis his broder" is mentioned as having raided Montberngur in Ettrick Forest in 1582.

- (8) David Armstrong, "called Dave of Kannoby," married Patye's Gorthe Graham's daughter.^{10d}
- (9) William Armstrong.
- (10) James (Jeme) Armstrong.
- (11) John Armstrong, "called Skinabake," mentioned in 1586 as "Kynmonth's brother," and classed with Eckey (Hector) Armstrong of Stubholme as a notorious offender.¹¹
- (12) Thomas Armstrong of Rowaneburn, who as tenant of Lord Maxwell slew Peter Gask, servant to John Johnstone of that ilk, in 1580.^{11a}
- (13) George (Gorthy) Armstrong of Rowaneburn "married Jeme Taylor's daughter of Harperfield."¹²
- (14) Christell (Christopher) Armstrong of Auchingavill is definitely described as a brother of Wm. Armstrong of Morton (i.e., Kinmont Willie) in 1573.¹³ In 1607 Sibbie Graham, relict of Alexander Armstrong of Auchengavill (perhaps son of the above) and Christie Armstrong, her son, heritable proprietors of that 40s land, petitioned the Privy Council against Maxwell of Conheath, who claimed right to the property from John Lord Maxwell as superior.¹⁴

^{10d} In 1578 David Armstrong, son of Thun of Cannabie—who must be a different person—was held firm in custody of the Commendator of Deir as a pledge (*S.A.P.*, III., 118). In 1580 he was still a pledge with Adam Gordoun of Auchindoun (*R.P.C.*, III., 307).

¹¹ *Calendar of State Papers (Scotland)*, VIII., 302.

^{11a} *R.P.C.*, XIV., 357.

¹² *Calendar of Border Papers*, II., 826. It is not quite clear from this list whether Nos. 8-13 were sons of Ill Will's Sandy. But it is known for certain that Sandy had at least nine sons. The gallows may have accounted for the rest. On the other hand, there is recorded a warrant to pay monthly the wages of 9d a day to Sandy Armstrong and ten of his sons for services in present and future wars with the Scots, 1558 (*S.P. Dom. Add.*, 1547-65, 469). Those were the redoubtable Sandy's Bairns.

¹³ *Annandale Book*, I., 32, and II., 273.

¹⁴ *R.P.C.*, XIV., 460.

(15) A daughter married to Thomas' Gorthe Graham (*Cal. Border Papers*, II., 127).

William Armstrong, called of Kinmont, must have owned allegiance to both the English and Scottish Crowns. His father was domiciled in England, and Kinmont after the division of the Debateable Lands was most certainly in that country. So Scrope had some justification for his action. On the other hand, Buccleuch claimed that Willie was a Scot—"William Armstrong of Kynmonth, ane subject of Scotland," being incorporated in a Scottish Act of Parliament."¹⁵ The law of domicile had not been developed at that date, and Buccleuch by sheer boldness got away with it.

Though a marauder himself, Willie must have fully appreciated the need of some respect for the law itself. Indeed he seems to have kept a tame lawyer in his retinue. When Willie with most of the Armstrong clan rode with Lord Maxwell on his Raid to Stirling in 1585 he took with him "Robert Makillwitty, writer to Kinmont."¹⁶ Robert, who no doubt had the sharpest of legal wits, may have been a defaulting lawyer who had taken refuge in the Debateable Land. Such defaulters appear in every century and clime. It was perhaps owing to his quick wits that Willie escaped the clutches of the law. He also would have more regular uses, for Willie probably could not sign his own name. At least his son Francis certainly could not.¹⁷

One of Willie's least known raids was the capture in 1596 of Captain Thomas Musgrave.¹⁸

¹⁵ 1596. *S.A.P.*, IV., 100. On the other hand, the *Maxwell Inventory*, No. 88, records the following:—"Sasine of Wm. Armstrong, alias Will of Kynmonth, in the lands of 'the Rig' in the Stewartry of Annandale, on precept by Robert Scot of Howpaslot, dated 18 June, 1508." If the date is wrong, then Willie can be claimed as a Scot.

¹⁶ *S.A.P.*, IV., 293-5.

¹⁷ *Annandale Book*, I., p. 74.

¹⁸ *Scotts of Buccleuch*, I., 209, quoting letter Bower to Burghley, 18th July, 1596.

Kinmont Willie is stated to have had seven sons,¹⁹ whose names have all been recovered.²⁰ They were :

- (1) John Armstrong (Jok) signed with his father a bond of man rent to John Lord Maxwell in 1579.²¹
- (2) Francis Armstrong, of whom hereafter.
- (3) Geordie Armstrong, who as "son of Wm. A. of Kinmont" was charged with threatening the life of James Johnstone of Westraw in 1607.²² George Armstrong of Kinmont in October, 1611, was convicted and executed at Dumfries.²³ He had apparently a son Christopher, "Geordie of Kinmont's Christie," who was acquitted of the charge of murdering John Johnstone of Fingland in 1600.²⁴
- (4) Thomas Armstrong.
- (5) Alexander Armstrong, probably the "Sandy Armstrong, Kynmont," who served at Langholm in Maxwell of Newlaw's Troop of Horse."²⁵
- (6) John Armstrong (S.A.P., iv., 393-5) is surely an error, for Auld Will of Kinmont (1600) must have had a son named "young Will of Kinmont," whose relict, Blench Irving in Mortoun Tower, is mentioned in 1607.²⁶ He was perhaps ancestor of the Armstrongs of Sark. About 1640 William Armstrong of Sark made supplication that he had been outlawed on false evidence. But though the Privy Council found him to be a law-abiding citizen they made him find caution.²⁷ In 1648 William Armstrong, son of William Armstrong of Sark, figured on a list of mosstroopers.²⁸ The tomb of the elder

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I., 180.

²⁰ *S.A.P.*, IV., 393-5.

²¹ *Maxwell Inventory*, 344.

²² *R.P.C.*, XIV., 458.

²³ *R.P.C.*, XII., 621.

²⁴ *Annandale Book*, I., xxxiii.

²⁵ *S.A.P.*, IV., 393-5.

²⁶ *R.P.C.*, VIII., 2nd series, 292.

²⁷ *R.P.C.*, VI., 2nd series, 355.

²⁸ *Scotts of Buccleuch*, II., 288.

William, who married Janet Johnstone, is still to be seen at Kirkbankhead, dated 1658.²⁹

(7) Ringan or Ninian Armstrong.

Francis Armstrong, called of Kinmont, first appears in 1607 as in Monbiehirst, when he was charged to find law-burrows.³⁰ He served on an assize in June, 1616.³¹ In 1623 he was cautioner for John Armstrong of Woodhouselees, and again the same year for James Johnstone of Brackensyde.³² If he was still in Munbihirst in 1623, he had 5 sheep stolen from him,³³ but the year before he was tenant of Nowleck, acting as cautioner for David Johnstone in Reid-hall. He was dead by 1633.³⁴ The following issue has been noted :

- (1) William Armstrong of Creive, of whom hereafter.
- (2) John Armstrong, son to the late Francis Armstrong of Kinmont, received a crown remission for theft in 1633.³⁵ He may be the John Armstrong of Parknow who with his brother George raided Northumberland but was pursued and slain in the Debateable Land, but was avenged by the Kinmont family in 1645.³⁶
- (3) Francis, who with his brother George was declared fugitive in 1637,³⁷ having fled to Ireland.^{37a} He was tried at a Justice Court at Dumfries in 1642.³⁸
- (4) Gavin who with his brother Francis and that father were fined £20 for assaulting Andro and Thomas Little in Rig in 1623.³⁹

²⁹ *D. and G. Trans.*, 1912-13, p. 101. An engraving is given in "Border Exploits."

³⁰ *R.P.C.*, 2nd series, VIII., 292.

³¹ *Pitcairn*, III., 296.

³² *R.P.C.*, XIV., 699.

³³ *R.P.C.*, XIV., 700.

³⁴ *R.P.C.*, XIV., 689.

³⁵ *R.M.S.*, 1620-33, 2262.

³⁶ *Scotts of Buccleuch*, I., 305.

³⁷ *R.P.C.*, 2nd series, VI., 408.

^{37a} *Scotts of Buccleuch*, II., 353.

³⁸ *R.P.C.*, 2nd series, VII., 351.

³⁹ *R.P.C.*, XIII., 251 and 274.

- (5) Alexander who in 1622 entered a Graham on the panel.⁴⁰
- (6) George, above-mentioned, may perhaps be identified with George Armstrong of Dykraw and Whyttleside, who with Francie of Kinmont was reported in 1633 to hold no lands possess by Buccleuch. They were to be charged with resetting stolen mares, and George was in prison awaiting trial.⁴¹
- (7) Christopher, tried and acquitted in 1611.⁴²

William Armstrong of Creive was the eldest son of Francis called of Kinmont, and obtained disposition from Holmains on 31st May, 1610, of those lands.⁴³ In June, 1616, along with his father and several kinsmen, he served on an assize, where he is described as in Grystaill.⁴⁴ William and his brother Alexander Armstrong "called of Kinmount" were appointed as additional assistants to the Earl of Buccleuch in maintaining order on the Borders in 1622.⁴⁵

John Armstrong succeeded his father in the estate and in 1662 as heretor of Creive and "now in Peddiehill" was contesting a march dispute with his neighbour of Winterhopehead anent the marches of Creive, Glaisters and Newlands, all in Tundergarth parish. The process which refers to other Armstrongs mentions William Armstrong as brother of Creive.⁴⁶ John Armstrong obtained in 1669 another charter from Holmains of the same lands on payment of 800 merks, borrowed by the superior, which shows that the original grant, now missing, was in the nature of a wadset. Infefment followed in November, 1675.⁴⁷ In 1670 he married Agnes Johnstone, whom he infeft five years later in an annuity of £100 Scots. The marriage contract was dated at Lyme-

⁴⁰ *R.P.C.*, XIV., 688 and 675.

⁴¹ *Scotts of Buccleuch*, II., 353.

⁴² *R.P.C.*, IX., 713.

⁴³ *MS. Memorial*, penes R. C. Reid. He was infeft on 8th November, Robert Philp being notary.

⁴⁴ *Pitcairn*, III, 296.

⁴⁵ *R.P.C.*, XIII., 17.

⁴⁶ *Mackenzie Decrees*, vol. III., 1662, July 17.

⁴⁷ *Dumfries Reg. Sas.*, 2nd series, II., p. 39.

church, 19th February, 1670.⁴⁸ He is stated to have died in 1680, his son selling the lands to John Rae prior to 1731.⁴⁹ This son must also have been a John Armstrong, for in 1752 a decret of the Lords of Council and Session shows that he was alive in 1723 though dead by the later date. He died without issue, but his three sisters were retoured his heirs. They were: Agnes Armstrong, married to David Edgar in Riddings; Jean Armstrong, wife of William Johnstone in Barngleish; and Margaret Armstrong, married to the father of Richard Graham (d. by 1752) of Milntown, Cumberland.⁵⁰ The estate seems to have passed from Rae to Wm. Elliot, writer in Edinburgh, who had sasine on charter of adjudication in 1765 wherein are mentioned (1) David Edgar, mariner, eldest son of David Edgar in Riddings, son of Agnes, (2) James Johnstone, eldest son of Deceast John Johnston, son of Jean, and (3) Walter Graham of Milntoun, eldest son of Richard Graham of Milntoun, who was eldest son of William Graham of Milntoun and Margaret Armstrong, spouses.⁵¹ Thus the direct male descent from Kinmont Willie died out, but is no doubt carried on to the present day by the descendants of some younger son.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, II., p. 118.

⁴⁹ *MS. Memorial for Holmains*, June 1731. Rae had been infeft, but his right contested by Reduction at the instance of the granter's heirs. Rae was infeft in 1723, and in the disposition John Armstrong of Creive is described as grandson of Wm. Armstrong of Creive (*Dumfries Reg. Sas.*, 21st Nov., 1723).

⁵⁰ *Mackenzie Decreets*, vol. 458, 6th February, 1751, and 14th January, 1752.

⁵¹ *Dumfries Reg. Sas.*, 2nd series, XIX., p. 382.

An Old Dumfries Diary.

By R. A. GRIERSON.

Mr E. A. Hornel while gathering together his wonderful collection of local books came into possession of a Diary written by a Dumfries man, and containing daily and detailed entries each day during the year 1794. Mr Hornel was good enough to give me the Diary to read, and now, by his favour, I am allowed to tell you something about it. Diaries are not easy to write about. He who essays to write about a Diary is often in the difficulty that the narrative is extraordinarily dull. It is a chronicle of small beer, and if it is anything more than that and deals with national events it ceases to become a diary and is something of a history. But a Diary like the one we are speaking of, dull and uninteresting as it may be, has a great value, as showing exactly how a good class merchant of the 18th century spent his days. The year in which the Diary is written is an interesting one, as Burns was by that time a settled burghess of Dumfries, and a consideration of it may help one to understand something of the social conditions which surrounded Burns and no doubt affected his life and conduct.

The Diary is in a neat little volume which, after 138 years, is still in quite good condition, and the writing is legible. A curious thing is that, while the volume appears to be very complete, there is no trace whatever either upon or within its covers of the identity of the diarist. He apparently had something to do with the grocery trade, but there seemed to be nothing to give a clue to his name. Then one day not long ago Mr Shirley was good enough to give me a reprint of parts of the Diary of William Grierson. William Grierson was, as many of you know, a draper in Dumfries, and a citizen of credit and renown. Our diarist, I had noticed, went very frequently for walks with William Grierson. With Grierson's Diary in my hands it occurred to me to look there at various dates and compare them with similar entries in our Diary. I find that, on several occa-

sions, that when our diarist says he went a walk to a particular place with William Grierson, William Grierson records in his Diary that he went a walk to the same place with J. Allan, junior. I am quite satisfied from that and evidences which I have since found in the Register of Sasines that the diarist is J. Allan, junior, and he was of the family which used to own Fountainbleau on the Lockerbie Road.

We will begin by looking at the entries for the first six days, and then for clearness I shall attempt some sort of classification.

The 1st of January seems to have been a very poor affair. "Wednesday, 1st. Rose eight—nothing but the common course of business through the day. Got a present of a Waistcoat and a pair of Breeches from Mr Menzies, the man we get the Herrings from.—Bed half after ten. A very foggy day."

There are no less than 205 days in the year on which he had nothing more exciting than this to record. The waistcoat and the pair of breeches indeed make it stand out from the other days of this kind. Very often the entry is "Rose eight—Bed ten—a very foggy day."

But the 2nd of January seems to have been better—a good deal better. "Thursday, 2nd January. Rose eight—nothing but the common course of business until half after nine o'clock, when I went to a meeting of the owners of the Sloop Grocers in John Murdoch's, when I found J. Gracie, Robt. Halliday, Jas. Nicholson, John M'George, Senr., Will Kennedy, Robt. M'Conochie, A. Langcake from Carlisle, and my father—how much better would it be to part with one or two single glasses than to encounter the noise and confusion of repeated bowls. We parted at half after eleven, when the most of them were better than half seas over—a little Foggy to-day."

On the 3rd of January he had the pleasure of witnessing one of the exciting events of these days—a public funeral—and the satisfaction of moralising upon it. He says: "Rose eight—Mr Langcake breakfasted with us. When my father

paid him his Acctt. he gave me five shillings. Provost Robt. Maxwell, who died on Saturday, was buried to-day at twelve, at which time the great Bell in the Mid Steeple tolled. This was the man who made such a figure in the famed Pyet v. Caw dispute in . Although he once ruled over this town with uncontrolled sway, he will soon, very soon, be as if he had never been—Bed ten—a Cloudy day with Rain the evening.”

One of the chief excitements which kept life from entire stagnation was the great dispute between the Town Council and the community, on the subject of the election of the minister to the New Church. Dr. Mutter, who had been long minister of St. Michael's, which the diarist always calls the Old Church, had died, and his funeral sermon was preached on Sunday, 5th January, in the Old Church by Mr Duncan of Lochrutton. Next Monday the diarist heard that Dr. Burnside had got the presentation to the Old Church. Then the trouble began. The entry for 7th January is “Tuesday, 7th. Rose eight—The Town Council having Recd. a letter granting them a liberty to recommend a minister for the New Church—When Mr McMorine of Caerlavrock was proposed by the Provost—Which coming to the ears of the public raised a general murmur of disapprobation—This evening part of the trades met to deliberate upon what was to be done, & tomorrow the rest are to meet—Bed after ten—a Cloudy day.” On the 8th of January there were further proceedings: “Rose eight—The rest of the trades met this morning, and agreed unanimously in rejecting Mr McMorine, and agreed on the contrary to assist Mr Sibbald of Johnstone all in their power, for which purpose they wrote to the Duke of Queensberry to intercede in favour of Mr S—. I am sure the Magistrates were in a sad taking, for every person was reprobating their folly.—Bed ten—a Cloudy day with showers in the evening.”

On the 11th of January we are told: “There was a meeting of the Community at large this evening at Six o'clock in the Old Assembly Room to take into consideration the propriety of petitioning the Magistrates to allow them to

choose a Minister for the New Church—The letter which was sent about requesting the meeting being anonymous no person stepped forward to point out the cause of the meeting—but they nevertheless proceeded to business, and elected a Committee to draw up the petition.” The holding of public meetings was very uncommon in these days. Indeed the calling of one to protest against the action of those in authority or to further some political cause was sometimes rather dangerous. Hence probably the precaution of calling this meeting anonymously. On Monday, the 13th: “The Community Committee on Saturday finding that the Provost was at Blackwood, sent a message to him yesterday; and he came to town to-day and held a Council, when he refused the petition and animadverted severely upon the conduct of the Trades, but gave his word of honour that as soon as the minds of the people should be sufficiently quieted he would allow them their choice.” On the 17th: “The Trades got an answer to their letter from the Duke of Queensberry, with assurance of his interest in favours of Mr Sibbald, and expresses his happiness in their having chosen such a man, which has irritated the Magistrates very much.” On the 24th of January the diarist had rather an exciting day. He attended a funeral at Kirkmahoe. Dr. Mundell drank tea with him when he heard that Mr Goldie of Shaws had died, and then he says: “This day the Convener of the Trades & one of the Bailies, both members of the Town Council, went through the inhabitants to day to collect the sense of the people with respect to a Minister for the New Church—When they found the inhabitants unanimous in favour of Mr Sibbald.” Nothing more happens until the 31st, but evidently the Magistrates had got the worst of it, for that day the Councillors and Magistrates sent the Convener and the Bailies to offer Mr Sibbald the New Church, but they cautiously kept to the old stipend, £106. The reverend gentleman entertained his visitors well, and then gave them a letter refusing the acceptance unless they would give him the new stipend, £140. On the 3rd of February the Magistrates agreed to give the £140

to Mr Sibbald. He seems to have been something of a humorist, for after watching all the agitation run its course, allowing the poor Magistrates to be humiliated—to say nothing of the unfortunate Mr M'Morrine of Caerlaverock—and the community vastly excited, he refused the appointment owing to the state of his health. Ultimately Mr Scott was inducted to the church.

The diarist does not seem to have been a very prolific correspondent, and he apparently mentions in the Diary every letter he writes, and sometimes records them in full. There are only six letters altogether during that year. His chief correspondent is Dr. Mundell, and the letters to him are important chiefly because of what the Diary says about the young men of the town and the idea of forming a literary society. Here we find the only reference which the diarist makes to Robert Burns.

The diarist was a member of the Library Committee, and he attended the meetings regularly. He wanted to have a Literary Society established in the town, for in writing to Dr. Mundell he says: "You never when here mentioned anything about the Literary Society, but it is an Institution I have long wished to see established in this place. The only difficulty which ever occurred to me was the fickleness of most of the young men in this place. Their expectations are generally too sanguine, and unless it was possible for them at once to arrive at the height of perfection, it never will do with them.—They have not perseverance enough in their nature to surmount but very small difficulties.—If a few select friends should think of forming a Literary Society upon the plan, the outlines you have in your letter suggested to me—I should assist them as much as is in my power. I should be happy if you at your own convenience would communicate to me a full copy of your plan and likewise a hint of what number would be proper for to begin the Society. I could wish by all means that they were steady people for one cannot think of entering into an affair of this kind without some prospect of its continuation and utility.—I understand there is a Society of this kind talked of among

the literate of this place, but as to the progress and continuation of it, and likewise the objects they may have in view, I shall leave you to judge after naming the Projectors, Mr Riddell of Carse, Dr. Copland, Mr Burns, etc." On the 17th of March he again writes Dr. Mundell: "Your idea of the Literary Society perfectly coincides with, it only wants to be set on foot, as I am sure with proper management it may be productive of both profit and pleasure to ourselves.—Messrs Riddell & Co. Society is never begun yet, indeed, I have now some doubts that it will turn out as sev. other of their projected plans."

The record of the diarist's Sundays takes up a large part of the Diary. He seems during the year to have missed the Church only thrice in the morning, once without any reason. He never seems to have missed the afternoon or evening services. He carefully records all the texts and his opinion on the sermons, and tells who the minister was. One Sunday, therefore, is very much like another so far as Church is concerned, but let us see what more secular things happened on the Sunday. On most Sundays he has a walk on the Dock, very often with George Chrystie, whom I know to have been a baker in town. The only special point I have ever been able to find about Chrystie was that he was fined by the committee of the Volunteers for being in a convivial condition on parade. But he may have been a very good man for all that. In fact there is an indication that respectable citizens had, according to the habits of the time, lapses now and again.

On the 19th of January the Breadalbane Fencibles went to the Church in the afternoon "for the first time since they arrived here, the Church was very throng." On the 26th of January the point of excitement is: "The storm yesterday has done considerable damage, has broke a vast number of trees through by the middle, & overturned more, etc.;" and on the 2nd of February he went to the head of the Dock to see "the devastation that the flood had made yesterday." He had a little social excitement on this day, for he drank tea with Miss Gordon, but he prudently adds, "my

father and mother were there." On Sunday, the 9th of February: "Church eleven—The Minister being long of coming and kept the people standing about the Church gates a quarter of an hour after the usual time—a lecture on the whole 24th Chap. of Psalms." On Sunday, the 23rd of March, the sermon was a little spicy, as it was delivered by Mr M'Morrine of Caerlaverock, who, it will be remembered, was the choice of the Magistrates and the rejected by the people, who preferred the elusive Mr Sibbald of Johnstone. The sermon was, our diarist says, evidently "a piece of oblique railery against the inhabitants for not having chosen him their minister." There was no Sunday event of notice for a long time unless it be on the 20th of April, when "Mr John Yorkston, Minister of Morton, baptised three children in masterly manner." There is a very long series of uneventful Sabbaths until the 23rd of November: "Church two — a Sermon on Deuteronomy, 32nd Chapter and 29th Verse—Which was divided into the four following heads: 1st. That the longest period of life is but short. 2nd. The time of our departure unknown to us. 3rd. The change we are to undergo. 4th. Our introduction into a new and unknown state. The 4th Head he left out of his sermon altogether—by Mr Mudie from Edinburgh the man our Magistrates intend as minister to the New Church—I shall say nothing more of him, but he is a weak brother indeed."

All our Diarist's time, however, was not occupied with ecclesiastical affairs or literary societies. He was a man of some education, and he could read and write French. His French he uses when he records certain piquant adventures of the kind which makes the diary of the great Mr Pepys such lively reading. He had, for instance, one night at the Globe Inn. In recording this he has an outbreak of French which wisely clouds the narrative, but he emerges into plain English again, and says that he got home at two a.m., and adds—"for shame." He was not at church next morning, and gives some rather too realistic details of his condition, but he performed his devotions in the afternoon and evening.

To do our diarist justice, the incidents which require the use of French are few, and I will not presume to translate them, but they indicate an occasional sharp and striking departure from the diarist's ordinary highly respectable way of life.

Our diarist had, in spite of all the dullness of the days in the course of the year, one great adventure, when he set forth by the Martinton Ford for a journey to Edinburgh and Glasgow. He had in his possession when he started £87 1s. He went by road to Glasgow, across by Falkirk to Edinburgh, and back by Moffat. He started on the 14th of May, and got home on the 26th. He records his travels at great length, and includes a note of everything which he paid on the road, but there is nothing of any special interest. He did business as he went. It is curious in our times to think of a merchant's visit to these cities taking twelve days.

It would be a pity, perhaps, to leave out the love interest, though there is a sad lack of romance about our diarist's cautious wooing of Miss Frazer. We find several incidental mentions of the lady earlier in the Diary, sufficiently often to awake our suspicion. Then on the 4th of May, Sunday, he "walked with Mrs Gracie and Miss Frazer a little way—a great pity such a fine girl as Miss Frazer should be spoiled with having so much intercourse with her friend Mrs Gracie." After the 4th of May, when he objected to Mrs Gracie, he was away on his journey to the two cities, and apparently on his return allowed three days to pass before communicating with the lady. On the 29th of May he called at 7 p.m., but does not seem to have made much progress, as he later had a walk with William Grierson down to the foot of the Dock. Nothing more occurred until 16th of June, when he had a tea party, at which Miss Frazer was present, and he "set Miss Frazer home." On the 3rd of July he set Miss Frazer home from the middle of the Dock, again alas! accompanied by the obnoxious Mrs Gracie. On the 13th of July he drank tea with her. On the 25th of July he was a dashing fellow,

and called on Miss Frazer at 10 in the morning. Again a long pause till in September, when he "conducted Miss Frazer home from the sale in the Trades Hall." Perhaps it was the fault of Mrs Gracie, but it is the 8th of December before Miss Frazer again appears: "Conducted Miss Frazer home at 8 o'clock and stayed with her until half after nine." That hour and a half is no doubt accountable for the entry on 10th December: "Gave Miss Frazer's maid a ticket for the play and promised to spend the evening with her, but did not." On the 21st of December he had a walk with her, but had George Chrystie in attendance. On the 23rd of December he conducted her home at five and called on her again at seven. He drank tea with her on the 28th, and there unfortunately the love story of this 18th century Lochinvar finishes, for that year any way.

Life was relieved by occasional entertainments. In February Mr Saunders from the circus of Glasgow opened the theatre here for stent rope and slack rope balancing and tumbling: "Rose eight—Went to the Theatre to see Mr Saunders' performance—his performance equalled, if not excelled, anything I ever saw even at Saddlers Wells. Upon the tight rope he balanced himself in a chair with a Table before him with wine and glasses upon it—on the Slack Wire he balanced several things with uncommon address—on the Stage he balanced a hind Coach Wheel shoed with iron upon his chin a peacock feather in a curious manner, and for tumbling, his men were admirably expert.—An accident happened which shortened our diversion—as one of the men was making a leap over a candlestick about eight or ten feet high the board from which he took the spring broke, and he and the Candlestick fell to the ground, which hurt him very much.—Bed eleven—a constant showery day." On 5th November there was an exhibition in the Trades Hall of a lady with no feet nor hands. "Went to see an Italian woman in the Trades Hall. She has neither hands nor legs, and sews and spins with a Distaff in a curious manner—she is about three feet high—paid 2d." On the 29th of November he went to the play where there was

acted "West Indian" and "The Farce of the Irishman in London." A crowded house and very well performed.

Almost daily he went a walk—most often down the Dock or up by Nunholm with Will Grierson or George Chrystie, or a William Smith. In the summer the walks took them to Cherrytrees which appears to have been in vogue for strawberries and cream.

The circuit courts provided a certain amount of thrill with their processions, now almost extinct, of judges and counsel and their trials which were then, much more than now, really matters of life and death. There are two circuits mentioned in the diary but there is nothing of interest about the trials.

In one sense I have to apologise for this paper which appears to be made up mainly of trivialities. The Diary does, however, make clear to us the difference between these days and ours. Here we have a man of good education mixing with people in good burghal social station, with literary tastes, and yet in his closely detailed story of his life for that year, there are 205 days in which nothing happens at all. There are only three mentions of anything of the nature of entertainments and even the literary society seems never to have come to fruition. When we compare with our own wealth of entertainment and opportunity for innocent enjoyment with our well lit streets and our daily newspapers and our wireless sets we can understand more easily how much the tavern must have been a boon in these days of oil lanterns and cobble stones. How natural it would be for men who wanted some outlet for their *joie de vivre* to lapse occasionally into what we should consider not very respectable pleasures. It does, as I suggested before, make an atmosphere in which we may consider the life of Robert Burns in the town, and in any event it makes us think that, in spite of all the pessimists say about us, we live in better times than they did in the "good old days."

A Corn Bin.

By J. M'CARGO.

Before a railway penetrated Galloway the inhabitants were somewhat primitive in their agricultural and domestic operations. For instance, few people will know what a real corn bin is. The prevailing idea is that a corn bin is a big box or oak chest for holding feed corn for horses. That is not so. A corn bin is a corn bin. Long ago in Wigtownshire it was customary to fill their barns with unthrashed corn sheaves, and a flailer was engaged for a portion of the winter, and sometimes nearly the whole of the winter, to thrash the whole of the crop. When the flailer was hindered in operation by too much loose corn on the floor, a bin was made to clear the barn floor so as to allow freedom to continue operations. A real corn bin then was made up in this wise. A ring of unthrashed or sometimes "gloyed" sheaves was laid in a corner or other out of the way place, butts of the sheaves outwards. The size of the foundation ring was determined by the amount of loose corn to bin, the thrasher having a good idea as to the size the first ring should be, and when laid in position loose corn was then poured into the ring of sheaves until it spread and well covered the binding straps of the sheaves. Then another ring was placed or built on top of the first ring, but a little "in" in circumference, and more corn poured into the second ring until the corn well covered the binding of the second row, and this operation was repeated until the bin was finished, when in shape it resembled a hay rick, and remained in the bin till further operations were gone through for milling and other purposes. This was the real and original corn bin.

Among crofters and small farmers in the days when the corn bin was in vogue the barns had two doors opposite each other, so as to create a strong current of air for the purpose of winnowing, or cleaning, the thrashed corn. It was not everybody that possessed a pair of "fanners," a machine for winnowing corn. When the wind was unfavour-

able for getting the use of the barn to do the winnowing, the operation was carried on outside provided the weather was dry and a fair wind. A piece of ground was prepared for the purpose, and sheets spread. One man or woman operated the riddle, and was served by another hand with corn from the "bin." By the circular movement of the riddle and the wind the corn was separated from the chaff, which was blown to the side. The same operation was repeated so as to make sure that the grain was free from chaff or other material, but the second operation was done with a smaller meshed riddle. It was then bushelled and put into 6 bushel sacks either for storing for seed, feeding purposes, or milling. The "gloyed" sheaves that were often used in building up a corn bin were ultimately used for thatching purposes. "Gloying" was the term used to imply sheaves of corn thrashed without unloosing the binding straps.

Note on an Earthwork at Enoch.

By J. SHIELDS and R. C. REID.

There must still be a great number of unrecorded earthworks in our district. The Historical Monuments Commission recorded all that had been previously noted and a number of new ones which their investigators found, but there must still be more in the unpopulated uplands awaiting identification by the local worker. A parish such as Durisdeer should offer some scope for the activities of a local antiquary.

This earthwork has long been known to a few within the parish, and the attention of the Society was drawn to it in the spring of 1931. That autumn, guided by Mr J. Shields, who in boyhood had often played upon the site, a small party, including Mr James Flett and his son—to the latter of whom the Society is indebted for the attached plan—visited the site and made a survey of the earthwork.

High up on the east bank of the Collium Burn some

200 yards above the bridge that carries the Edinburgh Road across it, and lying behind the row of cottages, one of which was the former manse of the parish, stands a roughly rectangular enclosure covering $3\frac{1}{2}$ sq. roods, with its longest axis running north and south some 300 feet in length. At its widest its width is 150 feet. The west side of the earthwork follows the lip of the steep bank of the burn, and a stone dyke marks the line of the mound. Some vestiges of a ditch outside the mound are to be seen, but for the most part the line of the western ditch is now used as a footpath. On the inner side of the dyke along its whole length has run an old track that can be followed northwards for some distance through some woods. This track, which would appear to be of later date than the earthwork and may be a mediæval track leading down the burn side to Enoch Castle, cuts through the northern and southern ends of the earthwork, leaving a gap at each end. Another gap in the north-east corner has been made in modern times. There is less certainty about the gap in the south-east corner, where for obvious defensive reasons entrances are rarely to be found. This wide gap and the divergence of the ditch at this spot would rather indicate a recent alteration for the purposes of cropping. As far as can be conjectured the earthwork originally only had one entrance, still well preserved in the southern face. The mound here is seen at its best. Any ditch that lay outside it has been obliterated by cultivation. The dimensions of the ditch can best be seen outside the east mound, where cultivation has not interfered with it. Its preservation is due to its conversion to drainage purposes.¹

The mound or rampart is best preserved on the south side, where it is 3 feet high by as much as 20 feet wide. Elsewhere it is only about 2 feet high. The average width of the ditch is about 16 feet.

¹ An additional feature of the earthwork is a trench that runs from the south-western corner down the steep bank of the burn. It is now used as the outflow of a field drain, but has been obviously constructed for some other purpose.

Locally this earthwork has been attributed to the Romans, and the track through it has consequently become a Roman road. But we have no reason for expecting a Roman road here, and the earthwork has none of the characteristics of a Roman camp. It seems more likely that we have here a post-Roman structure through which a mediæval track has been carried. It is believed that the old road from the Waalpath to Thornhill crossed the Collium Burn a little further north, where the banks are not so precipitous and where some vestiges of a bridge are stated still to be seen. From this bridge² the track passed southwards through a field known as the Sandyflat on the west side of that burn, passing through or by the steading of Holestane farm, being joined just west of the bridge by another track leading towards the Kirkleys Fort on the Longknowe, about half a mile north of Enoch, perhaps extending thence to Enterkin Pass.

When in the 13th century Enoch Castle was erected, this track following the hard ground on the eastern edge of the Collium Burn southwards from the bridge may have come into existence as a link between the castle and the old Thornhill-Durisdeer route, and with the disappearance of that castle and its 17th century successor have been no longer used, become overgrown and forgotten. But to the question who trod it, and for how long, no answer will ever be given.

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To two other local items attention may here be drawn. At the south-west corner of the site of Enoch Castle the Collium Burn has at some distant period been dammed up to form a protective lakelet. The burn has here cut its way through the sandstone rock, the sides of which bear clear indications of artificially cut slots to hold the baulks of timber that formed the dam. The texture of the rock is not particularly good here. The flow of water has cut its way down and deepened the bed, leaving the dam slots high up

² Where once stood the hamlet of High Enoch.

on the banks above the present bed. It would appear, too, that above the dam an immense amount of rock has been cut away to widen the lakelet, being perhaps utilised in the building of the castle.

The other site is one to which the attention of this Society might well be directed. At Enterkinfoot, on high ground above the mill and on the north bank of the Enterkin, is another earthwork that has not been recorded. It is hoped to visit and describe this next year.

25th March, 1932.

Chairman—MR M. H. M'KERROW.

A Drumlánrig Estate Book, 1740-1745.

By R. C. REID.

My attention has recently been drawn to an estate account book of the Duke of Queensberry and Dover. It covers the period 1740-5, and though it stops short of the outbreak of the Rebellion it gives a good idea of how a great estate was administered at that time. It does not contain a rental of holdings, their tenants, names, and rents, though some particulars at least for the barony of Sanquhar are provided by the names of tenants whose rents are in arrear. It consists really of the accounts of the various Chamberlains and agents submitted to the Duke's Commissioners, and the following selection from them throws some light on local institutions, persons, and prices.

Lack of transport and slowness of communications made the organisation of the estates far more cumbersome than it is to-day. Where now one Chamberlain suffices, no less than five Chamberlains and one agent were employed in the administration. These Chamberlains do not seem to have had any particular qualifications such as are required to-day. They were just small lairds who had the Ducal confidence and were no doubt very glad of the fee. Sanquhar and Kirkconnell district had been in charge of Wm. Carruthers of Wormanbie, who was dead by 1742, when James Fergus-

son, younger of Craigdarroch, advocate, was appointed. The baronies of Ross and Torthorwald with the sparse-lands were administered by Wm. Johnston of Bearholm, succeeded in 1741 by James Maxwell, younger of Barncleuch. The baronies of Mouswald and Middlebie, etc., were looked after by John Irving, younger of Bonshaw, for whom Robert Irving, writer in Edinburgh, acted in 1744, whilst Drumlanrig, Tibbers, etc., were presided over by Wm. Dalrymple of Watersyde. In addition to these four, there was a Chamberlain to look after the farm and multure meal, a sort of super farm manager, in the person of one Wm. Lorimer. The lead mines at Wanlockhead were in charge of the celebrated Mr Peter Rae, who demitted the office of agent there in 1740 in favour of his son, Mr James Rae, with whom David Stoddart was for a while associated as joint agent. James Rae's fee was at first £20 per annum, which later was raised to £30. Coal is only mentioned once or twice; it was not regularly worked, and can have produced no revenue. The lead mines were leased to "the governor and company for smelting lead," whose representative was Alex. Telfer. The tack duty consisted of a sixth of the output. The latter in 1740-1 amounted to 57,077 stones 14 pounds of lead. The Duke's share was 11,578 stones, which were smelted for him by the company at a cost of £12 17s, the lead being sold to Captain Hugh Clerk, merchant in Edinburgh, at 1s 10d a stone.

The rents of the estate, with some slight yearly variation, amounted to £6906 14s 10d.

Huge arrears of rent are recorded, one case going back as far as 1706. This Sanquhar barony and the adjacent lands of Kirkconnel brought in a rental of £2532 os 1½d, and recorded arrears of £2466 10s 11d. No attempt seems to have been made to write off these arrears, and there is no record—as there must have been little prospect—of their ingathering. Each Chamberlain kept a separate account, which was rendered in May at Drumlanrig to the Duke's Commissioners, the Hon. Patrick Boyle of Shewalton and

Sir John Clerk of Pennycuik. At Edinburgh was the Receiver-General, Thomas Goldie, W.S., who was succeeded by his son, Alexander Goldie, writer in Edinburgh. To him the Chamberlains made quarterly payments of rents, retaining enough to meet current expenses. The Receiver-General also rendered his account to the Commissioners, and his accounts record all compositions for charters and precepts of Clare constat. There were only 16 such entries during the period of this volume.

From the miscellaneous payments can be recovered the names of a number of schoolmasters, parish functionaries very difficult to trace:—

Sanquhar—William M'George, 1743.

Kirkconnell—John Crinzean, succeeded in 1743 by Wm. Lockhart.

Garrel and Kirkmichael—James Buchanan.

Tynron—James Hunter.

Torthorwald—Richard Wilson.

Dornock—James Irving.

Durisdear—James Scott.

Penpont—Adam Menzies, demits office 4 Dec., 1743; John Hunter, 1744.

Morton—John Marshall, removed on 24 May, 1742; Mr Andrew Greggan from 13 Feb., 1745.

Hoddam—John Ruddack, d. by 1744, when his relict, Elizabeth Somerville, gave discharge for his salary.

Drysdale—Wm. Johnston, "late schoolmaster," 1740; Joseph Richardson, "late schoolmaster," 1743; succeeded by William Johnston, 1743.

Of the matters referred to in these accounts, the chief interest attached to the buildings and improvements being carried on. The agent's house at Wanlockhead must have been commenced before these accounts, for two items, representing £46 13s and £61 5s, cannot possibly have covered it even if a final item of £72 1s 7d in settlement be added, for the trenching of the garden alone cost £5. Besides, we know from these accounts that the Town House at Sanquhar cost the Duke £540 1s 11d, and that it was supplied with an oak cupboard, a weather cock, and two gilded globes provided by Wm. Adam, the architect, at a further cost of £13 11s 6d. A great deal of building and re-

novation was done to the churches and manses, Closeburn Kirk being re-built and the pulpit of Kirkconnel embellished, whilst the minister of Penpont got a new manse. The churches were provided with seats, that in Glencairn for the Duke's use costing £4. A good deal, too, was spent at Drumlanrig, new roads being made in the Park, new vistas planted up, and a fish pond formed and stocked with carp. Several kirkyards, like that at Mouswald, were enclosed with dykes. Road making was not confined to the home parks, for one was made from Wanlockhead to Nith down Mennock Water at a cost of less than £43. It can only have been a mere cart track. Yet it must have been used by the Duke's agent there, who had stabling erected for eight horses, and cannot have liked the old track down Enterkin.

Woods and forests was a department actively employed. There are numerous references to dykes being erected around the stools of trees recently cut or blown, and special fees were paid to skilled pruners. Easily the largest class on the pay list was that of foresters, who were specially numerous in the vicinity of Drumlanrig. His Grace must have been a good master, for many items refer to pensions and gratuities to those in his service, and to charity he must have given his full share. In Durisdeer it must have been specially needed, three long lists of the poor there on his pay roll figuring in these accounts.

The accounts are scarcely detailed enough to throw light on the cost of articles of every-day life, but there are the usual references to the stocking of the wine cellar. Extra supplies were laid in when his Grace was to stay at Drumlanrig, and when he departed all the unused groceries and drinks were disposed of. A hogghead of small beer holding 14 gallons was sold for 25s, six dozen bottles of strong beer fetching 2d a bottle, whilst the butler, Peter M'Cormick, retained no less than 13 dozen for his own consumption.

Practically no farming was attempted by his Grace, even the corn for the deer and the doves at Sanquhar being

purchased. Four bullocks, it is true, were bought from that famous breeder, Patrick Heron of Heron, at the price of £8 8s a-piece, perhaps for fattening and salting, but one wonders how they compared with the two bullocks bought from Wm. Dalzell for £2 5s 6d each to be fattened at Drumlanrig. They must have been exceedingly thin.

ACCOUNTS.

	£	s.	d.
To Peter M'Cormick, butler, 56 stones of meal for the use of the house of Drumlanrig when his Grace's commissioners were there in April and May, 1740	37	6	0
To John Mason, baker, for 149 stones 8 lbs. do. when their Graces were there July, Aug., and Sept., 1740	99	13	4
To John Hills, wright, one boll meal as his constant allowance for upholding the timber works of the carts and quarry tools p.a. ...	13	6	8
To Samuel Douglas, woodforrester, of the woods of Scaurwater, Artland, and Cordarding, $\frac{1}{2}$ boll as constant salary... ..	6	13	4
To Mary Douglas, daughter to Artland, as her allowance	26	13	4
To James Paxton, merch ^t , and Wm. Henderson, smith, and Robert Gibson, wright, and John Mein, mason, for materials and work rectifying the weights for the meal in Ecclefechan mercat	0	6	3
To Wm. Herries of Haldykes for prosecuting division of commonty of Drysdale before Lords of Session	5	9	8
To Wm. Irving, land measurer, for dividing the toun of Mouswald meadows into 5 portions in terms of settlement, 1740	3	0	0
To expenses of entertaining him, surveyors, and valuator	8	2	11
To James Johnston, one of the woodforresters of Mouswald Barony, his salary	1	2	2
To Robert Carruthers, the other ditto there ...	1	2	2
Rec. from Alex. Telfer, tacksman, of part of mines at Wanlockhead, the price of the little wood below Scarbridge and up Shinnell Water ...	53	0	8
To Mrs Jamieson, candlemaker, for candles sent to Drumlanrig whilst his Grace was there April-Aug., 1740	13	5	2

	£	s.	d.
By bill paid in Crown Tavern (Edin.) at meeting of his Grace's commissioners	1	9	6
To Mr Alex. Kincard, bookseller and printer, for paper, quills and ink for Drumlanrig	2	14	3
To Wm. M'Murdo, brewer in Dumfries, for ale furnished to his Grace at Drumlanrig Oct.-Nov., 1740	72	16	8
To collector for indigent Episcopal clergy and widows in Scotland	10	0	0
To Mr George Barclay, his Grace's late governor, as annuity	100	0	0
To Thomas Mein, mason, for going to Sanquhar and measuring hewn work of stairs and pavement of Council house and Clerk's Chamber	0	6	6
To Thomas Lawrie, mason, for leading stones from the quarry to said Town House and for slaiting same	15	10	1
To Thomas and George Laurie and James M'Call for building thereof	38	14	6
To James Rae, his Grace's agent, and Wm. Black, mason, for building dwelling-house for his Grace's agent at Wanlockhead	36	3	0
In further payment	10	10	0
To Robert Milligan at Crawickmylne for slaiting same	4	3	4
To Andrew M'Crae, limer at Craigshields, for 19 loads lime for same	0	8	8
To Andrew M'Crae, limer, for a month's work for self and servant making trial for limestone at Auchengraith	4	4	0
To Wm. Menzies for building and thatching the office houses of Durisdeer Manse	3	4	6
To James M'Call and George Laurie, masons, for buying timber, nails, lime, glass, etc., and repairing the House of Blackady	9	3	5
To James and John Duff, fidlers, for attendance at Drumlanrig for year 1741	2	0	0
To George Lorimer and John M'Call for 2 acres one rood and 7 falls of growing corn for feeding the deers in Sanquhar Park	5	8	11
To George Lorimer for corn for the use of the Doves	1	8	0
To Mr Wm. Douglas of Fingland, overseer of woods and master of the game in barony of Drumlanrig	20	0	0
To David Low, gardener at Drumlanrig, his allowance	150	0	0

	£	s.	d.
To George Lorimer for keeping the deer at Sanquhar	3	6	8
To James Lorimer, coppersmith in Dumfries, for tinning the copperwork at Drumlanrig ...	2	6	0
To Mr Thomas Wilson, factor appointed by the Presbytery for contracting to build Closeburn Church, a third part of his Grace's proportion	27	11	1
To sundry workmen, 1 March-1 June, 1741, making the court before the front of Drumlanrig and levelling a part of the great avenue there ...	32	0	10
To ditto for work at the avenues and planting three new vistas in the Bridge knows	26	9	6
To Andrew Hyslop and James Ker, senior, for wages in harvest and in burning charcoal for the use of the House of Drumlanrig	1	8	7
To John Tait, dyker, for raising and leading stones and building 59 roods of snap dyke at 1/6 a rood	4	8	6
To James Lorimer for salmon trout and green geese supplied when their Graces were at Drumlanrig in May and June, 1741	3	2	6
To Patrick Heron of Heron for 4 bullocks bought by James Ewart	33	12	0
To Lady Maxwell of Springkell for subsistence of Mrs Wood, sister to dec. Capt. James Menzies of Enoch	5	0	0
To Blind Thomas Blacklock, the Rhymer, half a guinea	0	10	6
To David Low, gardener, for 18 brace of carp fish brought from England	4	8	6
To John Dargavell, groom at Drumlanrig, as fee...	9	2	6
To Robert Rae in Cleugh[brae] as his Grace's proportion of building a dyke about the church yearld of Mouswald	0	18	7
To John Kirkpatrick in Gamerig and John Pater-son in Haughhead, tenants of Ross barony, for leading stones to repair Kirkmichael church in 1732	9	5	0
To John Johnston in Upper Garrel for putting up a seat in Kirkmichael church	0	13	6
By Wm. Carlyle of Braidkirk for precept of Clare Constat, 10 Nov., 1740	4	8	10
do. James Murray of Glenstewan for charter of resignation of £5 land of Inqlistoun	30	0	0
do. Wm. Blair in Glenstoken for charter of resigna-tion of 40/- lands of Newlands	6	13	4

	£	s.	d.
To Helen Reid, dau. to dec. David Reid, sometime chamberlain to his Grace's father and grandfather, in charity	4	4	0
To Margaret Burne the price of a fine sewed Bed and quilt bought by my lady Dutchess...	31	18	0
To the Trades of Dumfries for the maintenance of their poor	50	0	0
To entertaining the Magistrates of Dumfries on 31st Oct., my Lord Drumlanrig's birthday, at Mrs Scott's Tavern in Dumfries	4	13	6
A year's rent of coalieri, 1 March, 1742/3 (<i>charge</i>)	7	15	0
To Mr Thomas Wilson, factor to heretors of Closeburn, for making 16 seats in his Grace's share of said church	12	0	0
To Alex. Rae for making two large twisted iron stays with flowered scrolls, for supporting the head of the pulpit of Kirkeconnel Kirk, 1743...	3	0	0
To Wm. Adam, architect in Edinburgh, for oak cupboard for Town House of Sanquhar a weather cock and 2 copper globes, and gilding same for above	13	11	6
To Alex. Telfer, lesee of mines at Wanlockhead, 600 coal carriages at 7d a load allowed to him	65	12	6
To James Simpson in Holestane for defraying funeral charges of Lancelot Turnbull, late woodforrester, and alimnet for widow and daughters	5	0	0
To David Low, gardener, for 8 brace of carp from Corbie Castle	1	1	0
To Edward Vernon, surveyor, 10/6 a week whilst employed on estate, 6 May, 1742-21 Ap., 1743	26	5	0
By deduction of 10/- as the rent of that part of Garelands great House in Sanquhar called the France House, waste that year	0	10	0
To Robert Stewart, dyker, for quarrying stones and building 90 roods of snap dyke round woods cut by Earl of Hopetoun in Auchengibbert	15	0	0
To Wm. Luckup, smith in Thornhill, the price of a lock for the Tolbooth there	1	0	0
To Mr John Collow, minister of Penpont, £100 sterling agreed to be paid for building a manse	100	0	0

To workmen for levelling the North Avenue at Drumlanrig and making a fish pond on the east side thereof	£ s. d.
To Abigail Menzies, sister to deceased Captain James Menzies of Enoch, annually	18 9 6
To Wm. Hunter, merch ^t in Penpont, for 40 pints of spirits supplied for the house of Drumlanrig	4 0 0
To Elizabeth Fuller, rélict of Andrew Ross, surgeon at Lag, for repairs in the house possessed by Ross gratis	2 5 0
To Charles Mercer, mathematician, as his Grace's half of straitening the march on Tinwald between the Duke and Mr Areskine	0 10 6
To rent of the coaling on Blackadie... ..	7 15 0
By price of five wild nolt sold out of the Plantations at Drumlanrig	11 1 0
The price of 12 doz. empty bottles sold	0 18 0
Half the price of an old ash tree on march betwixt Kirkconnell glebe and Abraham Crichton's lands of Kirkland	0 12 6
To Wm. Douglas, miner, in part payment of work in searching for a lead mine in the hill of Enterkine	3 10 0
To Charles Campbell, mason, for harling and pointing 28 roods and 19 yds. of the manse, church, and school at Kirkconnell	3 11 3
To making a new road from North Avenue fronting on Drumlanrig to the Bridge	45 3 11
To John Black, gardiner, for trenching ground laid out for Mr James Rae's garden at Wanlockhead and planting thorn hedge round the same	5 0 0
To Robert Alexander, wright, for building a seat for his Grace in Glencairn Kirk... ..	4 0 0
To the minister of Kirkconnel for the use of Helen Howat, orphan daughter to late Janet Pater-son, tenant in Knockenjig, whose whole effects were seized for arrears (? of rent)	2 0 9
To two hogshds of strong claret sent to Drumlanrig	63 6 6
James Bain, gardener, for 18,300 firs and cost of shipping thereof at Leith	9 10 0
for 4 doz. and 8 bottles of claret to Drumlanrig and two hogsheads of strong claret, Nov., 1742	53 13 6

	£	s.	d.
To John Goldie of Craigmuir for 3 weeks employed in putting in order the Records of the Sheriff Court of Dumfries (which at the death of the late Clerk were left in great disorder) and making Inventory thereof and delivering all papers to present clerk and for searching for lands holden in Vassaladge	21	0	0
To expenses of Decreet of Cognition v. heirs of John Carruthers of fourteen acres for payment of his debt, and infeftment of his Grace in the lands	26	4	6
Proportion of expense of Building a School House in parish of Drysdale	5	7	10
To Walter Bell, tenant in Newk for summoning witnesses anent marches between Newk and Braes	0	7	6
Deduct arrears owing by heirs of Carruthers of Fourteen acres in adjudication against his small estate.			
To Wm. Lukup, smith, and Robert Porteous, mason, for putting iron clasps into the Cross at Thornhill	0	18	10
To Mrs Margaret Menzies, dau. of dec. Capt. James Menzies, p.a.	10	0	0
To Mr James Rae in full of expense (beside timber) of building a sufficient stable for 8 horses at Wanlockhead	12	0	0
To Robert Dalziel in Todholes for leading stones and building dyke about the churchyard of Kirkconnel	9	7	6
To John Corrie, workman at Drumlanrig, for maintenance of his family and paying surgeons for curing his leg accidentally cut by an axe while at work	1	0	0
To Edward Vernon, surveyor on the estate, appointed by the Duke, 10/6 a week as fee for 18 weeks	9	9	0
To Wm. Cassilis, surgeon in Sanquhar, for medicines for Edward Vernon	0	16	0
To John Williamson, merch in Sanquhar, for making a suit of cloathes for Ed. Vernon ...	1	13	1
To Edward Vernon, travelling expenses back to England	8	17	0
To ditto to relieve a silver watch which he had pledged	3	13	0
To Mr John Laurie, preacher at Wanlockhead, for pastoral duties there, Whit., 1743/4 ...	5	0	0

	£	s.	d.
To Betty Crinzean, daughter to John C., late schoolmaster at Kirkconnell, $\frac{1}{2}$ year's salary of her father as paid by Duke	1	7	9
To Mr James Rae, agent at Wanlockhead, salary	30	0	0
To James Orr, his Grace's Regality Clerk, salary	16	13	4
To Thomas M'Nish, gardener at Drumcreiff, for pruning young woods on Moffat and Evan Waters	2	0	0
To additional rent of that Mailing in Mouswald-toun called Beyond the Burn, set intack to John Gillespie, 1745	4	0	3
By a year's rent of the customs of Ecclefechan employed in fencing the Rivulet which runs through the toun and building a bridge across the same on petition of the inhabitants ...	4	17	0
To Wm. Carruthers of Hardrigs for cost of half the march dyke between Howthat, which he is enclosing, and Pantath	2	17	6
To Wm. Johnston of Granton for numbering and estimating his Grace's woods in Mouswald Barony to be sold	5	5	0
To Kathrine Hamilton, relict of James Carruthers in Roberthill, sometime his Grace's Chamberlain, p.a.	10	0	0
To Alex. Rae, clockmaker, for cleaning and mending the clocks at Drumlanrig, 1744/5 ...	1	0	6
To James Tennant for a parcel of nails from the Smithfield Factory at Glasgow	2	8	10
To Mr James Rae and Wm. Black, mason, for all claims for building the house at Wanlockhead, 1745	72	1	7
To James M'Call, mason and wright, for work on Deer Parks and Deerhouse, and for making a Litter for carrying Fingland (when sick) from Edinburgh, which was afterwards given to the parish of Sanquhar	2	4	4
To Robert Milligan and Andrew Fleming as ballance of £10 sterling for repairing various churches and the Dovecoat at Sanquhar ...	3	15	0
To sundry workmen for making his Grace's half of a cart road from Wanlockhead down Mennock Water to Nith... ..	21	8	2
To James Hairstens for keeping in order the Court House at Thornhill	0	5	0
To Thomas Cleugh, wright, for putting up a partition betwixt Durisdeer Church and the apartment adjoining thereto, and altering some seats in the church	2	19	6

To John Saunderson, clockmaker, for cleaning the great clock at Drumlanrig	£ s. d.
	0 5 0
To Ninian M'Cenrick for furnishing straw and thatching the schoolhouse of Kirkconnell ...	2 8 8
To Mrs Baird at Biggar for 7 stone 4 lb. of cheese	2 3 6
To Wm. Dalzell for 2 bullocks bought in Nov., 1745, to be fattened at Drumlanrig	4 11 0

RENTS.

Barony of Sanquhar	£1593 9 10
Lands in parish of Kirkbryde	436 1 7
Durisdeer	443 13 4
Closeburn (Gubhill and Drumfadrean)	11 19 8
Tynron	35 2 2
Nether Farding (Sanquhar) was occupied by Mr Peter Rae.	
Payments for building Town House of Sanquhar	540 1 11
Dwelling house at Wan- lockhead	61 5 0
Strong beer disposed of	
By Peter M'Cormick, butler, to himself 13 doz. at 2/-	1 6 0
To Janet Crichton, 6 doz. bott. at 2/-	0 12 0
Sinal beer	
One hogshead containing 14 gallons	4 5 0
Birnskie and Blackgill—John Bell	8 5 0
Setthorne—Chamberlain	58 6 8
Woodhead—John Bell	12 0 0
Etc.	
Mouswaldtoun—except that part set to Robert Carruthers called Beyond the Burn	111 7 6
Boddom	21 8 0
Ironhirst	11 5 4
Barronhill	31 5 1
Cleughbrae Miln and Lands... ..	6 1 10
Barony of Ross	347 2 2
The sparselands at head of Annandale (Lochhouse and Thornick)	361 15 1
Torthorwald, including Rokalhead, Carthat, and Drumbeg	449 18 0
Penmertie—John Hairstanes.	
Beuchan—James Wauch and Wm. Hairstanes.	
The Rental of Barony of Mouswald was	257 16 6

	£	s.	d.
Lands on Middlebie	130	2	10
Entry money of tenants computed at one-ninth of rent was additional till their room was set in tack.			
1740—John Irving in Mouswaldtoun		8	10
Christopher Irving there		7	11
James Adie there		7	7
James Irving there		12	/-
David Dickson, elder, there		7	1
David Irving there		12	11
John Goldie's widow there		7	1
Isobel Edgar there		12	9
James Dickson there		7	11
John Carruthers, tenant of Brockelhurst, Flaxfield, and Mouswald Mains	6	10	3
1740—Wm. Bell, tenant of Scotsbrig and Gate- land	1	17	8
Entry money in full.			
Pantathill—John Wilkine	36	6	8
Broxlehirst and Flaxfield—John Carruthers	84	0	0
Woodhead—George Bell	4	10	0
Newk—Sibella and John Bell	4	0	0
Dykestoun—James Johnston	59	4	9

CHARTERS.

Per Receiver General, Alex. Goldie, 1744.

To Viscount Stormont—of Torduff, Stocks, and Wyllies.			
Wm. Collow of Auchenchain—of Auchenchain ...	30	Ap.,	1743
Wm. Collow of Auchenchain—Craigneston.			
Wm. Smith—Cormilligan	30	Ap.,	1743
Ninian Hair—Carco	25	July,	1743
Mary Johnston, precept C.C.—Part of Ershag,			
		5 and 13	Aug., 1743
James Corson—Part of Dalquhat	23	Ap.,	44
Robert Bell—Part of Dalquhat	28	Ap.,	44
John Smith—Glenjarvin	28	Ap.,	44
Benjamin Bell, £25 6s, Mains of Blackethous	30	Ap.,	44
Gilbert Grierson—Merwhern	2	May,	44
Walter Carruthers } Wm. Blacklock } £14 8s 10d—Portioners of Wester Ershag			
James Douglas (£22 15s 6d), of Dornock.			
Wm. Carlyle, pre. C.C., Bridekirk	10	Nov.,	1740
James Murray, ch. of resignation, Glentewan ...	2	June,	1741
Wm. Blair in Glenstoken, ch. of resignation, 40/- lands of Newlands	1	July,	1741

Post-Reformation Ministers of Sanquhar.

By the Rev. WM. M'MILLAN, M.A., Ph.D.

The Crichtons and Catholicism.

For the first fifty years or thereby after the Reformation the position of the Reformed ministers was rather unsatisfactory. Previous to that event there had been in Sanquhar a rector, a vicar, and several chaplains. The rector held the Church lands and also drew the whole of the teinds of the parish. The vicar had a salary of twenty merks paid annually by the rector, and had also the occupancy of certain fields known as the vicar's lands. The chaplains were provided for by separate endowments, and so far as is known all these endowments were alienated from the Church, some before and some after 1560. The Convention of the Scottish Estates which considered the First Book of Discipline in 1561 decided that the clergy of the Roman Church should be allowed to retain their livings, provided that they maintained Reformed ministers in their respective districts. Hence, despite the great change made in 1560, the rector of Sanquhar continued in office until his death in 1571; and he had at least four successors who were also styled rector or parson, all of whom continued to draw the revenues attached to the rectory, though there is little evidence that any of them performed the duties which possession of the benefice demanded. In order to avoid confusion we will deal with rectors, vicars, readers, and ministers separately.

Rectors.

The Rector of Sanquhar at the time of the Reformation was Robert Crichton, and, as has been said, he continued to hold the office until his death in January, 1571. As has been stated in a former paper,¹ he got into trouble with the authorities in 1563 for celebrating Mass in Sanquhar Kirk, and was for a short time imprisoned in Perth. It is difficult to say to what extent he had the support of his parishioners in this

¹ *Transactions*, 21st November, 1924.

matter. Robert Lord Crichton² was one of the Lords who signed the First Book of Discipline, which had been drawn up by Knox and other leading Reformers. John Crichton of Ryehill sat in the Convention of 1560 which confirmed the Scots Confession of Faith.³ (He was the uncle of Robert 6th and Edward 7th Lords Crichton, and is styled tutor of Sanquhar.) The above Edward Lord Sanquhar and Alexander Crichton of Carco signed the Reformed Articles of 1567;⁴ while the then Laird of Eliock, Mr Robert Crichton, Lord Advocate of Scotland, 1562-1582, was also a supporter of the Reformed Church.⁵ These things appear to indicate that the prevailing sentiment was Protestant.

Robert, 8th Lord Crichton (son of Lord Edward), it is true, became a strong supporter of the Roman Church; and according to Mr Tom Wilson⁶ he had been "brought up in the (Roman) Catholic faith by his uncle, William Crichton," also styled Tutor of Sanquhar, under whose guardianship he was. Mr Wilson gives no authority for his statement, and it is impossible to accept it in face of known facts. As a young man, Robert, Lord Crichton, was in communion with the Reformed Church of Scotland, and sat in at least one General Assembly,⁷ to which he would not have been commissioned had he been known to hold Roman views. He conformed to Rome⁸ after a tour in Europe, 1590-1594, and it seems certain that it was when he was on the Continent at that period that he became a Roman Catholic. There is absolutely no evidence that William Crichton, who was his guardian, was in any way favourable to the Church of Rome,

² Knox, *History of the Reformation* (Wodrow Society), II., 258. The editor states that it was Edward Lord Crichton who signed. He is, however, in error. The signature is simply "Sanquhar." Robert 6th Lord Sanquhar died in 1561, and was succeeded by his brother Edward.

³ Balfour Paul, *Scottish Peerage*, III.

⁴ Calderwood, *History*, II., 382-3.

⁵ Douglas Crichton, *The Admirable Crichton*, 8-9.

⁶ *Annals of Sanquhar*, 48.

⁷ See *Infra*.

⁸ See *Infra*.

and his (William's) son, who became 9th Lord Sanquhar, was one of the Assize which condemned Ogilvie the Jesuit in Glasgow in 1615.⁹ James Crichton, better known as the "Admirable," son of the Laird of Eliock, conformed to Rome while still in his 'teens,¹⁰ but by that time he had left the district.

It has been suggested that his father became a Protestant not from conviction, but "out of personal interest,"¹¹ but of this there is no evidence. The only thing which suggests that there was any considerable section of the folks of Sanquhar who preferred the Roman to the Reformed Church is that the rector should have thought it his duty to defy the law and celebrate Mass in the Parish Church. But even the rector must have conformed to the new régime, outwardly at least, for in 1567 he was "Collectour for the King"¹² for the South of Scotland, a position he could hardly have held if he had been an active opponent of the Reformation.

Immediately after the death of Robert Crichton, rector, we find that John Lawrence was presented to the parsonage by Annabel Stewart, the daughter of the Regent Moray.¹³ Edward Lord Crichton had died in 1569, and the ward of his lands had been granted to that lady.¹⁴ Edward, as we have seen, sided with the Protestant party, and his signature is on the warrant for the imprisoning of Queen Mary in Loch Leven Castle.¹⁵ In 1567 he was one of the Scottish Lords who wrote to Queen Elizabeth regarding the death of Darnley, and asking her help in the "godly quarrel" against

⁹ Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*.

¹⁰ Douglas Crichton, *The Admirable Crichton*, 8.

¹¹ Douglas Crichton, *The Admirable Crichton*, 9. Marion Crichton, half-sister to the "Admirable," married a parish minister, George Graeme of Cluny, afterwards Bishop of Dunblane (*Scot. Hist. Soc. Misc.*, II., 232).

¹² *Privy Council Register*, I., 610.

¹³ *Fasti Ecclesie Scoticanæ*, II., 324. Unless otherwise mentioned, the new edition is quoted throughout.

¹⁴ Balfour Paul, *Scottish Peerage*, III.

¹⁵ D. Hay Fleming, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 467.

Queen Mary.¹⁶ He was also for some time on the Council of the Regent Moray,¹⁷ but along with his kinsman, the Laird of Eliock, he changed over and fought for the Queen at Langside; and it was in his house that she rested the first night after that battle.¹⁸ In 1568 Moray led an army into Nithsdale and took possession of Sanquhar Castle. As a further punishment he seized Lord Crichton's lands, though shortly afterwards we find them in the family again. In all probability Lawrence, who was presented to the vicarage, as well as to the parsonage, would only draw the stipends, if indeed he even did so much as that.

Whatever was his exact relationship to the benefice, he could not have held office long, for in 1572 William Crichton is mentioned as Rector of Sanquhar and Prebendary of Glasgow.¹⁹ Doubtless he was a member of the local ruling family, but practically nothing is known regarding him. He must have ceased to hold office by 1576, for in that year we find in the Privy Council Records²⁰ that "Mr James Blackwood, parson of Sanquhar," is one of those who were acting as cautioners for William Crichton,²¹ Tutor of Sanquhar, that neither he nor his servants would harm Robert Dalzell of that Ilk, then resident at Eliock. In the same year Blackwood himself is granted protection by the King against Will Crichton, probably his predecessor in office.²²

¹⁶ *Calendar of State Papers*, I., 249.

¹⁷ *Privy Council Register*, XIV., 22.

¹⁸ Strickland, *Queens of Scotland*; Wilson, *Annals of Sanquhar*, 46.

¹⁹ *Glasgow Diocesan Records; Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ* (New Edition), II., 324.

²⁰ *Register Privy Council*, II., 538.

²¹ Complaint was made by Robert Dalzell and others the same year that William Crichton with some of his followers had "in the toun of Sanquhar in the moneth of October last bipast stoppit thame to cum to the Kirke of Sanquhair." No penalty seems to have followed (*Register Privy Council*, II., 594). William Crichton, Tutor of Sanquhar, was a son of William, 5th Lord Crichton and a brother of Robert and Edward, 6th and 7th Lords Crichton.

²² *Register Privy Council*, II., 711.

The following year he had to appear before the General Assembly on account of his having two benefices. The minute referring to the matter read thus: "James Blackwood being accused that he brukit two benefices, viz., the Parsonage of Sanquhar and the Vicarage of Saline, yet serves not at ane of the kirks, the Assemblie, after some reasoning, found that he should demit ane of the said benefices, and appointed him the morn to advise and resolve which of them he would resign." At the next day's session the matter came up again: "Anent the resolution to be given be James Blackwood, Persoun of Sanquhar, to the determination of the Assemblie given yesterday. The said James being present resolved and declared that for fear of his life, he dar not resort to Sanchar to discharge his cure there, and always he should serve at Sauling quhil (until) he gets security of Sanchar. In the meantime, matters being uncertain, humbly prayed the Assemblie that he were not compelled to resign any of them. That answer being considered be the said Assemblie they ordained to him to travell at the Kirk of Sawling, till next General Assemblie, if he may not securely exercise his office at Sanchar, and in the meantime that John Fouller support the Kirk of Sanchar upon his (Blackwood's) costs: Always providing that the said James insist diligently be the laws of the realme to get possession of his benefice at Sanchar; and shew his diligence thereupon betwixt and next General Assemblie, and ordains the Commissioner of the County to admonish the Tutor of Sanquhar (William Crichton, uncle of Robert Lord Crichton) to make no impediment or trouble the said James in using his office and serving the cure at Sanquhar, under the paine of the censures of the Kirke to be usit against him if he disobey.'²³

Despite the efforts of the Assembly, Blackwood does not appear to have taken any steps to serve the cure of Sanquhar, for the same year it is noted in an account of the Chapter of Glasgow, that it consists of "XXXII. channonries or Prebendaries foundat upoun distincte and severall benefices," of

²³ *Book of the Universal Kirk* (Bannatyne Club), I., 386-7.

which the parsonage of Sanquhar was one. The record goes on to say, "off the presente possessouris of the benefices onlie sex are enterit in the functione of the Ministrie," and the possessor of Sanquhar was not one of the six.²⁴ In the Assembly of November, 1577, Blackwood was dealt with for celebrating the marriage betwixt the "Commendatore of Dunfermling and his wife (Euphame Murray, widow of Robert Stewart of Rosyth), without testimoniall of the Minister of the Parish, where they mak residence." He was found guilty, and the Assembly decerned that he should suffer the penalties of "the Act made the 27th day of December, 1565, viz., deprivation from his office and losse of his stipend, to be inflicted upon him and other paines, as the Generall Assemblie sall thereafter think meete to be injoined."²⁵

In 1578, as rector of Sanquhar, he sold to Margaret Crichton, her heirs and assignees, the "Forty shilling lands of old extent in Blackadye," in the Barony of Sanquhar, having the consent of Robert Lord Sanquhar, patron of the rectory, to do so. Robert Lord Crichton was a boy of ten years of age at the time, so that the transaction must have been carried out by his uncle, William Crichton, Tutor of Sanquhar, who was his curator. The purchaser was a sister of the patron, and when she died unmarried the lands fell into his hands. The whole transaction shows that neither patrons nor churchmen had much scruple in despoiling the Church of her properties. The Manse, its garden and four acres of land adjoining, were exempted from the sale "according to Act of Parliament." The Charter of sale was confirmed by the King on the 4th August, 1578.²⁶

In 1582 "James Blakwod, Persoun of Sanquhar," was a member of the Chapter of Glasgow, when that body was summoned before the Council to answer for not having elected the Archbishop of Glasgow as His Majesty had desired them

²⁴ *Glasgow Diocesan Records.*

²⁵ Calderwood, *History of the Church of Scotland* (Wodrow Society), III., 386.

²⁶ *Register of the Great Seal*, 13th February, 1580-81.

to do. Seven members of the Chapter appeared, but Blackwood was not among them. The Council decided that as the Chapter had not done its duty the right of appointment had fallen to the King,²⁷ who proceeded to appoint Robert Montgomery to the See.²⁸ This is the last we know of Blackwood, so far as Sanquhar is concerned. The Assembly, after his deposition from Saline, had tried to get him removed from his benefice, but without success. The Assembly²⁹ of 1578 ordered its Commissioners to make him—among others—demit his office at Saline “betwixt and next Assembly.” Two years later³⁰ a resolution was passed by the Assembly that he was to be summoned before the members of the “Exercise of Edinburgh,” to answer for his “usurpation of the Ministrie after his lawfull depositions.” In spite of such dealings, Blackwood continued in office,³¹ for in 1584 “James Blakwood, minister of Sawling, James Blakwod, his son,” and five others were accused to the King’s Council “for the allegit tressounable raising of fyer and birning of the houssis of Nether Kinneddar in the moneth of Junii laste bipast.”³² The Council ordered that they should be tried by an assize, but there is no evidence that any trial took place. It seems probable, however, that he had to vacate his office after this, for in 1590 his name appears in a list of “abusers of the

²⁷ *Register of the Privy Council*, III., 475.

²⁸ Montgomery had been appointed without the Chapter being consulted in 1581; but his appointment was challenged by the General Assembly. Hence the reason why the matter was brought before the Council. Montgomery, who was minister at Stirling, was to hand over the revenues of the See (about £4080) in return for a stipend of £1000, the remainder going to enrich the Duke of Lennox, who held the patronage of the Kingdom at that time (Cunningham, *Church History*, I., 363-4).

²⁹ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, II., 424.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 465.

³¹ *Register of the Privy Council*, III., 677.

³² Kinneddar House is in the parish of Saline. A recent tenant was that well-known son of Nithsdale, Sir Kennedy Dalziel, the distinguished surgeon.

Sacraments benorthe the Forthe." He is there described as " sometime minister at Sauline."³³

The next person to be designated rector of Sanquhar, so far as we know, was Robert Ranken. On 29th December, 1608, John, Archbishop of Glasgow, gave a Tack of the Teinds of the parsonage of Glasgow to James, Master of Blantyre.³⁴ The Tack is signed not only by the Archbishop but the members of the Chapter, and among the signatures is that of Mr Robert Ranken, " Persoun of Sanquhar." This is the only notice, so far as is known of this incumbent; and as there was a minister in full charge at Sanquhar at this date the probability is that he was simply a " stipend-lifter." As he is designated " Mr " he must have been a University graduate and may have been a minister, but it may be noted that there is not a single minister of this name mentioned in the whole of the *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*.

Vicars.

The Vicar of Sanquhar at the time of the Reformation was John Young, and like the rector he continued to hold his office, but unlike the latter he openly joined himself to the Reformed party, and became Reader, conducting the Reformed services in the Kirk where he had formerly conducted them according to the Roman ritual.³⁵ It may appear strange to us that so many ex-priests should have been so willing to acquiesce in the ways of the Reformers, but there is reason to believe that the changes did not seem so drastic to them as they seem to us. The great alteration in the worship was, of course, the change from Latin to the " mother tongue " of the people; but we know that there were many who had no desire to throw off the allegiance to Rome, but who were desirous of having the Church services in the vernacular. Much of mediæval ritual and practice was carried over into the Reformed Church. The Book of Common Prayer (Anglican) was in regular use in Scotland round about 1560,

³³ *Register of the Privy Council*, XIV., 373.

³⁴ *Glasgow Diocesan Records*. John Macmillan, a later minister, is term Parson of Sanquhar (see *Infra*).

³⁵ *Transactions* (1924-25), 83.

and while it was written in English, it drew very largely on pre-Reformation service books.³⁶ The Book of Common Order (sometimes called John Knox's Liturgy), which formed the manual of worship in the Scottish Kirk, drew largely on a Book of Common Order compiled by Calvin, and that to some extent was also influenced by Roman rites.³⁷ John Young continued as Vicar and Reader for at least fourteen years after the Reformation, though he may have been out of office (or at least deprived of his stipend) for a short time when John Lawrence was presented to the Parsonage and Vicarage in 1571. Young is mentioned in the earliest list of Ministers and Readers of the Reformed Church.³⁸ He was designated Reader, and his stipend is stated to be "XX merkis, etc.," the "etc." probably referring to the Vicar's lands, of which he had possession. In the Register of Ministers for 1574 he is still called Reader, but it is stated that he is paid out of "ye haill vicarage of Sanquhar."³⁹ As Vicar he sold some of the Vicar's lands in that year, having the consent of the Dean and Chapter of Glasgow to do so.⁴⁰

We do not know how long he held office after that, but he was probably dead by 16th April, 1583, when Robert Ballantyne was presented to the Vicarage.⁴¹ He had been Reader for some time before that, possibly owing to Young's infirmity. He may have had to officiate without any regular remuneration until he got the revenues of the Vicarage. This was no uncommon thing in those days. David Ferguson, the first Reformed minister in Dunfermline, stated in 1563 that many ministers had to depend upon "charitable persons" for their living.⁴² There was a family of Ballantyne (or Bannatyne; the name is spelled both ways) who held the lands of

³⁶ M'Millan, *Worship of Scottish Reformed Church*, chap. ii.

³⁷ Maxwell, *John Knox's Genevan Service Book*.

³⁸ Scott, *Fasti*, II., 324.

³⁹ Wodrow Society, *Miscellany*, 389; MS. Register in National Library.

⁴⁰ *Register of the Great Seal*.

⁴¹ Scott, *Fasti*, II., 324.

⁴² *Tracts* (Bannatyne Club), ix.

Glenmaddy, in Sanquhar, in pre-Reformation days.⁴³ The Vicar may have been one of them. It is possible, however, that he belonged to the family of Bannatyne of Kinnadie. In 1602 a complaint was made to the Privy Council by two messengers at arms, who had served a summons on Robert Lord Crichton at Sanquhar. Robert not only threw the summons down and trampled it underfoot; he also "strak and dang" the messengers "with his neefis and feit saying that he carriet not for his majestie, nor his highness autorite and lawis." For this he was to be denounced rebel by the Council. It appears that the summons which was so treated was at the instance of Robert Bannatyne of Kinnadie, who may have been a kinsman of the Vicar.⁴⁴ Ten years earlier (1592) William Bannatyne of Corhouse became security for £500 for Robert Crichton of Ryehill that he would not harm Elizabeth Crichton in Auchentaggart.⁴⁵

Readers.

The First Book of Discipline drawn up by Knox and his friends as a statement of what they considered should be the policy of the Reformed Church in Scotland lays down that where no ministers were to be had the "most apt men" that could read the Scriptures were to be appointed for that purpose.⁴⁶ These "most apt men" were called Readers, their duties being to read the Scriptures to the assembled congregations, and to lead the praise. They were also expected to read the "Common Prayers" in the Book of Common Order or the Book of Common Prayer. They were, however, strictly forbidden to administer the sacraments or to solemnise marriages, though there is ample evidence that they did both. This is not to be wondered at, for very many of these Readers were ex-priests (Baillie says that they all were such),⁴⁷ and naturally they continued to do for their parishioners after 1560 what they had done before that year. Readers were not meant

⁴³ Wilson, *Folklore*, 246.

⁴⁴ *Register Privy Council*, XIV., 397.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Knox, *Works*, II., 195-6.

⁴⁷ *Historical Vindication* (1646), 21.

to be permanent officers of the Church, but they had proved themselves so useful that they were continued long after there was a sufficiency of Ministers to supply all the vacant parishes. A change, however, came over the office. At first there was only one Minister for every four parishes or thereby, and the others had to be attended to by Readers. In such parishes the only services on most days were those conducted by the Readers. When, however, every parish had its Minister and Reader the latter acted as the former's assistant. He was almost always schoolmaster and Session Clerk. His part of the service⁴⁸ lasted for about an hour, and at the close the Minister entered the pulpit and after prayer preached the sermon. In many places at the present day the bell is still rung at the hour of the Reader's service, though the reason for this being done is almost entirely forgotten.⁴⁹ The first Reader at Sanquhar was, as we have seen, John Young, and he was followed in that office by Robert Ballantyne. It is probable that Simon Lowrie, who in 1598 witnesses a Charter of Robert Crichton of Carco, was also a Reader here. He is designated as "Schoolmaster in Sanquhar,"⁵⁰ and as has been said the Schoolmaster and Reader were usually one and the same person at this period. In the original edition of *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ* mention was made of John Blaket, who was said to have been minister here in 1607. This was erroneous, as there is evidence that Robert Hunter was minister then. The entry has been excluded from the new edition. It is possible, however, that Blaket was Reader in that year. We know nothing about him except that he was apparently an Aberdonian. In 1633 Archibald Chisholm, schoolmaster, signs as witness a Bond

⁴⁸ A Description of the Reader's Service, *circa* 1615, written by William Cowper, Bishop of Galloway, 1612-1619, will be found in his *Works*, p. 639.

⁴⁹ In Sanquhar from time immemorial up to about thirty years ago the church bell was rung at 8 a.m. on Sunday morning, this being the hour of the former Reader's Service. In all probability it was also the hour of Mass in pre-Reformation times.

⁵⁰ *Register of the Great Seal*, V., 706.

of Caution by Mr John Macmillan, minister of Sanquhar, and it is probable that in him we have another Reader.⁵¹

Ministers.

The first person to be designated Minister of Sanquhar after the Reformation was John Fullarton or Fouller, who in 1574 is noted as being Minister here, Kirkconnell and Kirkbride being also under his charge.⁵² He was Reader at Kirkconnell in 1568, in which year he seems to have succeeded the last pre-Reformation Vicar, William Blackadder, who had remained on in his charge as first Reformed incumbent. Foularton was presented to the Vicarage of Kirkconnell by James VI. in 1569, and continued to hold it to nearly the end of his life, notwithstanding his appointment to Sanquhar. His salary was £100, of which £80 came from the Vicarage at Kirkconnell, and only £20 from the holders of the teinds of Sanquhar. Out of this he was expected to pay a Reader at Kirkconnell, but in 1574 that office is marked vacant,⁵³ and the probability is that he continued to give service there himself. He was probably one of the Foullartons of Dreghorn in Ayrshire, who were stalwart supporters of the Reformation movement in Scotland, though the exact relationship to the head of that house cannot now be traced.⁵⁴ He married a local lady, Marion Hair of Glenwharry, by whom and a family he was survived. He was a man of some standing among the Reformed clergy, and more than once had important duties laid upon him.

In 1575 the General Assembly appointed " nine of thair lovitt brethren to conveen at 7 houres the morne," and one of the seven was " Johne Fullartoun, Minister of Sanquhar."⁵⁵ The following year he was appointed one of the " Visitors " (who acted as Depute Superintendents) for " Nithisdaill and Annandaill." In 1589 the Privy Council appointed a Com-

⁵¹ *Privy Council Register*, V., 381.

⁵² *Scott, Fasti*, II., 318.

⁵³ *Wodrow Society, Miscellany*, 389.

⁵⁴ See *Infra*.

⁵⁵ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, I., 337.

mission to put the Acts against Jesuits and Seminary Priests into operation, and the Minister of Sanquhar was among the members. One is surprised, considering his later history, to find Lord Sanquhar on the same Commission, he being specially charged to deal with those within the "Sanquhair or Over Part of Nithisdail."⁵⁶ Only a few years were to elapse until he was associating with those against whom the Commission was directed. Lord Sanquhar must, however, have been associated with the Reformed Church at this time, for he was one of the Commissioners to the General Assembly of 1590, being accompanied by James Crichton of Carkeith (Carco).⁵⁷ He went abroad in 1590, applying for an English passport before he did so. His sojourn on the Continent must have led to his change of faith, for in 1594 he is described as an "arch-papist," and as being desirous of coming home through England. In June, 1595, he was at Antwerp with the Jesuits. He was back in Edinburgh on 8th July, 1595, and four days later was subjected to an examination by a Minister on behalf of the Church.⁵⁸ He promised to "satisfy the Kirk, but apparently did not do so, for in 1597 he was to be excommunicated, but the sentence was stayed.

The editors of the new edition of *Fasti Ecclesie Scoticanæ* say that Fullarton was re-translated to Kirkconnell about 1580, but it is much more probable that he never left that charge at all, but continued to hold it along with Sanquhar until his successor was appointed to Kirkconnell in December, 1594. We find his name on several documents of the period. In 1588 he was witness to the will of Robert Crichton in Cairne,⁵⁹ and in the following year he witnessed a notarial instrument regarding James Crichton of Carco,⁶⁰ in both cases being designated as Minister of Kirkconnell.

Fullarton died at Kirkconnel on 28th April, 1595, and from his will we learn a few particulars about him.⁶¹ He

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, II., 756-8.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, II., 766.

⁵⁸ Balfour Paul, *Scots Peerage*.

⁵⁹ Dumfries and Galloway *Notes and Queries*, 322.

⁶⁰ Craigdarroch Papers, *Transactions* (1926-28), 89.

⁶¹ Preserved in Register House, Edinburgh.

does not seem to have been a man of much means, as the total amount left was £256 19s 2d, or about two and a half years' stipend. He nominated as his "executors and chief intromitters," his son William, his wife Marion Hair, and Mr Robert Crichton, "appeirand of Carco." In addition to William he had at least one other son and three daughters, one of whom was named Bessy. He left the Laird of Dreg-horn as "chief overseer to his wife and bairnes." His wife was to have his "Almerie" at the "will of the Laird," and legacies were to be paid to his sons and daughters on the same condition. He would in all probability be buried in the old Churchyard at the foot of Glen Aylmer.

During Fullarton's ministry the General Assembly set up Presbyteries throughout the country.⁶² In 1586 it was "thocht universallie meete that . . . there be orderlie set doun Presbyteries in the places underwritten." These places include "Nithsdaill two (Presbyteries), Dumfries, Sanquhare." At the beginning of the 17th century these two appear to have been regarded as one Presbytery, and when some time after 1627 they were again separated that of Upper Nithsdale was called the Presbytery of Penpont.

During the early years of the Reformed Church there was much confusion with regard to the property of the Church, and a good deal of what was meant for the supply of ordinances found its way into other channels. Among the papers belonging to the Sheriff Court of Dumfries there is a letter sent in 1582 by Adam, Commendator of Cambuskenneth Abbey, who had been appointed by the King as Collector of the thirds of benefices, resting undisposed and unassigned to Ministers and Readers; ordaining that all intromitters with "lands, kirks, teinds, rents, etc.," should make payment to him. Among those specially mentioned in the letter sent to the Sheriff of Dumfries (who was charged to see that the injunctions of the King's officer were carried out) was William Crichton, Tutor of Sanquhar, who was to account for the stipend of Sanquhar, which Fullarton does

⁶² *Book of the Universal Kirk.*

not seem ever to have obtained.⁶³ As the Tutor was acting as Sheriff during the minority of his nephew at that period, there is little likelihood that he exercised much diligence in the matter. The King did not cease his efforts to get the Church revenues restored to the Church, but it was not until 1625 that Charles got the Act of Revocation passed which led to these properties being dealt with. It was only then that the stipends of Ministers were put on a proper basis.

Local records show that quite a lot of Church property was alienated in this district during these troubled years before and after the Reformation. In 1562 Mr William Blackadder gave a tack for five years of certain properties belonging to the benefice (apparently the Manse was included) to James Crichton of Carco.⁶⁴ In 1582 another tack by the same parties is confirmed. In 1622 James Crichton of Carco is retoured "in the Church lands of Kirkconnel with the teinds."⁶⁵ Tenants of Church lands for some reasons seem to have been the object of considerable malice on the part of others who may have thought that they had a right to possession. In 1584 James Lindsay of Fairgirth is security for William Crichton of Libere, for James Lindsay in Auchentaggart, and for Alexander Baillie, son and apparent heir of William Baillie of Bakbie, that "Andro Samsoun and other tenants of the lands of Kirklands in Sanquhar shall be harmless of them."⁶⁶

Robert Hunter, who succeeded Fullarton as Minister of Sanquhar, is described as being "of Cleughhead," a property in the neighbouring parish of Durisdeer. There was a family of the name of Hunter in Drumshinnoch in Morton in the 16th and 17th centuries, and they were connected by marriage with the M'Maths of Dalpeddar, an old Nithsdale family. Another member of the Hunter family was in Ballaggan, and there is a Duncan Hunter in Sanquhar, who

⁶³ Sheriff Court Papers, *Transactions* (1924-25), 203-4.

⁶⁴ Wilson, *Folklore*, 186.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, I., 87.

⁶⁶ *Register of the Privy Council*, III., 700.

witnesses an Instrument of Sasine in 1564.⁶⁷ Our Minister was an alumnus of Edinburgh University, graduating as Master of Arts there in August, 1592. Two years later his name appears on the list of members of "The Exercise" of Edinburgh. "The Exercise" was a weekly meeting of Ministers for exposition of Scripture, and discussion of doctrine, so that Hunter must have been a Minister or at least a Probationer (though the latter term was not in use then) by that time. He was presented to the benefice of Sanquhar by James VI. in December, 1594. Eight years later he was presented by the same monarch to the Vicarage of Kirkbride, where he would be expected to provide a Reader.⁶⁸ In 1597 there was a contract between him and Janet Clark, the widow of Robert Fisher, "Burgess of Sanquhair," in connection with the lands of Roddings.⁶⁹ These lands lie between High Street and Pennylands on the west side of St. Mary's Street, and formed the eastern boundary of the Vicar's lands of Sanquhar, so that probably the contract had something to do with their respective "marches."

Despite his ministerial office, Hunter seems to have done a considerable amount of trading, for in 1602 we find him suing the Laird of Johnstone as surety in an action of caution contravened. Johnstone had given security for £50, the value of three oxen and a cow which the Minister had sold to John Little, in South Woodend.⁷⁰ About the same time he sued John Charteris of Amisfield for £100 for five horses, and £24 for certain clothes and armour for which Charteris was responsible. He won his case against Johnstone, the latter promising to pay the sum sued for. How the action against Charteris finished does not appear. In 1606 he parted with the lands of Cleughhead in the Barony of Tibbers to James, eighth Baron of Drumlanrig. As his wife, Margaret Hamilton, is named along with him in the contract

⁶⁷ Adams, *Douglas of Morton*, 786.

⁶⁸ Scott, *Fasti*, II., 324.

⁶⁹ Dumfries and Galloway *Notes and Queries*, 431.

⁷⁰ *Register of the Privy Council*, VI., 483.

of sale, it is possible that these lands had come into his possession through her.⁷¹

Hunter lived in stormy times, and more than once he had to seek the protection of the law. In 1598 the Laird of Eliock, Sir Robert Dalyell, was bound over in a surety of £100, and his two sons in sureties of 1000 merks and 300 merks respectively, "not to harm Maister Robert Hunter, Minister of Sanquhar." In 1607 Andro Creichtoun in Ulziesyd and William Creichtoun in Hill are sureties for Robert Lord Crichton of Sanquhar, who must have been in this district at that time—about this period he was often in England and on the Continent—that he will not harm Mr Robert Hunter, Minister there. About the same time the said "Andro Creichtoun" is surety for another of the family, viz., "Johne Creichtoun, Notary in Sanquhar," that he will not harm Mr Hunter, "Minister at the Paroch Kirk of Sanquhar." It is only fair to the Notary (who was probably the first Town Clerk of the Burgh) to add that "Mr Robert Hunter at the Paroch Kirk of Sanquhar as principal, and Captain James Hunter, Burgess of Edinburgh, as surety for 1000 merks, enter into an agreement not to harm Johne Creichtoun, Notary in Sanquhar."⁷²

Two years later our Minister received somewhat rough treatment at the hand of George Irvine, of Woodhouse in Annandale.⁷³ He had gone to the Kirk of Kirkpatrick-Fleming at the command of the Archbishop of Glasgow, to make some statement with regard to the teinds of the parish. Irvine, fearing that he was going to be a loser by the threatened interference with the teinds, gathered a band of followers and forbade Hunter to "teach the said day or he sould let him see a sicht whilk sould gar a cauld sweit go ower his hairt." The warning was disregarded, and when the service was over Irvine accosted the Minister, alleging that the latter had done him wrong "afore in the slaying of Johne of Lockerby, and now he was come to rive him of

⁷¹ Ramage, *Drumlanrig and Douglases*.

⁷² *Register of the Privy Council*, VII., 685, 690, 692.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, VIII., 361-2.

his teyndis, but he sould at this tyme pay for all." Irvine's party, which is said to have numbered a hundred or thereby, "all armed with certaine weapons, including hagbuts and pistolets," then chased Hunter and his supporters "a mile from the Kirk wounding some." For this Irvine was committed to ward in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, but he appears to have been liberated after a short imprisonment.

Hunter was a member of the General Assembly of 1602, and along with David Barclay, Minister at Dumfries, and Hew Fullarton, Minister at Kilmarnock (formerly of Dumfries), was appointed to deal with the Abbot of Holywood with regard to providing a proper stipend for the Minister there.⁷⁴ He was also a member of the Assembly of 1610, which paved the way for the introduction of Episcopacy, and so far as the records show seems to have acquiesced in its findings; which is what was to be expected from one who owed so much to King James. How long he remained Minister of Sanquhar after that date we cannot tell, but he died before 1617, in which year his widow, Margaret Hamilton, married Robert Crichton. She survived her first husband about fifty years, dying in 1665. By him she had a daughter, Helen, who married William Farquharson of Heilar.⁷⁵ Provost Hunter of Sanquhar (Provost in 1696-8 and again in 1710) is mentioned as being probably a descendant, so that the Minister may have had one son also.⁷⁶

Robert Hunter was succeeded by William Livingstone, who is mentioned as Minister of Sanquhar in 1617, in which year he was "lytit" for a vacant charge in the city of Edinburgh. This may indicate that he had been some time in Nithsdale, for it is hardly likely that he would be considered for a city charge until he had been for some time a Minister. He graduated as Master of Arts at Edinburgh in 1601. On 6th May, 1617, in the Canongate Church, he

⁷⁴ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, III., 1006.

⁷⁵ Scott, *Fasti*, II., 324-5.

⁷⁶ Wilson, *Annals of Sanquhar*, 160. Lands which are known to have belonged to the Minister were afterwards in the hands of the Provost.

married Barbara, daughter of John Logan, in right of whom he became a Burgess and Guild Brother of the City of Edinburgh.⁷⁷ It was during his incumbency at Sanquhar that King James paid his famous visit to the old burgh in 1617, and it fell to Livingstone to receive him at the "Entry-head" of the town along with the Provost and Council, and the members of the Kirk Session.⁷⁸ The following year the General Assembly met at Perth, when at the desire of the King the "Five Articles of Perth" were agreed upon; much to the regret of the stricter Ministers of the Presbyterian party, who saw in these articles something which to them was of the nature of Popery. Livingstone does not appear to have been a member, but his parishioner and patron, Lord William Crichton, was, and took a somewhat prominent part in the proceedings. He was appointed a member of the "Privy Conference," which acted as a sort of executive for the Assembly.⁷⁹ When the Acts of the Perth Assembly were confirmed by the Scots Parliament in 1621 Lord Sanquhar is noted as one who voted in the affirmative. Nicol Cunningham, who was the member for the Burgh of Sanquhar, also voted for the "Articles." He was for some time Provost of the town.⁸⁰

Livingstone's will (or rather a rough draft of it) is preserved in the Register House, Edinburgh. From it we learn that "he deceased in the moneth of September, 1623 years or thereby." He must have been a comparatively young man when he died, for at the time of his death his children were still "in minority," while his mother, Ishbell Wilkie (or Wilkin), survived him. He was a man of some means, for in addition to leaving his mother an annuity of 100 merks, he left 900

⁷⁷ Scott, *Fasti*, II., 325.

⁷⁸ Wilson, *Annals of Sanquhar*, 100.

⁷⁹ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, III., 1143-1152.

⁸⁰ Calderwood, *History*, VII., 499. Others who voted for the ratification of the "Articles of Perth" were John Corsen, member for Dumfries, and David Miller, member for Annan. The member for Kirkcudbright, David Arnott, voted against the ratification, and there was no representative from Lochmaben.

merks yearly to his wife and children, these sums to be met out of the "annual rent of 1000 merks whilk is in John Wilkin's hands." In addition he left 900 merks to his wife to be used by her at her own pleasure. He left the "rest of his gudes and gear" among his "wyff and bairnes." To her also he left "the pryce of the repairing of the Manse," for in these days Ministers were expected to keep up their own manses. In the event of any of his children dying in minority a third of the legacy to such was to be given to the "pure of Lanerick in a stock to thame to be laid upon land to thair utilitie." The witnesses to the will were "Mr Robert Wilkie, one of the Ministers of Glasgow, Mr James Hamilton, Minister at Lesmahagow, and John Livingstone, brither to the said Mr William." Mr James Hamilton and John Hamilton, "guid brithers" to the deceased, were with his own brothers to "be overseers and faithfull counsellors" to his wife and children. For some reason Livingstone's son, William, was not served heir to his father until 1645. Livingstone seems to have had some connection with Lanark, as is shown by his conditional legacy to the poor there. Robert Wilkie (or Wilkin), mentioned in his will, was the son of William Wilkie, who represented that Burgh in Parliament in the period 1581-1593. He was probably a relative of Livingstone's mother. James Hamilton, the other ministerial witness to the will, was married on Marion Livingstone, the sister of the Sanquhar Minister. Wilkie and Hamilton both belonged to the Episcopal Party in the Church, and we are probably not far wrong in assuming that Livingstone's sympathies lay in the same direction.

Mrs Livingstone did not long remain a widow. On 27th May, 1625, she married George Cleland, Minister of Durisdeer, as his second wife. By her second husband she had three sons, two of whom became Ministers, John at Stow and George at Durisdeer, and two daughters. She survived her first husband fully forty years, dying in 1665. She was related to the Williamsons of Castle Robert now Corsebank in Kirkconnel parish, and her grandson, Robert Cleland, became Laird of that estate in the year of her death.⁸¹

⁸¹ Wilson, *Folklore*, 228.

Lieut.-Col. Cleland, the Covenanting commander of the Cameronian Regiment, who fell at Dunkeld in 1689, is believed to have been a native of Nithsdale. He may have been another grandson of Mrs Cleland.

During Livingstone's incumbency an interesting wedding took place in the Crichton family, William, Master of Sanquhar, being married to Penelope, daughter of Sir Robert Swift, neither of the contracting parties being thirteen years of age.⁸² The marriage was celebrated in St. John's Church, Perth, by Mr John Guthrie, minister there, and no objection seems to have been raised on the score of the ages of the bride and bridegroom. That the marriage had the full consent of the ecclesiastical authorities is shown by a letter of Archbishop Spottiswood, in which the prelate states that he was staying with Lord Crichton at Kinnoul until the wedding festivities were over.

John MacMillan, who graduated as Master of Arts at Edinburgh in July, 1615, is the next Minister of whom we have any record. He is mentioned as Minister here in 1626 in a Charter regarding the sale of some lands by George Gordon of Barskeoch in Galloway.⁸³ He must have been a man of some means, for he subscribed £20 towards the building of the library in the University of Glasgow. He had his share of the troubles of the times, and in 1633 he and Thomas Grierson of Maynes entered into a bond of caution, each for the other not to harm Robert Crichton of Bakquarter of Blacaddie, "nor his wife nor any of his." It is probable that the Robert Crichton mentioned was the person who had married the widow of his predecessor, Robert Hunter. The fact that the Minister had to enter into such a bond did not prevent the authorities from nominating him as a Magistrate. (Thomas Grierson, it may be noted, was also a Magistrate, being Provost of Sanquhar in 1631, and again in 1641. He may have held that office continuously between these two dates.) Justices of the

⁸² *Chronicles of Perth*, 19; Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, I., 501.

⁸³ *Register of the Privy Council*, V., 881.

Peace were appointed for the County of Dumfries in 1634. There were only twenty-one of these in the County, and one of them was the Parson of Sanquhar (John MacMillan). In accepting such an office the Minister was flying in the face of established custom which forbade Clergy taking up magisterial duties. When the Church got power it put an end to such acceptance of office. The General Assembly of 1638 "most unanimously with one voice" declared that it "is both inexpedient and unlawful in this Kirk for Pastors separate unto the Gospell, to brook civil places and offices as to be Justices of Peace."⁸⁴ It is indeed quite possible, not to say probable, that the appointment to this office was made a reason for compelling him to leave Sanquhar, which he must have done between August, 1638, and the middle of 1639 when his successor, George Johnstone, was inducted. As MacMillan was not admitted to his next charge, Balmaclellan, until 1644 it is evident that he must have been "in the wilderness" for some time.⁸⁵

After the Assembly of 1638, many of those who had been favourable to the Episcopal régime were ejected from their benefices, and while there is no evidence of any legal process in his case, in view of the paucity of records that is not to be wondered at. The fact that he had been made a Justice of the Peace shows that he must have been considered a good "Church and State" man; and it is quite on the lines of what we know happened elsewhere that he should be "outed" by those who differed from him, when they got the upper hand. No less than three parishioners of Sanquhar attended the famous Glasgow Assembly. William Lord Sanquhar, created Earl of Dumfries in 1633, was there, as was Lord Dalzell of Eliock. These both sat in the Assembly as Assessors to the King's Commissioner, the Marquis of Hamilton. Their influence, it may be said, was entirely on the side of the King and his party. The third Sanquharian who was a member of the Assembly was

⁸⁴ Peterkin, *Records of the Kirk*, 39.

⁸⁵ Scott, *Fasti*, II., 381.

William Grierson, Bailie in Sanquhar. His name, strangely enough, does not appear among the representatives from Presbyteries but along with two others from Annan and Lochmaben respectively. They, therefore, probably sat as Burgh Elders.⁸⁶ Grierson's name does not appear in the account of the debates in the Assembly, so that if present for any length of time he must have acquiesced in its findings. John MacMillan married Janet MacCulloch, who survived him. They had a son, John, who died in August, 1679, and a daughter, Elizabeth.

George Johnstone, who succeeded MacMillan in the charge, came of a ministerial family, his father being minister, first at Foulden and afterwards at Ancrum. He (the father) was a sufferer during the period of the first Episcopacy, and was deprived of office by the Court of High Commission in 1622 for not conforming to the Perth Articles.⁸⁷ His wife was Elizabeth Crichton, who probably was a connection of some of the local families of that name. George, the Minister of Sanquhar, was their elder son, and he was translated from West Linton, 7th March, 1639. His first charge, so far as can be ascertained, was Westerkirk, where he was Minister in 1625. Nine years later he went to West Linton, and from there, as has been said, he came to Nithsdale.⁸⁸ To his first two parishes he was presented by the King. His stay in Sanquhar was short, for he was translated to the first charge of Kirkwall on 15th June, 1642. Nor did he stay long in Kirkwall, removing after about five years' service there to Orphir, in the Presbytery of Cairston. He was deposed along with a number of other Orkney Ministers by the General Assembly in 1650 for subscribing an address supporting the Marquis of Montrose. He was, however, reponed by the Presbytery in 1658, and was declared capable of accepting a call as well as being

⁸⁶ Peterkin, *Records of the Kirk*, 119, 109.

⁸⁷ Scott, *Fasti*, II., 98. William Johnstone, an uncle of the Sanquhar minister, was a Priest who conformed after the Reformation and became a Reader.

⁸⁸ Scott, *Fasti*, II., 239; I., 298.

authorised to preach in his former church. He died, however, in December of the same year. His possessions, including debts due to him, amounted to the sum of £1229 6s. He was thrice married. First, to Euphan, daughter of David Lindsay, Minister of South Leith. Second, to Katherine Nisbet (died October, 1644), widow of Robert Monteith of Egilsay. Third, to Anna Black, who died 3rd October, 1674.⁸⁹ He left two daughters, Margaret and Elizabeth. Margaret was granted 300 merks and £266 10s Scots out of vacant stipends after the death of her father. An allowance of £100 was made to his widow by the Parliament of 1661 on account of his sufferings through his loyalty.⁹⁰ Scott, in the first edition of the *Fasti*, states that Johnstone was a Commissioner to the famous Glasgow Assembly of 1638. His name does not appear in the printed list of Commissioners, and the statement has not been repeated in the new edition. It is, however, possible that he sympathised with the Covenanted party for the principles of which his father had suffered. He is said to have been a friend of Alexander Henderson, the Moderator of the Glasgow Assembly. This is in no way inconsistent with his later assistance of the Marquis of Montrose, for that nobleman took part in the Assembly as an Elder and did not dissent from its proceedings.

Covenanters' Army.

The next Minister of whom we have any record is John Carmichael, M.A., who is mentioned as having been in charge of Sanquhar and Kirkconnell in 1642.⁹¹ He was a student at Glasgow University, where he graduated in 1639, so that this would probably be his first charge, though it is more likely that he was Minister of Kirkconnell looking after Sanquhar during a prolonged vacancy, than that he should later have left Sanquhar for Kirkconnell. His name appears in a list of Ministers who refused to conform to

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, VII., 221, 249.

⁹⁰ *Register of the Privy Council* (Third Series), I., 701.

⁹¹ Scott, *Fasti*, II., 325.

Prelacy after the Restoration of 1660, and who in consequence were banished from their parishes. In this list he is described as Minister of "Kirkonnald and Sanquhar."⁹² This, however, is not correct, as we know that Adam Sinclair was the Minister who was driven from Sanquhar at that time, he having been admitted to the Benefice some time before 25th January, 1650. Carmichael could not at the very most have been in charge of Sanquhar for more than eight years.

In 1642 James Crichton, Bailie of the Barony of Sanquhar, was appointed to apprehend Papists, so that he must have conformed to the new régime in things ecclesiastical.⁹³ He was the son of the Earl of Dumfries, 9th Lord Crichton, and though that nobleman had sold his lands in Sanquhar to the Douglasses of Queensberry, his son must have been continued in office by the new proprietor. John Crichton, another son of the 9th Lord, became a Colonel in the army of Gustavus Adolphus,⁹⁴ the "Lion of the North and the Bulwark of the Protestant Faith."

It was during Carmichael's incumbency that the Covenanters raised an army to assist the English Parliament in its struggle with the King. The Earl of Queensberry joined the Covenanters, being a member of their Committee for Nithsdale in 1644. He soon, however, changed to the royalist side, and was taken prisoner when on his way to join Montrose after the battle of Kilsyth. In 1646 Sir John Brown of Fordell, with a troop of Covenanting horse, attacked Sanquhar Castle and carried off a considerable amount of plenishing and money. In 1661 the Earl estimated his loss through Fordell's action at £30,000.⁹⁵ In 1647 William Creichtoune, Burgess of Sanquhar, was appointed to the "Committee of Warre for the Shire." Creichtoune was the Burgh Member of Parliament in 1645, 1646, and 1648.⁹⁶

⁹² Wodrow, *History*, I., 326.

⁹³ *Register of the Privy Council*.

⁹⁴ Balfour Paul, *Scots Peerage*.

⁹⁵ *Register of the Privy Council*.

⁹⁶ *Acts of Scottish Parliament*.

If Wodrow is to be believed another Crichton of Sanquhar played a most interesting part in the troubles of those times. According to the Chronicler "the old Earle of Dumfries (William, 1st Earl) was employed to carry the written papers of *Eikon Basilike* between King Charles and a clergyman, Dr. Goodman, or some such name I have forgot." Wodrow states that he had this information from Lord Pollock, who had it "several times" from the Earl himself.⁹⁷ The *Eikon Basilike* or *Portraiture of His Sacred Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings* was a book which the Royalists alleged had been written by King Charles, and which was on sale in London the day after his execution. After the Restoration, Bishop Gauden claimed the authorship, and his right to do so was not disputed by Charles II., who, on the contrary, bestowed preferment upon him. The book is written in the first person, and Gauden's claim led to considerable controversy. It is possible, however, that both monarch and bishop had a hand in the work as Wodrow alleges. Lord Pollock, from whom the Chronicler derived his information, was Sir John Maxwell, Bart., of Pollock, Lord Justice Clerk, 1699-1702. He died in 1732 at the age of 90, having been an ordinary Lord of Session from 1702 till the time of his death.

Directory for Public Worship.

While Carmichael was Minister here, the Directory for Public Worship was introduced to the Scottish Church, and became the rule of worship. For at least eighty years previously the Book of Common Order (sometimes called John Knox's Liturgy) had been in use.⁹⁸ This latter had a number of printed Prayers, which might be read by the Minister of Public Worship at his discretion, though unlike the clergymen of the neighbouring Church of England he was not "tied" to their use. The Directory, on the other hand, did not have Prayers printed in full, but simply gave outlines of what

⁹⁷ *Analecta* I., 295.

⁹⁸ M'Millan, *Worship of the Scottish Reformed Church*, 64-67.

these should be, leaving the Minister a considerable amount of liberty as to what he should say and do in the conduct of Public Worship and in the Administration of the Sacraments; a liberty which in many cases and places degenerated into licence, so that the day came when the services of the Scots Kirk could be designated the baldest and rudest in Christendom. The Directory was approved by the General Assembly in February, 1645, and by the Scots Parliament in the same month. It came into use soon after, as is shown by the following minute of the Presbytery of Ayr (August, 1645): "The Directory in its principal parts is ordered to be read on Sabbath eight days and on the Lord's Day thereafter to be uniformly practised by the whole brethren." So there passed from Sanquhar Church the manual which had been compiled by the Reformers, including Knox, a manual which many must have considered superior to the book which took its place. The Book of Common Order could be in the hand of every worshipper who thereby could follow the devotions better than when everything was left to the officiating person. That it would be used by Hunter, Livingston, and MacMillan in their ministrations hardly admits of doubt, for they all belonged to the party which was opposed to the measures of those by whom eventually the Book of the Common Order was set aside. Readers such as Young, Fullerton, and Ballantyne were forbidden to conduct Divine Service, otherwise than according to the manner prescribed in that Book. Even on the day of the notorious "Jenny Geddes" riot in St. Giles' the Prayers from the Book of Common Order were read in the Cathedral by Henderson, the Reader there.⁹⁹

Carmichael, as has been said, was banished from his parish in 1662. What happened to him after that is not definitely known until 1672, when he was granted an indulgence by the Privy Council (3rd September). He became Minister of Dalserf shortly afterwards, having as his colleague there Thomas Kirkcaldy, brother of Kirkcaldy of Grange, and seems to have remained in that parish for

⁹⁹ Cunningham, *Church History*, I., 516.

about five years, for a successor was appointed in 1677.¹⁰⁰ Though he was a comparatively young man when he was banished from his parish he does not appear to have survived the Revolution. At least there is no evidence of his having tried to return to either of the parishes after that event. In the list of "outed" Ministers, which appears in Wodrow's *History*, those who survived the Revolution are specially marked, but Carmichael's name has no mark attached.

Carsphairn to Sanquhar.

Carmichael's successor in Sanquhar was Adam Sinclair, M.A., who was translated from the neighbouring Parish of Morton some time before 25th January, 1650.¹⁰¹ (Wodrow says that he was put out of his charge at Morton in 1662, but this is not so.) He was a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, taking his degree there in 1622 (27th July). He was licensed by the Presbytery of Haddington, 1st August, 1627, and as we do not find any mention of him at Morton until 1643 it is possible that he may have been Minister elsewhere before coming to Nithsdale. He is probably to be identified as the "Mr Adam Sinclair" who in 1641, at Edinburgh, was witness to the baptism of a son of George Douglas of Pinzerie in the Barony of Tibbers, a brother of the first Earl of Queensberry.¹⁰²

Patrick Walker has preserved a rather shrdlu cmfwww reminiscence of him.¹⁰³ Writing of John Semple, Minister of Carsphairn, 1646-1660, he says: "Upon his coming from Carsphairn to Sanquhar, which are twelve miles¹⁰⁴ of a bad, rough way on a Monday morning, after the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper had been administered there, the ministers in all haste got out of their beds to prevent his reproof; but he, perceiving them putting on their clothes, said, 'What

¹⁰⁰ Scott, *Fasti*, III., 246.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, II., 325.

¹⁰² Adams, *Douglas of Morton*, 827.

¹⁰³ See *Six Saints of the Covenant* (Edited by D. Hay Fleming), I., 181.

¹⁰⁴ By the old road over the Whing, Carsphairn is about eighteen miles from Sanquhar.

ERRATUM.

Line 23 should read—

Patrick Walker has preserved a rather interesting

shall become of the sheep when the shepherd sleeps so long. In my way hither I saw some shepherds up on the hill looking after their flocks !' The consideration of his age and early journey so many miles, after preaching the whole day at home, had great influence upon them and made them much ashamed." As Monday services after the Communion only came into vogue after 1650, Sinclair must have been the man whom Semple came to assist. Dr. Simpson has the following comment on the matter : " The circumstance of the venerable John Semple coming to assist at Sanquhar is a proof that the Minister of the parish, whoever he was, must have been a worthy man, for it was only with such that the Minister of Carsphairn would hold fellowship."¹⁰⁵

It was Sinclair's lot to minister here through the whole period of the Commonwealth and Protectorate. A garrison of English Dragoons held Sanquhar Castle in 1650, however, later, while other bodies of troops were quartered at Eliock, Cairn, and elsewhere in the district. In some centres the English Puritans interfered with the Scots Ministers, and occasionally showed no hesitation in damaging the fabric and furniture of the Churches. No evidence of such doings has come down to us so far as our neighbourhood is concerned, though an English visitor who was here in 1656 remarked that the Kirk might be called a barn, " because there is so little to distinguish between them."¹⁰⁶ We know that the Englishmen when they were here defaced the Castle, and it is at least possible that the condition of the Church may have been due also to the destruction wrought by the Southerners.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ *History of Sanquhar*, 121.

¹⁰⁶ The visitor was Captain Franc. See Hume Brown, *Early Travellers in Scotland*, 188.

¹⁰⁷ In 1661 the Earl of Queensberry, in a petition to the Privy Council, stated that the " English in November, 1650 years, having put ane garrison of dragoons in the Castle of Sanquhar, the same was by thame defaced and coste the said Earle in repairing thereof four thousande merkis, and moreover the said Englishe dragoons did exact off the Baronie of Sanquhar more than their due proportioun the sume of four hundred pounds weeklie."

The Metrical Psalter.

Sinclair was Minister of Sanquhar when the present metrical Psalter was introduced "At quhilk day and time," says Nicoll, regarding the 15th May, 1650, "the new Psalme buikis wer red and ordanit to be sung throw all the Kingdome."¹⁰⁸ It displaced the Reformation Psalter, which had been in use since 1562, and in part even earlier. The older Psalter had no less than thirty-eight different forms of metre, thus differing considerably from the present, which has only seven. It also included a number of what we would now call Paraphrases, as well as several hymns, including a version of the "Veni Spiritus Creator." A few of the Psalms from this older Psalter are still in use, such as the 100th, 124th (second version), 143rd (second version), 145th, and quite a number of single verses and lines from it are to be found scattered throughout the version now sung. With the passing of the Reformation Psalter there also passed away for a time the Catholic practice of singing the Doxology at the end of the Psalm. This had been done since the days of Knox and his fellow-Reformers, and the custom was not allowed to drop without emphatic protest from a number of the most able of the Ministers of the day. When the question of its continuance was debated by the General Assembly in 1645, David Calderwood, one of the most uncompromising of Presbyterians, pled for its retention with the words, "Moderator, I entreat that the Doxologie be not laid aside, for I hope to sing it in Heaven." It was agreed, therefore, to make no Act regarding it, but to let disuetude abolish it.¹⁰⁹

At Dalgarnock.

Sinclair continued to hold office until the Restoration, but like so many more in the south-west he declined to accept the conditions laid down by King and Parliament after that event. He left his parish and stipend and went to reside at Dalgarno (joined to Closeburn in 1606), and he appears

¹⁰⁸ *Diary* (Bannatyne Club), 11.

¹⁰⁹ Edward, *The Doxology Approven* (1683).

to have remained there for some considerable time. In 1666 he sent a petition to the Privy Council, describing himself as "late Minister of Sanchquhar," and stating that since his deposition from the ministry he had humbly acquiesced therein, and refrained from exercising the office in any place, and has removed himself in obedience to the Act to the Parish of Dalgarnock, ten miles from Sanchquhar, and although the Act ordains all deposed Ministers to remove beyond the Presbytery under pain of being reputed seditious persons except they obtain a licence from the Council, yet on account of his age and infirmity he cannot conveniently remove further and so craves licence to remain. The Lords, after considering the petition, granted its crave and "dispensed with the petitioner's abode and residence within the Parish of Dalgarnock, notwithstanding the late Proclamation."¹¹⁰ It is a little bit surprising to find Sinclair admitting that he could be "deposed" by a civil tribunal, but it is possible that the petition was drawn up and presented by someone on his behalf. Bishop Burnet says of the Ministers who were ejected in 1661-2: "They were generally little men that had narrow souls and low notions . . . a sour and supercilious set of people. They had little learning among them. Their way of preaching was plain and intelligible but dull." He adds, however, "They were held in great esteem by the people."¹¹¹ What truth there is in the Bishop's statement cannot now be determined, but it may be noted that the most of those outed in Nithsdale (including Sinclair) were University graduates.

Sinclair died on 25th July, 1673, aged about 73. He was buried in Greyfriars' Churchyard, Edinburgh, which was soon to enshrine Covenanting memories. His wife was Helen Kirkpatrick, and it was possibly owing to her connection with the place that he went to live at Dalgarno, the Kirkpatricks being a well-known Closeburn family. It is, however, possible that the Sinclairs were also connected with that parish, for in 1542 the Laird of Closeburn's son and heir

¹¹⁰ *Register of Privy Council*, 15th Feb., 1666.

¹¹¹ *History of His Own Times*.

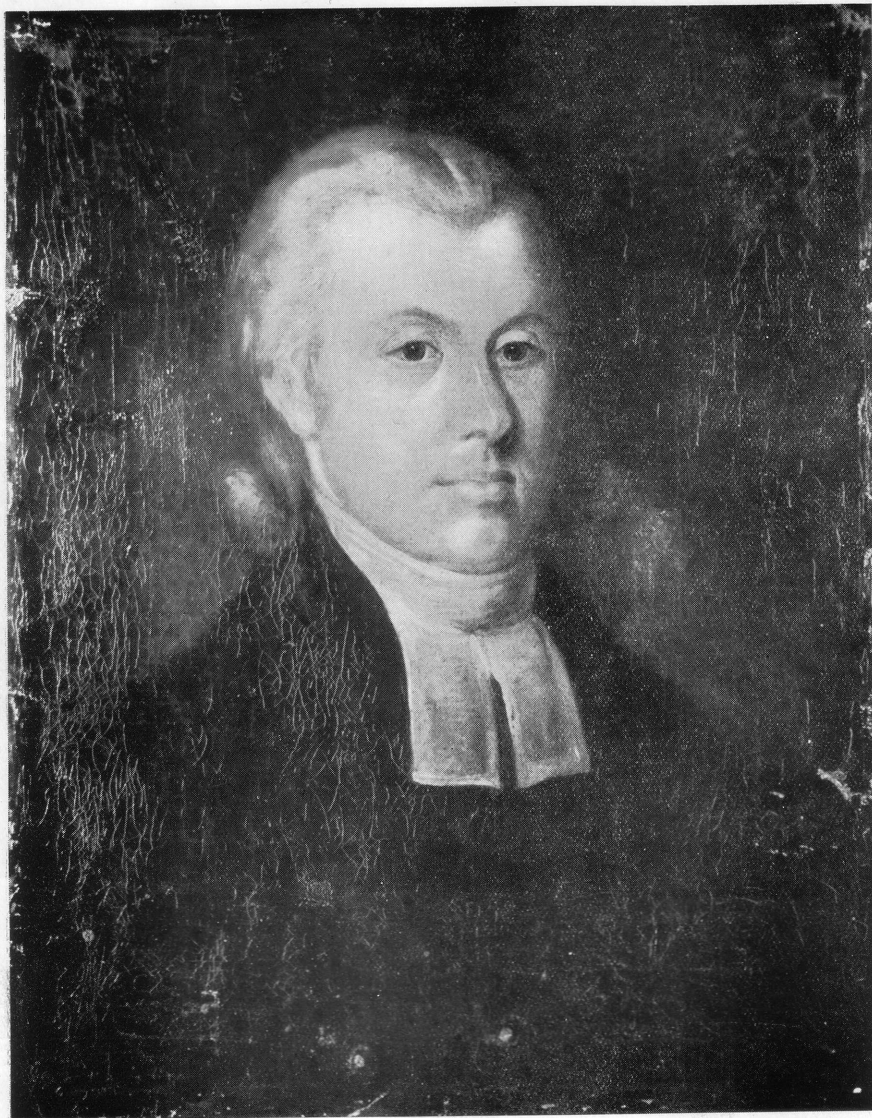


Photo by Simon Reid.

Mr PETER RAE, V.D.M.
From Portrait in the Ewart Library.

was surety for Oliver Sinclair, James Sinclair and Alexander Sinclair, these being prisoners in the hands of the English. They were, we are told by the Chronicler, "of small lands and good substance."¹¹² Adam Sinclair does not appear to have left any family.

15th April, 1932.

Chairman—Mr M. H. M'KERROW.

Dumfries Printers in the Eighteenth Century, with Handlists of their Books.

By G. W. SHIRLEY.

It is now about twenty years since I ventured to read to the Glasgow Bibliographical Society¹ a paper on the first Dumfries printer, and in the period that has elapsed only one item has turned up to be added to those then listed. To achieve the same degree of finality with the present contribution is more than can be hoped. Yet it may be worth while to put together the garnering of these years. A start will have been made, at least, and one would not deny longer his triumph to the future collector when he finds something which is not included in the handlists accompanying these remarks. Some errors, at any rate, can be rectified.

As it is, even this paper is composite, embodying the records of others who have displayed the amiable weakness of taking an interest in the products of the local printer. William M'Math, our assiduous and punctilious precursor whose researches made the Bibliography in Sir Herbert Maxwell's *History of Dumfries and Galloway* possible, has us all in his debt, and the late Thomas Fraser, of Dalbeattie, who himself added some charming books to the list of Galloway publications, gleaned many a precious item into

¹¹² *Transactions* (1926-28), 121.

¹ "Mr Peter Rae, V.D.M., Printer," *Records of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society*, Vol. I., 1912-13, pp. 216-235.

his collection. It is a gratification for the lover of Dumfries and Galloway lore that Mr E. A. Hornel was able to secure these collections intact, with many other smaller ones, and, with his own enrichments added to these, the possibility of a satisfactory Bibliography of the district draws nearer. Many other individuals—it would be invidious to name any—have loved to collect and preserve Dumfries and Galloway books, and, so doing, have added to our knowledge.

Considering the position which Dumfries has been found to occupy in Scottish printing it is curious, though perhaps not uncharacteristic, to observe how little attention has been directed locally to its achievements, or to the men who accomplished them. We have no contemporary accounts, except William M'Dowall's very general statements, and nearly every scrap of information has had to be dug out piecemeal from MS. records, from newspaper files, or gleaned from the imprints of the books themselves. Thus the record must be almost barren of human interest or be filled in with mere conjecture, and, in any case, be tantalisingly intermittent.

With the exception of a press or presses at Leith from which emerged three news-sheets in 1651-3, Dumfries was the first provincial town—the first town apart from those with universities—in Scotland to publish a news-sheet. And even discounting this gallant but sporadic effort, with its second periodical printed fifty years later, Dumfries ranks, as a provincial newspaper owning town, only after Dundee (if indeed the *Dundee Weekly Intelligencer*, 1755, ever existed; or if it and the *Dundee Magazine*, 1758, were printed at Dundee) and Perth, the latter by but nine months.²

There were four printing presses in Dumfries during the 18th century. One of them appears by virtue not of a book in type-print but of engraved plates, and it is a solitary volume at that. Duncan's admission is challengeable, and, if he is left out, his precursor becomes a solitary forerunner of the next by fifty-eight years and of the last by sixty-nine.

² Craig, Mary Elizabeth, *The Scottish Periodical Press, 1750-1789*, Edinburgh, 1931.

The presses were :—Robert Rae's, 1715-1721; John Duncan's, 1723-7; Robert Jackson's, 1773-1810 (being succeeded by his son, Robert, 1810-1824, and by William Carson and successors, 1824-1833); and Robert and Cuthbert M'Lachlan, 1784-(?1802).

ROBERT RAE.

Robert Rae's press did not originate in Dumfries, nor with him. It was a hobby of his father's, the Rev. Mr Peter Rae, and was made by the latter at his manse at Kirkbride on the hills, near Coshogle, above the Enterkin burn—as unlikely a spot as could well be.

James Watson, writing in May, 1713, was the first to inform the world of it. He says :—“ In 1711 Mr Peter Rae, a Presbyterian minister, set up a small House at Kirkbride, near Dumfries, which he continues going. He is an ingenious Man, having made a Press for his own use, and is making some advances toward the Founding of Letters.”³

Unfortunately we do not know how far Rae proceeded with the founding of types. Those used by him are very similar to Watson's, and it is clear that the two men had been in touch with one another. Had Rae succeeded in founding types approaching in design the comeliness of his own handwriting it would have been greatly to the honour of Scottish printing. Had he succeeded at all, he would have been the first Scottish typefounder.

There is no reason for doubting Watson's statement that Rae made his own press. He had already displayed an interest in mechanics and natural science, and had been, on 31st July, 1702, admitted a freeman of the Incorporation of Hammermen of Dumfries.⁴

Perhaps his “ Essay-piece ” was the clock that bears

³ *History of the Art of Printing*. Edinburgh, 1713. “ Publisher's Preface to the Printers of Scotland.”

⁴ Court of Session paper. Memorial for William Johnston, late deacon of the Hammermen . . . against Thomas Nairn, 20th July, 1761.

on its dial, "Peter Rae, Drumfries," and the arms of his wife's family, the Corsanes.⁵

But no book is known which bears his name. The imprint is Robert Rae on all of them. Peter's son Robert in 1711 was only thirteen years of age, yet it is probable that the father concealed himself under his son's name, the state of feeling in the parish and beyond it being sufficient cause for this, while some fidelity to fact may have been preserved by Robert being employed to pull the sheets.

Rae was ordained to Kirkbride on 22nd April, 1703. It was a small hill parish, with about 250 "examinable persons." It had to all intents been without ministerial care since 1662, and Mr Peter's attentions would be but diffidently received by some of the inhabitants. In any case he was immediately plunged into a series of cases with his parishioners which resulted in their almost complete alienation from him for some sixteen years. The whole discontent rose to a head in July, 1713. Rae's defamers held meetings and presented papers of grievances to the authorities. In one of these, signed by fourteen men, it was affirmed that Rae was "so taken up with mechanicks and worldly business that it takes him off his ministerial office"—and much more—"and that he prints and causes print obscene ballads in his own house." Finally Rae took the offensive and processed his accusers as libellers before the Presbytery. Over fifty witnesses were cited, but Rae's knowledge of Church law served him well, and many were rejected, and although his accusers were given seven weeks in which to produce evidence they, at a critical moment, departed from every point raised except four, one of which was that he had printed "the obscene ballad of Maggie Lauder."

The evidence on the printing charge is as follows:—James Muir declared "That he brought a Copy of that Ballad to Mr Rae's House, Mr Rae being absent himself and That Robert Rae sett the Irons and printed several

⁵ In the possession (in 1913) of Mr Cliff-M'Culloch of Kirkclauch.

Copies of that Ballad, and that he himself took some Copies away in his pocket: And that he, the said James, wrought off the Copies in the press; and Mr Rae, so far as he knows, knew nothing of their doing all this." There being only one eligible witness, the Committee found that this charge "neither was nor could be proven."⁶

It was, however, 1716 before the whole case was concluded: On the 11th of April the Synod vindicated Mr Rae as "most of the charges were not so much attempted to be proven," and for the rest the libellers "had not made good their Libels." The whole affair throws a bright light on parish life in Covenanting country in the early years of the 18th century.

But objection was not confined to the parish. We have, of this, the evidence of that curious, independent, wife-troubled character, Robert Ker, feuer in Gilmerton. Ker, in his volume of miscellanies,⁷ printed in 1719, gives us (p. 146) "An Account of on[e] Mr Peter Rae, one of the Ministers of this present Church":—

"I Came some furdur on my Road,
At last I came unto *Kirk-bridge*,
And there I sate me down to rest,
And thought what Way would I go best,
I thought that Minister he did stray,
And did not look like the right Way,
If he a right Watch-man were bred;⁸
Durst he take up the Printing Trade,
Altho' that *PAUL* wrought with his hands,
The Case is different in our Lands,
They have sufficient Stipends here,
That may suffice them for their Hire,
This is nothing like the Godlies Way,
For Ministers ought to Preach and Pray,
Oh he's selling Souls for love of Gear,
No other Thing he can do here,
His Name is Mr. *PETER RAE*,
I think he has gone far astray,
Indeed he's gone to seek a Man,
To teach him when he does go wrong,⁹

⁶ Penpont Presbytery Minutes, 1st June, 1715.

⁷ Ker's Works (without general title), 1719.

⁸ This line might induce one to think that Ker believed Rae to be a watchmaker by trade, as has often been alleged, but Ker uses the word frequently as a synonym for minister.

⁹ Who the friendly adviser was does not emerge elsewhere.

The Printing Trade he does now try,
 The Minister Trade he should lay by.
 Is this agreeable to his Station,
 No he should not have that Occupation,
 What Way will his poor Sheep be fed,
 When he is at the Printing Trade.
 He cannot be faithful to the People,
 According as it's in the Bible;
 Indeed there's People in this Age,
 They are very good for such Blades,
 They care not how few Truths they Preach,
 Nor yet how smoothly they do teach,
 Their Service-Books they will be meae,
 I doubt that Printer *PETER RAE*.

At the date Ker's book was published Mr Peter could no longer be accused of worldly indulgence in printing, but that was doubtless a small matter to the perpetrator of such rhymes.

Without question a number of the productions of Rae's press have perished, while others may be lying unnoticed in libraries. The volume bearing the earliest imprint that is known is intituled *A New Method of Teaching The Latine Tongue . . .* by Mr John Hunter, Minister of the Gospel at Air, and bears the possibly unique imprint:—
 "Cellæ S. Brigidae, Printed by *Robert Rae, Anno Dom. MDCCXI.*" The volume is a very fair example of contemporary typography, and one of the best productions of the press. It has an interest also apart from its typography. Hunter was a strenuous advocate of teaching Latin in English, and this is one of the earliest Scottish grammars of that type.¹⁰ In the following year another volume by Hunter was issued from Kirkbride. *Topica Sacra . . .* By *Thomas Harrison Enlarged with Spiritual Pleadings* is a reprint, extended by Hunter, of a devotional work which originally appeared in 1658, and had considerable vogue in its day.¹¹

Two other issues are known to have come from the

¹⁰ "Some Early Grammars and other School Books in use in Scotland, more particularly those printed at or relating to Glasgow," by David Murray (*Proceedings, Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow*, vols. xxxvi. and xxxvii).

¹¹ A later edition, with Hunter's enlargement, appeared in 1771.

AD 1719
NEW METHOD

Of Teaching The

Latine Tongue ;

COMPILED

In such a Natural Order, as a Child may Learn
that Language, more Speedily than by any
other GRAMMAR yet Extant.

By Mr *John Hunter*, Minister of the Gospel at *Air*.

Entered according to the Act of Parliament, 1710.

ex dono Authoris 6 June 1719

CELLÆ S. BRIGIDÆ,

Printed By *Robert Rae*, Anno Dom. MDCCXI.

press at Kirkbride. One, *The Murtherer's Reward*, is a chap-book of eight pages. It is a prose version of a Westmorland story, also to be found in ballad form,¹² of the miraculous appearance of an angel before one Gabriel Harding of Tredenton, who in a drunken fit had murdered his wife. Taking vengeance into his own hands, the angel summoned a devil who pulled and tore Harding in a dreadful manner, and at last broke his neck, before an admiring audience. The other, published in 1713, is the first known contribution of the press to the question then troubling the Church, the acceptance of the Oath of Abjuration. *The Oath of Abjuration no Ground for Separation* was by the Rev. Alexander Robeson of Tinwald, afterwards maternal grandfather of Dr. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk, who thought highly of him.¹³ The pamphlet was an able and highly esteemed statement of the orthodox position.¹⁴ Seven out of the eighteen known Rae Press publications deal with the Oath of Adjuration or with Hepburn of Urr and his associates, indicating the extent of the schism in the district.¹⁵

Nothing is known of the press in 1714, but the disturbance about the matter was evidently such as to compel Rae to transfer it, either in 1714 or the beginning of 1715, to Dumfries, there to continue its activities under his eldest son, Robert. It now remains to be proven that Robert Rae of the imprints was Mr Peter's eldest son. On the 25th of April, 1718, the Old Freemasons' Lodge of Dumfries (now denominated Dumfries Kilwinning, No. 53) admitted

¹² "Strange and True News from Westmorland, being a true Relation of one Gabriel Harding" (*A Century of Ballads*, by John Ashton, 1887).

¹³ *Autobiography*, 1910, p. 31.

¹⁴ "A very healing paper" (Rae's *Rebellion*, p. 21). "Obviates everything that can be advanced for a schism from the said Oath" (M'Murdo's *An Answer to a Pamphlet*, 1713, p. 52). *Vide* also Wodrow's *Correspondence*, Vol. I., p. 419.

¹⁵ Another local pamphlet not noted in Scott's *Fasti* is *An Answer to a Pamphlet* [by Hugh Clark] *Intituled The Oath of Abjuration Displayed*. . . . MDCCXIII., p. 58. It is believed to be by the Rev. John M'Murdo of Torthorwald, "a very learned and worthy man," says Rae.

“ Robert Rae, printer there, as Prentice with the said Lodge of Masons.” After he had been received as a Fellowcraft he entered, on 2nd February, 1719, his mark at the end of the book, and signed his name beside it. Opposite this some kind person has written “ now Robert Corson of Meikle-knox.” As Robert Rae, Mr Peter’s son, afterwards assumed his mother’s name on acquiring the estate of Meikle-knox there remains no doubt as to the identity of the printer.¹⁶

Six, perhaps seven, items from the press have survived of the year 1715—more than for any other year. In the Dumfries Register of Baptisms is entered, at 1st March, 1715, “ Katherine, lawful daughter to [] Steel, printer, witnesses, Homer Anderson, wright, and Charles Bowman, weaver.” There can be little doubt that Steel was with Rae. There is no other reason for his appearance in Dumfries, and he was obviously a stranger, for his Christian name was not known to the clerk. The increased activity of the press coincides also with the appearance of the first book to be issued in quarto.

The earliest Dumfries book would appear to be a reprint of Matthew Henry’s *Sober-Mindedness Press’d upon Young People*. An advertisement at the end is as follows:—

“ These are to give Notice, that any who have Occasion to publish Books, Pamphlets or Print Burial-Letters, &c., may have Them Printed at *Dumfries*: And That Booksellers, Chap-men and others may be furnished with several Sorts of Books, Catechisms and Pamphlets at reasonable Rates, by *Robert Rae* at his Printing-House in the *Kirk-gate*:¹⁷ and at his Shop on the East-side of the Street a little below the *Fish Cross*,¹⁸ Where they may also have Books sufficiently bound very reasonably.”

¹⁶ The evidence of the minutes also bears out the above statement. The name “ Robert Rae ” disappears, and “ Robert Corsane,” without previous mention, makes its appearance.

¹⁷ This, in all probability, was the Corsane’s House, in St. Michael Street.

¹⁸ The Fish Cross, at this time, stood at or near the site of the present Fountain. The shop would probably be near to the close leading to the Globe Inn of Burns fame.

Sober-mindedness
PRESS'D UPON
Young People.

IN A
DISCOURSE

ON
TITUS II. vñ.

By MATTHEW HENRY,
Minister of the Gospel.

DRUMFRIES,

Printed and Sold By ROBERT
RAE, MDCCLXV.
Price 4 d. Stitch'd, or 6 d. Bound.

A SHORT

ANSWER

By Mr. WILLIAM VETCH Minister of the
Gospel at Dumfriess. To a Letter present-
edly written by Mr. John Hepburn.

Division=maker.

But really by *Relinquish* and *Reinure*, and other
Reverend Emilitaries, who are *Defenders* of his
Faith, both *Summer* and *Winter*.

Math. 9. 24. No *Mens confites esse Magister*.
Math. 7. 15. Beware of false Prophets, which came to you
in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening Wolves.
Ver. 16. 24. He will beay them by their Fruits:
Ist. 7. 39. -- They have for their Adornations in the
House which is called by my Name, to see it.
Ist. 66. 3. -- They have for their own Wives, and
their Seal deligibly, their Adornations.
Tit. 1. 16. They profess that they know God; but in Works
they deny him, being abominable and disobedient, and to
every good Work reprobate.
Rom. 16. 17. Beware lest you, brethren, with those
which cause Divisions and Offences, contrary to the Dog-
mae which ye have learned, and nodulate.
Ver. 18. For they, that are such, if ye not yete Refuse
Christ, but their own Belly; and by good Words and Fair
Speaches deceave the Hearts of the Simple.

DRUMFRIES, Printed by R. RAE, MDCCLXX.

To 1715 also belong a sermon by the minister of Annan and a quarto volume, the author of which has not been identified, on the Civil Authority, while probably about September would be issued the reprint *The New Exercise of Firelocks and Bayonets* in view of the Rebellion then commencing.^{18a} To this year also belongs a hitherto unknown item, and for information about it I am indebted to Mr E. A. Hornel. It is *A Looking-Glass For Ministers and Christians, or a True View of the Principles and Practices of the Great Appstle [sic] Paul*, a small 4^{to} of 16 pages. It is a sermon on the example of St. Paul, and is bound with other pamphlets in a style reminiscent of the volume of Rae's MS. Sermons,¹⁹ doubtless bound by himself.²⁰ A note on the fly-leaf states that the pamphlet is by "Mr Ja: Monteith in Borge."

The item of which there is doubt in ascribing it to this year is of the chap-book type, *The Loyal Garland, Composed of Three Excellent New Songs*. It is undated, but the subject of one of the songs is the landing of George I. (18th September, 1714). The verses were either local productions or were localised.

We have nothing to show for 1716 except an entry in a Committee Book of the Dumfries Town Council requiring the Treasurer to print "two hundred copies of the constables instructions."²¹

1717 gives us two contributions to the nonjurant controversy; and 1718, three issues, including the principal work of the press, Peter Rae's *History of the late Rebellion*, the other two being attacks on Hepburn by Veitch, and on his associate, Mr John Taylor of Wamphray, by Mr David

^{18a} "Upon the first Alarm, The Town of Drumfries and circumjacent Parishes apply'd 'emselves vigorously to the Use of their Arms; wherein they had by this time acquir'd an Expertness beyond many others" (Rae's *Rebellion*, p. 204).

¹⁹ In the Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

²⁰ In Rae's will mention is made of "instruments for binding books."

²¹ 28th December, 1716.

Wightman of Applegarth. That the press was taken advantage of by the Town Council is evident from an account and receipt for printing "Fifty Doubles of Criminal Letters . . . of Two sheets each Broadside Pages" and the "Copies, agst Parties, Witnesses and Assizers each being near Half a Sheet." For these Robert Rae asked £2 15s, but received only £2 5s. There is also a precept for seven shillings and sixpence "for printing three hundred licences to the Brewery,"²² and a receipt for "9 shillings for 6 Hundred Premonitions Printed at 18 pence per Hundred."²³

Perhaps of more interest than these is an entry in an "Account of Depurments for Sir Robert Grierson of Lagg By Gilbert Grierson his son, 1719."

"Itt: To Robert Rae Printer in Drumfries as per advice from the sd Sir Robert and the sd Robert Rae's Bill £24 : 00 : 00 [Scots]."

Sir Robert Grierson is better known as a persecutor than as a business man. Yet he, in his later years, engaged extensively in trade, and from the above we see him taking advantage of the printing establishment in the town even though he, characteristically, had described one of Mr Peter's statements as "a damn'd lie."²⁵

It is possible that a single sheet, intituled *An Abstract of the Proceedings of the Synod of Drumfries in the Process of the Greater Excommunication of Mr. John Taylor, late Minister at Wamphray*, dated 1719, may be from Rae's press. Apart from that and Lag's account we have only one other item of its work in 1719. This is a sixteen paged chap-book, bearing no printer's name, entitled *A Trophy of Christ's Victory*, and recording the speedy and seasonable repentance of Elizabeth Blackie, who had been executed for child murder at Jedburgh in the previous year.²⁶ In 1720 we

²² Town Council Minutes, 14th May, 1719.

²³ Receipt, 29th June, 1719.

²⁵ *The Laird of Lag*, by Alexander Ferguson, 1886, p. 132. The volume with Lag's comment is now in the possession of R. C. Reid, Esq. of Cleuchbrae, Ruthwell.

²⁶ I am indebted to Mr A. W. K. Miller, of the British Museum, for supplying a collation.

THE

NUMB. 12.

Countries, Mercurys;

Containing an Account of the most remarkable

C C U R R E N C I E S

RAE PRESS

have another pamphlet from Veitch similar to his former one.

The last item from the press is the newspaper. It is known only from the fragment found in 1878 by William M'Math in the binding of a volume, and from an entry in the sale catalogue of Dr. David Laing. The latter settles the date, the fragment unfortunately wanting it. The title of the fragment, with conjectural emendation, runs:—*The [Dr]umfries Mercury: Containing an Account of the most Remarkable [O]ccurrences. No. 12*; the entry in the Laing Catalogue is “*Dumfries Mercury, an Account of Remarkable Occurrences, Foreign and Domestic, No. 13, May 1 to May 8, 1721.*”²⁷ The credit of finding this entry is due to the Rev. W. J. Couper.²⁸ It had been conjectured prior to his discovery that the newspaper might belong to the year of the Rebellion, 1715, but although the volume containing the item cannot be traced, this must be accepted as conclusive, and Glasgow has the satisfaction of having forestalled Dumfries by six and a half years in the production of a newspaper, the first publication of *The Glasgow Courant* being for the four days, 11-14th November, 1715.

Taking it that the *Drumfries Mercury* was regularly issued, it would commence publication on February 6th, 1721, and carry the dates January 30th to February 6th. It is to be hoped that the volume containing the perfect copy of the paper sold by Messrs Sotheby in 1880 for 4s 6d to a bookseller long since deceased may turn up and be acquired by the town which produced it. The fragment is in the safe keeping of Mr E. A. Hornel.

It is not unlikely that Robert Rae gave up the printing trade on his mother becoming heir to the Corsane estates. This was in 1721, her infant nephew dying on 1st February.

²⁷ *Catalogue of the Second Portion of the Library of the late David Laing, Esq.*, p. 81, No. 1402.

²⁸ Couper, Rev. W. J., *The Date of the “Drumfries Mercury.”* Dumfries [1915], 8 pp. (reprinted from *Records of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society*, IV., 61-4.)

The estate was an extensive one, including the lands of Meikleknock, Wolfgill, Calside, Barndarroch, Clinston, Burnfoot of Cluden, Glen, much property within the burgh of Dumfries, and the heirship of the Maxwells of Tinwald, but for long it had been in the hands of tutors and curators, and had devolved finally into those of Alexander M'Gowan, who had retired from business as a writer in Edinburgh to Dumfries and bailiership there. Robert Rae "employed the best of his time upon them [law pleas] these many years" but failed to make progress, and it was the 7th of June, 1736, before he boldly cut the gordian knots of the law by engaging to marry M'Gowan's daughter Agnes. Mr Peter Rae and his wife agreed to dispoise all the properties claimed to their son, and he, in honour of the family, was to assume the surname and arms of Corsane. On succeeding to the property Robert took up residence in the old house of the Corsanes in Dumfries.^{28a} He served many years on the Town Council, and was a particularly active Freemason. It was at his house that the incident, recorded by Sir Walter Scott, took place during the '45.²⁹ He died on the 17th of February, 1759, his widow, Agnes M'Gowan, surviving him until 15th April, 1797. Of fifteen children only one son and five daughters reached maturity. Robert, the son, died at Gibraltar in 1775, and the properties were divided amongst the daughters.

JOHN DUNCAN.

We saw that in 1715 there was a printer named Steel in Dumfries, and conjectured that he was a stranger engaged by Robert Rae to assist him with his printing. The following entry in the same year in the Minutes of the Town Council of Dumfries gives one ground for conjecturing that a

^{28a} The site is occupied by St. Michael's House, St. Michael Street, into which have been built the arms and marriage stones from the old house.

²⁹ *Tales of a Grandfather*, standard edition, Vol. II., p. 1088. Robert Corsane never became Provost of Dumfries as Sir Walter believed.

stationer and bookbinder³⁰ also came to Dumfries, perhaps because of the Rae press:—

15th August, 1715. “The sd day John Duncan, stationer in this burgh, was admitted burgess and freeman yrof with liberty to him to use, exerce and enjoy the hail immunities and privileges yrof and being present he gave his oath in common form and is to pay forty pound Scots of composition with which the Thes^r is to be charged at compting.”

A couple of years later John Duncan marries, as the Register of Marriages shows, and we happily discover that he was the son of a Kilmarnock bookbinder:— 12 Oct., 1717. “John Duncan son to Mathew Duncan, bookbinder in Kilmarnock and Barbara Hay, daughter to umqll Hugh Hay, merchant in Air. Married at Air.” The name “Bailie Duncan in Kilmarnock” appears on the title page of Rae’s *Rebellion*, 1718, as one of the booksellers from whom it might be obtained. Both Mathew Duncan, bookseller in Kilmarnock, and John Duncan, bookseller in Dumfries, are among the subscribers.

On 11th November, 1718, John Duncan, bookbinder in Dumfries, was admitted “ane Freeman and full brother” of the Incorporation of Dyers and Glovers “as to the Science of a Glover” for a composition, and in 1721 the Town Council, describing him as bookbinder, appointed him a Constable. In 1723 appeared his book, *A Collection of Psalm Tunes* . . . Engraven, Printed and Sold by John Duncan, Bookseller in Dumfries. This interesting production, certainly the first piece of music engraved in Dumfries, if not the first engraving to be done there, is an oblong volume, 7 3/5 by 5 inches, of 14 numbered and 5, including

³⁰ He was not the first bookbinder, by trade, in the Burgh, that being, apparently, Robert Hynnem, who in 1671 on 1st July appeared before the Town Council and was “granted freedom and liberty to come to yis burgh and exerce his traid of book Binding and for his encouragements the counsill excuses him of all publick burdings.” It is probably the same man who appears as Robert Haining, bookbinder, in 1670; Robert Winnie, bookbinder, in 1695; and Robert Winning, stationer, in 1727.

the title-page, unnumbered, pages. The *verso* in each case is blank. The title-page is followed by two blank pages, so that "The Gamut or Scale of Musick" on the reverse of the second blank faces "A plain Song for Tuning the Voice"; after that the engraving is regularly on the right hand page. The fourteen tunes given are "Old Common," "King's," "Duke's," "Dumfermling," "English," "French," "London," "Stilt," "Dundee," "Abbey," "Elgine," "Martyr's," "New Town," and "119 Psalm."

The copy in Mr E. A. Hornel's possession differs from one noted in Sir Herbert Maxwell's "Bibliography." That was dated MDCCLXXIII., but Mr Hornel's copy has the date clumsily altered to MDCCLXXVII., an additional I being added and the V struck over the first two uprights. Below the title have been added the words "Corrected and Amended." It is possible that the two engraved unnumbered pages containing "The Gamut" and "A plain Song" are also additions of later date. The size of the engraving is $5 \frac{1}{5}$ by $3 \frac{4}{5}$.

On 22nd November, 1725, the Town Council reverting to the description, "Stationer," appointed John Duncan one of the Stent masters, and we note payments to him for binding Council books in 1727 and 1728. In 1730 he appears on the Stent Roll.

The next piece of information is an illuminating entry in the minutes of the Town Council of Dumfries:—

30th April, 1756. "The sd day William Duncan* son to John Duncan, bookseller, late in Drumfries, now in Glasgow, burgess of this burgh, was admitted burgess and freeman . . . and the sd Wm Duncan paid five merks Scots as his burgess composition."

A marginal reference adds at the asterisk, "Junior, Printer in Glasgow." John Duncan, bookseller, was admitted a burgess of Glasgow in 1739, and was, Dr. David Murray believed,³¹ a brother of James, a letter-founder there in 1718, who

³¹ *Records of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society*, Vol. I., p. 95.

Collection of Latin Songs

for the use of the

Church of Scotland

Composed in four parts (viz)

TRIPLE CONTRA TENOR BASSUS

Engraven Printed and Sold By John Duncan

Bookseller in Dumfries MDCCXXVII
Corrected & Amended

partals.

JOHN DUNCAN

also appears among the subscribers to Rae's *Rebellion*, and it would seem probable that another brother was William Duncan, well known as a Glasgow printer, hence the "junior" affixed to his (presumably) nephew's name.

One might speculate, and speculate wrongly, that John Duncan acquired the Rae press and kept it going until about 1739. It would not surprise one, at any rate, if something with a Dumfries imprint turned up of date between 1723 and 1739.

THE WALLACE AND BRUCE, 1758.

From 1723 there is an interregnum in Dumfries printing with one exception. This volume is recorded in the Bibliography in *The History of Dumfries and Galloway* by Sir Herbert Maxwell (p. 384) as follows:—

Barbour, John: Life and Acts of the most victorious conqueror, Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, and Blind Harry's Acts and Deeds of Sir William Wallace. 2 Vols., with supplement. Dumfries. 1758.

The edition of these books dated 1758 has caused much speculation among bibliographers but its mystery has been solved, apparently satisfactorily, by the research of the Rev. J. F. Miller.³²

The story is curious. The edition is a black letter quarto and the title pages which have survived do not agree among themselves as to the date and place of printing, and all alike suppress the printer's name. Some appear never to have had a title-page. The text of the *Wallace* is, however, quite distinctive, an effort having been made to correct the corrupt text printed and circulated since the Reformation. "A survey of the facts," says Mr Miller, "seems to indicate that the edition of 1758 was either collated with the manuscript or with some edition or manuscript which does not now exist."

³² *Records of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society*, "Blind Harry's Wallace," III., pp. 10-11, 20; VI., pp. 17-18; and the Rev. R. M'Kinlay's "Barbour's Bruce," *op. cit.*, pp. 25-7.

Mr Miller's story of the printing of this volume is that it was not, apart from the varying title-pages, printed in 1758 but about 1730 and by Robert Freebairn, "One of the King's Printers," who "took part in the rebellion of 1715, and on its collapse fled the country. He was, however, back in Edinburgh in 1725, and had by that time set up his press again." He entered into an agreement with two Edinburgh merchants, James Blair of Ardblair and John Nairn of Greenyards, to print certain books which were to be lodged in a warehouse under the guardianship of a common agent. Disputes arose and the books lay locked up for some years, and were then sold by public sale in October, 1735. The description of the volumes in the advertisement of the sale agrees with the issue dated 1758, the title-pages, doubtless, being the only printing in the volumes actually of that date.

This, so far as is known, is the only volume bearing the Dumfries imprint in these 50 years. Many volumes by local authors appeared, but they were all printed elsewhere, even so local a book as *Papers on the Burgh Politics of Dumfries*, a quarto of 1759, which ran into a second edition in 1760, being printed at Edinburgh, and this feature confirms one in the belief that there was no press in the burgh during these years.³³

ROBERT JACKSON AND SUCCESSORS.

Rae's Press ended with a newspaper, Robert Jackson's began with one. On Tuesday, March 16th, 1773, appeared in coarse blue-grey covers the first number of *The Dumfries Weekly Magazine*, fully a decade before any other periodical press was established in the South of Scotland. Thirty-

³³ *A Serious Warning by the Ministers of the Synod of Dumfries to all Persons within their Bounds concerning the Dangers of Popery, and Slavery of the present unnatural Rebellion*, a pamphlet of eleven leaves, is stated to have been "Published with some short Notes by a Private Hand, Dumfries, September 23rd, 1745," but does not appear to have been printed there.

two pages weekly, 8^{vo} size, the publishers, Robert Jackson and William Boyd, dedicated it to the Provost, Magistrates, and Council of Dumfries "solely intended for the amusement and instruction of the public, the encouragement of youthful genius, and the advancement of literature." They proposed to conduct it as a periodical miscellany of "a variety of essays, moral, political, humorous and serious in prose and verse; an exact newspaper or history of the times; with a critical account of every new publication and occurrence worthy of notice which may happen in the literary world."

The front cover of "Numb. VII. Vol. VI.," fortunately preserved, advertises below the title the following

"CONDITIONS:"

- I. Every Number will contain Two Sheets large Octavo, on a fine Paper, and elegant Type.
 - II. Every Quarter will complete a Volume; and at the End of every Volume will be given a Title-page and Index gratis.
 - III. The Price to Subscribers will be Two Shillings and Eight Pence per Quarter, when called for; Three Shillings when sent to their houses in Town; and Three and Sixpence per quarter when transmitted by Post.
 - IV. Every Subscriber, who commences a Quarter, must continue to take all the Numbers till the End of it.
 - V. Suitable allowance will be made, as in other Works of the same kind, to Booksellers and others, who take in Subscriptions.
 - VI. Payments to be made at the End of every Volume.
- The correspondence of the ingenious (Post Paid, or put into the Slit of the Printing-Office Door) is requested, and will be very acceptable.

Advertisements were generally confined to the blue-grey covers, which occasionally consisted of eight pages, but if advertisements were prolific an extra, white, leaf or two would be inserted.

The internal contents show a very honest effort to fulfil promises. The editor devoted on an average fifteen pages to Essays including fiction, two to Poetry, two to Reviews, four to Foreign, five to English, and two to Scottish History, or current news, with notices of births, deaths, and marriages, fiars prices, etc. The essays, imitative of the "Spectator" and "Rambler," were on varied topics—"The Miseries of the Age," "The Superior Excellency of Architecture," "Proper methods to relieve the Distresses of the Common People," "The Hurtful Consequences of

Debauchery," "Covetousness," "Envy," "Fame," "Tale-Bearing," "The Character of Dr. John Gregory," "Description of the Inhabitants of China," "A Philosophical Account of Earthquakes," "Extract from the Critical Review of Cancerous Cases in Surgery lately published by Mr James Hill, surgeon in Dumfries." Many of the essays are excerpts from other publications, a surprising number being translations from continental authors, mostly contemporaneous. Voltaire, Fénelon, Montesquieu, Thomas Corneille, d'Espagnac, Diderot, Beaumelle, Rousseau, Molière, Montaigne³⁴ are among the French. Local contributions soon flowed in, however, from "Æsculapius," Dumfries, "Sylvander," Annan, "Slyboots. From the frontiers of Tinwald Parish," "Amelia. From the frontiers of Graitney Parish." "Ecclefechanicus," who, a doctor's mate on board the "Lord Cassils," sailing from Liverpool to Old Callabar and Barbadoes, gives an account of the Island of Annabona and tells a terrible story of the revolt of some slaves on board his vessel;³⁵ some ingenious correspondents, even, above such signatures as "Adonis" and "A Mere Boy" contributed parts of Hervey's *Dialogues* and *The Universal Magazine*, and another such discovery provoked the editorial rebuke:—"Might not *Philo-Mathematicus* have been so ingenious as to have informed us that he extracted his essay from *Keil's astronomy*? We beg this gentleman to trouble us no more with his *SUBLIME Plagiarisms*." The contributions of fiction, bearing such titles as "The Penitent Daughter," "Deception, a moral tale," "The Hypocrites," "Adrastus and Camilla," "Asan and Casmer, A Tartarian Tale," etc., are after the manner of Richardson and "The Man of Feeling" and cannot be considered clear of sex appeal, being mostly concerned with seductions. Some of the shorter tales and fables are local productions. The "reviews" are mostly extensive extracts from books of travel and biography prefaced by some perfunctory re-

³⁴ Craig, Mary Elizabeth, *The Scottish Periodical Press, 1750-1789*, Edinburgh, 1931.

³⁵ July 5th, 1773, pp. 89-90.

marks, but there are also some delightful, brief notices which reflect the editor's freedom from advertisers. "The Patricians. Here is a despicable rhymers for half-a-crown has the liberty to rail against the most illustrious English nobility—unpilloried too!"; "Cupid and Hymen. A Voyage to the isles of love and matrimony—A collection of low humour, equally improbable and disgusting"; "The City Patricians, a poem. One thing is remarkable in this poem, which is, that there is not one line of good poetry in it." The Foreign news ranges from the West Indies and America to Turkey, Russia, Poland, and all less distant countries. The English news embraces the doings of parliament and many quaint incidents; that of Scotland is largely confined to Circuit Courts and the Church. Local news is sparse. Perhaps the editor was most successful with youthful genius which was poetically inclined. In these pages appeared the first printed version of the ballad, Helen of Kirkconnel,³⁶ John Lowe's once extremely popular song, "Mary's Dream," under the title, "Sandy and Mary. A Ballad";³⁷ and Robert Fergusson's "Dumfries."³⁸ A certain "R. R., Kirkbean," who also appears as "Ralph Rash, Drummelzier Hills," and "Davie's Cave, Criffel," is a frequent and accomplished contributor, who, rivals arising, addressed them in verses entitled "An Hail to the Gourds of Genius who, like mushrooms, have arisen in a night at Kirkbean, uttered by the ghost of R. R."³⁹ There is a lively satirical narrative in four cantos, entitled "The Sheriff-Court," also an "Ode to Delicacy" and "The Story of Orpheus" by James M'Taldrach, Galloway;⁴⁰ and another similar production in at least three cantos called "The Daviad,"⁴¹ by "Rodondo." It would be interesting

³⁶ "Fair Helen, A Tragical Old Scots Song," 7th June, 1774, p. 397.

³⁷ October 12, 1773, p. 143.

³⁸ September 28, 1773, p. 94.

³⁹ July 26, 1774, p. 210.

⁴⁰ November 16, 1773, p. 304 *et seq.*; April 19, 1774, p. 177; and June 21, 1774, p. 44.

⁴¹ August 9, October 11, and November 1, 1774.

to discover the author of these coarse but witty verses, which were probably all by the same person. Here also appeared verses by Charles Salmon;⁴² by the Rev. John Mackenzie, "Gallovodianus," of Portpatrick, whose verses beginning "Strait is the spot and green the sod" were for so long ascribed to Burns. Much entertainment must have been given to the small community—some 5000—of the burgh where everybody knew everyone when "Aurelius," Kirkbean, begged "Miss A--Gr-g-n,"⁴³ "charmer of the plains," to accept his "love inspired lays"; or James Wilde, writing master,⁴⁴ presented with profound respect the Town Council, "faithful guardians of the town," with an appeal for larger emoluments:—

"How great is a preceptor's care,
Important is his charge;
Yet some will not grant competence,
But think small fees too large."

It is obvious from such productions and from the amount of elaborate disapprobation and chaff done in a style of high fustian that if the local contributions were not of a very high order the subscribers yet derived a considerable amount of amusement from the *Dumfries Weekly Magazine*.

Some light is thrown upon the personnel of the establishment in its early days through the visit of Robert Ferguson in September, 1773.⁴⁵ With a Lieutenant Wilson of the Navy Fergusson crowned a carousal by setting out from Edinburgh at dawn to visit his engaging friend, Charlie Salmon, a journeyman printer, who with George Fulton, afterwards an eminent teacher and author of a dictionary, had sought employment with Robert Jackson. He presented himself at Dumfries "in rather a strange plight. His person and dress were in the greatest disorder; he wore, instead of a coat, a short white flannel jacket, and having performed the journey on foot

⁴² Elegy on Mr George Marshall, October 19, 1773, p. 175.

⁴³ Doubtless Miss Anne Gregan.

⁴⁴ Afterwards writing master at Kirkcudbright and author of *Original Pieces, Songs, &c.*, Edinburgh, 1816, pp. 72.

⁴⁵ Vide *The Gallovidian Annual*, 1930, pp. 76-80.

was all over dust. He seemed for all the world like a recruit after a long march, instead of a gay minstrel on pleasure bent. . . . Salmon, proud of his visitor, introduced him to all the admirers of his genius about Dumfries, in whose society he found quite another Edinburgh, of high delight and ruinous excess."⁴⁶ Fergusson when pressed "wrote on the instant" the complimentary verses on Dumfries, and they appeared in the *Magazine* within twenty-four hours,⁴⁷ and an apprentice in the office kept a copy of them. This was John Mayne, the author to be of "The Siller Gun" and future editor and proprietor of the London *Star*. Salmon, with some pretensions as a poet, had more achievement as a good fellow who "sang an excellent song and yielded to few in conversational humour." Of strong Jacobite sentiments, poet-laureate of the Royal Oak Club,⁴⁸ and author of its song, "The Royal Oak Tree," it was yet his fate, betrayed by drink, to fall to the charms of a recruiting sergeant "and the same friend who had last seen him with a white cockade in a paper cap, working a press to the song of 'The crown is Charlie's right, is it no? is it no?' saw him next morning enlisted under the black cockade, or, as Salmon was wont, with other Jacobites, to call it, the curse of God. Poor Salmon! When asked by one of his friends how he could have been so misled he answered, with a smile at his own simplicity, 'I listed for a lieutenant.'^{48a} George Fulton, Charles Salmon, John Mayne, these were some or all of the operatives who printed *The Dumfries Weekly Magazine* in 1773, but who were the proprietors, Robert Jackson and William Boyd?

I have wasted much time endeavouring to discover Robert Jackson's parentage and place of nativity, and so

⁴⁶ D.C. in *The Lives of the Scottish Poets*, Vol 11., part IV., London, 1822.

⁴⁷ 28th September, 1773.

⁴⁸ The Royal Oak Club was founded in Edinburgh in 1772, and met regularly on the first Monday of each month (*The Jacobite Movement*, by Sir Charles Petrie, p. 259).

^{48a} *The Lives of the Scottish Poets*, vol. II., part 3, p. 169.

far have failed. There is some slight indication that he may have derived from a family who for some generations were weavers in Dumfries. If so, then perhaps John Jackson, deacon of the Weavers' Incorporation in 1702 and 1703, was his grandfather or grand-uncle, and John Jackson, deacon in 1677-8 and 1681-2, his great-great-grandfather. He was at any rate born about 1742 or 1743. We may speculate from two of his operatives, Fulton and Salmon, having been in Walter Ruddiman's printing office in Edinburgh, and from the similarity of the magazine he founded and edited to Ruddiman's *Weekly Magazine*, that he learned his craft in that office. He married, perhaps about 1765-6, Jean Cochrane, daughter of James Cochrane of Roslyn, and in 1787 acquired a newly-built dwelling-house⁴⁹ somewhere, I think, out Langlands. On 9th October in the same year he was made a burgess, a councillor and a Bailie all at once, "and the Council allow the Burgess composition payable by the said Robert Jackson to him for his services as one of the magistrates of the Burrow for the cur^t year untill Michaelmass first."⁵⁰ He was, we conjecture, deemed an eminently desirable acquisition.

William Boyd, his partner, was a bookseller. He had been born about 1748, the son of George Boyd, maltster, who died 22nd February, 1752, aged 51. He was twice married, first to "Christian Smith sometime relict of the deceased, Henry Wilkinson, joiner in Dumfries," with whom he contracted marriage on 21st February, 1775,⁵¹ and secondly on 14th January, 1788, to Margaret Moffat, second lawful daughter of the deceased Alexander Moffat of Cal-side.⁵² He served long on the Town Council and was a Bailie in 1783 and also in the year that Jackson took office. Indeed that year the bench was remarkably bookish, the

⁴⁹ *Part. Reg. of Sasines*, Dumfries, 8th February, 1787.

⁵⁰ *Town Council Minutes*, 9th October, 1787.

⁵¹ *Part. Reg. of Sasines*, Dumfries, 5th May, 1781.

⁵² *Dumfries Weekly Journal*, 15th January, 1788, and *Part. Reg. of Sasines*, Dumfries, 19th November, 1799.

third bailie being Ebenezer Wilson,⁵³ also a bookseller. Boyd evidently prospered. He acquired the property of Marchhill, dying there on 14th March, 1827, aged 79.⁵⁴

The Dumfries Weekly Magazine appeared regularly until 22nd July, 1777. The last number known is June 24th, Vol. 18, No. 3, but there is no reason to doubt its continuance to No. 7, for happily the cover of No. 3 has been preserved, and informs us of a contemplated change and the cause of it in the following:—

“ Advertisement.

To Our Subscribers and Readers.

By a late decision of the Court of Exchequer, a heavy stamp-duty is imposed on all publications containing news; in consequence of [this we] are sorry to inform our Readers, that this paper can either be [obliterated] continued, or the price must be raised Three-halfpence each number. Willing to contribute everything in our power to the instruction or entertainment of the public, we propose printing a Weekly Newspaper, at 13s per annum when called for, 15s when sent to any house in town, and 16s when transmitted by post. But as this must depend intirely on the encouragement we receive from the public, we request that such gentlemen as propose favouring us with their subscriptions will signify their intention (post paid) as soon as possible.

It is expected that all who are in arrears to this Magazine, will be ready to make payment of the same, as our Collector will be in the country for that purpose very soon.

Just published STACKHOUSE'S BODY OF DIVINITY, Vol. II. The Third Volume is in the press, and will be published in three or four weeks.”

The encouragement having been sufficient on Tuesday, 29th July, 1777, the *Magazine* came out, with the slightest possible change of title, *The Dumfries Weekly Journal*, as a newspaper of four pages, destined to a long and honourable career. With essays and tales omitted and the news features and advertisements expanded there is little

⁵³ Married Mary, daughter of Francis Carruthers of Whitecroft, April 10th, 1768, (*Edin. Marr. Reg.*, 1751-1800). A shareholder in the Douglas, Heron & Co. Bank, losing about £500. Will registered February 16th, 1790, and June 11th, 1791 (Comm. R.C., Dumfries, Reg. Test., 1642-1800). In 1766 *A Military History of Germany and of England* . . . was printed at Edinburgh “for Ebenezer Wilson, bookseller in Dumfries” (*Scottish Printers, Booksellers, and Bookbinders, 1726-1775*, by George H. Bushnell. Bibliographical Society, 1932). Wilson died 24th February, 1788 (*Dumfries Weekly Journal*, 26th February, 1788).

⁵⁴ Tombstone, St. Michael's, Dumfries.

other difference between the *Journal* and the *Magazine*. It still welcomed verse and its chief contributor though perhaps with nothing more than one set, "The Dumfries Volunteers," was Robert Burns. John M'Dairmid notes that "it has even been whispered that the private and commandant [of the Royal Dumfries Volunteers] waged, at one time, a paper war, through the respectable medium of the Dumfries Journal." Colonel de Peyster, M'Dairmid continues, "was at first totally unaware of the name and calibre of his poetical antagonist. Secrets, however, will out, and when he learnt how matters stood, he not only retired from the field, but remarked, with the greatest good humour, that there was a great difference between Mars and the Muses—that to measure swords was one thing, and pens another—and that he had no ambition to break a lance in an arena in which the position of the parties was so completely reversed, that Burns became the veteran, and himself the recruit.⁵⁵ I can make no suggestion as to this paper war except that the Colonel may have preceded Burns's patriotic effusion "When haughty Gaul invasion threatens" with some verses on "The Invasion," which are printed in his privately issued volume of verse.⁵⁶ It will be remembered that Maria Riddell's account of Burns appeared in the *Journal*, and other contributors were Dr Robert Carruthers, afterwards editor of *The Inverness Courier*, Dr. Wightman, of Kirkmahoe, John Gordon Barbour and Robert Malcolmson. In its columns also will be found the first account of Patrick Miller's experiment with a steam driven vessel,⁵⁷ and the meteorological observations, notably early in date, of Dr Alexander Copland, 1777-1790.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ M'Dairmid, John, *Sketches from Nature*, 1830, pp. 318-19.

⁵⁶ *Miscellanies by an Officer, Dumfries*, 1813, partially reprinted, and edited by J. Watts de Peyster, New York, 1888, part 11, page 63.

⁵⁷ October 21, 1788.

⁵⁸ February 10, 1779. Dr Copland's observations are quoted in *Mem. Lit. and Phil. Soc. of Manchester*, Vol. IV., part 1, pp. 234 *et seq.*, and are included in Dr G. J. Symon's summary *Brit. Assoc. Report*, 1865, p. 233.

The Dumfriesshire Advertiser
THE
DUMFRIES WEEKLY MAGAZINE,

CONTAINING
A VARIETY OF ESSAYS, MORAL, POLITICAL, HUMOROUS AND SERIOUS,
IN PROSE AND VERSE;

A COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE TIMES;
WITH A CRITICAL ACCOUNT OF EVERY NEW PUBLICATION AND OCCURRENCE
WORTHY NOTICE, WHICH MAY HAPPEN IN THE LITERARY WORLD.

VOLUME II.



Omne tultu punitum, qui misquit mita dicit.



DUMFRIES:
PRINTED BY R. JACKSON AND W. BOYD,
MDCCLXXIII.

ROBERT JACKSON

THE
BONNY LASS
OF
DUMFRIES:
A
Musical Interlude.

As it is performed at the
T H E A T R E S
PERTH, DUNDEE, ABERDEEN, PAISLEY, AND
DUMFRIES.

WRITTEN BY A. M'LAREN.

To all the sneering CRITICS whom thought can please,
but what comes from afar.

*Great & noble STERS,
WHAT'er we breed beneath the Twisick,
Pronounce bath fall and barren;
Let Bards should vie like hammer, file,
Or Rabbits in a warren.
Should we write *loas*, mean lift to show,
Cry out, 'Gad's curse! 'is horrid!
But should 'o' aspire a little higher,
Be sure to swear that 's borrow'd!*

A. 184

DUMFRIES:
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,
AND SOLD BY
CUTHBERT M'LACHLAN.
—Price 2d.—

Of whom may be had a variety of PLAYS and FARCES.

CUTHBERT M'LACHLAN

Robert Jackson and William Boyd "amicably dissolved" partnership by March, 1777,⁵⁹ and entire responsibility for the *Journal* was borne by Jackson. More and more Jackson becomes a figure in the town of the most respectable and public spirited character. An elder of St. Michael's from 1775, he frequently represented the Burgh at the General Assembly and at the Convention of Royal Burghs. On October, 1791, described as "one of the present Bailies of this Burgh," he was admitted an "honorary member" of the Incorporation of Fleshers. No reason is given for this and there does not appear to have been any family of Jackson who were fleshers. Instead for some reason, also unexplained, the Fleshers on 6th November, 1731, had admitted, on petition, "Robert Wilson, weaver, and William Jackson, also weaver, both in Dumfries," as journeymen, and Robert Jackson's honorary freedom may have derived from this. He achieved the Chief Magistracy in 1797 and served for six years and again was chosen Provost in 1809. His wife died 19th March, 1798, aged 52. In his second year of his third term of Provostship, on Sunday the 16th of December, 1810, he died, "without reproach, universally beloved and respected" and was accorded a public funeral at which "the crowd witnessing the funeral solemnity was immense." We are told that he "uniformly discharged his public duties with advantage to the public and credit to himself," and "was charitable and humane, listened patiently to the complaint of the poor and was ever anxious to do them good. Honest, and upright, modest and unassuming in his manners he acquired the esteem of his fellow-citizens."

The productions of Jackson's press were of fair quality, the most ambitious being, perhaps, Stackhouse's *Body of Divinity*, in three volumes, mentioned in the advertisement already quoted. Doubtless it was one of the many works published in Scotland as a result of a recent legal decision on copyright which was favourable to Scottish printers. Perhaps

⁵⁹ Cover *Magazine*, No. 1, Vol. XVII.

the only work that brought obloquy upon the printer was one with an excellent title, "The Divine Dictionary." This had been written by the Rev. Hugh White, the high priest of the Buchanites, and caused so much adverse comment that Jackson refused to print a second number, White having to go to Edinburgh for it. Most of the works printed by Jackson, apart from official Rolls, Bye-laws, etc., were sermons and poetry.

The *Journal* did not change its imprint on Robert Jackson's death, but was carried on by the Provost's son, Robert. Born 1772 or 3, Robert had been proposed, in 1796, as a town councillor, and the burgh proffered him a burgess-ship. For some reason he rejected the former proposal and did not appear to accept the latter. The consequence was this curious minute:—

29th September, 1796. "Robert Jackson, junior, son of Robert Jackson, late Bailly, a Burgess of this Burgh, was admitted and received a Burgess and Freeman of this Burgh. . . . Thereafter in respect Robert Jackson had not appeared, it is declared that he is not admitted a Burgess and that the Two lines and a half relating to him makes no part of the minutes of the Council. David Staig" [Provost.]

In 1802 Robert was appointed Comptroller of the Customs at the Port of Dumfries, but this evidently did not preclude him from managing the *Dumfries Weekly Journal* on his father's death. On September 29th the Town Council actually did confer Burgess-ship upon him, and, like his father, he was admitted an honorary freeman of the Fleshers' Incorporation, 19th October, 1811. He appears to have remained a bachelor and died, aged 51, on 8th January, 1824. We are told that "he had a clear and capacious understanding, with a warm and kind heart," that "his strong natural talents were improved by a liberal education and a steady course of accurate observation and sagacious reflection," but "like many who are endowed with great abilities, he was void of jealousy and ambition, and few occasions occurred which could arouse the energy of mind he naturally possessed"—which is a nice way of

putting it and is not contradicted by the statement that—
“ he was affable, communicative and social.”⁶⁰

He did not remain proprietor and editor of the *Journal* until the end, but disposed of it a few months before his death to William Carson,⁶¹ a writer, who changed its title. August 5th, 1823, is the last number to bear Jackson's imprint, that of August 12th being entitled *The Dumfries Weekly Journal and Nithsdale, Annandale and Galloway Advertiser*. Carson owned and edited the paper until 10th November, 1829, when he sold it to the Rev. George Heron, minister of Terregles. According to his own statement he had during his period of management more than doubled the circulation of the *Advertiser*. He recommended his successor with the most perfect confidence, for he “ possesses a fund of varied and general information with which few men are gifted and which few can acquire.”

Heron announced himself as “ a moderate Tory or Ministerialist,” and that he was “ in some measure departing from the character this Journal has lately sustained.” Carson apparently had desired the repeal of the Catholic Emancipation Act. Heron while opposed to the Act yet supported the Government by deprecating any move for repeal. On December 20th, 1831, occurs another change

⁶⁰ His death seems to have ended the connection of the family with Dumfries, except for a widowed sister. Provost Jackson appears to have had two sons—James, who died at Edinburgh, 14th April, 1770, and Robert, junior—and four daughters—Jane, who died 14th February, 1801, aged 24; Marion, who married James Milligan, residing in Liverpool; Janet, who married William Comrie, Supervisor of Excise in Dumfries; and Elizabeth, who married Andrew M'George, writer in Glasgow. William Comrie died 13th November, 1811, aged 50; his wife died at Annandale House, 27th April, 1854, aged 79; and one of their children, Jane, died in Glasgow, aged 15, on 23rd September, 1817 (*Part. Reg. of Sasines, Dumfries*, 19th July, 1829, and tombstone, St. Michael's, Dumfries).

⁶¹ Described as “ late writer now printer,” William Carson was admitted as a Burgess on 31st July, 1827 (Town Council Minutes).

of title to *The Dumfries Journal*. It is still being published by George Heron.

In January, 1833, it again changed hands. It was acquired by the ubiquitous Rev. Henry Duncan of Ruthwell, who in 1809 had started *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, and had acted as Editor of it as a radical journal for seven years; he also was one of the projectors and managed for some time *The Dumfries and Galloway Standard* as a Liberal paper in 1843. From an advertisement in the issue of the *Journal* of 29th January, 1833, it appears that Duncan endeavoured to establish a company with 150 shares at £10 each, he acting as Secretary. It was to be Conservative and "to combat crude and dangerous opinions" while giving special attention to "important transactions in the religious world." As such it lingered on for a few months. The exact date of its demise is not known, but it was after 21st May. A new Liberal paper, *The Dumfries Times*, appeared shortly before this, and in April, 1835, a new Conservative newspaper appeared, *The Dumfriesshire and Galloway Herald*.

For long the *Journal* was published from "85 English Street," but this might only be an office. Robert Jackson, junior, owned a second storey in a tenement built partly upon the site of the Old Jail.⁶² This, properly speaking, was the site of the Old Tolbooth which had been taken down in 1718 and re-built, and used for a time as a Council Chamber. Herein was Jackson's printing done. In 1835 the printing materials were purchased by David Halliday, who removed his printing office from Bank Street to these premises.⁶³ They are still occupied as a printing office by Messrs Hannavy & M'Munn.

ROBERT, CUTHBERT, AND I. M'LACHLAN.

The earliest production of the M'Lachlan press known is *The Young Free-Mason's Assistant. Being a Choice Collection of Mason Songs: with a variety of Toasts*

⁶² *Part. Reg. of Sasines*, Dumfries, 19th July, 1829.

⁶³ Advertisement *Dumfries Courier*, 22nd April, 1835.

and Sentiments : to which are added A Few of the Most Celebrated Songs, Scotch and English, published in 1784, and it is followed in 1785 by a reprint of Guthrie's *The Christian's great Interest* and Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*, the largest book known to have been issued by the press. There are several other volumes of the same year.

These all bear the imprint of Robert M'Lachlan. He was the eldest of the four youngest children of Allan M'Lachlan, bookseller in Dumfries, who appears as such as early as 1766.⁶⁴ At that date Allan and his wife, Isobel Kelburn, acquired a dwelling-house on the west side of the High Street immediately north of Richard Lowthian's property—now the County Hotel—in the double tenement which had belonged to Matthew Sharpe of Hoddom and known as The Turnpike House. Allan's other three youngest children—it appears as if there had been an earlier family⁶⁵—were Allan, Cuthbert, and Isobel, and by his disposition dated 7th November, 1780, and registered 1st February, 1786—his death occurring between these years—they were to share equally, subject to a liferent to his wife, in his property, consisting of the above dwelling-house and of a “shop northmost in that great brick tenement of land or houses (formerly ruinous walls) called Wauchop's Walls near the Fish Cross” and bounded on the south and west by the High Street and by tenements on the north and east.⁶⁶

From 1794 onwards the imprint on all the productions from the press is that of Cuthbert M'Lachlan, Robert appearing in the records either as bookseller or bookbinder. The reason for this is clear when we discover that to pay off his debts Robert sold, 21st April, 1791,⁶⁷ to his brother Cuthbert his share of his inheritance. He also, with his

⁶⁴ *Part. Reg. of Sasines*, Dumfries, 24th February, 1766.

⁶⁵ He left to Ann M'Lachlan, his daughter, spouse to William Gordon, weaver in Dumfries, £50.

⁶⁶ *Part. Reg. of Sasines*, Dumfries, 16th July, 1768, when it was acquired by him.

⁶⁷ *Part. Reg. of Sasines*, Dumfries, 4th May, 1791.

mother, Isobel Kelburn; John M'Lachlan, paper manufacturer at Tongland; William Chalmers, bookseller in Dumfries, the husband of Susan M'Lachlan; and Robert, acting as attorney for his brother Allan, planter in the Island of Tobago, disposes his and their respective shares of the paper mill of Tongland and a piece of land at the Boat pool there.

It is not clear from the sources available whether John and Susan M'Lachlan were the children or brother and sister of Allan, but it looks rather like the former, and it may be these were (with Ann) his elder children, unnamed as such in the records we have.

To conclude this piecing together we find that both Allan, late of the Island of Tobago, and Cuthbert were dead by the middle of the year 1817, for in June and July James Clark M'Lachlan, bookbinder in Dumfries, son of Robert M'Lachlan, bookseller there, was retoured heir to his uncles.⁶⁸ The combination of bookseller, bookbinder, paper-maker, and printer in this family is interesting and should have been powerful; but of the printing, and, if the paper the printing was done on was from Tongland, then also of the paper, little that is commendatory can be said. It is of the cheapest and poorest character, the paper coarse and grey, the printing muddy, hardly any of it above chap-book quality. It is not, however, the less interesting on that account, and certainly examples are not the less rare.

Perhaps many a poor author by this press achieved publication and many a cottar's family poured over the little books its cheap production brought within their means.

How many broadsheets the press produced none can tell, but one has survived, *Messenger of Mortality/Or, a Dailogue between Death and a Lady.* Half of the sheet—which is of coarse hand-made paper, $17\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $12\frac{1}{2}$ in. with the edges untrimmed—below the title is occupied by a woodcut depicting, on the left side of the design, a lady

⁶⁸ *Part. Reg. of Sasines, Dumfries, 17th June, and 15th July, 1817.* He died 10th September, 1852 (tombstone, St. Michael's).

dressed in the fashion of the day with wide lace dress and high bustle, the hair done in the piled-up creations of the time. She holds a fan in her hand, and at her feet are scattered books and cards. The other half of the figure is a skeleton holding a dart, and at its feet are a skull and crossbones. Below is a second title: *Life and Death contrasted or an Essay on Women*; followed, in three columns, by verses recording a conversation between Death and a Lady. The former claims his due, the latter protests her youth, her health, her growing child, her willingness to spend her riches, but her visitor is implacable. Appropriate quotations fill the upper corners of the sheet.

The broadsheet, presented to the Ewart Library by the late A. H. Costine of Cleator Moor, has been decorated on the dress and borders with red paint, but this is undoubtedly a later embellishment. The print space measures 8 in. by 12 in.

From about 1800 Cuthbert dignified his establishment with a name, "The St. Michael's Press," but the exact situation of the shop is not clear.

Of the mill at Tongland, part of which still stands on the side of the river, it may be interesting to recall an incident which caused so deep an impression in the district that Mr Hornel heard of it as a boy. It is succinctly reported in the *Dumfries Weekly Magazine*, 24th May, 1774, thus:—

"Mary Robieson, natural daughter of William Robieson, late Tanner at Millburn of Kirkeudbright, indicted for wilfully setting fire to the paper mill of Tongland, in the Stewartry of Kirkeudbright. She preferred a petition praying for banishment, to which his majesty's advocate depute (in respect of the imbecility and weakness of mind of the petitioner) having consented; she was banished to the plantations for life, and her service adjudged to the transporter for seven years."

There is some evidence that a Mrs M'Lachlan, probably Mrs Allan, continued the printing business after Cuthbert's death.⁶⁹

Apart from James Clark M'Lachlan, bookbinder, the son of Robert, who remained in the burgh of Dumfries until

⁶⁹ *Part. Reg. of Sasines, Dumfries, 3rd August, 1822.*

his death in 1852,⁷⁰ the name re-emerges in printing in the town in 1832. The date occurs on two out of ten chapbooks in the possession of Mr John A. Fairley, the Librarian of Lauriston Castle,⁷¹ all of which were printed at Dumfries by I. M'Lachlan.

In February, 1832, the following advertisement appeared :—

Mrs I. McLachlan returns warmest thanks to her Friends and the Public for that share of Patronage she has enjoyed since commencing Business and begs leave to acquaint (sic) them that she has removed to 28 High Street, adjoining Mr Lonsdale's, where she continues to print Pamphlets, Advertisements, Funeral Letters, etc., on the shortest notice and most reasonable terms; and having lately added an assortment of New and Fashionable Types and engaged an experienced workman from Edinburgh to conduct her business she hopes by punctuality to orders and neatness of execution to merit a share of public patronage and support.

A great variety of Pamphlets, etc., always on hand. The most liberal allowance made to Hawkers and others dealing in these publications.

The identity of this lady has not been cleared up, but it seems likely that she may have been a survivor of the M'Lachlan group—perhaps Mrs Allan or even Cuthbert's mother, Isobel Kelburn.

Dated 1834, a solitary surviving item from her press for that year, and the last item known, informs us that she no longer ran it single-handed; it bears the imprint, "I. McLachlan & Co."

THE UNIDENTIFIED.

There remain for us to puzzle over some items which we know or suspect to have been printed at Dumfries during the period we have had under review and which therefore

⁷⁰ Tombstone, St. Michael's, records that he died 10th September, 1852, aged 69; his wife, Helen Mundell, died 17th November, 1858, aged 61; and the names of their eight children—William Mundell M'Lachlan, b. 28th March, 1828, surviving until 9th February, 1870, and his wife, Mary Douglas, b. 26th September, 1820, surviving until 6th November, 1881. One of James's daughters, Jessie, married James M'Lean, master mariner. She died, aged 75, on 31st January, 1908, he on 15th November, 1902, aged 69. Four sons and one daughter predeceased their mother.

⁷¹ To whom I am indebted for this information and for the list of chapbooks.

were produced from some of the presses named, but of which we lack the essential particulars that would enable us to specify which they were. Three of these we may comment upon, one of them being of considerable importance in Scottish letters.

Of Dr. John Brown's *Albanus; or the Poetical Tour of Scotland*, By the Author of the *Reform of Manners*. Printed for the Author, Halkett & Laing state that it was published at Dumfries in 1803, and that Dr. Brown was not a doctor and used to be called "The Holy Ghost," James Maidment being apparently regarded as the authority.⁷²

We are informed from a note in the handwriting of the author himself that *Thrummy Cap. A Tale in the Broad Scotch Dialect* "was first printed at Dumfries in 1796."⁷³ This would be when John Burness, of Stonehaven, a relative of Robert Burns, was with his regiment, the Angus Fencibles, when they were stationed in the burgh.⁷⁴

Most interest, however, concentrates on *The Merry Muses of Caledonia*, a collection of verse, including some original items, made by Robert Burns. We are told by Scott Douglas that Burns kept the manuscript under lock and key during his life, but, says Robert Chambers, it "fell, after his death, into the hands of one of those publishers who would sacrifice the highest interests of humanity to put an additional penny into their own purses." To this the editor, "Vindex," of the "reprint" issued in 1911 by the Burns Federation, adds:—"It was obtained on loan from Mrs Burns on false pretences and never returned." Scott Douglas's version is that "some years after his [Burns's] death it fell into the hands of a person who caused it to be printed in a very coarse style . . . the poet's name, however, is not on the title page, nor indicated in any way except by the unmistakable power exhibited in some of the pieces."

⁷² *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 1900, p. 533.

⁷³ *Burns Chronicle*, XXII., p. 110.

⁷⁴ *Book of Robert Burns*, Vol. III., 10-11.

The volume described by Chambers as "mean-looking" must, says "Vindex," "from the character of the type employed, have been published *circa* 1800, but in the absence of a date on the title page the exact year can only be guessed at. Perfect copies of it are now so rare that although fragments have repeatedly come under our observation, we have only succeeded, after years of hunting, in obtaining a sight of one complete copy. It does not appear that this Dumfries volume was ever reprinted." The little book was a post 8^{vo} of 128 pages. The title-page and typographical features of the book are not reproduced in the "reprint," and that it was printed in Dumfries is mere presumption. If it was its features are characteristic of M'Lachlan's productions, and also it is impossible to believe that the eminently respectable Provost Jackson would have had anything to do with such a publication. But happily, this time, conjecture is the furthest we can reach.

It would appear, however, that Chambers's moral fervour led him into an unjustifiable theory. If the publisher of *The Merry Muses* issued it for the purpose of putting an additional penny into his purse he was ill-advised to have it printed in the mean and cheap form in which it appeared. Much more likely is it that, like the subsequent editions, it was surreptitiously issued for the anticipated pleasure it would give. The only edition, in fact, which is printed expensively, on good paper with morocco binding, is the "reprint" issued by "Vindex."⁷⁵

⁷⁵ The complete copy of *The Merry Muses* is now in the library of the Earl of Rosebery at Barnbougle Castle, Dalmeny. The "reprint" was edited by D. M'Naught, Honorary Secretary of the Burns Federation, but (we are informed by Mr J. C. Ewing, editor of *The Burns Chronicle*), without the consent of the Federation, although done, as the title-page declares, under its auspices, and the Editor retained the not insignificant profits. M'Naught also reprinted *The Court of Equity*, privately, in 1899, and through an agent distributed the booklet of 18 pages in yellow wrappers at one guinea per copy! Noted for his imposing rectitude, M'Naught knew a little more of human nature than the original publisher of *The Merry Muses*.

HANDBLIST

of books printed at Kirkbride and Dumfries by 18th century printers and their successors.

[D indicates that a copy is in the possession of the Ewart Public Library, Dumfries; K that one is in Mr Hornel's Library at Broughton House, Kirkeudbright. Additions or notes of items will be received gladly by the compiler.]

THE RAE PRESS.

KIRKBRIDE.

1711. Hunter, Mr John: A New Method Of Teaching The Latine Tongue; . . . Cellæ S. Brigidæ. Printed By Robert Rae, Anno Dom. MDCCXI.
8vo. 6 1/5 x 3 4/5. pp. 104 including Title Page.
Edinburgh University Library: "ex dono Authoris. 8 June, 1713."
1712. The Murtherer's Reward; being A true and exact Account of a most cruel and barbarous Murther, committed . . . in Tredenton, in the County of Westmoreland; . . . Kirkbride Reprinted in the year 1712.
pp. 8. 5 6/8 x 3 3/4.
John R. Findlay, Esq., Edinburgh (1913).
1712. Harrison, Thomas: Topica Sacra: Spiritual Logick. . . . Enlarged with Spiritual Pleadings . . . by Mr John Hunter, Minister of the Gospel at Ayr. Kirkbride, Printed By Robert Rae, MDCCXII.
Size 5 15/16 x 3 3/4, pp. viii., 154.
[followed by] Spiritual Pleadings: . . . Being An Imitation and Supplement . . . By Mr John Hunter. Kirkbride, Printed by Robert Rae, 1712.
D., K. Title and pp. 157-280.
1713. [Robesone, Revd. Alexander, Tinwald]: The Oath of Abjuration 'no Ground of Seperation. By a Lover of Truth and Peace. Kirkbride, Printed by Robert Rae, 1713.
K. Size 6 2/8 x 3 3/4. pp. 45.
1713. The Ballad of Maggie Lauder. [Broadsheet? 1713.]

DUMFRIES.

1715. Henry, Matthew: Sober-mindedness press'd upon Young People. . . . Drumfries, Printed and sold by Robert Rae, MDCCXV. Price 4d Stitch'd or 6d Bound.
Size 4 15/16 x 2 14/16. Pages (including title) 92, besides Index and Advertisement at end, four pages not numbered.
K.

1715. Howy, Mr. Thomas, Minister of the Gospel at Annan: The Present State of Most Professors; . . . in some Sermons On Matth. 25. 5. and Eph. 5. 14. . . . Drumfries, Printed By Robert Rae, at his Printing-House in *Kirkgate*. 1715.
Size 6 2/8 x 3 1/4. pp. 72.

K.

1715. An Essay, upon The following Questions . . . What Power has the Magistrate, about Sacred Things? . . . Do the Faults of Rulers render their Authority void and null? . . . *By a well-wisher of the Country's Peace*. Drumfries. Printed by Robert Rae at his Printing-House in the *Kirk-gate*. MDCCXV. (Price 4d.)
Size 8 x 6 4/8. pp. iv., 27.

D., K.

1715. The New Exercise of Firelocks and Bayonets: . . . To be used By all the British Forces. . . . By an Officer in His Majesties Foot Guards. Drumfries Re-Printed and Sold by Robert Rae, at his Shop on the East Side of the Street a little below the Fish-Cross, MDCCXV. Price Six-Pence.
Size 6 x 3 1/4. pp. 46.

K.

1715. [Monteith, Mr James, Minister at Borgue] A / Looking-Glass / for / *MINISTERS AND CHRISTIANS*: / or a **TRUE VIEW** / of the / **Principles and Practices** / of / The Great Appstle [sic] *PAUL*: / Considered as a Minister of Christ, and as a Christian; most wor- / thy the Imitation of Ministers and Christians, in declining Times / line / *By a Minister of the Gospel* / line / [6 texts in 10 lines italic / line / DRUMFRIES. / Printed and sold by *Robert Rae*, at his Shop a little below the Fish-Cross. MDCCXV. / Double line border.

Size 7 4/5 x 6. pp. 16 as follows: [4] (Title, Reverse blank, To the Christian Reader) [1] (half-title)—12 (text). Sigs A (p [1] text), A 2 (p 3) B (p 9).

In the possession of Mr E. A. Hornel. In volume with nine other pamphlets, 1648-1727, in full calf with tooling the same as other books known to have been in Peter Rae's possession and probably bound by him. On fly-leaf a MS. note states the above is by "Mr Ja: Monteith in Borge."

K.

1717. [Robesone, Revd. Alexander, Tinwald]. *Mene Tekel; or Separation Weighed in the Ballance of the Sanctuary and found wanting. Part I* Wherein, The Conduct of the Church of Scotland, with respect to the *Union and Oath of Abjuration*, is fully cleared and Vindicated; . . . Drumfries. Printed by *Robert Rae*, and Sold by him, and John Duncan, Booksellers there . . . MDCCXVII.
- Part II. [The Same] Wherein, The Cause of *Peace and Unity* is largely pleaded, in Defence of that Paper, Entituled, The Oath of Abjuration, no ground of Separation. . . .
- Size 8 x 6½. pp. xiii, 106. 1, 107. Appendix pp. 40.
- D., K.
1717. [Pollock, Revd. John, Glencairn]: An Answer to the first Part of *Humble-Pleadings*, or a Vindication of the Church of Scotland: from the unjust aspersions of Mr. Hepburn and his Party. . . . *By a Well-wisher of the Good-Old-Way*. Drumfries. Printed by Robert Rae, at his Printing-House in the Kirkgate, MDCCXVII.
- Size 7 15/16 x 6½. pp. x, 74.
- D., K.
1718. [Rae, Peter]: The History of the Late Rebellion; Rais'd against His Majesty King George, By the Friends of the Popish Pretender. . . . By a Lover of the Prosperity & Peace of Great-Britain . . . Drumfries. Printed by *Robert Rae*, & sold by him . . . & other Booksellers. MDCCXVIII.
- 4to. pp. xiv, 388, [8].
- D., K.
1718. [Wightman, Revd. David, Applegarth]: Mr *Taylor's* Case stated, or A Just Reply To a Book, intituled A Vindication of Mr *John Taylor* Minister of Wamfray. . . . Drumfries. Printed by Robert Rae, in the year MDCCXVIII.
- Size 7 15/16 x 6½, Title and To the Reader, pp. 10. Reply pp. 90.
- K.
1718. Vetch, Mr. William, Minister of the Gospel at *Drumfries*: A Short History of Rome's Designs; against the Protestant Interest in Britain. With A Vindication of Mr. William Vetch. . . . Drumfries, Printed by Robert Rae in the year MDCCXVIII.
- Small 4to. pp. iv, 20.
- K.

166 DUMFRIES PRINTERS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

1719. An Abstract Of the Proceedings of the *Synod of Drumfries*, in the Process of the Greater Excommunication of Mr. *John Taylor*. [25 June 1719]
D. 10½ x 6¼. pp. 2.
1719. A Trophy of Christ's *Victory*: Or, The great Mercy of God in Christ, Exemplified, in the Speedy and Seasonable Repentance of *Elizabeth Blackie*, who was Executed for Child Murder, at Jedburgh, 27th of May 1718. Drumfries, Re-printed In the Year, 1719.
8vo. pp. [1]—16.
British Museum.
1720. Vetch, Mr. William, Minister of the Gospel at *Drumfries*: A Short Answer; . . . To a Letter pretendedly written by Mr. *John Hepburn* Division-maker. Drumfries, Printed by R. Rae, MDCCXX.
K. Size 6½ x 3 4/8. pp. 16.
1721. The [Dr]umfries Mercury; Containing an Account of the most Remarkable [O]ccurrences. [February to May, 1721.]
K. (Size probably 8 2/8 x 6 4/8)
- n.d. Marlow, John: The Loyal Garland, Composed of three Excellent New Songs. . . Drumfries printed by Robert Rae, and are to be sold in his Shop, a little below the Fish Cross.
[No Date]. 8vo. (5½ x 3¼). pp. 8.
Lord Rosebery (1913).

JOHN DUNCAN.

Collection of Psalm Tunes / for the use of the / CHURCH OF SCOTLAND / Compos'd in four parts (viz.) / Trible Contra Tenor Bassus / Engraven Printed and Sold By John Duncan / Bookseller in Dumfries MDCCXXVII. / Corrected & Amended. / (below impression of plate) Societatis.

Size, oblong 7 3/5 x 4. Date altered from 1723 to 1727.

Reverse title blank; p. [I.] blank; p. [II.] The Gamut or Scale of Musick; p. [III.] A plain Song for Tuning the Voice; [line of notes]; If you'll sing true without all blame, you call all Eights by the same name; [scales]; p. [IV.] blank; [p.] 1 Old Common Tune; R. blank; [p.] 2 Kings Tune; R. blank; [p.] 3 Dukes Tune; R. blank; [p.] 4 Dumfermling Tune; R. blank; [p.] 5 English Tune; R. blank; [p.] 6 French Tune; R. blank; [p.] 7 London Tune; R. blank; [p.] 8 Stilt Tune; R. blank; [p.] 9 Dundee Tune; R. blank; [p.] 10 Abbey Tune; R. blank; [p.] 11 Elgine Tune; R. blank; [p.] 12 Martyrs Tune; R. blank; [p.] 13 New Town Tune; R. blank; [p.] 14 119 Psalm; R. blank.

This copy appears originally to have been dated MDCCXXIII., altered to MDCCXXIIII., then to MDCCXXVII. It is also possible that pp. [ii.] and [iii.] have been added to the original 1—14. The size of the engraved plates is 5 1/5 x 3 4/5.

K.

8vo. pp. 72.

THE JACKSON PRESS.

R. JACKSON AND W. BOYD.

1773. M'Vinie, John, in the Parish of Tongland: The Uncertainty of Human Life described . . . and also A Compendious Poem upon the admirable Works of Almighty God. . . . Dumfries. Printed by R. Jackson and W. Boyd and sold by the Author. MDCCLXXIII.

8vo. pp. 72.

K.

- 1773-7. The Dumfries Weekly Magazine, containing a Variety of Essays, Moral, Political, Humorous and Serious in Prose and Verse; An exact News-Paper, or History of the Times; with a Critical Account of every New Publication and Occurrence worthy Notice, which may happen in the Literary World. Volume I. *Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulcit.* Dumfries, Printed by R. Jackson and W. Boyd. MDCCLXXIII.

pp. [x.] + 3 — 416. 8vo. [Complete set 17 2/3 volumes, March 16, 1773—July 22, 1777.]

D. (long run).

1774. Stayley, G.: The Art of Reading, in two Lectures: With General Rules and Observations, and Exemplary Quotations from the Most Eminent English Authors. Dumfries, 1774. Printed by R. Jackson and W. Boyd.

pp. iv. + 9 + 84. 7 4/5 x 4 3/5 [pp. 9-48, Art of Reading; pp. 49-64, Free-Masonry, A Lecture; pp. 79-84, The Infidel, or Atheistic Logic considered, A Poem].

D.

1776. Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture within the Counties of Dumfries and Wigton, and Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. Dumfries, 1776. R. Jackson & W. Boyd.

pp. [2] + 69 + No. 2, x + 118. 8 4/5 x 5 2/5.

D., K.

1776. Stackhouse, Thomas, A.M., Vicar of Beenham in Berkshire: A Complete Body of Speculative and Practical Divinity. Dumfries. Printed by Robert Jackson and William Boyd. M,DCC,LXXVI-VII. 3 Vols.

ROBERT JACKSON.

1777. Mayne, John: The Siller Gun [Twelve Stanzas].
4to Sheet. [? 1777.]

[NOTE.—Mayne sent contributions signed "Jocky Mayne" to Ruddiman's Edinburgh Weekly Magazine, in 1779. See "The Siller Gun," 1836, p. 228, and "Epistle to Mr Walter Ruddiman" in Magee's (Belfast) ed. of Burns's Poems. 1793. Vol. 2.]

1777. [Moorhead's Hospital]: Rules for the Government of the Hospital of the Town of Dumfries; with other Papers relative to the Hospital. Published by Order of the Directors, for the information of all concerned. Dumfries, M,DCC,LXXVII. Robert Jackson.
pp. 38. 8 by 5.

D.

1778. An Exact Copy of the Antient Valuation Roll of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, retoured to the Exchequer, 15th July, 1642. Also a Copy of the Modern Valuation Roll made up and reported to the Commissioners by the Collectors of Supply, as the Rule by which they at present collect the Land Tax. 1777. Dumfries, Printed by Robert Jackson. MDCCLXXVIII.
pp. 66. sm. fol.

1778. [Ewart, Rev. John, Troqueer]: A Protestant Catechism: Showing the Principal Errors of the Church of Rome. Dumfries. Robert Jackson, 1778.

pp. 36. 5 9/10 x 3 3/5.

[Reprinted 1813, Edinburgh, by C. Stewart for Doig & Stirling, with copy of title page of Jackson's, but date "1783" and "part II. published for the first time." pp. 128. Reprinted also by John Nicholson, Kirkcudbright.

D., K.

1778. Dinwiddie, James, A.M.: Syllabus of a Course of Lectures of Experimental Philosophy. Dumfries, Printed by Robert Jackson.

15 [+ 1]. 8vo.

K.

1778. Keyden, Rev. William, Penpont: A Sermon preached on the Death of Charles, Duke of Queensberry and Dover. Printed by Robert Jackson. 1778.
8vo. 31 pp.
1779. The Psalms of David in Metre, newly translated with the Annotations of Mr. David Dickson, Edinburgh. Dumfries. Printed by R. Jackson. 1779.
Sm. 8vo.
D., K.
1780. Roach, John: The Surprising Adventures of John Roach, Mariner of Whitehaven, containing a genuine account of his cruel treatment during a long captivity among the Spaniards in South America, with his miraculous preservation and deliverance by Divine Providence and happy return to the place of his nativity, after being 13 years among his inhuman enemies. Dumfries. Printed by Robert Jackson. 1788.
12mo.
K.
1784. [Presbytery Library]. A Catalogue of the Books in the Library belonging to the Presbytery of Dumfries. Dumfries. Printed by Robert Jackson. MDCCLXXXIV.
pp 52. 9 x 6.
D., K.
1785. Lamont, Rev. David, D.D., Kirkpatrick-Durham: Sermon (preached at Kells) on I. John, iii., 7. Dumfries. Robert Jackson. 1785.
8vo.
1785. [White, Hugh]. The Divine Dictionary: or, A Treatise indicated by Holy Inspiration, etc. 1st Number. Dumfries. Robert Jackson. 1785.
pp. v. + 43. 8 1/10 x 5 1/10.
D., K.
1787. Dumfriesshire. Valuation Roll of the Sheriffdom of Dumfries, comprehending the Stewartry of Annandale and the Five Kirks of Eskdale. Dumfries. Robert Jackson. 1787.
fol.
D.
1790. Fisher, James: Poems on Various Subjects. Printed by Robert Jackson for the Author. 1790.
pp. vii. + 160. 8 1/5 x 5 1/5.
D.

170 DUMFRIES PRINTERS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

1792. Fisher, James: Poems on Various Subjects. Second Edition. Improved and Enlarged. Dumfries. Printed by Robert Jackson for the Author. MDCCXCII.
pp. 202. 8vo.
K.
1792. Vincent, Nathaniel, M.A., Minister of the Gospel: Principles of the Doctrine of Christ; or, A Catechism. Dumfries: Printed by R. Jackson, and sold by W. Chalmers, Bookseller. 1792.
pp. 24. 5 x 3.
K.
1793. Reid, William, Whitesmith, Dumfries: The Heroine, a Comedy [in five Acts]. Dumfries. Printed by Robert Jackson. 1793.
pp. 57.
[Advertisement, "Dumfries Weekly Journal" Nov. 26, 1793. "To be sold by the Author, Mr W. Boyd, and all other Booksellers in Dumfries. Just Published, price 1/-".]
1793. Reid, James, Minister of the Gospel in Galloway: Our Lord Jesus Christ God-Man: With a Vindication of his Proper Godhead. Dumfries. Printed by Robert Jackson. 1793.
pp. vi. + 32. 8vo. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$.
K.
1793. Sibbald, Rev. Mr William [Minister of Johnston]: Government Necessary, and the British Government the Best: with an examination of some National Grievances at present complained of. A Sermon preached at Johnston, Dec. [sic] 21, 1792. Dumfries. Printed by Robert Jackson For W. Chalmers, Bookseller. MDCCXCIII.
pp. iii. + 5 + 24. 7 $\frac{3}{5}$ x 4 $\frac{7}{10}$.
D., K.
1794. Reid, James: The Great Mystery of Godliness. Dumfries. Printed by Robert Jackson. 1794.
pp. vi. + 68. 8vo.
K.
1794. Trail, David, A.M.: The Miseries of France, A warning to Britain. A Sermon preached in St. Michael's Church, Dumfries, the 27th of February, 1794 The day appointed for a General Fast through Scotland on account of the War. Dumfries: Printed by Robert Jackson. MDCCXCIV.
8vo. pp. 22.
[Adv. "Dumfries Journal" 22: IV: 1794 "to be sold by Mr Wilson and Messrs Boyd, Chalmers and Clugston, Booksellers, Dumfries. Fine paper, 1/-, common, 6d per copy."].
K.

1795. Dumfries & Galloway Royal Infirmary. The Statutes and Rules for the Government of the. Dumfries. MDCCXCV. Robert Jackson.
pp. x. + 54. 8 1/5 x 4 4/5.
1795. Johnston, Bryce, D.D.: The Lord's Call to hear the Rod, and him who hath appointed it. Two Sermons on Micah vi., 9. The Substance of which was preached in Holywood Church on Thursday, 26th February, 1795, being the National Fast-Day on Account of the present war with France. Dumfries. Printed by Robert Jackson. 1795.
8vo. pp. 44.
1795. Twisse, William, D.D.: The Scriptures Sufficiency to determine all matters of Faith. [Preface by James Reid.] Dumfries. Robert Jackson. 1795.
8 vo. pp. 96.
1795. [White, Thomas]. Saint Guerdun's Well. A Poem. Dumfries. 1795. Printed by Robert Jackson.
pp. 24. 8 9/10 x 5 3/5.
- D.
1796. Carruthers, John: The Heroic Deeds of the Scots, A Poem, in four Volumes; From Fergus 1, down to the present Time, to which are added, Poems on Several Occasions, at the End of Each Volume. Vol. 1. Dumfries: Printed by Robert Jackson. MDCCXCVI.
pp. 84. 6 3/10 x 3 7/10.
[The author appears to have hailed from Lochmaben. One of the supplementary poems is by "Stewart Lewis, Soldier in Major Clarkson's Company of the 7th or Southern Fencibles. Edin. 18th April, 1796," and another by Will McVitie, Leith.]
- K. D.
1797. Draught of a Bill for repairing and widening several Roads in the County of Dumfries; and for converting the Statute Labour within the said County into money: and for applying the same towards repairing Highways within the said County. Dumfries. Robert Jackson. 1797.
4to. pp. 35.
1797. Johnston, Bryce, D.D., Minister of the Parish of Holywood. The Divine Authority and Encouragement of Missions from Christians to the Heathen; A Sermon preached before The Dumfries Missionary Society, in the Church of Holywood, on Thursday the 16th of November, 1797. Dumfries. Printed by Robert Jackson.
8vo. 7 4/5 x 4 9/10. pp. 56.

D.

172 DUMFRIES PRINTERS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

1797. White, Thomas: Saint Guerdun's Well. A Poem. Second Edition. Dumfries. 1797. [On cover only.] Printed by Robert Jackson.
pp. 40. 11 1/5 x 9.
D.
1797. Lamont, David, D.D., Minister of Kirkpatrick-Durham: A Sermon on National Gratitude. Dumfries. Printed by Robert Jackson. 1797.
8vo. pp. 27.
K.
1798. Burnside, Rev. W., D.D., Minister of St. Michael's Church, Dumfries: The Great Things that God hath done for the British Nation: illustrated in A Sermon, Delivered on the 29th of November last, being a Day of Public Thanksgiving For the Victories obtained by Lord Nelson and Sir John B. Warren. Dumfries: Printed by Robert Jackson. 1798.
pp. 23. 7 4/5 x 4 1/2.
K.
1798. Lamont, Rev. David, D.D., Kirkpatrick-Durham: A Sermon on Repentance preached at Kirkpatrick-Durham. Dumfries. Robert Jackson, 1798.
8vo.
1798. M'Millan, James, Minister of the Gospel at Torthorwald: The Nature, Stability and Prosperity of Messiah's Kingdom. A Sermon preached before the Dumfries Missionary Society and at their desire, in Torthorwald Kirk, on the 22nd of March, 1798. Dumfries. Printed by Robert Jackson. MDCCXCVIII.
pp. 24. 8 1/2 x 5 1/2.
D.
1799. Regulations of The Agreeable Society, instituted at Dumfries, the fourteenth day of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight. Dumfries: Printed by Robert Jackson. 1799.
pp. 11. 9 x 5.
K.
1800. Kirkcudbright. Valuation Roll of the Stewartry of, as made up by the Commissioners of Land-Tax, 14th June, 1799. R. Jackson. 1800.
sm. fol. 13 1/2 x 7 1/2. pp. 39 + [1].
1801. Johnston, Rev. Bryce: The Cause of God's Judgments on Great Britain, and the Way to Remove them: considered in Two Sermons.
8vo. pp. 46.

1802. Fisher, James: The Lamentation of the Poor Folk in Annan for the Loss of the Muir. Dumfries. Printed by Robert Jackson. 1802.
pp. 8.
1802. Young, Rev. Peter: A Sermon Preached in the Church of Wigton, on Thursday, June 17, 1802. . . . Dumfries. Printed by Robert Jackson. 1802.
8vo. pp. 24.
K.
1803. Brief Directions for Exercising New Levies, and Speedily Rendering them Fit for Active Service. Dumfries: Printed by R. Jackson. 1803.
pp. 16. 8 x 4½.
K.
1803. [Sharpe, C. K.]. A Friendly Address to the Common People of Dumfriesshire. Signed "Gracchus." Dumfries. R. Jackson. [1803.]
1804. Johnstone, Rev. Bryce: The Reason why the Enemies of Britain have so long threatened this Empire with Destruction, and the way speedily to subdue these Enemies: considered in Two Sermons. 1804.
8vo. pp. 40.
1806. Wilson, William. Dumfries. Miscellaneous Songs and Poems, chiefly in the Scottish Dialect. Second edition. Dumfries. Printed by Robert Jackson. 1806.
Sm. 8vo. pp. 60.
K.
1807. The Valuation Book of the Sheriff-dom of Dumfries comprehending the Stewartry of Annandale and Five Kirks of Eskdale made up by the Clerk to the Commissioners of Supply, Revised by their Committee on 3rd March and approven by the General Annual Meeting on 30th April, 1806. Dumfries. Printed by Robert Jackson. 1807.
pp. 59. 10 3/10 x 8.
D.
1807. Sibbald, William, D.D., Minister at Johnstone: Love to Jesus, expressed in Beneficence to Man: a Sermon. . . . Dumfries. Printed by Robert Jackson. 1807.
8vo. pp. 23.
K.

174 DUMFRIES PRINTERS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

1808. Lamont, Rev. David, D.D., Kirkpatrick-Durham: Charity Recommended, A Sermon Preached in St. Michael's Church, Dumfries, on Sabbath, October 9, 1808, for the Benefit of the Town Hospital or Poor House, and Published at the Request of the Directors. Dumfries. Robert Jackson.
pp. 22. 8½ x 5½.
1808. [Duncan, Henry, Ruthwell, *ed.*] The Scotch Cheap Repository containing Moral and Religious Tales . . . Dumfries. Printed by Robert Jackson. 1808.
pp. 24. 8vo.
[No. 1 only but No. 2 wanting—No. 3 onwards, Edinburgh. Printed by J. Ritchie.]
K.
1809. Catalogue of all the Genuine and Elegant Household Furniture, . . . which will be sold, by Public Auction, at Dane-Vale Park, near Castle-Douglas, on Monday, the 8th of May, 1809. Dumfries. Printed by Robert Jackson. 1809.
8vo. pp. 23 [+ 1].
K.
1810. Gillespie, Rev. William of Kells: Mercy Recommended: A Sermon Preached in St. Michael's Church, Dumfries, on Sabbath, October 7, 1810, for the Benefit of the Hospital or Poor's House, and Published at the Request of the Directors. Printed by Robert Jackson. Dumfries. 1810.
pp. 27. 9 x 5½.
1811. Wightman, Rev. John: Patriotism: or, The Love of Our Country illustrated and recommended in a Sermon. . . . Dumfries. Printed by Robert Jackson. 1811.
8vo. pp. 28.
K.
1812. Wightman, Rev. John: Christian Industry: or The work of Him that sent us described and inculcated in a Sermon. . . . Dumfries. Printed by Robert Jackson. 1812.
8vo. pp. 26.
K.
1812. Wightman, Rev. John, D.D., Kirkmahoe: The Question of Universal Concern: or, the Gaining of the Whole World and the Losing of the Soul considered and improved in a Sermon preached in the New Church of Dumfries, May 7, 1812. Dumfries, Robert Jackson. 1812.
8vo. pp. 18.

1813. Wightman, Rev. John, Minister of Kirkmahoe: The Solemn Warning, given by our Lord on Mount Olivet. . . . Dumfries. Printed by Robert Jackson. 1813.
8vo. pp. 27.
K.
1813. Wightman, Rev. John: The Sinfulness, Punishment and Duty of the British Nation illustrated and improved in a Sermon. . . Dumfries. Printed by Robert Jackson. 1813.
8vo. pp. 30.
K.
1813. [? Miller, Patrick]. Letter from ——— to his Friend in London, on the Present State of Public affairs recommended to the serious consideration of every man of property in Great Britain and Ireland. Dumfries: Printed by Robert Jackson. 1813.
pp. 45 + 3 blank. 8vo. 8½ x 5.
1815. Wightman, Rev. John: Our Mortality Considered as a serious and impressive call. . . . Dumfries. Printed by Robert Jackson. 1815.
8vo. pp. 28.
K.
1816. Wightman, Rev. John: The Important Duty of Avoiding Evil Company, inculcated in a Sermon. . . . Dumfries. Printed by Robert Jackson. 1816.
8vo. pp. 25.
K.
1820. Graham, John, *S.S.T.S.* Teacher, Dumfries. Nov. 1, 1820. A Sermon [Job xxx. 23] Printed by Robert Jackson.
pp. 40. 8 7/10 x 5 3/5. Second and Fifth Editions.
[7650 copies were sold prior to 12th ed.]
- 1822-3. Graham, John *S.S.T.S.* Teacher, Dumfries: A Sermon on the Omnipresence of Jehovah. Printed by R. Jackson. 1822.
8vo. pp. 40.
[Preface in 16th ed. In 1822-3, 4000 copies were printed at Dumfries; and in 1823, 4000 at Edinburgh. 16th is Newcastle.]

WILLIAM CARSON.

1823. Kennedy, James, *Sanquhar: Poems and Songs*. Printed at the Journal and Advertiser Office by William Carson. 1823.
pp. 168.
[Note. Adv. Sept., 1823. "The publication of this small Volume has been delayed longer than the author anticipated, in consequence of the death of the person formerly employed to print it.]
1824. Graham, John, *S.S.T.S. Teacher, Dumfries: Sermon on the Unchangeableness of Jehovah*. Dumfries, Printed for the Author by W. Carson, Journal and Advertiser Office. 1824.
pp. 40. 7 4/5 x 4 4/5.
1824. Graham, John *S.S.T.S. Teacher, Dumfries: A Sermon on the Omnipresence of Jehovah*. Printed by W. Carson. 1824.
8vo. pp. 40.
1824. [Crichton, Andrew.] *Historical and Genealogical Account of the House of Kenmure, 1824*. Printed by W. Carson.
pp. 20. 8vo.
D., K.
1826. Halliday, J., *Land Surveyor, Dumfries. The Complete Ready Reckoner containing accurate tables. . . . Dumfries. Printed by W. Carson. 1826*.
pp. 200. 4 1/2 x 4.
D.
1827. Trotter, Robert, M.D.: *Herbert Herries; or The Days of Queen Mary. A Tale of Dundrennan Abbey*. Edinburgh, 1827. John Anderson, Jun. Printed at Dumfries by W. Carson.
pp. x. + 260. 7 1/5 x 4 1/5.
1827. Valuation Roll, Ancient and Modern, of the County of Dumfries, with Appendix showing the alterations made in the Roll since 1671. Approved and ordered to be printed, 30th April, 1827. Folio. Dumfries. Printed at the Journal Office by W. Carson. 1827.
1827. A Short Genealogical and Historical Account of the Noble Family of Buccleuch, as it appeared in the Dumfries Weekly Journal 18th December, 1827. Dumfries. Printed at the Journal and Advertiser Office by W. Carson. 1827.
12mo. pp. 23.
K.

1827. Dumfriesshire. Valuation Roll, Ancient and Modern, of the County of Dumfries, with Appendix showing the alterations made in the Roll since 1671. Approved and ordered to be printed 30th April, 1827. Dumfries. Printed at the Journal Office by W. Carson. 1827.
folio.
 D.
1828. Wightman, Rev. John: The New Commandment, illustrated and Enforced in a Sermon. . . . Dumfries. Printed at the Journal Office by W. Carson. 1828.
pp. 24. 8vo.
 K.
1828. M'Vitie, William: Jamie Tod; or, The First of April. A Tale. Dumfries. Printed at the Journal Office, by W. Carson, 1828.
8vo. pp. 72.
 K.
1828. Annan Academy: Statement Regarding the Academy of Annan. Dumfries: W. Carson. Journal and Advertiser Office. 1828.
pp. 10. 8 x 5 3/10.
 D.
1829. Burnside, Rev. G. M., assistant minister at Terregles: A Sermon on the Ruinous Nature of Unbelief, as Manifested in the History of the Past and Present State of the World. Dumfries: Printed at the Journal Office by W. Carson. 1829.
pp. 1-34. 8 x 5.
1829. Caesar, William: A Jaunt to Edinburgh, in Verse. Dumfries. W. Carson. Journal & Advertiser Office.
pp. 18. 7¼ x 4 2/5.
 D.
1829. Roll of Stent and Supply payable to the Crown within the Royalty of Dumfries for the year ending March, 1829. Dumfries. W. Carson, 1829.
4to.
1829. Wightman, Rev. John, D.D., Kirkmahoe: Popular and Practical Observations on Contentment and Happiness, a Sermon preached in Kirkmahoe Church, December 14, 1828. Dumfries. Printed at the Journal Office by W. Carson. 1829.
8vo. pp. 27.

178 DUMFRIES PRINTERS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

1830. Shaw, Rev. W. B., Minister of Langholm: A Sermon tending to show that the Great Design of Christianity is to make men partakers of a Divine Nature. Preached before the Prov. Synod of Dumfries. 20th April, 1830.

["Tomorrow will be published" Dumfries Weekly Journal, 18: v.: 30.]

- n.d. Act for Paving, Cleansing, Lighting and Watching the Streets, and otherwise regulating the Police of the Town of Dumfries. 10th June, 1811. [Dumfries. Printed by W. Carson.]

pp. 50. 8 1/5 x 5 1/10.

[No title page. Date is that of the Act, not of the printing.]

REV. GEORGE HERON.

- [1831.] Wightman, Rev. John: The Consideration of Our latter End: illustrated and Recommended in a Sermon, preached in Kirkmichael Church, March 13, 1831, being the next Sunday after the burial of Mr John Smail, son of the Rev. James Smail, minister of that Parish. Dumfries. Printed by Geo. [sic] Heron, Journal Office.

8vo. pp. 24.

K.

1831. Interim Report of a Committee of the County of Dumfries. Appointed 5th October, 1830, to consider the necessity of a Lunatic Asylum for the District of Galloway and Dumfries. Made at a General Meeting of the County of Dumfries on 4th October, 1831. [at end] Printed by Geo. Heron, Weekly Journal Office, Dumfries.

8vo. pp. 26.

D.

1832. Shirrefs, William: Public Houses or the Miseries of Intemperance being a few thoughts concerning the hopeless state of those who frequent and encourage these Dens of Vice and Depravity. Dumfries. Published by William Shirrefs, 28, English Street.

[Dumfries Journal, 27th Dec., 1831. "Now in the Press and shortly to be published."]

1832. Dumfries and Galloway Royal Infirmary. The Fifty-fifth Report of the, for the year ending 11th November, 1831. Dumfries. Printed by Geo. Heron, Journal Office. 1832.

pp. 20.

D.

JOURNAL OFFICE.

1833. Trial of Mr. Edward Irving, late Minister of the National Scotch Church, Regent Square, London, before the Presbytery of Annan on 13th March, 1833, with Appendix of Letters, notice of similar manifestations, etc. Printed at the Journal Office.
12mo. pp. 108.

McLACHLAN PRESS.

ROBERT McLACHLAN.

1784. The Young Free-Mason's Assistant. Being a Choice Collection of Mason Songs: with a variety of Toasts and Sentiments, to which are added A Few of the Most Celebrated Songs, Scotch and English. Dumfries. Printed by Robert McLachlan, for W. Chalmers, Bookseller. 1784.
[Cut to 5½ x 3¼.] pp. 155.
D., K.
1785. Guthrie, Rev. William, Late Minister of the Gospel at Finwick. The Christian's Great Interest. In Two Parts. 1. The Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ. 2. The Way How to Attain unto it. To which are prefixed Memoir of the Author; A Preface by the Rev. Mr Robert Trail and other Recommendatory Introductions. Dumfries: Printed by Robert McLachlan. M,DCC,LXXXV.
5 x 3. pp. 309.
K.
1785. [Kirkcudbrightshire.] Instructions for the Constables of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, Drawn up By Order of the Commissioners of the Land Tax, in terms of an Act of a General Meeting, dated 21st, June, and approved by the Quarter-Sessions 2nd, August, 1785. Dumfries. Printed by Robert McLachlan. M,DCC,LXXXV.
pp. 12. 12mo.
1785. Doddridge, Philip: The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul. Dumfries. Printed and Sold by Robert McLachlan. M,DCC,LXXXV.
pp. 317. 6 3/5 x 3 4-5.
K.

180 DUMFRIES PRINTERS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

1785. Moral Instructions of a Father to his Son about to undertake a long Voyage: or, An Easy Method of forming a Young Man to all kinds of Virtue. Translated from the French of Silvester du Four. To which is added a Collection of Moral Instructions in Prose and Verse from the Best Authors. Dumfries. Printed by Robert McLachlan. M,DCC,LXXXV.

pp. 189. 5½ x 3 3/10.

K.

1785. Henry, Matthew: The Communicant's Companion: or Instructions and Helps for the Right Receiving of the Lord's Supper. Dumfries: Printed by Robert McLachlan for J. Dickson, Edinburgh. M,DCC,LXXXV.

pp. 290. 6 1/5 x 3 3/5.

K.

CUTHBERT McLACHLAN.

1794. Laws and Regulations of the Amicable Society of Dumfries: as approved, and confirmed, by the Quarter Sessions for the County of Dumfries on the twentieth of May, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four. Dumfries: Cuthbert McLachlan. 1794.

15 [+ 2]. 6 4/5 x 4.

K.

1794. Muter, Rev. Robert, D.D., Minister of Kirkcudbright: Abounding Iniquity, and its Consequences: A Sermon preached at Kirkcudbright. . . . Dumfries. Printed by Cuthbert McLachlan, 1794.

8vo. pp. 31.

K.

1795. [Carlyle, James, ed.]: The Death-Bed Words and Heavenly Sayings of Margaret Carlyle, Eldest Daughter of Alexander Carlyle, Merchant in Glasgow. Dumfries: Printed for the Editor by Cuthbert McLachlan. 1795.

pp. 16. 6¼ x 4.

[“This small work was written soon after the death of Margaret Carlyle, which took place in 1708. It remained in MS. till 1795, when it was edited and printed for James Carlyle, who resided at “Outeryard,” possibly a farm near Annan which still bears the name.” Frank Miller.]

K.

1797. Arrowsmith, John, B.D., Preacher of the Gospel at King's Lynn, Norfolk: The Covenant Avenging Sword Brandished: in a Sermon before the House of Commons at their Solemn Fast, January 25, 1642. Dumfries. Printed by C. McLachlan, 1797.

pp. 32. 8 x 4.

[Evidently printed by order of John Reid, from London copy printed in the year 1643. Preface by Rev. James Reid, Galloway.]

K.

1797. Articles of Constitution of the Relief Society; or *Sick Man's Friend* Constitute in the Brig-end of Dumfries, the fifth day of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, as approved of, and confirmed by the Quarter Sessions for the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, on the Second of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six. Dumfries: Printed by C. McLachlan. 1797.

pp. 12. 7 3/5 x 4.

K.

1799. Proffiet, Nicolas, late Rector of Peter's in Marlborough, Minister of Edmonton. England's Impenitence under Smiting; Causing Anger to Continue, and the Destroying Hand of God to be stretched forth still; set out in a Sermon preached before the Honourable House of Commons at their Public Fast, September 25, 1644. Dumfries. Printed by C. McLachlan. 1799.

pp. viii. + 60. 8vo.

K.

1801. Clerk, Alexander, in Calside, Parish of Glencairn: Poems on various Subjects. Dumfries. Printed at the St. Michael's Press by C. McLachlan. 1801.

pp. 80. 8 1/4 x 5 2/5.

[Robert Clerk, Calside. d. 8 Nov., 1816, aged 67, vide M'Dowall's "Mem. of St. Michael's," 178.]

1802. P., T.: The Danger of Oppression; or a Serious Serious and Friendly Caution to the Forestallers of Markets, or Engrossers of Grain written on account of the failure of the crop in the year 1799, and the high price of Provision in 1800, and 1801, by T.P. Printed for the Author at the St. Michael Press by C. McLachlan, Dumfries. 1802.

pp. 42. 6 2/5 x 3 1/4.

182 DUMFRIES PRINTERS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

- 1807 [?]. [Duncan, Rev. Henry, Ruthwell.] Some Interesting Particulars of the Life and Character of Maitland Smith. . . . Edinburgh. Printed by James Balfantyne & Co. 1807.

pp. 24.

[On the last page, however, beneath "End of First Part," appears the imprint: "C. Maclauchlan, Printer, Dumfries."]

K.

- n.d. Duke of Gordon's Daughters, The: Printed for John Sinclair, Dumfries. [On the last page] Printed at the St. Michael Press by C. McLachlan, Dumfries.

pp. 8.

- n.d. McLaren, A.: The *Bonny Lass* of Dumfries: A Musical Interlude. Dumfries, printed for the author and sold by Cuthbert McLachlan. [n.d.]

pp. 16. 6½ x 4.

Price 2d. Of whom may be had a variety of Plays and Farces.
D. K.

- n.d. The Bride's Burial, or The Affectionate Lovers, a True Love Story. Printed by C. McLachlan for John Sinclair, Bookseller, Dumfries.

8 pp.

- n.d. [No title page.] An Account of the Life and Writings of the Reverend Edmund Staunton, D.D., Minister of the Gospel at Kingston upon Thames, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. [at end] From the St. Michael Press, By C. McLachlan, Dumfries.

pp. 32. 8vo.

K.

- n.d. An Authentic Narrative of the Mutiny among the First or Strathspey Regiment of Fencibles, which happened at Dumfries, 11th June, 1795, Together with the Trial, Sentence, and Execution of the Mutineers; two of whom were shot on Gullen Links, upon Friday, the 17th of July, 1795. Dumfries. Printed by C. McLachlan.

12mo. 8 pp.

K.

- n.d. Messenger of mortality, / Or a *Dailogue* [sic] between Death and a Lady. C. McLachlan, Printer, Dumfries.

Broadsheet. 12½ x 17½, print 8 x 12.

D.

- n.d. New Songs. The Ploughman, Whisky I Adore, The Rigs of Barley, The Borrow'd Kiss, The Kiss Repaid. Printed by C. McLachlan For John Sinclair, Bookseller, Dumfries.
- pp. 8. 5½ x 3½.
- [At end. "Printed at the St. Michael Press by C. Maclachlan, Dumfries."]

I. M'LACHLAN.

1832. Popular / *Songs.* / rule / Soldier's Return. / The Rent Day. / Royal Charlie. / rule / woodcut: a brig man-o-war on the sea / rule / Dumfries: / Printed by I. M'Lachlan, No. 28, High Street. / 1832.
- 8 pp. 6½ in. x 3½ in.
1832. *Songs.* / rule / The / Broad Swords of Scotland. / When the Kye come hame. / The Lassie's Answer. / rule / woodcut: floral device enclosing a child with wings / rule / Dumfries: / M'Lachlan, Printer, 28 Plainstones, High Street, / 1832.
- 8 pp. 6½ in. x 3½ in.
- n.d. *New Songs.*^x / rule / Rab Rorison's Bonnet. / The Painful Plough. / Great Britain's Lamentation. / Woodcut: man flourishing a stick in his left hand, an inn with a sign / rule / Dumfries:—Printed by I. M'Lachlan.
- x Black letter. 8 pp. 6½ in. x 3½ in.
- n.d. *New Songs.* / rule / Something To Do. / Sandy M'Kay. / The Mermaid.^x / rule / woodcut: upright oval enclosing man with flowing garment, a crown above his head / rule / Dumfries: / Printed By I. McLachlan.
- x Black letter. 8 pp. 6½ in. x 3½ in.
- n.d. Blue Bonnets o'er the Border. / The Faithful Lovers. / Scotia's Isle, / Laddie, O Leave Me. / The Ploughman. / rule / woodcut: winged figure blowing a trumpet / rule / Dumfries: / Printed By I. McLachlan.
- 8 pp. 6½ in. x 3½ in.
- n.d. Chapter Of Cheats. / rule / The Bonnie Lassie's Plaidy / rule / The Unhappy Dream. / rule / woodcut: head of a giant looking out of bushes, inside a panel / rule / Dumfries: / Printed By I. M'Lachlan.
- 8 pp. 6½ in. x 3½ in.

184 DUMFRIES PRINTERS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

- n.d. *New Songs.* / rule / The Toom Meal Poak. / Daft Jamie. / The Lucky Farmer's Boy. / rule / woodcut: rural village: in foreground a man and plough drawn by two horses / rule / Dumfries: / Printed By I. M'Lachlan.
8 pp. 6½ in. x 3¼ in.
- n.d. *New Songs.* / Up an' waur them a' Willie. / A Drap Mair. / Curled Hair. / rule / Faithful In Adversity. / woodcut: blind man with stick led by a dog—part of a house / rule / Dumfries: / Printed by I. M'Lachlan.
8 pp. 6¼ in. x 3¼ in.
(Two small "cuts" on lower half of p. 8.)
- n.d. *Songs.* / rule / The Penny-Wedding. / Hills o' Gallowa. / rule / woodcut: man and lad; two trees; four birds / rule / Dumfries: / Printed by I. M'Lachlan.
8 pp. 6¼ in. by 3¼ in.
- n.d. Two Songs: / rule / True Love Despised / William Ryley. / rule / woodcut: two dogs and gable of a cottage / rule / Dumfries: / Printed by I. M'Lachlan.
8 pp. 6¼ in. by 3¼ in.

I. McLACHLAN & CO.

1834. Castle-Douglas Operatives' Library: Rules and Regulations with a Catalogue of Books in the Castle-Douglas Operatives' Library. Printed by I. McLachlan & Co. MDCCCXXXIV.
8 pp. sm. 8vo.
K.

BOOKS OF THE PERIOD, PROBABLY PRINTED AT DUMFRIES BUT LACKING ESSENTIAL INFORMATION.

1792. [Brown, John.]. A Reformation of Manners; or *The Taste of Delicacy*, for the Improvement of Youth. . . . By an Officer of Excise at *Dumfries*. Printed for the author, and sold by W. Boyd, W. Chalmers, E. Wilson, and C. McLachlan, Booksellers, Dumfries. 1792.
pp. viii. + 101 + [1]. [No Printer.]
K.

DUMFRIES PRINTERS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. 185

1794. Turnbull, Gavin, comedian: Poems. Dumfries. 1794.
[No Printer.]
D.
1796. Burness, John: Thrummy Cap. Dumfries.
[Note by author: "This was printed at Dumfries in 1796."
("Burns Chronicle xxii., p. 110.) "When John Burness
was with his regiment, the Angus Fencibles." Book of
Robert Burns, Vol. iii., 10-11.]
1796. White, Thomas, author of St. Guerdon's Well: To the
Memory of Robert Burns. [dated], Dumfries, 1796.
Single folio sheet. [No printer or date of printing.]
D. [Photostat from the original in New York Public
Library.]
- c. 1800. [Burns, Robert]: The Merry Muses of Caledonia.
pp. 128. post 8vo. [No date, place or printer.]
Barnbogle.
1803. Brown, Dr. John: Albanus; or the Poetical Tour of
Scotland. By the Author of the Reform of Manners.
For the Author. Dumfries.
pp. 72. 12mo.
[No place of printing is given. In "Halkett and Laing" it is
described as published at Dumfries in 1803, and it is there
said that Dr. Brown was not a doctor and used to be
called "The Holy Ghost," J. Maidment being apparently
regarded as the authority. "Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1900,
p. 533.]
- n.d. Garlands: Donald o' Dundee, The Lass of Cartside,
Bundle of Wants, Johnny's Horse. Dumfries. Pub-
lished and Sold Wholesale and Retail by John
Sinclair, High Street.
pp. 8. 5½ x 3¼.
[No printer.]
- n.d. [Macneill, Hector] Scotland's Skaith: or The history
of Will and Jean, an owre true tale. 10th ed.
Published at Dumfries by Cuthbert McLachlan.
Small 8vo. pp. 8.
[No printer.]
- n.d. Garland of New Songs: Star of the East, Banks of
Doon, Beautiful Hill of Dromore, Come sit down by
my Cronies, Anna. Printed for J. Sinclair, Dum-
fries.
[No printer.]

186 DUMFRIES PRINTERS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

- n.d. Mother Hubbard's Fortune Teller. Dumfries. Printed for the Booksellers.
pp. 24.
[No printer.]
- n.d. The Worthy and Entertaining Exploits of George Buchanan, commonly called The King's Fool. Dumfries. Printed for the Booksellers.
pp. 24.
[No printer.]
- n.d. The Life and Wonderful Prophecies of Donald Cargill, who was executed at the Cross of Edinburgh on 23rd July, 1680, for his adherence to the Covenant and work of Reformation. Dumfries. Printed for the Booksellers.
pp. 24.
[No printer.]
-

ITEMS OF THE PERIOD NOT SEEN.

1778. Mutter, Thomas, Minister at Dumfries. Sermon preached before the Governors of the Infirmary. Dumfries, 1778.
1795. Halliday, Rev. Thomas, Kelton: Sermon delivered as Chaplain before the Free Masons of St. John's Lodge, Castle-Douglas, 5th January, 1795.
1797. Regulations of the Deputy Lieutenants of Dumfriesshire, anent the French Invasion, 1797.
1810. Farish, John: A Treatise on Fiorin Grass. Dumfries. 1810.
pp. 46. 8vo.
1810. Affleck, R.: Poems. Dumfries. 1810.
1812. Greig, Rev. George: Funeral Sermon on Maxwell Gartshore, M.D. 1812.

Dalswinton Before Patrick Miller.

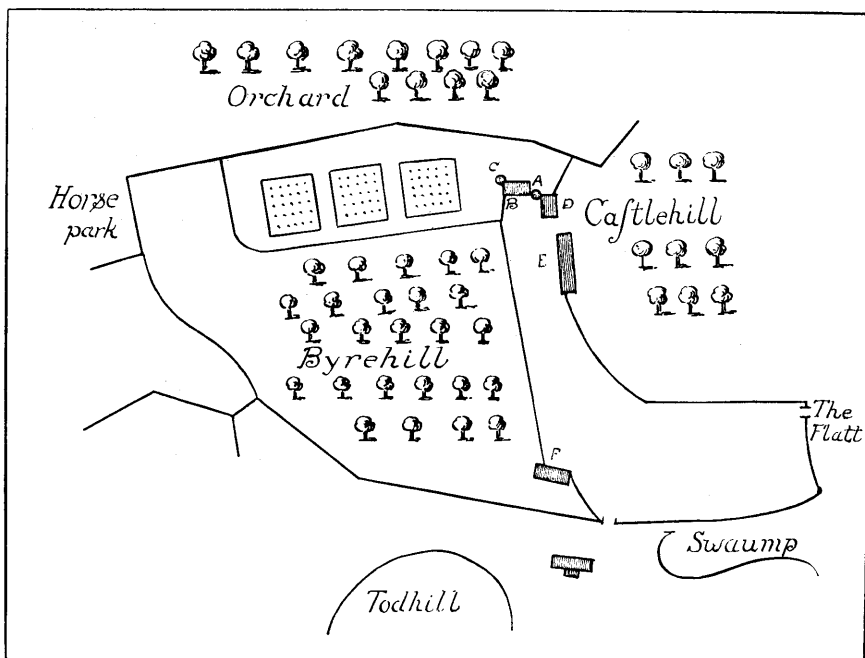
By A. CAMERON SMITH.

Patrick Miller purchased the estate of Dalswinton in 1785, and completely transformed the estate. He demolished almost every farm steading, and, what is still more confusing, he in most cases transferred the place-names to farms erected by him in entirely new situations. He cleared the site of the old Castle of Dalswinton, erected the present mansion, and probably commenced the demolition of the Old House of Dalswinton, the sole relic of which is the red stone turret, which stands on a sheltered flat 150 yards to the east of the present mansion. The present paper sets out to give a description of the estate as it was when this Old House was the home of the family of Maxwell, upon whose ruin, with the fall of the Ayr bank, the sale to Patrick Miller followed.

The ruins of the Old House show the underground kitchen of a building joined to the east side of the turret, but there seems to have been a range of other buildings hitherto unknown. The accompanying hand-sketch is an attempted enlargement of the details of the house and its immediate surroundings as represented in the plan of the Mains. A is the existing tower; B the part above the underground kitchen; C may have been a turret or stair serving as a back entrance; D seems to have abutted on the tower to the west side, and may have been an addition to the original plan, since the tower shows signs of penetration on that side; E may have been stables like those at Blackwood; and F must have been byres, as is inferred from the name of the mount immediately adjacent. In the holm behind the orchard was the "barn" of the estate. Here, probably before Sandbed was erected on the site, lived Allan Cunningham from 1786 to 1792 (when his father moved to "the Roads"). Allan gave Dr. Wightman his recollections of the old cow-house of Dalswinton. "He had seen it entire with its heavy stone vault, its outer door of wrought iron, and its inner door traced with broad iron

bars fastened with iron rivets." The mention of a stone vault recalls the stables at Blackwood: its practical purpose was to provide a roof less easy to be fired than thatch.

A thumb-nail sketch of the Old House appeared on one of the large Nasmyth landscapes which formerly hung in the entrance hall at Dalswinton. It showed a house of three storeys, not unlike the house adjoining the tower at the Isle, with three outshot windows in the roof.



The old road to the house at this period crossed the "Auchenbeattie Burn" at the corner of the Burn Stanes Park by a ford, which gave its name to the Park. Thence its course can still be traced in a straight line to the old gardens. Finally the Castlehill is shown as covered with trees, with no mention of ruins. The site of the modern "loch" was marked "Swaump." The "orchard" is filled with trees, while the "cyder orchard" is shown as an open park as though the name were out of date. The

orchard is also mentioned by Allan Cunningham as famous for its golden pippins and honey pears, and he states that it stood in or near the place once occupied by Cumin's Pool. It seems to have been formed in 1747 from part of the Wheatholm, and was let (with one acre of Jackson's Isle) for 30 guineas. It was protected on the north-west by a belt of fir, and, of the remainder, seven acres were planted with 500 to 2000 trees (according to conflicting accounts), and one acre was in grass. The tenant, Thomas Boyd, was unable to pay his rent, and brought a notary with him to serve legal intimation upon his landlord. The latter, who had enjoyed baronial powers till 1747, fell into a violent passion, and beat and abused his tenant to the effusion of his blood. The tenant's pleas were that Nith had washed away part of Jackson's Isle, and on 6th October, 1756, a storm destroyed some hundred of the trees and threw down 24 horse-loads of fruit. This last misfortune was due, according to the tenant, to Dalswinton making gaps in the belts of fir timber surrounding and protecting the orchard and two similar strips which ran across it. He also complained of damage by swine kept loose by the proprietor and ranging at liberty, a practice unsuitable to a *bonus et frugi paterfamilias*. Finally Dalswinton's servants made roads through the orchard at all seasons, and the laird and his sons broke in and trespassed.

The roots of the old trees have within the last generation been turned up in numbers by the plough.

The lands and barony of Dalswinton in which the laird above referred to was infeft (about 1722) comprehended the Mains of Dalswinton (including the Orcheyards, Sandbed, and Whiteeyes); the lands of Fortypenny Lands (now Pennyland), Drumbankfoot, Drumbankhead, Forrest, Forresthead, Townhead, Connelcraig, Yett, Corsehill, Townfoot, Crofthead, Broadriggs, Boghall, Braehead, Leves, Smithtown, and Ruletown, with the Miln and lands belonging thereto.

These stood valued *in cumulo* at 2600 merks. It must be understood that at this date the "valued rent" was only

a nominal valuation for the purpose of estimating the cess (assessment) and other public burdens. Perhaps the laird had some thoughts of selling a portion of the estate; at any rate he raised an action in this year before the Commissioners of Supply for Dumfriesshire to obtain separate valuations of the various farms.

Explanatory Notes.

The pursuer in the case was Hugh Maxwell, the proprietor of the estate; but the tenants use the language appropriate to kindly tenancy and call him "the master." The complete description, "master of the ground," is found in the testament of Margaret Makilmeane, spouse to Harbert Greir at Carsboat, Kirkmaho (Boat of Dalswinton, see later), who died January, 1627: "To the master of the ground John Rome of Dalswintone, mail and duty of the said lands the said year 50 merks." Also in the testament of the same Harbert Grier, who died August, 1629: "He leaves his right and kyndness, property, and possession of his half of the lands of Forrest to Nicolas Jardine his spouse and their bairne and ordaines the quarter of the land to be geivin for this yeir to his sone William giff the laird of the grund be content and na other wayis. He owes to his *master* John Rome of Dalswintone restand of the Witsonday dewtie, and for the Mertingmas dewtie 58m."

Kyndness or tenant right passed by inheritance or purchase, always with consent of the master. This custom had no doubt lapsed into disuse by the date 1760, but while it lasted the kyndness was a form of heritable property, under the master as superior. Once the proprietor exercised the right to raise the rent he might reduce or exhaust the value of the right of kyndness, but in old rental-books, such as that of Stobo, 1511-1565, the record makes no mention of the amount of the rent, but only of the extent of the land—one, two, or more oxgangs. The inference is that the rent was fixed by use and wont. It will be found, by addition of the rents deponed to, that the total rental in 1760 of Dalswinton estate was £427. This is sterling. Modern prices

and rents would be much better represented in Scots, in which the total would be £5124. But Scots money was rather out of use about this date. (At this time the estate did not include Auchengeith or Knowbuckle.)

The sums mentioned in the depositions are the "silver-rent," the anglicised form of "siller-rent," that part of the rent which was paid in money.

In addition there was kain, which has been currently modernised into "payment in *kind*." This error has been facilitated by the similarity in sound of the two words, *kain* and *kin(d)* in the vernacular.

Boon-work was bound- or bond-work which the tenant was obliged to perform for the "master of the ground." The number of days was fixed by custom, but the actual dates were at the call of the "master." In order that the master might make lucrative use of this boon-work he retained certain lands, almost invariably including "the Mains," in his own natural possession. From the depositions it is learned that at some previous date the Mains had, exceptionally, been let to a tenant. It would have been interesting to know if the lease included the benefit of the boon-work furnished by the other tenants.

It is curious that Forty Pennyland bears the alternative name of Old Mains in depositions made in 1743. "The late Dalswinton about 1698 took the Old Mains or Forty-pennyland into his own hand." It is difficult to account for the farm most remote from the mansion being converted into a Mains. It may be conjectured that this change was made during the persecution, at which time the House of Dalswinton, with its steading (the Mains) was occupied by a garrison of dragoons.

It will be observed that farms generally show signs of having been divided in fourths. Four tenants "marrowing" together combined their beast- and horse-power for the plough, and co-operated at the hay and harvest. About this time single tenancies were becoming more usual; and the change was completed by Miller between 1786 and 1792.

The Depositions, 14 June, 1760.

James Johnstone possessor of Barncleuch, 51 widower, was born and has lived nearly all his life in the neighbourhood of Dalswinton. He has inspected the MAINS OF DALSWINTON, the SANDBED, and WHITELEYES, the lands called FORTYPENNY-LANDS all in the natural possession of the pursuer except part of the Sandbed and Whiteleeyes; as also the lands of FORREST possessed by Hugh Maxwell the pursuer's son. These are worth:

That part of the MAINS OF DALSWINTON including the grass of the Orchard WITHIN THE ENCLOSURES £108 stg.

That part of the MAINS WITHOUT THE INCLOSURES (called Dalkip, Sandbed, Willie Isle), and six acres of Outter Deluran adjoining thereto £24

The lands of Whiteleys £40

„ „ „ Forrest £20

free of all burdens except Land-tax.

Robert Crocket in Netherholm of Duncow, 60 married, deponed that about 20 years ago his father entered to the possession of the Mains of Dalswinton and continued 5 years; during this time deponent lived in family with his father and had access to know the barony. He concurs with the first deponent.

(The rest of the depositions are here recast and abridged.)

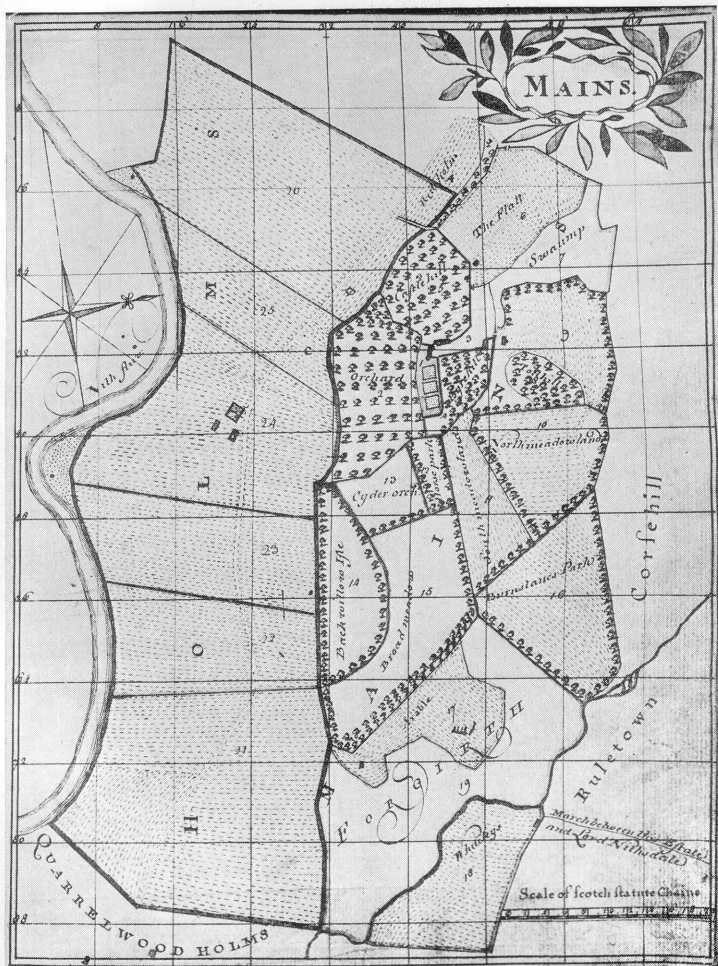
DRUMBANKFOOT—£32.

The site was rather nearer to the Roads than the modern Bankfoot.

Thomas Dougan in Bankfoot, 40 married, possessed a *third* and pays £10-13-8 (sic) besides land-tax and certain casualties payable to the Master such as Kain and Boonwork.

James Fairise (signs “fares”) in Bankfoot, 47 married, tenant in another *third* for 8 years past and

John McKeen (signs “McKen”) in Bankfoot, 56



MAINS OF DALSWINTON
in 1768

married, tenant for 9 years past in another *third* of Drumbankfoot. These pay the same as Dougan.

DRUMBANKHEAD—£36.

The site was that of the modern farm of Bankhead; but the town is represented as a collection of 7 small houses.

Thomas McCaig in Drumbankhead, 73 married, tenant for 12 years past in a *fourth* paying for his part £9 besides (as above).

William Halbertson, 54 married, has a half.

James Haining, 32 married, a quarter.

TOWNHEAD OF DALSWINTON—£40.

The site may still be traced some 400 paces above the new schoolhouse of Dalswinton on the left of the road leading to the two modern Townheads, in line with the Doctor's Knowe. This large farm of 532 acres stretched from here to the Moloch. A dyke (still traceable) some 300 yards south of the Moloch divided the "white ground where the tillage lies" (359 acres) from the "heather Pasture or black ground." This is higher than the present level of cultivation.

John Smith in Townhead, 27 unmarried, tenant for 11 years past in a *quarter*. His father also had a *quarter*, which also he now possesses; so he now has a *half* (£20).

James Smith in Townhead, 40 married, tenant for 2 years past in a *quarter*.

Robert Austin, 24 *solutus* (i.e. unmarried), a *quarter*.

CONNELCRAIG—£12 10s.

The site is still occupied, within the Drum Park, on the south-western edge of the "new road" (1762).

William Haining in Connelcraig, 26 *solutus*, tenant with his mother. Before May 1759 paid in silver rent £10-6-8 together with etc., at which date his mother Jean Smith in C. took a new sett at £12 10s. (The whole farm.)

YETT OF DALSWINTON—£12 10s.

The Yett stood within the land of Crofthead 110 yards up the "new road" from Guleyshill (Douganstyle) on the north-east side of the road.

Hugh Carruthers in Townfoot of Dalswinton, 35 married, for 4 years past has possessed *half* of the farm of Yett.

James Cowan, 36 married, the other *half*.

CORSEHILL WITH TOWNFOOT—together £12.

Corsehill stood down the road 320 yards from Guleys-hill (Douganstyle) on the upper (or both sides) of the new road. The houses there on the south-west side of the road may have been Townfoot. Midtown was half-way between Guleyhill and Corsehill. The ancient "toun of Dalswinton" seems to have stretched from this point to about Connelcraig, or to the modern village, all in full view of the ancient Castle of Dalswinton.

Samuel Johnston in Corsehill, 50 married, for 13 years past has possessed the farm of Corsehill and now possesses that and the farm of Townfoot; for the two together he pays in silver rent £12.

CROFTHHEAD—£8, in the gamekeeper's park.

Andrew Smith in Crofthead, 30 married, tenant for 14 years past.

BROADRIGGS—£7.

James Swan in Broadriggs, 50 married, tenant for 16 years past. He died 7 Mch. 1772. His numerous descendants in Dumfries and America regard him as the representative of William Swan in Braehead of the well-known Covenanting tradition. Having been born in 1710 he could only have been a grandson. He erected the tombstone in Kirkmahoe to Edward Swan in Leys, presumably his father.

BOGUEHALL—£8.

John Cowan in Boguehall, 25 *solutus*, tenant for 13 years past. He founded the Cowan bursary.

BRAEHEAD—£14.

The farm of Braehead in 1768 stood above the hollow known as the Mill-hole opposite the present saw-mill. The modern farm was formed by Patrick Miller out of Braehead, Leys and part of Ruletown.

William Corrie in Braehead, 31 married.

LEYES—£16.

In 1762 a toun of five houses near the edge of the Common. The last house was inhabited forty years ago.

John Swan in Leyes, 46 *solutus*, a *half*.

Nathaniel Cowan, 50 married, has lived all his life on the farm of Leyes; tenant of the other *half*. *William Swan* the Covenanter had a neighbour of the name of *Cowan*.

SMITHTOWN—£12.

A hamlet beside Quarrelwood, north east of the Dalswinton branch of the burn, east of the modern Smithtown.

William Kirk in Smithtown, tenant for 30 years past, of a *half*.

William Raining in Smithtown, 58 married, the other *half*.

RULETOWN—£7.

No longer exists; divided between Braehead and Smithtown. The steading stood close to the march with Knowbuckle (then part of Duncow) a few yards west of the modern Smithtown which seems to have been erected upon Knowbuckle after its purchase by Patrick Miller in 1799.

James Crighton in Ruletoun, 38 married, tenant for 8 years past.

THE MILN—£8.

Site approximately as at present but on the north-east side of the burn. The dam was some 100 yards due north of it and was fed by a lade which departed from the Auchbeattie burn at the western march of Boguehall. From this point the burn followed the south-west march between Boguehall (now the mill-lands) passing some 200 yards to the north of the houses of Broadriggs, and thereafter an equal distance from the Trinling Moss. Its ancient course (within a plantation) can still be distinctly traced. It divided Boguehall first from Craig, then from Crofthead. It would seem that Patrick Miller must have diverted this burn for some 1000 yards and filled up the old water-course in its lower reach.

Thomas Aitken, 40 married, milner in the Miln of Dal-

swinton for 14 years past, pays £8 besides land-tax and 24 kain-fowls.

FORRESTHEAD—£7-10.

The house stood 75 yards from the Nith at the northern march of Forrest. The old road passed through the close and 100 yards further on passed out of the barony and the parish.

Thomas Shaw in Forresthead, 30 married, has been tenant for 4 years past.

CRAIG OF FORREST—£2-10.

John Wallace tenant.

Site uncertain. The rough bank at the western extremity of Townhead is called in 1768 the Forrest Craig.

Archibald Thomson in Whiteleys, 47 married, is barony officer of Dalswinton. He is cousin to James Cowan in Yett.

It would be tedious to attempt a detailed description of the various farms, but a few notes may be added on Fortypennyland and the Common. These, with Townhead, cover the highest parts of the barony as it was then bounded.

Fortypennyland.

The houses of Auchenbeattie, Upper, Middle, and Nether, stood not on the present sheltered site, but on a breezy eminence looking over the Brown Muir downwards to the Auchenbeattie Burn. The side of its row of houses and gardens (marked Old Pennyland on the O.S. 6-inch map) can still be traced on the moor. The ancient place-names are interesting. Above Algawn Linn (now Guyan's Linn) was the hill called the Knockbuckle. Behind Wardlaw to the north was the Torr of Stubbie Stannoch, the Greenhill, and the Calf Craig. East of these came the stretch of Stubbie Stannoch, and east of the Gavin or Blackstand Burn (Duncow Burn) was the march on which lay the Nether Pyat Craig, the Upper Pyat Craig, Byrsie's Grave, and the Black Gap. Byrsie was the detested cobbler who informed upon the conventiclars in the "killing time," and who, having taken his own life, was said to have been buried where

three lairds' lands met. It is interesting to see from the map and from certain depositions made in 1743 that Byrsie was more than a legendary person. His grave is shown as some 300 yards south-east of the Black Gap (the meeting point of Dalswinton, Closeburn, and Auchengeith); but it seems possible that the marches may have previously converged to the point indicated by the grave.

Dalswinton Common.

The farms of Shaws and Clonfeckle were formed by Patrick Miller. The former of these two names existed in 1768. "The Schaws" was then applied to the level tract which stretches southward from the foot of the present meadow, and was no doubt covered with open forest, now represented only by the Hospital Wood. Clonfeckle was, of course, the parish in Ireland served by Dr. William Richardson, whose discovery of the merits of fiorin grass is commemorated by the tower popularly nicknamed Miller's Maggot.

These two farms and some woodlands occupy the area formerly known as the Common. It extended down to Boguehall, and Leyes, and before 1768 included the upper fields of Smithtown as far as the Craig-neck-break (above Quarrelwood Quarry). "This large tract is (1768) the common pasture of several small farms in the barony of Dalswintone, whence it takes its name. There is no arable ground in it. Its whole extent is 960 acres."

The small farms which had this right of common are named in the boundary dispute of 1743. "Dalswinton Moor was let to the tenants of Dalswinton farms such as Bankhead, Crofthead, Leys, Smithtown, Boat or Boat-town of Dalswinton, *and even to others who were not tenants.*" The form of this statement shows that the Common was already being let by the proprietor even to outsiders (from Closeburn). A lease or liberty was given for a parcel of yeld sheep, nolt or black cattle, or horses, and a lad lay overnight and watched them. This could only have referred to the summer pasturing.

The place names of 1768, now nearly all lost, are of some interest. The name of the brow immediately behind the Leys (where Clonfeckle now stands) was "the Peat Hills." This name must have been a very old one, because the tenants had to win their peats at the very head of the Common in the 18th century. The place Garlies Shiel must have obtained its name before 1625, the date when the Stewarts of Garlies parted with the estate. Writing in 1787 Riddell of Friars' Carse mentions "Garlies Shiel known to old people as the summer residence of that family." The same writer in his London volume states that he had been informed that "the two snowy years of 1671 and 2 ruined the Gallick speaking tenants of the upland farms of the South of Scotland who were then replaced by others speaking only Lowland Scots." The upland portions of Kirkmahoe still have a few names of undoubtedly Celtic origin, such as Auchencairn, Auchenrath, and Auchengeith, whereas the names are generally Saxon in the lower parts with the exception of Duncow. In the maps of 1768 the burn now named after Clonfeckle is called Kilfarnock from the steading at or above Newlands shown as Kilfarnock Steads, to which it directed its course on crossing the march into Newlands. Also in various places there are marked "Currochs," a word now difficult to understand, but in Gaelic a curroch is a wet bog. One called the Millburn Curroch is some 350 yards above the crossing point just referred to, and seems to be a bog which cattle would not disturb but which may have been useful for the coarse "spret" hay which might be cut from it. Another was Gib's Curroch, and the third a Curroch on Stubbie Stannoch.

The Mill Burn seems to be an alternative for the Kilfarnock Burn. Anyone who examines it will be struck by the fact that its diversion into Newlands is quite artificial and in the nature of a "lade." Its course is now completely covered over for at least two fields' length, and thereafter it feeds the mill dam of Duncow. There cannot be the slightest doubt but that this small lade was the subject of a legal dispute which was settled by a decree given on 30th

January, 1481-2, that is to say, thirty-one years before the Battle of Flodden. The complainer was the laird, or rather the feuar of Duncow, for the barony had fallen to the crown upon the forfeiture of the Boyds in 1469. This feuar, John, Lord Carlile, by his procurators, Robert Charteris of Amysfield and Robert Carlile, complained against "Jasper Newlands of that ilk (i.e., of Newlands) regarding wrongful perturbation of the mylne lade and draucht of water to his mylne of Drumkow" (*sic*). Jasper alleged that the mill lade pertained to him, but a jury sitting at Penpont found that Jasper had wrongously "set the water of the mylne-layd out of the ald gang fra the mylne of Drumkow." The serjeant of the court was then ordered to pass and put Lord Carlile in possession of the lade and draught of water to his mill.

One wonders when Newlands received its name and was really *new* if in 1482 it gave a territorial designation to its owner; but the question cannot be answered. The surname Newlands was fairly common in the parish till recent times.

Roads.

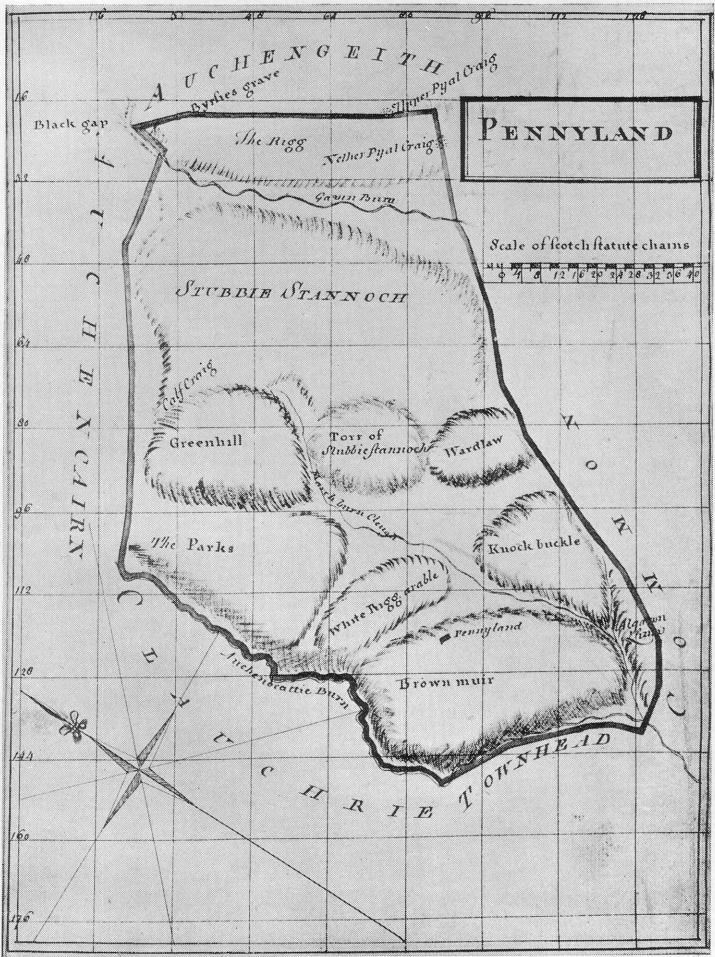
The road leading to Dalswinton Old House from the Burn Stanes has already been mentioned. It seems to have been used as a county thoroughfare, and to have been the only one which crossed the estate of Dalswinton in the year 1768. It was, of course, a continuation of the road which left Dumfries for Glasgow on the east side of Nith passing (until 1753) close by Carnsalloch. This road was used by the Duke of Queensberry, Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, and Mr William Kirkpatrick of Ellisland, and these three heritors had to be consulted on the question of diverting the road, in the year mentioned, via Auchencrieff.

The laird of Ellisland branched to the left at the hamlet of "the Roads" and rode through the water at the Ellisland ford. Travellers continuing northwards went straight north through the Roads and ascended the Drum. It is a far cry from 1768 to 1547; but in the last mentioned year a document mentions the Drumgait, the Waltirgait, and

another road simply called "the Gait." This last may be a road which passed through Drumbankfoot and, keeping just above the level of the holm, made for "the Boat of Dalswinton," where there must have been a ferry for Friars' Carse. The same document mentions the chapel of St. Bride which we may be sure was not far from the Roads. The Roads was probably originally "the cross-roads," and derived its name from this circumstance. It had an inn the last licensee of which was Thomas Kirkpatrick. He is described as having his license at the Roads in 1789 and at the "Village of Dalswinton" in 1791. Between these years, therefore, the village of Dalswinton was erected by Patrick Miller. The Roads was almost demolished, and the "loupin'-on stane" of Thomas Kirkpatrick can now just be observed, its upper surface level with the turf.

The Drum road passed near to Drumbankhead and entered the Forrest at a distance of some 200 yards above the river and the boat house. It continued at this distance from the river until opposite the steading of Forrest. Its exit from the barony (and the parish) was at the old "Forresthead" (not the modern farm) some 60 yards from the river. "Holmhead" stood at the northern extremity of the Forrest holm much west of the road and only 50 yards or so from the river. The sites of these two places are not easily traced. Miller transported Forresthead to a higher site some 180 yards further east.

The modern public road from the village of Dalswinton to Auldgirth did not exist in 1768, and its construction was probably subsequent to the founding of the village. Some sort of a road must have run from the Burnstones or from the Old House of Dalswinton to serve the numerous farm-towns or hamlets which fringed the existing policies rather inside than outside of the boundary wall. Behind the present gardens, and the Gallows Knowe, at the top of the Souterhill Brae the road passed Corsehill, and then Midtown, cut through Guleyshill (now Douganstyle), then passed the Yett, and later Connelcraig. Of these only Douganstyle and Connelcraig are still existing as landmarks for the others.



PENNYLAND OF DALSWINTON
 in 1768

The village must have been placed on or very near to the site of Nether Townhead.

At the date 1768 a projected road — “ course of a new road ” — is indicated, but it does not seem to have materialised. Breaking off at the east side of the present village, it followed the march between the Drum and Townhead; that is to say along the course of a small burn beneath Upper Townhead; it reached “ the glen ” below the Glen Braes. Following the hollow it emerged round the hill beyond the modern Forresthead and joined the main road (that which has been already spoken of as the Drumgait) some 150 yards within the parish of Closeburn.

It will be well to remember that at the principal date referred to (1768) there was no bridge at Auldgirth, and no road through the moss from Isle to Friars' Carse.

Field Meetings.

28th May, 1932.

The first Field Meeting of the season took place on this date, when a large party left the Ewart Library at 10 a.m. for the Clyde Valley. Going by Abingdon and Douglas Moor, the first stop was made at Tillietudlem Castle. Here, after lunch, Mr R. C. Reid acted as guide, and after time had been given for seeing over the site of the remains of the fabric he gave an account of the history of the Castle and its associations, particularly with Scott.

Proceeding to Hamilton, Mr Miller, solicitor, joined the members, and thereafter acted as cicerone in this district. The first objective was Cadzow, where an exhaustive and interesting account was given by Mr Miller of the Castle and its part in Scottish history. An opportunity was given for inspecting the ancient oaks, said to be remnants of the great Caledonian Forest, and much interest was expressed in a distant view of some of the wild white cattle.

From Cadzow the party went on to visit Barncluith House and Gardens, where much interest was expressed in the fine examples of the topiarian art and also in the admirably terraced rock gardens above the River Avon. Mr Miller gave a short account of the house and its owners, and was cordially thanked on the motion of Mr W. Gourlay, who also included Mr Ogilvy, County Librarian, who had assisted in the planning of the Hamilton part of the day's outing.

From here the journey was to Corehouse, where Major Edmonston-Cranstoun met and welcomed the members. A visit was made to the site of the old Castle above the Falls of Clyde. Major Edmonston-Cranstoun gave an account of the history of the Castle and a description of that part of the fabric still remaining, after which Mr Reid conveyed the thanks of the company to the Cranstoun family. Dumfries was reached, by way of the Clyde Valley, about 10 p.m.

16th July, 1932.

The second Field Meeting of the Society was held on the above date, when a party of about 30 travelled to Hexham by way of Longtown and Brampton. Hexham was reached about 12.30 p.m., and after lunch the party was joined by Mr J. Gibson, F.S.A.Scot., who acted as guide. A tour of the town was first made when some of the interesting spots were examined, particularly the Ancient Moot Hall and the Manor Office, a very fine example of Tudor domestic architecture, the site of the Parish Church and the Abbey Gateway. In the Abbey itself Mr Gibson gave a full account of the building, its founder, St. Wilfred, and the various Bishops of Hexham, also of its connection with the courts of the early Northumbrian Kings. Special interest was shown in the Anglo-Saxon crypt beneath the nave. Mr Gibson was accorded the thanks of the Society on the motion of Mr M. H. M'Kerrow, President.

From Hexham the members went on to Chollerford, where tea was served, and thereafter a visit was made to the Roman Wall at Housesteads where they were fortunate in being able to see some of the recent excavations under the guidance of Mr E. A. Birley, F.S.A., of Durham University, who is in charge of the work. Mr Birley proved an exceedingly interesting speaker, giving first a detailed description of the usual layout of such camps, illustrating his remarks by taking the visitors to each of the points he noted. Much interest was shown in the discoveries made by Mr Birley and his staff, and various objects, pottery, coins, etc., were laid out for inspection. A further visit to the Mill Castle on the Wall, and also to the newly excavated site of the settlement on the south side was made, and Mr R. C. Reid conveyed the thanks of the Society to Mr Birley in a felicitous speech. The homeward journey brought the party to Dumfries about 9 p.m.

3rd September, 1932.

The last Field Meeting of the season took place on this date, when about thirty members journeyed to the Scott country connected with "Guy Mannering" and "The Bride

of Lammermoor." A considerable number of Galloway members joined the party at various points on the journey to the first stopping place, the Mote of Kirkclaugh near Carsluith. Here, Mr W. G. M. Dobie, of Dumfries, gave a short account of Scott, which was listened to with much interest in spite of a very heavy shower of rain which came on just at the time. Mr Adam Birrel, Creetown, who was also president, pointed out various interesting landmarks to be seen from the top of the cliff. After lunch Mr R. C. Reid gave a racy account of the various traditions attaching to Kirkclaugh and their relation to the actual history of the time. Mr Reid's paper will be found subjoined. Mr M'Burnie proposed a cordial vote of thanks to the speakers. From here the next point to be reached was Baldoon Castle, the home of the original of the "Bride of Lammermoor." Through the kindness of Mr Sproat, members were allowed to visit the Castle and a paper given by Mr A. S. Morton, Newton-Stewart, added to the interest by relating the various tales that had gathered round the name and fate of Janet, wife of David Dunbar, which had formed the basis of Scott's novel.

Mr Sproat and Mr Morton were warmly thanked on the motion of the President, Mr M. H. M'Kerrow.

From here the route was retraced as far as Creetown, where, at the house of Cassencary, tea was hospitably provided by Major and Mrs Henryson Caird. An adjournment was then made to the drawing-room where Mr Gourlay, Kenbank, gave a brief account of "Guy Mannering" and its connection with Cassencary. Mr Gourlay further added to the interest of his paper by relating something of the history of the house itself and its successive owners. Mr Reid conveyed the thanks of the company to Mr Gourlay, and also to the host and hostess for their hospitality.

The last half of the afternoon was made on Raploch Moor, which was reached by way of Newton-Stewart and the Murray Monument. Here the speaker was Mr J. H. Fleming, H.M.I.S., who pointed out the Bruce Stone and gave some idea of its connection with that particular period of the Scottish wars. The ground was very wet, so the stone itself could

only be viewed from a distance. Mr Fleming was heartily thanked for his paper which, along with those of Mr Morton and Mr Gourlay, will be found subjoined.

Dumfries was reached about 8.30 p.m., after a very interesting and enjoyable day.

Kirkclaugh Mote and its Tradition.

By R. C. REID.

The Mote of Kirkclaugh has never been visited by this Society, though it was the object of some remarks when we were at Kirkdale a few years ago. Its situation on the very edge of a cliff, whilst unusual in any other Scottish district, is by no means uncommon in Galloway. From that feature we may draw one inference. We know that the 11th and 12th century Anglo-Normans who introduced these structures into Scotland entered Dumfriesshire by land, coming with the first Brus from Yorkshire into Annandale and percolating at the same time into Nithsdale about the time that the grandson of Dunegal, Celtic chieftain of Stranith, developed into a Normanised magnate of the Court of King Alexander II.¹ Coming overland, all these Anglo-Normans erected their motes inland. But in Galloway many of them must have come across the Solway, which cut them off from their kith and kin in England. In the barbarous and unsettled conditions that existed it was necessary to preserve their line of communications, which could only be done by means of ships. Hence the necessity of a mote on a defensible site on the sea shore with a landing place below. It is possible that these particular motes belong to the second period of the Anglo-Normanisation of Galloway. The first period was when the new-comers came by invitation of Fergus, Lord of Galloway, and his son Uchtred, when the land was at peace (1140-1174). On the murder of Uchtred there was a rising and every foreigner slain without mercy, and until Gilbert's death in 1186 conditions in Galloway were chaotic. In that

¹ Thomas, son of Ranulf, son of Dunegal (1222-1262).

year Roland, son of Uchtred, re-established order with the aid of many Normans from Cumberland. They came not in peace but to conquer and it seems most likely that these cliff motes of Galloway date from Roland's time, i.e., 1186-1200.

Whoever it was that built this mote knew how to make the most of natural defences. Standing literally on the edge of precipitous cliffs, some 100 feet above the shore line, it is defended on the south by the sea cliff and on the east and west and north by a deep ditch about 45 feet broad by 16 feet deep. On the northern side the ditch is crossed by a narrow gangway that connects the mote hill with an L-shaped base court that in outline follows the contour of the cliff. The base court is defended on the north by a natural hollow that runs down to the shingle. It has been artificially adapted as a defensive ditch, terminating at its eastern end at the narrow roadway that gave access from the base court to the outer world. An attacker, therefore, to be successful, must first force entry to the base court and then assault via the gangway the mote hill itself. We have then here in embryo the mediæval castle with curtain wall round the courtyard within which was the keep—the final refuge of defence. At the southern extremity of the site there projects some 50 feet from the base of the mote hill a tongue of rock which bears on its crest some vestiges of artificial defences—a most perilous place of retreat. Below it is a miniature cove which at the higher sea level of the 12th century may well have served as a tiny harbour. At such a site we would expect wooden defences, tower and palisades. Originally they probably were of wood; but at a later date they may have been replaced by stonework, for along the cliff edge of the base court have been noticed the foundations of a wall and in the natural hollow to the north of the base court a mass of dry stone masonry projects.² But whether a stone and lime built castle ever stood here, only the spade can reveal.

Within a few feet of the outer ditch once stood the

² *Historical Monuments Commission, Kirkcudbrightshire.*

cross, lately removed to the grounds of Kirkclaugh House. Mr Collingwood has ascribed it to the 12th century and in our *Transactions* for 1925-6 it is suggested as the memorial of an early Norman dweller in this mote. It is there also suggested that the name of that Norman was de Kirkdale, as a family of that name seems to have owned the surrounding lands from 1296-1457.

Of the history of this mote, nothing else is known, but a tradition has come down to us which deserves a brief notice. There has recently been acquired by the National Library of Scotland a letter book that was once at Abbotsford. It contains many, if not all, of the letters of Joseph Train to Sir Walter Scott. Amongst them is one from Train dated 3rd July, 1817, at Newton-Stewart, giving an account of a tradition that relates to both Cruggleton Castle and Kirkclaugh Mote, which tradition has been made use of by M'Kerlie in so far as it affects Cruggleton only. The letter is a long one on quarto paper, covering folios 23-58 of the letter book, and from a comparison of its contents with James Denniston's volume, *Legends of Galloway*, it is obvious that Denniston who published the tradition in 1825 under the title of "The Standard of Denmark, a tale of Cruggleton Castle," must have plagiarised Train or that both had access to a common source. It is only necessary here to give the bare outline of the tradition. The laird of Kirkclaugh was a cadet of the M'Cullochs of Cardoness, who had, by a daughter of the Gordons of Muirfad, an only daughter named Alicia. To his castle there came one day seeking food and shelter one Dougal Graeme from the Borders, formerly a member of the redoubtable freebooters' gang of which Sir David Armstrong was the chief. Dougal speedily ingratiated himself with M'Culloch, and under pretext of strengthening the defences introduced a number of other Graemes within the castle. The perfidious Graeme procured the murder of M'Culloch and seized Kirkclaugh, forcibly marrying Alicia M'Culloch, who, after giving birth to a daughter, Effie Graeme, died of a broken heart. Graeme became a terror to the neighbourhood, slaughtering and

robbing on all sides. Effie was brought up as an amazon, a mailclad participant in all Dougal's crimes.

On the other side of Wigtown Bay there resided at Cruggleton Castle Sir Roland Kerlie with an only son, Alan. They had long been the object of the envy and hatred of Dougal Graeme, who purposely allied himself with the Cumberland family of Featherstone, who were at feud with the Kerlies. Graeme and his English friends agreed to attack the Kerlie ship whilst at sea. One day Effie saw the Kerlie ship, commanded by Alan Kerlie, in difficulties blown out to sea. She at once pursued with her three ships. She found Alan, sheltering in a bay at the Isle of Man, being attacked by superior forces of Featherstone. Effie at once realised her opportunity, and held off till Alan was wounded and overpowered by the exhausted Featherstones, then she swept down and made prisoners of them all. On the deck she found the youthful and still insensible Alan, and became violently enamoured of him. The Featherstones she sent captives to Kirkcraugh, but Alan she restored in person to his father at Cruggleton, where she stayed a week. At the end of that time Effie most unmaidenly requested the hand of Alan in matrimony, but was repulsed. She retired to Kirkcraugh, and attempted a surprise attack on Cruggleton by means of a mystic stratagem. But the Kerlies were prepared. Dougal and Effie were slain and hundreds of their followers slaughtered or taken prisoner. The Kerlies then crossed over the water and demolished Kirkcraugh, which was consigned to flames. That is the tradition. How much truth is there in it? Perhaps more than a mere germ, for the tradition can, I think, be analysed as the work of two distinct periods. Apart from that it presents the usual exaggerations and absurdities.

Cruggleton Castle was never owned by the Kerlies, but in the 12th century was possessed by Alan, son of Roland, Lord of Galloway. Its history has been traced in our *Transactions*, and no Kerlie has been found connected with it.³ The first M'Culloch of Kirkcraugh appears in 1614,

³ *D. and G. Trans.*, 1929-30, 152.

when he was granted these lands by his kinsman, M'Culloch of Merton and Cardoness.⁴ That, along with most of the other features of the tale, belong to the 17th century. A knight called Sir David Armstrong is not on record, but both Armstrongs and Graemes are 17th century families. The malodorous Graemes were forcibly evicted by public subscription and sent to Ireland in 1607, by which date most of the Armstrongs had been hanged or turned honest.⁵ But there were no nautical raids by Featherstones or Kerlies across the Solway in that century, whereas in the 12th century there were considerable hostile crossings of the sea.

It seems, therefore, that we have in this tradition the remains of a true sequence of events of the 12th century on which has been superimposed, probably late in the 17th century, the nomenclature of the earlier part of that century. Two historic memories have become blended, but not so thoroughly as to completely disguise the truth. Only the bare facts of the early story have survived, but they still retain the essential clue in the person of Alan, son of Roland. All else is 17th century. But that century had to give everyone a surname, a luxury scarcely known in the 12th. So Roland becomes Sir Roland Kerlie, and the mighty Alan, Lord of Galloway, becomes his son.

Effie, too, I fear, we must discard as a name unknown in early Celtic Galloway. But yet we may rest assured that some time in the dark and distant past a now nameless amazon resided on this site and fell with her kin and followers in an assault on Cruggleton. She may have been enamoured of the handsome Alan. He certainly would not have her, for he married elsewhere.

This tradition with its dual personality was sent by Train to Sir Walter Scott, but the Wizard of the North never made use of it. Had he done so we might have learned more of his methods. Perhaps he, too, detected the flaws in its presentation and felt that it did not deserve any further recension in the 19th century.

⁴ M'Kerlie, III., 55, quoting *Cardoness Papers*.

⁵ *D. and G. Trans.*, 1929-30, 128.

Baldoon Castle.

By A. S. MORTON.

Some of you will remember that two years ago, when the Society came to Wigtownshire, want of time prevented the intended visit to this old Castle of Baldoon. I think none of you will regret that you have been able to come here to-day. This is one of the most interesting and most romantic districts of Galloway. Just a mile away is the ancient and Royal Burgh of Wigtown, whose origin is lost in the dim and distant past, but it had at one time a Monastery founded by the saintly Devorgilla in 1267, and a Castle of importance captured without resistance by Wallace in 1297. In Wigtown parish are the Standing Stones of Torhouse, probably the most perfect Stone Circle in Galloway, and noteworthy as having three large boulders in the centre instead of one only. In this parish there is the ancient Bridal Stone, having a hole tapering towards the centre in which the contracting parties to the marriage or bethrothal joined hands when making their vows. From Drumjargon Farm in this parish Margaret M'Lauchlan, a matron of sixty-three, was carried to the stakes at Bladnoch Water at Wigtown, and there, with Margaret Wilson, a maiden of eighteen, from Glenvernoch, when Solway's tide was flowing—

“Murthered for owning Christ Supreme,
Head of His Church and no more crime.”

But to-day I am to direct your attention more particularly to Baldoon and its associations. Nothing is known of its early history. It does not figure in any of the great Galloway feuds, and was probably happy in having no early history. We get on to sure ground in 1533, when King James V. granted a Charter of the Lands of Baldoon to Archibald Dunbar, eldest son of the second marriage of Sir John Dunbar of Mochrum, with Janet, daughter of Sir Alexander Stewart of Garlies. Gavin Dunbar, a brother of Archibald, was entrusted with the education of James V., and discharged this duty to the utmost satisfaction alike of his royal pupil and of the regents of the realm. He became Dean of Moray, Prior of Whithorn, Archbishop of Glasgow, and Chancellor

of Scotland. He was highly esteemed by his royal master, and it was probably through his influence that Baldoon was granted to his brother.

Archibald married Janet, a daughter of Muir of Rowallan, and was succeeded in 1563 by his son Gavin, who married Janet, daughter of ———— Cunningham. He in turn was succeeded by his son David, who, in 1605, married Janet, a daughter of Charteris of Amisfield, so you will see that the early Dunbars seem to have been partial to the name Janet, and another Janet is to figure largely later. David's son Archibald succeeded, and on 25th July, 1627, he made over Baldoon to his brother David for some reason which does not appear. David, in 1641, married Elizabeth, daughter of John M'Culloch of Myrton. He was involved in the religious struggle of those days, and was fined £4800 Scots, the largest fine then imposed in Galloway. Later he seems to have bent with the wind and was appointed with others to proceed against those attending Conventicles. On 27th March, 1685, there was a special Commission to Colonel Douglas to go with horse south and west and to be assisted in putting down the rebels by, among others, Sir David Dunbar of Baldoon.

The First Martyrs' Stone.

In contrast with this it is minuted in the Records of the Kirk Session of this parish that May Dunbar, second daughter of Sir David Dunbar of Baldoon, of known piety all her life, was forced to abscond and leave her father's house and live for some time here and there, frequently in herds' houses where she could not be accommodated according to her birth and rank. One day she providentially and narrowly escaped the enemy's fury at Caldons about the year 1685. A number of Covenanters were at worship one Sabbath morning at Caldons Wood when they were surprised by a company of Dragoons under Colonel James Douglas. Among the Covenanters were some women, including May Dunbar, and because of this a fierce resistance was offered, and in the encounter six of the Covenanters were killed. The stone to their memory was the first martyrs' tombstone erected by

Old Mortality. David Dunbar was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1664. It was his son David who married Janet, daughter of Sir James Dalrymple, then a Lord of Session, and afterwards Viscount Stair. Her early death gave rise to the story of "The Bride of Lammermoor," to which I shall presently refer.

David Dunbar married secondly Lady Eleonora Montgomery, a daughter of the Earl of Eglinton, and left one child called Mary. He predeceased his father, being killed by a fall from his horse on 20th March, 1682, when riding between Leith and Holyrood House. Mary Dunbar married in 1691 Lord Basil Hamilton, fifth son of William, Third Duke of Hamilton, and on 4th May, 1695, Lord Basil Hamilton became proprietor of Baldoon. A few years afterwards he was drowned in the Minnoch, a tributary of the Cree. The water was in heavy flood, and a servant in attendance on him and his brother, the Earl of Selkirk, rode forward to try the ford, but his horse slipped in and the man was thrown, when Lord Basil at once went to his assistance and caught hold of him, but his horse also fell, and master and man were drowned in the presence of the Earl of Selkirk, who was unable to render assistance.

Lord Galloway and Baldoon.

His son Basil succeeded to Baldoon. He was "out" in the Rebellion of 1715, and commanded a troop of horse under Lord Kenmure. He was taken prisoner at Preston, his estate forfeited, and he himself ordered to be executed. Through family interest his life was spared, and in 1732, just two hundred years ago, the attainder was reversed. He was succeeded by his son, Dunbar Hamilton, who, in 1744, also succeeded to the Earldom of Selkirk as fourth Earl. He married Helen Hamilton, granddaughter of the sixth Earl of Hopetoun. He had two sons, Basil William, Lord Daer, and James, who ultimately succeeded his father as fifth Earl. About 1786 Lord Selkirk transferred the management of his property to his son Basil Hamilton, Lord Daer, who was possessed of great business abilities, and who managed his father's affairs with great success. A rather unusual

transaction took place between Lord Selkirk and Lord Galloway in 1793. The rental of Baldoon at this time was £5000, and the lands were sold to Lord Galloway, but Lord Daer was to have a lease of the estate for ten years at £7000 per annum, at the expiration of which the lands were to be valued by mutual arbitrators, and Lord Galloway was to pay 25 years' purchase of the full surplus valued rent above the £5000. Lord Daer did not live to the end of his lease, but when the agreement was finally concluded in 1806 Lord Galloway had to pay the additional sum of £125,000, owing to the value of the estate having so vastly increased. This can be easily understood when it is explained that a large acreage had been reclaimed from the sea, and formed the finest crop-bearing soil. Baldoon continued to be held by the Earls of Galloway for over a hundred years, when it was sold to the late Sir Malcolm M'Eacharn, and then about ten or twelve years ago it was purchased by our host of to-day, Mr John Sproat.

When the sixth Earl of Selkirk died in 1885 the representation of Dunbar of Baldoon and the Estate of St Mary's Isle, Kirkcudbright, passed to his sister, Lady Isabella Hope, wife of the Honourable Charles Hope, a son of the fourth Earl of Hopetoun. Lady Isabella died in 1893, and was succeeded by her eldest son, Captain John Hope, R.N., at whose death in 1915 the estate of St. Mary's Isle and the representation of Dunbar of Baldoon passed to Captain Charles Dunbar Hope, born in 1873. In 1916 he claimed the Baronetcy, and after inquiry his name was entered on the Official Roll of Baronets in respect of the Baronetcy of Dunbar of Baldoon.

It is not known when Baldoon Castle was built—probably early in the 17th century. It suffered severely during a great storm in the first half of last century, and, as you see, little of it now remains.

The Garden of Galloway.

Those of you who have the first edition of M'Kerlie's "Lands and their Owners in Galloway" will find there an interesting sketch of the Castle showing its appearance

before it collapsed. The beautiful entrance gateway, about a hundred yards to the east, was probably erected fifty years or more after the Castle itself, and is a good example of the renaissance work of that period. You have already heard of the remarkable agricultural improvements carried out by Lord Daer. Symson, writing in 1684, says that the first enclosed park in the district was formed here and was $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length and $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles in breadth, of rich deep soil yielding excellent grass and capable of keeping 1000 cattle. From then till now Baldoon has been famous for its cattle which you find still topping the markets. This can be readily understood from such a fertile land, well deserving its name "The Carse of Baldoon," and "The Garden of Galloway."

Baldoon and its Scott Associations.

But Baldoon is most widely known from its association with Scott's novel, "The Bride of Lammermoor," founded on what is said to have taken place after the marriage of David Dunbar and Janet Dalrymple. The Marriage Contract was drawn up at Carscreugh, the residence of the bride's father, and is dated the twenty-nynth daye of Maye, 1669. It is betwixt David Dunbar younger of Baldoon with consent of Sir David Dunbar his father, and Janet Dalrymple, eldest daughter of Sir James Dalrymple of Stair, Knight and Baronet, and of the Senators of the Colledge of Justice with the advyce and consent of her father and Dame Margaret Rosse her mother. In contemplation of qlle marriage, the said Sir David oblige him to infest the said David in his whole lands in the shyre of Wigtown, and for his present provision during his father's lyfe, he is to have three thousand marks of free rent yearly, with a convenient house, and the lands lying adjacent thereto. Lykas the said Sir David contracts the said David to be his aire in his whole estate except the provision of the lands of Borgie to the aire male of his second marriage. Lykas the said Sir David & David binds and obliges them to infest the said Janet in as much of the lands and barronie of Compstone as presently payes two thousand marks of free

rent yearly. Together with the house of Compstone. And on the other part the said Sir John obliges him to paye in the name of tocher with his said daughter the somm of nyn thousand pounds scotts. The Testing Clause reads :—
 “ In witness whereof the said parties has subt. these presents with their hands, day, place and year of God foresaid before these witnesses Hugh Gordonn, younger of Grange, William M’Guffog of Alticrye, Mr James Dalrymple, sonn to the said Sir James, and Thomas M’Greddan, servitor to the said Sir James, and writer hereof.”

The marriage did not take place till 12th August, so that there was no indecent haste in hurrying it on. The only contemporary writer who deals with the matter is the Rev. Andrew Symson, the Episcopal minister of this parish, who was a personal friend of the bridegroom, and had doubtless taken part in the welcome to the bridal party to Baldoon, and from him we learn that the young couple came to Baldoon on 24th August, and that the bride died on 12th September. Symson wrote an elegy on the unexpected death of the virtuous lady, Mrs Janet Dalrymple, Lady Baldoon, younger. It bears to have been written on the morning of the funeral, 30th September, and takes the form of a dialogue between a stranger who had witnessed the happy home-coming, and a domestic servant of the house. The former asks what is the cause of the unexpected change from the gaiety he recently beheld, to the grief that then prevailed, and the latter replied—

“ We did enjoy great mirth, but now, ah me!
 Our joyful song’s turn’d to an elegie.
 A virtuous lady, not long since a bride,
 Was to an hopeful plant by marriage ty’d
 And brought home hither. We did all rejoyce
 Even for her sake. But presently our voice
 Was turn’d to mourning, for that little time
 That she’d enjoy; she waned in her prime.”

This is the only contemporary writing on the subject, and there is no suggestion in it of anything in the nature of violence. Nor was there for years afterwards. No doubt the early death of a young bride of rank and fortune made

a deep impression on the country people of the district, and left a feeling akin to awe, but it was not for a generation later that there was the slightest whisper of anything untoward being connected with her death. Meanwhile the Stair influence was in the ascendant, and in 1671 Viscount Stair became President of the Court of Session. His success in this and other matters aroused envy and jealousy and bitter opposition. Absolutely unfounded charges were made and anonymous scurrilous pamphlets published against him. It was in this atmosphere that the suggestion of violence after the wedding first began to be mooted.

An Unsuccessful Suit.

It was then the outside world were told that Janet Dalrymple had secretly become engaged to Lord Rutherford, an impecunious peer many years her senior; that they had broken a golden coin between them as a pledge, and, as if that was not sufficient, that they had imprecated dismal evils upon whoever of them might break the promise, even to being seized by Satan himself.

Soon another suitor appeared in the person of David Dunbar, the eldest son of Sir David Dunbar of Baldoon. He was a better match in every way, having great expectations, and being much younger than Lord Rutherford, who was his uncle. His attentions were favourably received by the young lady's parents, and when Lord Rutherford learned how matters stood he wrote Janet Dalrymple reminding her of her engagement. Her mother replied for her that she was now sensible of the mistake she had made by entering into an engagement without her parents' knowledge, and that she did not intend to fulfil the engagement. To this Lord Rutherford replied that he would take his dismissal only from Janet Dalrymple herself, and insisted on an interview with her. This was arranged, and it took place in presence of Dame Dalrymple. When Lord Rutherford pressed for fulfilment of the promise, Dame Dalrymple answered his arguments by quoting from Scripture, Numbers 30, 3-5—

3. If a woman vow a vow unto the Lord, and bind herself by a bond being in her father's house in her youth.

4. And her father hear her vow and her bond wherewith she hath bound her soul, and her father shall hold his peace at her; then all her vows shall stand and every bond wherewith she hath bound her soul shall stand.

5. But if her father disallow her in the day that he heareth, not any of her vows or of her bonds wherewith she hath bound her soul shall stand.

Janet took little part in the argument, and the scene ended with her handing back her portion of the broken coin. To give a more realistic touch to what was to follow, some writers add that when Rutherford left he made the prophetic declaration, "As for you, Madam, you will be a world's wonder."

Remembering that the lovers had imprecated evils upon whoever of them might break troth, it is not surprising to find that this is what the first version of the story says took place after Janet Dalrymple married David Dunbar. We might find it difficult to credit such a story being circulated and listened to even in those days of superstitious credulity, but that it was so is shown by the fact that in Law's "Memorials of the Memorable Things that fell out within this Island of Britain from 1638 to 1684" it is recorded that Janet Dalrymple "the night she was bride in was taken from her bridegroom and harled through the house (by evil spirits) and soon afterwards died."

Then there were the scurrilous lines by Sir William Hamilton of Whitelaw, between whom and Stair there was bitter enmity. Hamilton also introduces the Devil as having a hand in the matter.

Another Story.

It was soon realised that such stories would not stand, and the next version told that Dame Dalrymple was opposed to the marriage and grudgingly gave her consent in these words, "You may marry him, but sair will you repent it," and repent it she did, according to the story. On the night of the wedding the newly-wedded pair retired to their chamber, while the merry-making still proceeded in the hall, which, of course, must have been Carscreugh and not Baldoon, for the bridal party did not come to Baldoon till a

fortnight after the marriage. The room had been locked and the key was kept by the groomsman to prevent any of the frolics that sometimes took place in those days. Suddenly from the bridal chamber came piercing cries of agony, and when the door was opened it was found that the bridegroom, in a fit of temporary insanity, had fatally stabbed his unresisting bride. The well-deserved popularity of David Dunbar quickly discredited such an unlikely story. It was soon revived, however, but the version this time was that it was the young wife who attacked David Dunbar, and that when the door of the bridal chamber was opened they found the bridegroom weltering in his blood on the threshold, and the bride in a state of wildest madness cowering in a corner of the chimney with no covering but a shift, and that dabbled in gore. "Take up your bonnie bridegroom," she ordered, and from that moment she had no rational communications, and died in less than three weeks.

But even this story was not allowed to have it all its own way, and the next version was that the rejected Lord Rutherford had bribed some of the servants, and by their connivance was able to secrete himself in the bridal chamber beforehand, and when fitting opportunity offered suddenly revealed himself and attacked his successful rival, severely wounding him, and then made his escape through a window which was afterwards found open.

Who will say which, if any, of these stories tells what actually took place? These old walls hold their secret well, and the mystery is likely for ever to remain.

Cassencarry.

The earliest trace of a house on this site is to be found in the map of the "Stewartrie of Kirkcudbright" in the Atlas published by Bleau in 1662. Cassencarry (or Kassincary) is shown on this map as a house with a pallsade round it, which seems to indicate that the house was a residence of importance within an enclosed park. Bleau's map was produced from the survey of Timothy Pont. Only one of Pont's manuscript maps, so far as I

am aware, contains a date. The map of Clydesdale from Queensberry Hill to just below Glasgow bears a date on the top right hand corner—"Sept et Oct 1596 descripta." It is probable that Pont carried out his survey of Galloway about the same time, though we have no definite proof of this. So far as is known no additions were made to Pont's survey before it was published by Bleau, so that the information regarding a house on this site is carried back to some time about the end of the 16th century.

In the centre of the house is an old tower, with the remains of the original staircase. The door opens on to what is now the entrance hall. Towers of this kind were built in this part of the country between 1575 and 1600. The members who visited Sorbie will remember the general characteristics of the building.

For information about the families who have inhabited Cassencarry I have to depend upon M'Kerlie, a useful if not always a perfectly reliable guide. There may be family papers dealing with the ancient history, but I have not had an opportunity of consulting any of these.

The earliest record, so far as I know, is dated 7th May, 1586, when John Mure of Cassencarry and Janet, his spouse, had seisin. It is not improbable that the building of the Tower took place about that time.

The family of Mure is found connected with this part of the country as early as 1521, and in 1554 Marion Muir of Torhousemuir in Wigton married William Gordon of Cullindoch, and is buried, as some of you may remember, in the old Kirk of Anwoth. But whether they had any connection with Cassencarry I do not know.

The succession (probably from father to son) runs through Richard, John, William and his wife Agnes to a second William, who had seisin in 1743.

This William was succeeded by his son George, a lawyer in Edinburgh. He married Margaret Mackenzie of Delvine in Perthshire, and their son Alexander when he succeeded to both properties took the name of Alexander Mure-Mackenzie. He was created a Baronet in 1805. His

son, Sir John, was the father of the 3rd Baronet, Sir Alexander, and also of Lord Mure Mackenzie. The 4th Baronet, Sir Robert, died a few months after he succeeded, and the present holder of the title lives with his mother at Cassencarry, Torquay.

Cassencarry was sold to James Caird, M.P. for Stirling, a Galloway man, about 1860 or 1870, I think, and our host is the grandson.

The speaker then gave an outline of the story of "Guy Mannering" as told by Sir Walter Scott, and proceeded:

I am not going to trouble you with reasons for identifying the different places. All that I am going to say is that this coast fits in with the story; and that the identification of the scenes with this countryside has increased to me the pleasure experienced in re-reading the novel. Here you have the smuggling coast. If we take Cassencarry as Woodbourne and this lawn as the site of the smugglers' attack, you have Creetown in the position of Kippletringen. You have Barholm on the east, with Warrock Point and Warrock Wood beyond, and just below the wood a well-known smugglers' cave with remarkable arrangements for storing contraband. Beyond that again you have Gatehouse in the position of Portanferry and its Custom House.

Sir Walter's sister-in-law, Mrs Thomas Scott, was Margaret M'Culloch of Ardwell. At the time of Scott's visit to Girthon she was 17. I do not know when the Scotts first became acquainted with the M'Cullochs, but if the acquaintance dates from earlier than 1793 one may be sure that Scott visited Ardwell. At Cassencarry at that time resided Alexander Mure Mackenzie (afterwards Sir Alexander), a young man of 29, who had married a few years before. His father, George Mure, had been a writer in Edinburgh. According to the custom of these days it is not unlikely that Scott when going to this far-off part of the world would carry with him letters of introduction. Nothing could be more natural than for Scott to journey on horseback from Gatehouse over the then new military road across the moor to Creetown, and after visiting Cassen-

carry and Barholm to return by the coast road, which was then under reconstruction. So far as I am concerned that is all speculation. I have not had access to papers from which any such visits could be proved. All that I do know is that Sir Walter once visited Girthon when he was a young man of 22; that he was a keen observer of the countryside wherever he went; that 22 years later he wrote a story, the scene of which corresponds very remarkably with the countryside around Cassencarry. His memory may have been refreshed by communications with the Ardwell family in later life and by the letters of Train. Out of these materials he painted the local scenery perhaps better than he himself knew.

The Bruce's Stone.

By C. J. N. FLEMING, H.M.I.S.

The stone you see has on it this inscription :

“ THE BRUCE'S STONE.
Upon this Moss Raploch
Robert the Bruce,
Earl of Carrick, Lord of the Garrioch, etc.,
Defeated the English in
1307.”

In the description of the Parish of Minnigaff, being No. IV. of the Appendix to Andrew Simpson's *A Laye Description of Galloway*, first published in 1692, the stone is described as the “ King's Stone,” and perhaps it would have been preferable that this older name had been used. But, whatever name is given, tradition records that on this Moss Robert the Bruce inflicted a defeat on a body of English, and that, to quote the old authority, “ to this stone he leaned his back till his men gathered up the spoil; and within these thirty years there were broken swords and heads of picks got in the flow as they were digging up peats.”

We therefore stand on venerable ground.

It will, I think, be appropriate to recall to your minds the circumstances in which this engagement took place.

In the year 1306 Robert Bruce suffered defeat at Methwen, and his cause seemed hopelessly lost. Scotland was in the hands of the English, and half of Scotland was against him. In the autumn of that year the Bruce fled from Scotland from Dunaverty in Kintyre to the island of Rathlin, as the common story goes. But there is strong presumptive evidence that though he may have been to Rathlin during those winter months he really sought refuge with Haco, King of Norway, whose brother Eric, his predecessor on the throne, had married Isabella, Bruce's sister.

Early in the year 1307 Bruce returned to Scotland.

From Kintyre Bruce passed over to Arran and sought shelter in the King's caves in South-Western Arran. It was in one of these caves, I have been told, that he saw the famous spider.

From Arran, as you all know, he crossed to Turnberry, and shortly afterwards betook himself to the wilds of Galloway, where in the early spring he gained his first victory at Glentrool, the turning point in his career.

Now, though he had won this battle of Glentrool, he was still a hunted man, and he was beset by the forces of his foes. Being hard pressed, it is said that he ordered his followers to scatter and reassemble at Craigencaillie, a place some two to three miles up the water but out of sight from where we stand. Bruce was the first to arrive, and was hospitably received in a widow's house. I need not re-tell the tale at length how her three sons took service with the Bruce, or how they showed their prowess with the bow, M'Kie, the eldest, letting fly an arrow at two ravens perching upon a pinnacle of a rock and shot them both through their heads; nor remind you that the lands granted by the Bruce are still possessed by his descendant, Col. M'Kie, well known to all, and uncle of the popular M.P. for Galloway. But for those who would care to read the story in full detail, I should like to refer them to Dick's *Highways and Byways in Galloway*.

The story goes on that an English force encamped in Moss Raploch. As the King's forces were inferior, these

young men suggested a stratagem. They gathered all the horses and goats that they could, and kept them in a body by his soldiers. "The neighing of the horses and the horns of the goats made the English at so great a distance apprehend them to be a great army," so they dared not leave the camp. In the early morning the King attacked the camp with such fury that the English fled, and then it was the King leaned his back to this stone till his men gathered up the spoil.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
Dumfriesshire and Galloway
Natural History & Antiquarian Society.

SESSION 1932-33.

4th November, 1932.

Chairman—Mr M. H. M'KERROW.

The minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and approved.

The Chairman referred to the removal by death of several well-known members, and Mr G. W. Shirley and Dr. Burnett paid special tribute to the late W. G. Collingwood, a distinguished member and contributor.

The Hon. Secretary submitted the annual report, which showed 262 members at the beginning of the year. Seven had died and 21 resigned; 16 new members had been admitted, leaving the number at 150.

The Hon. Treasurer's report was also submitted and approved, and these two officials were thanked on behalf of the Society.

Miss Isabella Robertson, Ewart Library, was proposed and accepted as a member of the Society.

Mr Shirley exhibited two articles which had belonged to Thomas Carlyle—his hat and his smoking-cap. These now belonged to the Society in accordance with the wishes of the late Miss M. Carlyle Aitken, for many years a member of the Society. In addition there were exhibited three volumes of documents, etc., made up by the late John Aitken, now also belonging to the Society.

A letter from Mr C. Maxwell, contractor, was submitted regarding work done at Palmerston in connection with the finding and removing of the Burial Urns. The recommendation of Council that a sum of £6 be paid was agreed to on the motion of Mr M'Kerrow.

The recommendation of Council that the present Office-Bearers be re-elected was agreed to.

Thereafter two papers were read, the first by Mr M. H. M'Kerrow, being the second part of his paper on "Sweetheart Abbey" (see previous volume); and the second by Mr J. Pelham Maitland, of Oxford, on "Some Early Homes of the Balliols."

Sweetheart Abbey.

By M. H. M'KERROW, F.S.A.Scot.

Sweetheart Abbey was founded in 1273 by Devorgilla. Who was she? What were the influences that led Devorgilla to build an Abbey, and what prompted her to build it where she did? I will endeavour to answer these questions. Devorgilla was a daughter of Alan, Lord of Galloway, and his spouse, Margaret, who was daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, a brother of William the Lion, King of Scotland. Wyntoune says, B. viii., c. 6, l. 1249:—

This erle Davy had douchters thre.
Margret the first of tha cald he:
This Margret was a pleysant May,
Hyr weddit Alyne of Galloway.

Margaret had a sister, Isobel, who married Robert Bruce of Annandale, and was an ancestor of King Robert Bruce. On the death of the Earl of Huntingdon, his large possessions in England and Scotland were divided between his daughters, Margaret and Isobel. Alan's wife therefore made a large addition to the power and possessions of the Galloway family. The fruit of this union between Margaret and Alan was Devorgilla, Lady of Galloway. She succeeded to large estates both through her father and mother, becoming certainly the greatest heiress in Scotland, and

perhaps also the greatest in England. The first of our Baliols came over from Normandy to England with William the Conqueror, and soon shared in the favour of the King. The family acquired large estates in no fewer than nine counties in England, and also considerable possessions in Scotland. In 1220 the heir to these extensive properties was young John Baliol. Devorgilla and he met, and were married, and had a son, John, that unfortunate John Baliol who reigned King of Scotland as the nominee of Edward of England, and who was succeeded by his not more fortunate son, Edward Baliol; and their daughter, Marjory, having married the Black Comyn and bore him a son, that son was the Red Comyn, and a great-great-grandchild of Devorgilla.

But to return to Devorgilla, she was born in 1213, and lived for the most part at Fotheringay Castle in Northamptonshire, and not infrequently at Buittle Castle in the Stewartry, the ruins of which may still be seen. It was at Fotheringay she met John Baliol. She was not only good, as the chroniclers tell us, but rich, pleasant, and of "beaute." John fell in love with her, and they were married in 1228, when she was only 15 years of age. Her father, Alan, died soon after, and John's father also died. The two properties were therefore united, and formed the largest estate probably in the country. These young people resided partly at Buittle, partly at Fotheringay, and partly at Barnard Castle in Yorkshire, which Sir Walter Scott made the scene of "Rokeby," and they remained 40 years man and wife. When in 1269 John died, Devorgilla, who had been a devoted, loving, and affectionate wife, mourned her husband. All her happiness had consisted in his presence. She determined in her widowhood that they should not be divided, and pondered how she could effect her purpose and commemorate the virtues of her husband. The method she adopted was that of maintaining a symbolical relationship with him. She caused his body to be embalmed and his heart to be enclosed in a casket fashioned with all the art and cunning of goldsmiths, and wherever she went she carried this casket with her; wherever she sat down to meals it was placed where her

husband used to sit, and whenever she entered a room she paid low obeisance to the heart of her dear husband. Years passed by, and then Devorgilla devised the idea of building a Monastery in which she might be buried after death, and in which the heart of her dear husband should there be deposited with hers. In 1273, four years after the death of John Baliol, she fixed on the site of Sweetheart Abbey, and gave orders that the best architects and builders in the nation should be procured, and a grand and stately edifice be reared worthy of her husband and of her. She also gave orders that she herself should be buried in a grand tomb before the high altar, and that the casket containing the *Sweetheart* of her dear husband should be laid upon her breast, so that they who were lovely and loving in their lives should not be divided in death. And so the stately fabric arose, no doubt much of it under her own eyes, and when she slept the last sleep her remains were interred amid the lamentations of the whole land, buried in that tomb at the High Altar, where she lay with her husband's heart on hers, sleeping for many a century, till rude hands came and scattered their ashes. Grander abbeys and nobler monasteries may have been built, but nowhere in all the world will you find an abbey with a more touching, more romantic story than this. When we regard it in the light of this story we might see in that Abbey a poem, a romance in stone and lime. I hope when next you visit its ruins you will remember this, and how it came to bear that strange and beautiful name of Sweetheart Abbey.

The conventual church is now roofless, but the walls are in a good state of preservation. The boundary wall of the precincts, part of which still remains, was built of huge granite boulders, and enclosed a space of 26 acres. At the Reformation the lands were feued and the fabric allowed to perish. Until 1779 it served as a quarry, when, through efforts of an enlightened minister, Mr Wright, this was stopped. In recent years it has been preserved with a loving care as one of the noblest and most beautiful monastic remains in this country.

The next question I have to consider is: What were the influences that prompted Devorgilla to build a Monastery? Why did her pious wish take that form? And why did she choose the order of the Cistercian Monks? In the 12th century there was an extraordinary revival, civil and religious, all over Europe. It was the dawn of a new day. Many of those institutions of which we are still proud were, when traced back, found to have their roots in that century. But it is with the religious revival that I have now to do. That religious enthusiasm showed itself in the Crusades and in the revival of Christian art—above all, in the foundation of religious orders. The most celebrated of these orders was the Cistercians, virtually founded in France in the 12th century by St. Bernard, one of those men who are naturally kings and leaders and who left his impress on the world. This order acquired extraordinary popularity. Within 200 years after its first foundation it had no fewer than 1800 Monasteries, Nunneries or Abbeys in Europe. Its reputation reached this country in due time, with the followers of William the Conqueror; and in 1136, Melrose, the first Cistercian Abbey in Scotland was built. In the beginning of the 12th Century, the greater part of Lowland Scotland as well as England was in the hands of Norman Barons, who brought with them the habits and views of their countrymen, their fondness for church building, their zeal for Monastic Orders and for religious art, and their desire for a higher civilisation. The Lords of Galloway in this respect were not behind their neighbours. Fergus—Devorgilla's great-great-grandfather—built a religious house at Sauls Seat, founded Whithorn Priory, built an Abbey at Tongland, a Priory at Kirkcudbright and an Abbey at Dundrennan, all in Galloway. His son Uchtred followed, not unworthily, the example set him by building the Abbey of Lincluden near Dumfries; and Roland, son of Uchtred, built the Abbey of Glenluce. Devorgilla was therefore but following the footsteps of her ancestors when she conceived the idea of building a Monastery, and chose the Cistercian Order; for Dundrennan, founded by Fergus and

in which her father Alan slept, was also a Cistercian Monastery. Parenthetically, I might be permitted to say that Dundrennan was built 130 years before Sweetheart Abbey, and to distinguish the one from the other, the former was called the Old Abbey and the latter New Abbey, which explains why the parish in which Sweetheart Abbey was built was in our time called New Abbey. There were upwards of 100 houses of the Cistercian Order in England, and I have been able to count 21 in Scotland, 11 Abbeys and 10 Nunneries, and I may add that New Abbey was the last Abbey that ever was founded in our country, Dunfermline probably being the first 200 years before, there being built in Scotland in that time—1070 to 1273—no fewer than 200 Monasteries and religious houses, or at the rate of one every year. When we reflected on the magnificence of these structures, and the vastness of their possessions, we could form some idea, though still very inadequate, of the force with which the tide of religious enthusiasm was running.

Devorgilla did not confine her munificence to Sweetheart Abbey. She repaired and endowed other establishments. She founded a priory for Dominican Friars in Wigtown, and she also built another priory in Dundee. The Cistercian Order of Monks were distinguished by greater faithfulness to the Rules of St. Benedict than the other Orders, and at first, by their refusal to have grand churches or magnificent ornaments, and by insisting on a perfect simplicity in all religious services; further they were distinguished by their hospitality and care of the poor and by their agricultural and horticultural pursuits. They were dressed in white excepting when they laboured in the fields, and were called White Monks. With their white Robe they also wore a black scapulary, in honour of the Virgin, to whom all the houses of their Order were dedicated; and so down at Sweetheart Abbey a number of middle-aged gentlemen, attired in that manner might any day be seen up till the Reformation. This Order of Monks were the greatest farmers of the period, and no doubt many of the fruit trees and herbs which we now prize we owe to their horticultural pursuits. In 1633 we find special

reference made to the orchards of Sweetheart Abbey, because of the excellent fruit which was grown there. The rules of the establishment were that the monks rose at two in the morning and dined at two in the afternoon, going to bed at an early hour in the evening, all the intervening time being occupied with prayers, study, employment in the fields, but when the Order became richer it was likely they prayed more seldom and ate more frequently. A large portion of their time, too, was devoted to the education of young noblemen. In order to accommodate the Monks, the clerical and lay brethren of the Order, many more buildings than the church were needed. Visiting a ruined Abbey now, we generally find nothing but the remains of the Chapel. This is the case at Sweetheart Abbey. That the Church formed a very small portion of the great mass of buildings—including the dormitory, buttery refectory, Chapter house, Abbot's house, infirmary, etc.—was very certain. Sweetheart Abbey, when in its glory, would consist in the same way of a great block of building; and we would have some idea of its extent when I say that the enclosure wall embraced 26 acres of land.

But why did Devorgilla build an Abbey where she did? That will be answered by referring to the religious houses above mentioned that existed in Galloway. You will see that the whole district, with the exception of this part, was occupied by these establishments and their possessions. But having fixed on the site what endowments were given to the Abbey? Devorgilla endowed it largely and liberally, but by no means so largely or so liberally as many other great Monasteries were endowed. First, she endowed with the lands of Kindarloch. In those days there was a church on the little island in the loch—ruins thereof may still be observed—and the whole parish got the name of Loch Kindarloch. The whole parish was therefore presented to the Abbey, together with a part of the parish of Kirkpatrick-Durham, and all the patronage of the churches at Crossmichael, Buittle, and Kirkcolm, the parishes of Kirkbean, Southwick, Colvend, Troqueer, Terregles, and Kirkgunzeon belonging at

that time to Lincluden Abbey, to the Abbey of Tongland, and to Holm Cultram in Cumberland. Such were the endowments with which Sweetheart Abbey commenced her career. Had she remained in undisturbed possession of them, they would probably have been enough. But being on the Border and exposed to the inroads of English armies and founded shortly before the War of Independence broke out, the Abbey was reduced to comparative poverty, as the records inform us, and on this plea grant after grant was made to her by subsequent Lords of Galloway, the reason being that she had started poor, and was still further impoverished by these untoward events

I have already referred to the life the Monks led, and how they undertook the education of the young nobility. A very touching illustration of this was found in the history of the Herries family. About the time of the Reformation Lord Herries, the staunch friend of Queen Mary, was ordered by the Privy Council to go down and destroy New Abbey. But he firmly refused to obey, and gave as his reason that he remembered with much tenderness that he had been educated there in his youth and spent many happy days within its walls and in roaming about the braes of Criffel; and we are told that Gilbert Brown, the last Abbot, in consideration of his conduct, made over to Lord Herries the little island on Lochkindar and all the "fowls and the fish" in the loch itself. I will try to give you some idea of the relations of these Monks to the world without. The records of Sweetheart Abbey have not been preserved to inform us of its management; but the records of Kelso Abbey are extant, and the conditions would be much the same in all cases. We are told that the Monasteries and Abbeys divided their lands into various estates, and on these built granges or large farm steadings, in which were kept all the implements of agriculture, cattle, grain, serfs or slaves. At each of these granges one Monk resided to superintend the proceedings. Then of its properties beside these, smaller farms were scattered all up and down; and nestling under the walls of the Abbey there was generally a village. The former were generally occupied by husbandmen

or small farmers, each of whom had about 26 acres of land, for which he paid a small rent and gave regular service. Each was bound to keep a pair of oxen, and six of them were required to unite their cattle in order to pull the creaking, cumbersome plough of those days, which needed twelve oxen to draw it, and was effective only to a depth of two or three inches. The villages at the Abbeys were inhabited by what we now call cottars. They held a higher position than the serfs or slaves at the granges, and in addition to a small rent they were bound to render service to the Monastery--such as assistance at sheep shearing, harvest, or carting of peats and wood. They stood in social position between the serf and small farmer. Then a step above the small farmer were the yeomen, who had not more land than the husbandmen, but held it in perpetuity instead of from year to year; in fact they were bonnet lairds. Above them again were the Barons. But besides the revenue which the Monks drew from the land, they drew revenues from other sources. They owned mills, at which the grain of the district must be ground; and they also owned a number of brew houses, in which was made and sold that ale which was then the national beverage of Scotland and is still that of England. They had revenues from the fisheries also. Sweetheart Abbey had a right to the fisheries all down the Solway shore. Then among the many perquisites which the Abbot enjoyed, all the farmers on the Abbey lands were obliged to send him in a fat hen at Christmas, and all the brewers a gallon and one half of ale.

The record of public events connected with the Abbey is very short. The list of Abbots of Sweetheart Abbey, so far as I have been able to complete one, is as follows:—Henry, 1275; Eric, 1290; John, 1300; Thomas, 1400; William, 1440; Robert, 1503; John, 1539; and Gilbert, 1565-1612.

They would see from the vast gaps between these dates that there must have been other Abbots besides the above, but their names are lost. The first Abbot, Henry, after his appointment, went over to France to be ordained at the Mother Monastery there, and either on his way there or on

his way back he died. He was succeeded by Eric, who was head of the lay brothers at the time of his elevation. I have often heard it stated that the Monks at Sweetheart Abbey and other abbeys numbered about 500, but this is not so. In the early years of the Cistercian Order the number of Monks at each monastery never exceeded twelve and an Abbot to represent our Lord and his Apostles, and, curiously enough, there happened to be two complete lists of Monks at Sweetheart Abbey at two different periods, and in both of these the number is thirteen. That, I have no doubt, would be the usual number there. But besides the Monks the order included the more numerous body of lay brethren, whose learning and zeal was less, and who were generally occupied in the management of the farms. After Eric came John. He fell on troublous times. After 1292 the War of the Independence broke out, that war in which Devorgilla's descendants figured so prominently. Our forefathers were victorious, but Scotland's independence was dearly bought. The war found us a wealthy people, with a large foreign trade, and everything prospering; it left the country a howling desert—put it back, according to the best historians, 400 years in civilisation. We never recovered the position which we lost then till the time of the Union. The lands of Sweetheart Abbey were the prey of both parties. I have said that this Abbey was the last to be built in Scotland. Yes! Scotland had then something else to do than to build monasteries. She had to fight for her very existence. This Abbot, then, as we read, travelled to Berwick in those times, and, paying fealty to Edward of England, was suffered to resume his lands. In the course of that war the Pope took up the cause of Scotland, and sent a Bull to Edward by the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and dreading excommunication Edward made peace. There is every reason to believe that the English monarch was encamped at Sweetheart Abbey when he received the Pope's Bull.

Abbot Thomas succeeded John, and about 1370 the Abbey was struck by lightning and greatly damaged in its woodwork. The then Lord of Galloway, a descendant of

Archibald the Grim (a Douglas), made over to the Monks the parishes of Kirkpatrick, Buittle, and Kirkcolm, of which they had formerly the patronage. He has been called the second founder of the Abbey. Thomas studied two years at Oxford, there being no university in Scotland till about 1411, when St. Andrews was built, and afterwards was made Abbot, and when advanced in years he again visited Oxford as a student. Of the other Abbots there is nothing special to say.

When the Monks felt the Reformation tide rising, at New Abbey as elsewhere, they prepared to meet it by putting themselves under the protection of the most powerful families in the district, so giving those families an interest to save something for them out of the general wreck. About 100 years before the Reformation the New Abbey brethren had formed a close relationship with the leading family in the district, the Lords Maxwell. To this family they leased their estates and extended the leases and made the family heritable bailies over the entire Abbey property. The Maxwells held the land and paid over the revenues to the Monks, and when the Reformation did come it found that powerful family in possession of nearly all the Church lands. The family remained staunch to the old faith, and because of their influence the Monks were undisturbed at New Abbey longer perhaps than anywhere else. It was not till about 50 years after the Reformation that the Privy Council ventured to send soldiers to Sweetheart Abbey. The natives rose against them, but the Abbot was carried to Blackness prison, where John Welsh, son-in-law of John Knox, also a prisoner there, sadly tormented him in his zeal to make him a Protestant.

The Early Homes of the Balliols.

By J. PELHAM MAITLAND.

In order to avoid any possible misapprehension I feel it to be necessary to state that the researches now in hand are yet in a very incomplete state, due to the imperative necessity of verifying each reference before proceeding. This alone has necessitated journeys to be undertaken to

various points in Western Europe, so involved has the subject been found to become. On the other hand, the survey of the four principal castles of the Balliol family in France was completed in 1928, and the entire set of plans and photographs has been deposited at Balliol College, Oxford. At the moment, therefore, it is prudent to confine one's reflexions to facts which have already been definitely established, and special attention will be called to any "doubtful" information which may have to be cited in the course of this paper.

Contrary to an opinion still having wide currency, the Balliol family was of Picard, not of Norman, origin. Mr Wentworth Huyshe, relying to a large extent upon the researches of the Marquis René de Belleval, has established a pedigree, certain details of which do not agree with the records in France, and are now under investigation. In his work, *The Royal Manor of Hitchin* (London, Macmillan, 1906), will be found a synthesis of the history of the family in England and Scotland, but comparatively little appears as to their Continental action. Thanks to the most kind assistance of M. Emile Ponche, of Camiers, and of Canon Le Sueur, Curé of Bailleul-en-Vimeu, and of many other landowners and clergy of the neighbourhood too numerous to mention, we have been enabled to a large extent to fill up this gap.

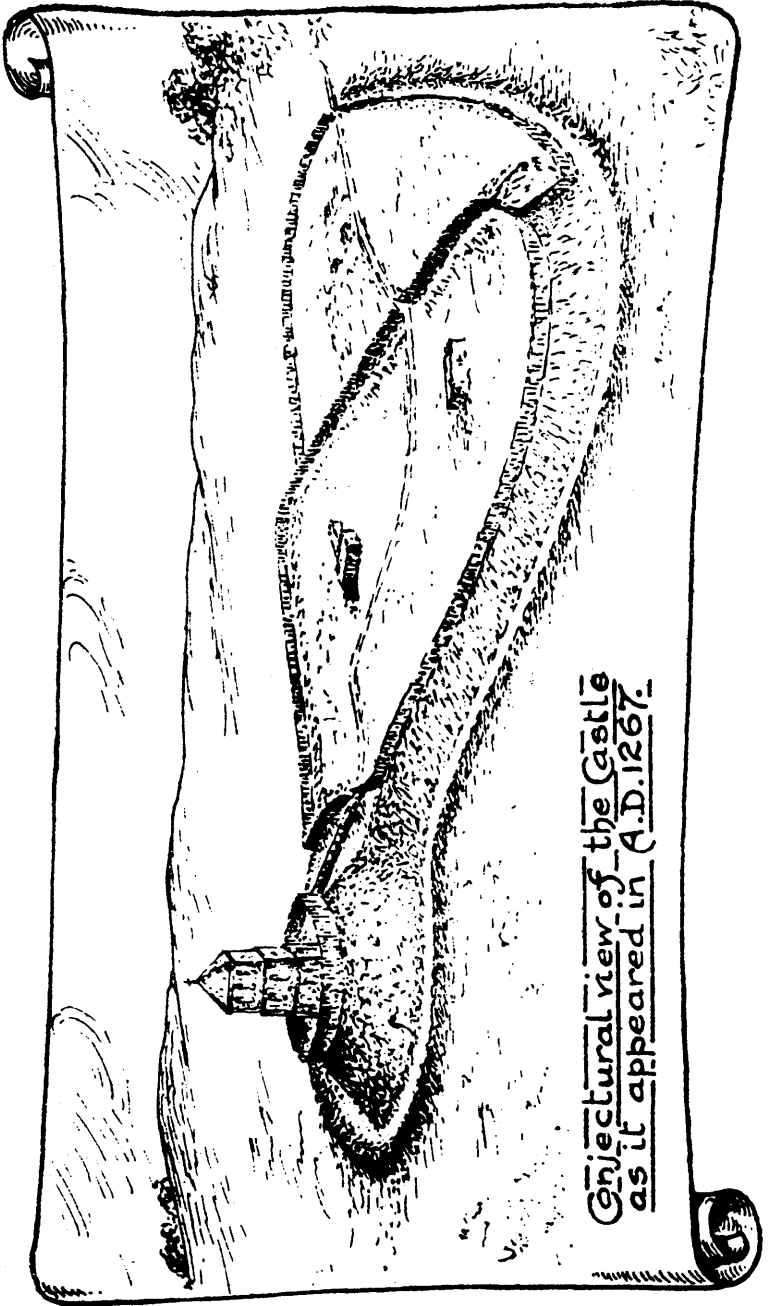
The place from which the family of Balliol takes its name is a small village about six miles south of Abbeville, in the department of the Somme, France. Its full title is "Bailleul-en-Vimeu," i.e., Bailleul in the ancient county of Vimeu (Pagus vimacensis), to distinguish it from the other places called "Bailleul" in Northern France, of which we have already discovered 28. The most ancient spelling of the name—1109—found in France is "Baillol," but 14 other variants have been encountered, all of which refer to the place we are now considering.

The substructure of the cradle of the family, the castle of Gui de Bailleul, its first recorded lord, still exists in the thick woods above the village, in a remarkably perfect state of preservation. The motte, about 20 feet high, still

possesses its well. It is provided on the western side with two baileys, and affords a general similarity in design and lay-out to Buittle Mote, Kirkcudbright. It never appears to have been furnished with any stone structures or defences whatever, and after being systematically dismantled in 1420 was left derelict. Thanks to the indefatigable efforts of our conservator, Baron de Santeul, it has recently passed into the hands of an owner who appreciates to the full its historical and sentimental value. The importance of this demarche may be gauged, when I tell you that its existence was for some time in jeopardy, as there was a persistent belief locally that underneath the motte existed a hoard of hidden treasure, including a golden throne upon which the exiled King of Scotland used to sit, and—mark this well—we had found the clue to its location in the archives at Oxford!

No less than 32 castles were feudally dependent upon that of Bailleul-en-Vimeu, which will afford a good idea of its relative importance, and also of the extent of the family possessions in France.

Before passing on to some of the others I would add that the church, dating from the 13th century, in all probability of the time of John and Devorguilla situated in the valley, is still perfect and well-preserved at a distance of some 600 yards to the west of the castle, whereas the latter dominates the whole of the valley of the Bellifontaine, one of the small tributaries of the Somme. The church of Bellifontaine, one mile to the east of Bailleul, is of the same epoch as the latter, but more elegant in style, and, judging by the evidence afforded by the architecture, is yet another tribute to the generosity of the two illustrious persons before mentioned. We have found two documents signed by this John in France, dated 1246 and 1253 respectively, and another, of March, 1267, which indicates that he was actually resident at Bailleul at that time. It is remarkable that the majority of French authorities have inextricably confused the two John Balliols, and appear entirely ignorant of the connection of the former with Oxford.



Conjectural view of the Castle
as it appeared in A.D. 1267.

The reference to John Balliol, King of Scotland, fourth son of John and Devorguilla, brings us to the second castle of importance, that of Héricourt, which was his favourite residence. Several documents still extant give one the impression that he always had visualised the possibility of having one day to retire to his continental estates, and when this had become a reality he retired to the château of Héricourt, where he apparently lived the uneventful life of a country gentleman, and died in October, 1314. This we have definitely established; the details set forth in the *Dictionary of National Biography* must therefore be rejected as erroneous.

One must indeed admire the choice of the exiled King. Héricourt is indeed a charming spot, situated in the valley of the Vimeuse, a tributary of the Bresle, about three miles from the frontier of Picardy and Normandy. We arrived there just in time to record the features of the castle. It, too, is a château-à-motte, without any sign of stonework, but the motte, after having been utilised as a mill-ball for some years, is shaking down rapidly, and, I am informed, is now barely traceable. This item alone emphasises the need for proper archæological record, as this monument, of interest to Scotsmen equally as greatly as to Frenchmen, would have otherwise disappeared, as it were, under our eyes. Héricourt, at the death of John, passed into the hands of Edward Balliol, from whom it was confiscated in 1355. It was dismantled in 1422. M. de Belleval states that John's motto (" Cri ") was " Hellicourt en Ponthieu."

The church of Héricourt is modern, and is of no interest. The third of the four great castles of the Balliols in France is that of Hornoy, a small country town about 20 miles west of Amiens, also in the department of the Somme. This, too, was a château-à-motte, without any trace of stone constructions, and its remains may be found on a ridge about 400 yards south of the present castle, a 17th century construction of a grandiose character. The lordship was also confiscated from Edward Balliol in 1330. There is no record of the date of the dismantling of the ancient castle,

but there is some ground for placing it c. 1420. The church of Hornoy is posterior to the latter date.

The fourth of the series, Dompierre-sur-Authie, is, as its name indicates, situate on one of the three principal rivers of Picardy, the Authie, almost opposite to the famous abbey of Dommartin. It is about 12 miles N.N.E. of Abbeville, on the northern fringe of the forest of Crécy.

No visible traces remain of the castle of John and Devorguilla, but we have definitely established that the present château occupies the same site. The latter is very probably the bailey of the former castle, and in the enclosure are a round keep of the 15th century, and buildings of a domestic character dating from the 16th and 17th centuries.

All of the foregoing castles were held by John Balliol, King of Scotland, but it is to be noted that he inherited Héricourt from his uncle, Hugh, and not from his parents.

These notes would be incomplete without a mention of Longpré, known to the vulgar as the place where the "Golden Arrow" express has to stop for a supply of water when the weather is rough. The elegant tower and spire of the sadly mutilated but still lovely collegiate church stand out as a speaking monument of the mother of John Balliol—the husband of Devorguilla—who is buried in the crypt under the choir. Her parents founded the church, to which she liberally contributed.

Despite the fact that the places cited herein were in immediate proximity to the area of active hostilities during the Great War, none of them suffered the least damage, and it is hoped that the interest aroused by our recent works and undertaking may serve to ensure the preservation of much of interest to those who, like ourselves, are enabled to estimate at their true value the vestiges which are associated with such illustrious names as that of Balliol—as was undoubtedly the case in regard to the motte of Bailleul-en-Vimeu.

Before terminating this paper, reference must be made to Mons, the birthplace of John Balliol, King of Scotland.

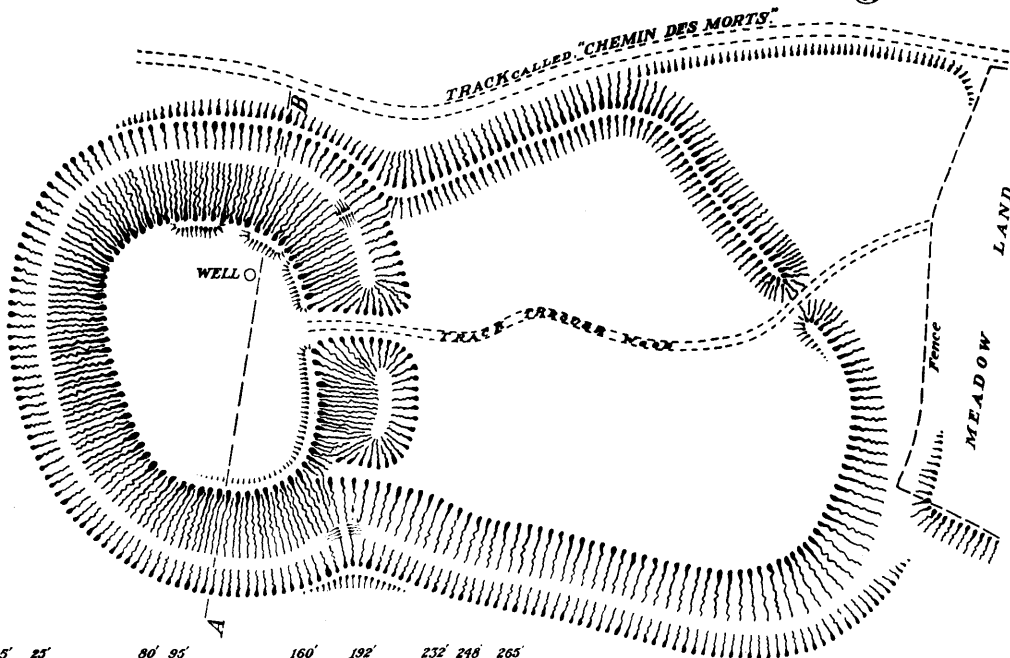
DRAWING A.

by Robert Curd

BAILLEUL - EN - VIMEU.

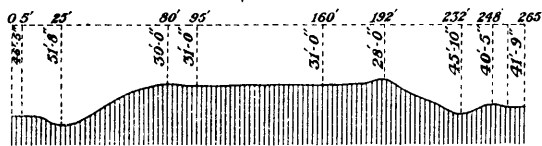
EXISTING REMAINS OF THE ANCIENT CASTLE OF THE FAMILY OF BALLIOL.

Survey by J. Pelham Maitland, Robert Curd, Frank Buritt & W. G. Tilling. June 23, 24 & 26, 1929.



Note: The site of Castle and Baileys is covered with dense growth.

Pelham Maitland



This place, which must not be confused with others of similar name, and of greater renown, is now generally known as Mons-Boubert, or as Mons-en-Vimeu. The site of the ancient château was completely transformed into a "grange"—in the French sense of the word—in the 18th century, but sufficient remains of the ancient ramparts to indicate a much earlier origin. Cellars of 13th or 14th century construction exist under the interior courtyard, and doubtless formed part of earlier buildings. The fact of this being the birthplace of John was first gathered from a local tradition, passed on to me by word of mouth in a neighbouring village. Proceeding to Mons, I asked an old peasant woman, sitting at the door of her cottage, if she could direct me to the birthplace of John, King of Scotland, and was immediately, and without hesitation on her part, sent to the site above described. This tradition I was subsequently able to confirm by the discovery of a document, originally in the possession of the Premonstratensian abbey of Sery (diocese of Amiens), now in the Library of the Abbey of St. Geneviève in Paris—MS. 1850, H.f.8. The date of John's birth is given by Huyshe (O.C. sup.) as 1249.

This brief retrospect of the active research work already brought to a successful conclusion must not be closed without a reference to the difficulties encountered during its progress, viz. :—

1. The hidden treasure delusion above referred to. This caused our works to be regarded with considerable suspicion by the peasantry of the neighbourhood, who were consequently none too helpful at the commencement of the undertaking. Thanks, however, to the potential intervention of local landowners and clergy, none of whom gave the slightest credence to our alleged mercenary proclivities, this was gradually overcome, and the second year of operations was free from trouble in this respect.

2. The almost tropical thickness of the jungle surrounding our objectives, which necessitated the employment of foresters to remove it; also the venomous insects which

inhabited same, and which shewed their resentment at being disturbed by their attacks upon the bodies of the members of the Survey.

3. The remoteness of the sites to be surveyed from any large town, necessitating considerable expense and trouble being incurred in regard to transportation and victualling.

At the same time, nothing in the way of excavation was either proposed or attempted. Our objective, as set forth by the late Master of Balliol, Dr A. L. Smith, was to *record* what visibly existed—a department of archæological research which has not, in the opinion of many, been sufficiently seriously regarded in the past. This is especially the case in France, where there is no equivalent of the six inch and twenty-five inch Ordnance maps in any form—if there had been, our Survey would have been totally unnecessary.

In conclusion, I should be more than remiss were I not to pay a tribute to my engineer colleagues, who gave so willingly their time, energies, and abilities to the work, and also to those generous Oxfordians who defrayed the necessarily heavy costs of the expedition.

26th November, 1932.

Chairman—Mr M. H. M'KERROW.

Ailsa Craig and its Birds.

By J. M'CRINDLE, Dunure.

[The lecturer first gave a brief geological and topographical description of the rock, and afterwards sketched its historical associations. The remainder of the lecture was on the bird life of the rock, and was illustrated by lantern slides.]

Some Notes on the Western Himalayas.

By WALTER BRYCE DUNCAN.

[Mr Duncan gave an account of several months' travel in Western Thibet, with an account of the flora and fauna of the region. His lecture was illustrated by a sketch map of the district he had traversed and also by lantern slides of various flowers and shrubs found there, a description being given of their habitat and manner of growth.]

On Two Forts Near Springkell.

By WILLIAM MACNAE.

In the midst of a thick spruce plantation in the Chalky-hill Wood, and about half a mile east of Springkell mansion-house, lies an oval enclosure some 290 feet by 220 feet. It is surrounded by an earth and stone rampart about two feet in height on the interior face, five feet high on the exterior face, and 20 feet broad at the base. In front of, and completely surrounding this rampart is a slight and shallow ditch, which is now used as part of the drainage system of the plantation. On this rampart have been planted a number of beech trees at fairly regular intervals, and these trees greatly facilitate the finding of the fort. Along the south arc there is a banquette six or seven feet broad on the inner side of the rampart. Near the centre of the south wall there is a break in the rampart, not, however, sunk to the level of the interior. On the east side there approaches the fort a bank some 11 feet wide from a north-easterly direction.

I am told by Mr Noon, an aged estate worker, that the last excavations to be made in the fort were carried out by the late Sir John Heron Maxwell, Bart. of Springkell, probably about 1814. Nothing, however, was found by which the fort may be dated. This fort is recorded in the "Report of the Historical Monuments Commission" on page 128.

In the grass park of Bakethin, adjacent to Chalkyhill Wood and to the south-west of the above fort, lies another fort similar in shape but much smaller. The rampart at its greatest height is about three feet on the exterior face and about half that on the interior face. The average width of the rampart is about 5 feet 6 inches. Its greatest length is 162 feet, and its greatest breadth is 90 feet. The ramparts have been flattened out, probably due to an attempt at cultivation, yet they can still be clearly seen. This fort has never been excavated, and is not mentioned in the "Report of the Historical Monuments Commission."

Both forts are situated on eminences about a quarter of a mile apart. The break in the rampart and the banquette on the south side of the larger fort are on the side of it nearest to the smaller fort. As nothing was found when the larger fort was excavated, I assume that this fort was used as a halt when returning from raids. At such times the cattle would probably be concealed in the smaller fort. Men posted on the banquette of the larger fort could thus keep watch over the cattle hidden in the other one. If these were attacked the raiders could jump out over the break in the rampart and drive off those who were trying to regain their lost cattle.

When looking through the volume of the *Transactions* of this Society for 1895 I noticed in the late Mr James Macdonald's paper on "Inscribed Roman Stones in Dumfriesshire" that an altar to Jupiter was found in a small vicinal fort on the banks of the Kirtle near Springkell. On first reading the paper I thought that the vicinal fort in question might be the larger of the two forts of which I am speaking. But on second thoughts I put this idea out of my head, as this fort is not on the banks of the Kirtle, and since I first read the above-mentioned article I learned that nothing was found during the excavations.

It may also interest the Society to know that the old thorn tree which marked the spot where Fair Helen was shot was washed away by a heavy flood in the beginning of July of this year (1932).

20th January, 1933.

Chairman—Mr M. H. M'KERROW.

Some Dumfriesshire Dialects.

By J. G. HORNE.

An elusive study is the origin, distribution, and changing life of dialects. They are found in all corners of the globe. Indeed it is in corners that they live longest and die hardest. The story of the confounding of "all the language of the earth" at the Tower of Babel is but a feeling after, a groping in the dark towards, the solution of a problem that has aroused the speculation of all thinking men and women from time immemorial. You will remember how after the clan battle between the Gileadites and the Ephraimites (who presumably spoke different dialects of the same tongue), the Gileadites took the passages of Jordan before the Ephraimites, and when an Ephraimite who had escaped said, "Let me go over," they said to him, "Art thou an Ephraimite?" And he said, "Nay" Then said they unto him, "Say now 'Shibboleth.'" And he said, "Sibboleth," *for he could not frame to pronounce it right.* "He could not frame to pronounce it right" is the comment of the author of the Book of Judges, whoever he was.

This, perhaps, is the earliest attempt to theorise on the matter of dialect; and the line of least resistance is by no means the least plausible theory.

In this connection it is worth noting that, contrariwise, the lesser *s* in Gaelic is always pronounced *sh* with what are called the small vowels, *e* and *i*, and wherever our Lowland tongue in its advance north and west has met a steady resistance from the Gaelic or Celtic type of speech, this characteristic appears more or less. Hundreds of years ago it might reasonably have been a kind of shibboleth or test whereby we could roughly assess the extent of the Celtic influence on our dialect, but perhaps it is too late now in these sophisticated days to garner sufficient material in any district to generalise on the point. In all the dialects *shew* is still used for *sew*, and *shewin* for *sewing*, and the word

serve is adopted and adapted in Gaelic as *sherrevish*. *Shavin* is common for *sowing* seed in Aberdeenshire and the north. At the moment I recall an old Aberdeenshire minister of 40 years ago who in his intercessory prayer for Queen Victoria always began with "God *shave* the Queen." In Fife we say *gushet* for *gusset*, but I have failed to hear it in Dumfriesshire. In any lowland dialect, however, *ashet* for Fr. *assiete* and *bushel* for Fr. *boissel* are common. In school the other day, talking of aids to digestion, I happened to remark that pigs were rather fond of coal, and I overheard a boy corroborate my statement in a whisper to his neighbour, "Ay, swine eate *shinners*," i.e., "Yes, swine eat *cinders*," not *sinners*. I think I have heard *hirshel* for *hirsel*, a flock of sheep; certainly *minsh* for *mince*, *poyshon* for *poison* (French), and an old woman once said she was "a wee *hairsh*," i.e., "a little *hoarse*," but the form is relatively *scarsch* in the south.

Long ago *Elshander* was the common form for *Alexander*.

"When Elshander, oor king, was dede,
Away wes sones of ale and brede."

A summer or two ago Ruthwell estate workers at meal-time were arguing about the proper name of a common yellow flower in the fields. One called it *grunsel*, another *tansy*, and, seeing the gamekeeper coming along, they agreed to refer the matter to him. "Ye may ca'd what ye like," said he, "but roon' aboot Denny they ca't the "stinkin *Eshander*." According to the dictionary the *tansy* is an *aromatic* plant.

This change from *s* to *sh* is rifer farther north than it is in the south, but that does not lead us very far. A study of ancient spellings in town records, laws and deeds, with the help of the new dialect dictionary when it is completed, may throw more light on the subject. For as they would say in the north, "thae snorls need reddin," or "these tangles require unravelling." At the moment, as far as this sketch is concerned, it is only a side issue, and introductory at that. I think, however, it would repay investigation.

Usually in the long run one dialect lords it over the others, and becomes the language of books, liturgical expression, and of scholarly intercourse; but the others, hard bestead and pushed to the wall tho' they be, survive through the ages with a persistency that neglect and obloquy cannot subdue. How have they arisen, these variants of the same stock? In the east of a country they may have a different vowel pronunciation from that of the west. You may have heard the story of two Scottish fishermen having a wordy conflict. The one hailed from the east, the other from the west, and whatever the quarrel was about, the eastern fisherman applied the closure by firing off this shot, "At ony rate we dinna ca' *fush fesh*." Even the east dialect of a *county* may differ from that of the west, or the north from the south. One fishing village may have an intonation all its own. The people of the east neuk o' Fife have a gradually rising inflection at the end of a sentence, as if every sentence were virtually a question. Sometimes they have *two* upward lilt in the same sentence.

(a) "He shidna ha'e come ava an he didna ettle to bide." As if it were, "What wey did he come ava an he . . . ?"

(b) "Come inby an' gie's your crack." As if it were, "Will ye no' come inby . . . ?"

(c) "Twa three sybies an' a leepie o' tauties, Mrs Muckersie." "Will ye gie me . . . ?"

Like ancient Gaul, Dumfriesshire divides itself dialectally into three parts—Nithsdale, Annandale, or West and East, and Liddesdale and Canonbie. This last district has been ruled out, as it is phonologically beyond the pale. The speech there, sad to say, i.e., traditional speech, is more North English than Lowland Scots. Thus simplified our county is roughly speaking a county of two dialects, east and west, and happily or unhappily the twain meet and coalesce in the parish of Ruthwell or Rivel. It is 60 years since Sir James Murray, the one and only authority on the south-east dialect, gave this as its western limit, and the other day Dr William Grant of the New Scottish Dialect

Dictionary told me that the Flosch Burn may be considered as almost the exact boundary. Had the Flosch been a stream like the Annan, the Nith, or even the Lochar, difficult to ford in far-off bridgeless days, it might have proved, like a range of hills, a natural barrier to dialect. But it is a physical barrier of no account. The word *Flosch*, however, means a *swamp*, and that may point to a reasonable surmise added to the fact that not far from the present Flosch Bridge there is the ruin of a farm steading (now partly used as an implement shed) called *Lairthat*, which, I presume, is the *quagmire clearing*, *lair* being a *quagmire* and *that* or *thwaite* a *clearing*, both Scandinavian words. There are several forms of *thwaite* in the parish—*Thwaite* itself, *Little Thwaite*, *Howthat*, *Slethat*, and *Twathats*, which may mean the *two clearings*.

Well, the Flosch Burn, which is part of the present boundary between our parish and that of Cummertrees, will pass as the line of demarcation between those of us in the west who say *you* and *me*, and those on the east who invariably say *yow* and *mey*, although I would put it farther west, say at the seventh milestone from Annan.

Should one be tempted to treat this marked difference as another kind of *shibboleth*, the old explanation, i.e., difficulty of utterance (they could not frame to pronounce it right), cannot be brought forward, as *yow* and *mey* are as easy to say as *you* and *me*. But I can vouch for the fact that the difference is as pronounced to-day as it may well be. The school at Clarencefield draws pupils from beyond the Flosch on the east to the Howthat on the west and there is an equal mixture of both *yow* and *you* and *mey* and *me* in the playground and at orratimes in the school. The eastern or Annan-side contingent is on the whole the more aggressive and is gradually leavening the lump. The other day I asked my upper pupils to count up to twelve in their own traditional way, or as they did at home, and this was the result—*yin*, *twae*, *threy* (some said *three*, but they were outnumbered by *threy* to *yin*), *fower* (a wee bit of *feower* about it), *five* (one boy said *foive*, but on being

asked if his forebears were Irish or had come from Galloway, lapsed into silence), *yin*, *twae*, *threy*, *fower*, *five*, *sex* (some said *sax*, which I find from Murray's book is the old form), *seeven* (*seeven* was unanimous), *echt* (one boy from Annan airt said *eyt*, the same boy who said "swine eate shiners," and gave a good example he had heard lately, "He wuz eyt year aul' on Seturday"), *nine*, i.e., *neyne* (not by any consideration *nine*—*naeen*), *ten*, *eleeven*, *twal*.

Then I gave them how we used to say the numbers in Fife—*ane*, *twa*, *three*, *fower*, *five*, *sex*, *seeven*, *aicht*, *ninc*, *ten*, *eleeven*, *twel* (not *twal*, I think).

They were unanimous that the English word *nothing* (in Fife *naething*) was in their speech *nocht*, or *nowt*, which reminded me of the reply given by a haffin to a Ruthwell farmer who came on him in the hayfield, I think it was, with no implement in his hands, and, of course, doing nothing—"Hoo can I dae *ocht* when I've *nocht* to dae *ocht* wi'?"

The expression, "Whae's *aucht* thae?" i.e., "who owns these," or rather "who is *entitled* to these," is common from Gretna Green to Aberdeen. Sometimes the guttural is dropped and it becomes "Whae's *a'* thae?" But anyhow *aucht* in this case has *nocht* to dae wi' *ocht*, meaning *anything*. In Fife I once heard a pupil teacher colleague of mine translating this into English to our great amusement. Holding up a school bag he asked, "Who's *auht* this?" Transliteration of Scots into English is a dangerous practice. "Are you wise enough, boy?" is quite different from "Are ye wice eneuch, laddie?"

Returning to the *yow* and *mey* of the Annandale dialect, this peculiarity is found on the final letters of a word, usually a monosyllable, and seldom in the middle of the word. For example, for *fee*, meaning to *hire*, they say *fey*, and a *hiring* fair would be a *feyin* fair. Analysing it, you find it is made up of two syllables glided into one, the first one being the *e* of *bless*, or *yet*, and the long *ee*, *tr-ee*, and, of course, the accent on the first element. And in the song, "Saw ye Johnnie comin'?" they would, if quite natural, sing: "Fey

him, faither, fey him, quo' shey," for " fee him, father, fee him, said she." But for *feet*, *weet*, *feed*, *weed*, they do not say *feyt*, *weyt*, *feyd*, *weyd*. They say *trey* for *tree*; *threy* for *three* (2.45, a quarter till *threy*); *sey* for *see*; *ley* for *lee*, a fib (" he tauld mey a *ley* "; in Fife, " he telt me a *lee* "); *kney* for *knee*; *key* for *key* (spelt as they pronounce it); *frey* for *free*; *pey* for *pea*; *tey* for *tea*; *fley* for *flee*; *shey* for *she*; *hey* for *he*; *bey* for *be*; *agrey* for *agree*; *dey* for *dee*; *e'ey* for *ee*, eye.

Similarly the *ow* sound for *oo* occurs on the final letters, and not medially or internally, except in *duel*, *cruel*, *gruel*, which, according to Sir James Murray 60 years ago, were from *dowel*, *crowel*, and *growel*. I can only give evidence to hearing the last one, *growel*. Like the *ey* sound, it is really a diphthong or blending of two vowel sounds, for the Annandale dialect is prone to develop diphthongs out of vowels which were originally simple vowels in Anglo-Saxon, and which remain single in Nithsdale and in other Scottish dialects.

Oo is a *simple* sound, i.e., one-fold (ae-fald)—*You*, *coo*, *doo*, *fou*, *noo*, *soo*, *pu'* (short for *pull*), *throo*, but their correlatives in Annan and Eskdale are *yu-oo*, the first syllable being like the *u* in *but*, with the A.-S. *oo* after it, thus—*yu-oo*, *cu-oo*, *du-oo*. A school inspector wishing to get the sound of *doo* from a Hawick lassie, without himself pronouncing it and unaware of the local pronunciation, asked her what she called a *pigeon*. A " *dow*," she said quite naively to the inspector's chagrin. He hoped to hear " *doo* " so as to bolster up the theory of inspectorial omniscience, but the girl would have none of it. It is not reported how he got over his difficulty, but no doubt the teacher as usual was more than equal to the occasion; *foo* becomes *fu-oo*, *fow* according to Murray, but *full* is now used, I'm afraid. I know *full* in the sense of proud, but not down here. *Foo* is retained in all the Scottish dialects, I believe, to express a certain well-known physical and mental exhilaration, but *fow* is a Dumfriesshire *hay-fork*. I can't find any explanation of the development or corruption of the word *foark* or

fork. It is only used in the east of this county, as far as I can make out, and puzzled me when I heard it first sixteen years ago. Then, when they said "Get *yow* a *fow* tae, an' *dae* some *werk* and help wi' the *hoosin*'," I only sensed their meaning and thought hard. "How is it," I argued with myself when I got to understand each several word, "how is it that altho' they say *yow* for *you* they do not say *tow* for *too*, meaning *also*, but *tae*; just as *do* becomes *dae*." And then when you would naturally expect *howsin* for *housing*, they say *hoosin*. Then to *cow* a', they *werk* when decent folk in the midlands *wark* or *work*. It was all very strange to me for a while until I became acclimatised or hefted to the soil.

Throo (through) of the other dialects becomes *throw*. It is so also in Aberdeenshire, "Will ye never be *throw*?" The *noo* of the other dialects becomes *nu-oo*, *now*, as in standard English, with stress on the first vowel. And so do *soo* and *coo* become *sow*, *cow* in Annandale as also in English. This is very interesting. The people in the east of this county are apparently a phonetic step in advance of those in the west, strange to say. They have passed with flying colours through the primary *noo*, *soo*, *coo* stage and have arrived at the *now*, *sow*, and *cow* termini, simultaneously with if not before modern English. It's a blessing to think that the Nithsdale speech and that of my own Fife and the midlands, being forewarned, may escape this intermediate stage and merge ere long into King's English without much pain.

There is little doubt but that after another century, say, of intensive Anglicised education, *yow* and *mey* will be brought into proper alignment and there will be no barbarous S.-E. dialect alive for amateur antiquarians to dissect and analyse.

This "language of the *yow* and *mey*," as the Annandale and Eskdale variety has been called, is found far into England, and is specially noticeable in Tyneside. It would perhaps be more historically correct to say that the North of England dialect has come thus far into Dumfriesshire.

In fact the living tongue of Northumberland and the tongue of Annandale are actually the same dialect, the one spoken in English territory, the other in Scottish.

It would appear to be a reasonable deduction from these considerations that this Teutonic, Germanic, or Gothic speech of ours had in this Annandale district of Dumfriesshire an easier job to assert itself than farther west and north. It seemingly came less into contact with the pre-existent languages, and yielded less to their influence than the dialect farther west and north, so developing a fuller phonetic system than elsewhere. It seems to have come up against little or no opposition, and so there was little or no reaction. In other words, it became quickly hefted to the soil, like sheep on new pasturage, and began to grow apace. It is not just a matter of surmise either. History and tradition bear it out. In a series of battles late in the sixth century and early in the seventh, the Ersch, Celts, Kelts or better Kymri (you have the word Cymri in *Cummertreys*; Summerfield in Ruthwell parish may have been Cummerfield originally, who knows?), sustained crushing defeats at the hands of our forebears, the Angles, and after the final rout, which is supposed to have been fought somewhere in Liddesdale, these British tribes abandoned the district between the two Roman walls, i.e., from the Forth to the Solway, and never again ventured so far south. Those who did remain were either enslaved or exterminated.

But what the Anglian tongue was like in those days is not known. They were "ower thrang fechtin" to leave any literary records behind. With the exception, perhaps, of the inscription on the Ruthwell Cross (and it is much later), nothing much is left to afford a specimen of the language. There is a blank for nearly 300 years.

In further confirmation of the theory that this Border dialect met with little resistance, we find that the geographical names of Annandale, with the exception of *Ecclefechan*, which, like *Terregles*, was doubtless a Celtic Christian outpost and immune from the vandal, with this exception and perhaps one or two others that have escaped my notice,

the names are all Teutonic in so far as they refer to the dwelling places of men, small towns, villages, farms, burns, becks, morasses, and the lower hills (*Annan* is, of course, Celtic, from the river's name)—*Lockerbie*, and scores of other *bys*, *Newby*, *Lammonbie*, *Netherby*; *Langholm*, and fifty other *holms* or *howms* round about it. *Waterbeck* is a strange hybrid, the *water-water*, as if succeeding generations had forgotten the meaning of the Scandinavian word *beck*. *Kirkbeck* is all right. *Ruthwell* and its *thwaites*, *Applegarth*, *Mouswald*, *Torthorwald* (dangerously near the Celtic frontier), and *Auldgirth*, *Tinwald*, *Thornhill*; *Dalton*, the *Daletoon* or *enclosure*; *Carrutherston* and many other *tons* (A.S. place names).

But when you leave the dales of *Annan* and *Esk* (Celtic) and move westward you are in the midst of a foreign nomenclature, that of the *Ersch* of Galloway—*Dumfries*, *Sanguhar*, *Auchencairn*, *Glencairn*, *Lincluden*, *Dalscairth*, *Drumlanrig*, *Drummore*, and hundreds of other *dais*, *drums*, *auchens*, *craigens*, *bals*, *glens*, and *cairns*.

The great national features, "the ever-flowing rivers and everlasting hills," are still ancient British or Welsh—*Nith*, *Annan*, *Esk*, and *Lochar*; and the *Pens* among the names of the mountains, whether in the east or west of the county.

The same is evident in the personal surnames, when we travel from the land of *yow* and *mey*, *twa*, *thry*, *fuwer*, into the less civilised western atmosphere of *you* and *me*, *twa*, *three*, and *fuwr* of Galloway. We are in the land of the *Macs*, *MacWilliam*, *MacRobert*, *MacNichol*, *MacGeorge*, *MacAdam*, *M'Quhae*, *MacWalter*, *MacQuirter*, distinct as they are from the *Wilson*s, *Robson*s, *Watson*s, *Johnson*s, *Richardson*s, *Dixon*s of the Borders, and, of course, from the *Highland Macs* or *Welsh Aps*.

Perhaps the greatest change between the North England dialects and our two Dumfriesshire ones, and this is a comparatively modern change, is the retention by us of the *guttural sounds*. Every syllable which has a vowel or diphthong followed by *gh* was once the symbol of a *guttural*

sound, and our traditional dialects are the conservators of these grand characteristics, throaty, sonorous, but to some ears unlovely sounds. We have dropped some of them. I no longer hear a woman *sigh* over her husband's lapses. She simply *sighs* (size), which naturally has no effect. They say *plooin* here in Nithsdale, and both *plooin* and *plowin* in Annandale, but coming home in the 'bus one Saturday after the defeat of the "Queen of the South" I heard a man remark to his neighbour that he "*nicht* as weel hae been *pluchin*." It was grand to hear it. I mean, of course, the guttural emphasis on these words. In Fife we still say *troch* for *troff*, a horse's drinking *troch*; *socht*, *brocht*. *boucht*, *ocht*, but never *toucht*, it is always *teached*. I hear both *rouch* and *ruff*, *tyuch*, *teuch* and *tough*, *eneuch*, *enoo*, and *enough*, *sicht*, *nicht*, *micht*, *richt*, *ticht*, *licht*, *bricht*, *slicht*. A *cough* is a *coff*, but a slight *cough* is a *clocher*. Some lassies hae *tochers* and some hae *nocht*, but *tocher* is Gaelic, connected with *dower*. But Blind Harry's "*Wallace wicht*" is now "*Wallace wite*," with the *smeddum* gone from his *richt* airm. Lest I should forget to note it, the vowel in these last eight words was originally a *y*, and has always in all parts of Scotland a sound approaching the *e* in *met*, *yet*.

We say, and proudly too, *secht* not *sicht*, *necht* not *nicht*, *recht* not *richt*, *fet* not *fit* for *foot*. A boy had been *hit* by a stone, and when asked if he was badly hurt, said, "Naw, I saw the *het* comin'." It sometimes broadens in *hut*, after an *h* or a *w*, as *hum* for *hem*, i.e., *him*; *wush* for *wesh*, i.e., *wish*; *wut* for *wit*, *shunners* for *shiners* (cinders). A boy in my school, who was christened William Dickson, gets nothing but "Wull Dexon." *Snuff-mulls* are out of fashion, but the word lingers in the *steam-mull* as often as *steam-mell*, but never *steam-mill*. The *hulls* for *hells* or *hills* is common. *Wunna*, for *winna* (will not), and *rever* for *river*. "Shall we gather at the *rever*, the beautiful, the beautiful the *rever*," wherever Sunday School children do congregate from the Tay to the Nith. This is a peculiarly Scottish vowel, and a very useful one if you are hard pressed for a

rime. The English *yet* and our *yett*, meaning a gate, rime with Scots *sit*, *bit*, *grit*, and *pit* for *put*. Infant school teachers find great difficulty in coping with this atrocious vowel of ours. When teaching them to say the proper English minceing *i* in "The little kittens have lost their mittens," they often get "The lettle kettens have loast their mettins." In North England, however, say in Cumberland, these gutturals are disappearing. They have been dropped with their aitches. I had a Cumberland girl in my class for six months (it was half a year owre lang), and I was continually picking up her aspirates for her and sticking them in for her, until latterly she was so keen to oblige me that she almost developed asthma.

It's a small thing we teachers have to be thankful for, that Scots children, like their parents, seldom elide their *aitches*. They don't give up breathing until the last gasp. There's a picture house which has achieved a reputation, whether spurious or not I don't know, for being the haunt of a little biting insect of great agility—an insect that, as the boy said, is guid at a stannin' jump. Well, one night the lights went suddenly out in all parts of the house, and after a while the manager appeared before the screen with a torch and said, "Ladies and gentlemen, I am very sorry there's an 'itch somew'ere!" The audience or spectators, or whatever you call them, took the announcement most hilariously, to the man's great astonishment. Perhaps he is wondering yet where the comic element came in. But I should remember that puns and fleas are now banished from good Antiquarian Societies.

I have reached thus far in my so-called discourse on the dialects of Dumfriesshire, and have not made use of the many contributions my friends have been kindly supplying me with during the last month or two on all occasions. These may be collated for another sketch if the unwonted levity of this one prove unwanted and debar me for ever.

My first impression of the Dumfriesshire dialect or dialects was not a favourable one. Coming from the Midlands, where all our "a" vowels are very long, in some

districts sometimes too long, I considered the S.E. dialect belied the nature of the people by its narrowness. Where, in the Midlands of Scotland, we say *aw*, you say *aa*, and where we say *aa* you say *e*. For example, and this applies to the whole county: We say *auld*, you say *ald*. "An auld-faurant jaud," with you would be "an ald-farrant jad," an old-fashioned and impudent minx. We say *snaw*, you say *sna*, and you lose more than the *w* by so doing. We say *waur* (worse), you say *war*; we say *blaw*, you say *blaa*; we say *cauker*, you say *cakker*; we say *glaur*, you say *glar*; we say *whaur*, you say *where*; we say *shaw*, you say *sha*, "Mrs Sha"; We say *saut*, you say *sat* (salt); we say *fauld*, you say *fald*; we say *saund*, you say *sand*; we say *gaun*, you say *gan*; we say *smaw*, you say *sma*; we say *caunel*, you say *cannle*; and scores of others; and in every case, I am loath to admit it, your S.-E. form is the original Anglo-Saxon vowel. Even when you say *ter* for our *tar* (in Clackmannanshire it is even *tawr*), *fer* for *faur*, English *far*; *hass* for *hause*, the neck; *derk* for *dark*; *let* for *lat*, yours is the original form, except perhaps when you say *wesh*, *wash*, *wawsh*. If that is so, what about the boast that yours is the precocious, progressive dialect?

The wonderful thing about this business is that if the words are foreign, at least not native, they sound them as they are sounded in the original Gaelic, French, Latin, or Flemish. *Faute*, *spae*, *clachan*, *partan*, *caller*, *hantle*, *callant*, *Cramasie*, *fast*, *plaid*, *fank* and *fankle*, *plank*, *barracks*, and lots more. Both dialects are honest about their robbery, and do not camouflage. A whole discourse could be made of this alone.

Another peculiarity of the S.-E. dialect is that where in Standard English the vowel *o* is long, the S.-E. dialect makes it short; and where the *o* is short, the S.-E. dialect makes it long. This is most tantalising to more than me, and it puzzles one to know how they discriminate between the short and the long, and invariably say the wrong thing. The other day a boy read in his history book, *Iona is a holly spote*, instead of *Iona is a holy spot*. That's the long and the short of it. That sentence tells you explicitly what I

mean, without piling up loads of examples. Can anyone here explain how it has come about? They say *sholder* for *shoulder*, and yet *shouder* or *shouther* comes quite naturally to their lips. They say *rod* when they mean a *road*, a street, and *road* when they mean a fishing *rod*. You'll notice I am using the third person. I don't accuse you. They say *över* for *över* and *nōtice* for *nōtice*. A boy came to me yesterday and asked for the *bons* for the soup-kitchen. These, with *wack* for *walk* have helped me to make up a sentence with all their offences glaringly set before their eyes, but without the least effect on their everyday playground tongue: "I *sa* a boy wacking *along* the *rod* with a fishing *rod* *over* his sholder." A third and last peculiarity which struck me was the use of *as* for *than*. I never heard it anywhere else, anymore as I have ever seen a whole working community wearing clogs until I visited this shire, the origin of which custom I would like to know. This *as* is the old form still used in German, *als*, but unknown farther north. "Better wear shoon as sheets." There are other three ways of doing it, but the Dumfriesshire way is the oldest: "Better wear shoon than sheets"; "better wear shoon nor sheets"; "better wear shoon by sheets." The other day an Annan workman when asked if he would have some *soup* said: "I'd fer rether ha'e tey as sowp ony day, thank yow." Which nearly sums up all I have taken so long to say.

A Ramble Along the Upper Solway.

By ADAM BIRRELL.

Your recent visits to my district, where I have humbly tried to act as your local guide, have robbed me of some material of primary importance, but to the observant eye there is still much to be seen and recorded.

You will see it is of the Upper Solway I intend to speak, but you must occasionally give me the liberty to leave the tide mark.

It was with great pleasure that I listened in this room

to my wireless friend, Mr M'Crindle's, lecture on the birds of Ailsa Craig, and what struck me was the small number there compared to those which frequent the Solway.

The Solway proper, however, is not that laid down on the maps as extending from the Mull of Galloway in Wig-townshire to St. Bees Head in Cumberland, but that portion upwards from the Nith to Gretna. A Glenluce fisherman would look at you askance if you called him a Solway man, as would also a Creetown one, although there they have a close Annan and Gretna connection. You are too well acquainted with the origin of its name for me to retell it, but perhaps further on in this paper I may do so.

My paper of 1926 you kindly printed in the *Transactions* of 1926-1928, and it will go down to history. Since then I have had six years more observation, and I know that some small details require correction. Sir Herbert Maxwell¹ has drawn my attention to at least one and the Duchess of Bedford to several others, which I will deal with as I proceed. Well, I intend to take you a trip with me along the shores of the Solway from Sandhead in Stoneykirk parish to Gretna, thence to Glasson and Silloth. The sand hills of Dunragit have always had an attraction for me, and it was in one of my papers where I said the flints there drew the flint workers because the material for their work was at hand. It was to this remark Sir Herbert drew my attention, saying flints did not exist anywhere in Galloway.² I quite admit that, and that they are plentiful in Antrim. But since then I have learned that the beach at Port o' Spittal Bay, near Portpatrick, is composed of flints. They are also to be found in Cairngarroch Bay. I have seen them in the sand hills scattered all over, and their being so far from their parent place can be accounted for as sea borne tangle during the ages, washed across the Irish Channel and forming sea beaches along the Wigtownshire coast. But the sand hills are at the top of Luce Bay, and these flints may also have been sea borne round the Mull of Galloway. The isthmus

¹ See letter at end of article.

² Cf. Culbin Sands on Moray Firth.

from Loch Ryan to Luce Bay is rarely over 50 feet above sea level, and has all the appearance of being under the sea in quite recent times. This year I have followed the wild geese over the Solway, and hope to tell you of their numbers, kinds and localities. But to the sand hills again, where, I am sure, a field day would be well spent. They extend from Droughdool to Sandhead, a distance of some seven miles—great dunes and wind-swept hollows. Here and there the remains of former habitation can be seen. After one wild stormy day I crossed from the shore to the main road, and could see where cultivation had been. Flint flakes are all around, some of which were nearly ready for the flint knapper. Down the centre from east to west is marshy, with a long, straight cut, rather artificial looking, the nesting place of many birds—the Shoveller, Teal, Mallard, etc.

At the eastern end there are several small lochans called Rodanree, the nesting place of the Black-headed Gull, Mallard, etc. The beach is the nesting place of all the local shore birds, including the Sandwich Tern.

In a lochan during the last two years I have observed the Whooper Swan. Where not wind-blown, the sand hills are covered with murram grass and heather. There are rabbits everywhere. There are also quite a number of grouse, said to be one pound heavier and darker in the colour than the ordinary ones. Stoats abound, the Raven and Carrion Crow also, no doubt feeding on the dead rabbits; an odd Peregrine; and, on Ringdoo Point, a covey of Partridges.

I have also seen adders, and been well bitten with mosquitos in August and September. It is said at one time wheat was grown where it is all sand now. The shape of the sand hills is continually changing.

Half-way along the road which skirts the sand hills on the right side going west will be seen a plantation, Lotnagapple, near which is Caldons, and where a crannog existed at one time, which would well repay a visit. The district is rich in folk lore. Luce Bay is the largest bay in Scotland. At low water spring tides, Razor fish, locally called *Muskins*,

are gathered. The method employed is for one to walk and tramp the sand, and as the Muskin is buried in the sand the tramping shows where it is, and another person armed with a spear of a certain shape inserts it and pulls out the Muskin, but it takes an expert to handle the spear. This is one of the places where I saw the Gannet fishing close inshore inside the breakers for sand eels.

Coming eastward, the Pultanton Burn is reached, which is a resort of the Grey Lag Goose. As you are perhaps aware, their main, might I say, occupation is food through the day and safety at night, and Pultanton provides both. It was here that last year I shot a White-fronted Goose amongst some Grey Lags. It is very uncommon in Luce or Wigtown Bays. It was here also we got the Black-tailed Godwit and the Glaucous Gull.

We pass south-east and come to the Crow's Nest or Stair Haven. The sheltered waters of Luce Bay were handy for smuggling, and the Crow's Nest was a favoured spot. The little bay of Auchenmalg, under Synniness Head and the bight of M'Keand's Loup, were also used by the smugglers. On the landward side of Synniness are still to be seen the foundations of "rees" or shelters, where the horses and "lingtowmen" waited in readiness to act the moment unloading commenced. But the Preventive men erected a house, still inhabited, called "The Barracks," for their accommodation. Their outlook post is still to be seen above Lynness, the rocks of which are the resort of the Peregrine and Kestrel. Here also I have observed the Great-northern and Red-throated Divers. I forgot to say that there are 300 Grey Lag Geese in Dunragit district. The sandhills gradually growing eastwards have forced the Pultanton Burn close to the Glenluce shore, and it now enters the River Luce where the Luce enters the sea. At the foot of the Luce enormous fish weirs have been built. A stony beach, now covered with sand, must have been at hand to provide the material for building these weirs.³

³ Mosses, stag horn, and Juniper tree are found on the hill; blaeberry on the islands.

Will you allow me to leave the shore and let me take you to the hills? Each fine day as we come home from Glenluce the Stewartry hills are in front of us, and will you allow me to name them from memory? Far to the west is Shalloch-on-Minnoch, 2562 feet; then the mighty Merrich, often snow-capped, 2764 feet; nearer, Benyellary, 2560 feet. The Trool valley intervenes, and then we have Curleywee, sharp-pointed, 2212 feet; then Lamachan, 2349 feet. The effects of the great Ice Age are plainly visible, and to anyone on the hunt for parsley ferns, under the scree facing Newton-Stewart they grow in profusion. Then comes the Palnure valley; Cairnsmore of Fleet, 2331 feet; Pibble, Cairnharrow, Carsluith Dune, and the White Hill near the sea on Wigtown Bay.

The evidence of the great Ice Age is very visible as you approach Glenluce. Proceeding still eastward you pass Stair Haven, "The Crow's Nest," and round Sinniness Point. From here to Portwilliam my journey has been by motor, but it contains much of interest to the geologist; for instance, fine examples of the Lower Silurian rock and the glacial moraines. They represent material dumped at the snouts of ancient glaciers. For several miles the beach is formed of the stones washed out of these moraines by the action of the sea. But it is not the intent of this paper to drift into geology of which I confess I only know the rudiments.

Eleven miles from Portwilliam and five from Dromore stand the Scaur Rocks. I have been on the Big Scaur, and found it composed of Lower Silurian rock. On its north side it rises 70 feet perpendicularly from the sea. There is no vegetation. The nesting place of the Cormorant and Shag is here. The west side has been fired at by warships, and every shell hole is occupied by common gulls.⁴ There are several small scaurs, but I did not land on them. While at the foot of the Luce I noticed a large mill stone lying in a most unusual place. It may have been thrown out of a vessel for ballast or used as a mooring, but it led me to

⁴ A bucketful of gravel and a few stones seeming to have been laid together for shelter.

hearing about a quarry for them at Glasserton and to think that there might be an unrecorded intrusion of mill stone grit. To make sure I visited Carleton Farm, and on a rock there is a mill stone almost finished, but it is the natural rock of the district. While there I visited a rock called the Kirk of Drummondtrae,⁵ said to be where a Covenanters' conventicle was held. On the shore is a so-called (locally) Roman camp, but I think it no more than a natural sea beach. There are several cave dwellers in the caves along here. We have passed Kirkmaiden, where is St. Medana's Well or Chincough Well. The romantic legend of Medana, an Irish lady of great beauty and wealth, is well known, and how she was persecuted by an amorous knight. Learning that the fatal attraction was her lovely eyes, she plucked them out and handed them to her importunate suitor, who then left her in peace. She could find no water to wash the blood from her face, but the saints befriended her, and up came a spring of water from the earth "to testify by its medicinal virtues the truth of the miracle." The waters are still believed to be efficacious in the cure of whooping-cough.

In conversation with an old resider, Mr Neillie N. Clutag, Wigtown, he informed me that there is an old smuggler's den up a burn near Cairdoon and Knock, with recesses built similar to the cave at Ravenshall. Passing onward is St. Ninian's Cave, which this society has visited, and near the scene where the schooner "Rambler," the last sailing vessel from Creetown, was wrecked in spring. Then comes the Isle of Whithorn, well known to this society, some rocks here having still the Gaelic names, viz., Skenach and Monaghan. The next headland is Steen Head, often mistaken for the Burrow Head when viewed from Ravenshall, and the scene of two wrecks with all hands in recent years. We are now in Wigtown Bay, and pass Cruggleton, recently visited by this society.

⁵ More likely a lookout place—natural rock.

(The description of this part of the Solway Coast is by
Mr C. M'Guire, Isle of Whithorn.)

Starting from Cruggleton, we now return westwards to Monreith Bay. The place names here will have an interest for those wishing to study the Gaelic names of Galloway. Palmallet Point or Kirkland Point took its name from the Cruggleton Kirk lands. Next we come to Port Allen, better known as Dinnans Bay. At Dinnans Head there are the remains of some old camps. Shaddock comes next, a low, straight, rocky shore. At this spot the crag, about 150 yards from the beach, called Craigrowan. The next point is Auld Hughie. This is where the bag-net fishing took place in the old days. Between this rock and Cairn Heads is the port where the Life Boat used to be launched when the weather was too stormy to launch her at the Isle. We pass next The Doctor, Cargobuoys, Slatycraig, Stone (or Stein) Head, Hay Barns, and Tomperrie. These are all fishing rocks for the summer nights; they are the haunt of the sea angler. I suppose you know all about Dirck Hatteraick being chased by the Revenue cutter. He was able to reach the Isle Bay, and got through where M'William's shop now is. The cutter grounded, and Dirck was off round Stein Head. Going out of the Bay, we have on the east side Ramsay; on the west, Knockanharrie, The Mare, Broompoint, and Sherriff, and here there is eleven hours' ebb tide and one hour flood. Next come the Isles of Borrow. This is a reef of rocks running out for about 150 yards, and about 20 yards beyond this, at a needle-like rock called The Auld Man, it ebbs at half tide. On the Isles of Borrow is The Devil's Bridge, a natural arch about 15 feet wide, where also it ebbs at half tide. On this cliff is "The Devil's Footprints" and "The Devil's Compass," a smooth face about 20 by 20 feet. Up till the last lease of the Monrach Farm it was required to be whitewashed by the tenant.

Now we reach Burrow Head: on the East is The Chimneys, so called from its appearance; on the West is

Kerweissen. We are now in Luce Bay where there are 2 Points—The Minister and Limestonecraig (from its white appearance). Next come Castle Feather and The Dooker, the taller a pinnacle, square as a tombstone, never covered by the tide and about 20 yards off the shore. At the Stank Point here, there are natural steps from the sea to the old Castle. Next we have the Red Rock (so called from its coppery colour), Anton's Lugs, Cargolion, Hell's Yetts and Cargodoon. These are all fishing rocks. Fibbets is a low stretch of rock from Cargodoon to Port Castle. In June and July these rocks are full of good crabs. Point Castle is the rock on the East side of Physgill shore. St. Ninian's Cave is on the West. Round from the Cave are The Ladies' Steps; from top to foot of the cliff there are 167 steps, made by Admiral Johnston Stewart of Glasserton about 100 years ago. From the next point, Crown of Counan, is a long stretch of flat shore named after a saint, though Counan was not the correct name. The West end is the marsh between Glasserton and Carleton and is called The Gled's Nest. From here the land goes towards the North, and after Cairndoon Point we are in Knock Bay, with a high cliff called Benbuoy. The West side of Knock Bay is called the Sag, and then Monreith Bay, with Craigengower rock, where the Kink-cough Well is, mentioned above. On the other side are the Black Rocks.

(The remainder of this paper is contributed by Mr Birrell.)

At Garliestown we round Egerness and come into Wigtown Bay proper. Near Innerwell is another *Brandy Hole*, the roof now fallen in, and North of this is the Brandy Port. You are now in the resort of the Widgeon of which I reckon there are 3000. They feed on the "Zostera Marina" on the Crook sands (the scene also of the Wigtown martyrdom. The River Bladnoch has receded from there). Fair game they are to the puntsman who can stand this sport. It is also the resort of about 200 Pintail Ducks. Further up the Bay you come to Wigtown Merse, another resort of the Grey Lag geese, of which there are 300.

I remarked in my last paper here that the Eagle in captivity at Cairnsmore was a Golden Eagle; it was instead a White-tailed Eagle and I confess that, as the Duchess of Bedford says, I succumbed to a very popular error. The pair which returned and nested, however, were Golden Eagles.⁶ She wished to know if the Wild Deer I wrote of were escapes from Cumloden. But these I mentioned were the antlers of the ancient Red Deer, many, many years older than either Cairnsmore House or Cumloden. I quite agree with her that the Greenshank is not rare and is here at the present time, although some authorities will have it that it does not winter with us. When I said the Long-tailed Duck was uncommon, which I still maintain as I have only seen two, she says it is probably lack of observation, as it is common just North of this.⁷ However, she pays the Solway fishermen a compliment when she says they are

⁶ The pair of Eagles which returned and nested on Red Sand were Golden Eagles. The captured one which lived here was, of course, the White Tailed.

⁷ Magpies have only been seen at all plentifully in this district since the War. Though constantly bird watching and much longer up here, I never saw one before the War. Just after the War they were far more abundant than now, the reason being obvious.

Yellow Wagtail—I am sure the writer has succumbed to this very popular error.

Goldeneye—Wounded Diving Ducks so often come to the surface showing only the crown of the head that they readily escape observation. I am afraid I think the grass theory very improbable. A bird like a small duck not accustomed to long dives must come up to breathe.

The Red-Throated Diver is quite frequently seen in Wigtown Bay.

Long-Tailed Duck—Probably lack of observers; it is so common just north of this.

The Sandwich Tern used always to be in Luce Bay in summer, and I think must have been there perhaps on the Scars?

The Greenshank is not at all rare in these parts. I see them every autumn, even though with the short time up here I get little bird watching. I saw six feeding together within a few yards of me in September.

above the average intelligence, and not like the lighthouse-keeper on a Western Isle when she asked him about the birds there and he replied that he had no time for these trifles.

We pass to the east side of Wigtown Bay, and observe the scaurs, which again, as on the Glenluce and Mochrum shores, are the remains of small moraines which seem to witness the last stage of the melting of the valley glaciers, when they had shrunk into lobes of ice occupying shaded stretches of the smaller streams. These lobes would probably contain in their final stages more debris than ice, as the surrounding slopes would supply a vast amount of material when they were thawing. Chunks would be constantly breaking off these masses of frozen debris, and, when the ice which held it together had melted, a loose mound of stones and clay would be left. These types of deposit mostly occur on the lower grounds. Drumlins are to be seen to great advantage around the town of Wigtown. Nancy Scaur, off Carsluith, is a fine example of moraine debris, as are several others there. I spoke of the weirs at Glenluce, but those at Creetown, the foundations of which can sometimes be seen, were of a different construction, being formed of stake and wattle, the wood being birch, ash, and saugh. I have examined them carefully, and would fix their age at 300 or 400 years ago. At their trap, or *coop* as it was called, they had one large stake with a hole in it. It had a name which has come down to us, "Ostler," no doubt derived from a similar occupation in the days before the advent of the "automobile."

The region here has been visited by the society, so I will content myself by mentioning one cave below Ravenshall which was occupied by Roger Quinn, the tramp poet, on his wanderings. Then we come to the Isle of Fleet, the one next Mossyard, "Murray's Isle." I have an idea that this isle may have been occupied by the monks of long ago. There are several heaps of stones and a built well on it. The next is Ardwell Isle or Larry's Isle, so called after an old Irishman, Larry Higgins, who lived on it 80 years

ago. There are several smugglers' hiding places on it, well built with hewn sandstone corners. The next is Barlocca Island, and thence to Kirkandrews, passing Castle Haven or the Borgue shore.

The next place I would mention is Kirkandrews. The old kirkyard there is the burial place of Will Nicholson, the Galloway poet and author of "The Brounie o' Bladnoch"; also the resting place of a Covenanter, the soil of which, tradition says, was riddled by two old women as a penance for their sins.

Borness Head is a mournful memory to Creetown, as it was here the schooner, "Janet Wignall," was wrecked, with the loss of all hands. She was a trader from Creetown to Liverpool, and the majority of her crew were Creetown natives. It was the first funeral I was at, and its memory is impressed on my mind.

The Ross Lighthouse is next. Although I never met Lighthouse-keeper Mr Beck, I have had a conversation with him over the telephone on natural history. Alas, he has joined the great majority.

The Frenchman's Rock is inside Kirkcudbright Bay and Senwick Sands.⁸ The Devil's Threshing Floor is well named. After a storm the threshing of the breakers can be heard far off. We pass along the Rerrick coast past Port Mary, where our ill-fated Queen Mary, Queen of Scots, left Scotland and landed at Maryport in Cumberland, and ended her life on the block at Fotheringay; past Orraland to Rascarrel, of evil memory, as it was here I landed after the wreck of the ill-fated "Sirius" in 1909. I will never forget the kindness of Mrs Rankine there to me on that occasion. Those in search of crabs and lobsters I would recommend to look under the rocks here, and to geologists the sandstone rock formation, with the granite boulders off Screele overlying. Heston Island, The Isle Rathan of Crockett, is in view, and after crossing Balcary Bay, either round Heston or across by the Sound, you are in the Water of Urr. At Barnhourie are many oyster catchers.

⁸ It was here we got the Gadwall.

The next place I would mention is Southwick Burn, a resort of the Barnacle Geese. We now pass round Southernness (pronounced Satterness), and thence to Carsethorn. I have copies of the *Dumfries Courier* of the time of Queen Victoria's accession to the throne, with the advertisement of emigrant ships sailing from here for Port Philip in Australia, and the landlord of the hotel at Carsethorn informs me that the captains of these ships when lying there always slept ashore, and that the bunks in the hotel can still be seen. We are now in the Nith estuary, with more wild fowl. There are thousands of Scaup Duck off Carsethorn, and further up, opposite Ingleston, is the resort of the Pintail and Widgeon. The only Gooseander (a drake) I have seen in salt water I saw this winter at the mouth the New Abbey Pow. I have also observed the foundations, with stake and wattle, the same mode of fishing as mentioned before in Wigtown Bay. The Kirkconnel merse is a great resort of the Grey Lag. We will pass Glencaple, where I have been on many a wild fowling trip, and arrive at the merse, which extends from Bow House Point to East Park, the great resort of the Barnacle Goose and also the Pintails at high water. It is rather an uninteresting walk along the merse, so I will take the road to Bankend and past Caerlaverock Castle, which has an attraction with its heraldic shields, mason's marks, and shades of Cromwell and General Hume. At Bankend we are with the memories of Bonnie Prince Charlie and his Highland host on their way from Dumfries to Carlisle. The present road scarcely follows the route taken by them. The Lochar where it winds through the sand banks is another resort of both Barnacles and Grey Lags. I notice in last Sunday's *Dispatch* a cartoon saying when the first pig was brought to Scotland the villagers of Blackshaw, Dumfriesshire, thinking it a devil, took to their house tops, when Tom, the schoolmaster, went out to meet it with a Bible and a sword. I will only mention Ruthwell (pronounced Reval), with its interesting old Cross, and go direct to Gretna, the Annan river having no estuary and little attraction for wild fowling. Gretna is one of the

greatest resorts of the Pink-foot Geese. They arrive there on or about the 26th to 29th September, where they stay for about six weeks and then depart southwards to the Humber, etc. There is more evidence here of the smuggling times, and many a story I have heard from my father and grandmother, who were both natives of Gretna, of these days. There still remains the name of the Brandy Road. Near here is the Loch or Clach Maben Stone, visited and recorded by this society. Nothing remains of the Red Kirk, a supposed place of the birth of St. Patrick, but two well-built draw wells and one carved stone.

With one anchor in England and one in Scotland I moored my punt in the River Sark, then crossed the Esk and skirted Rockcliffe marsh and arrived at Rockcliffe village, where the sandstone rock and the ancient Cross in the churchyard were a source of interest. I then sailed down the Eden to Sandsfield, and crossed the merse to King Edward the First's Monument, and proceeded to Burgh on Sands (pronounced Bruff), and visited the old Norman Church there. The Roman wall crossed here, and in the cemetery its foundations are occasionally laid bare. The sexton, who had been with Mr Collingwood on his visit, pointed out to me the line of the wall, now completely obliterated. The earthwork at the monument is rather like that of the Palace Ring at Girthon, where King Edward is supposed to have encamped, and where he fined the Miller of Girthon for failing to provide provender for his army. From there I took a hurried run to Kirkbride to view the River Wampool, another resort of the Barnacle Goose.

Before closing I will give a rough census of the Wild Geese :—

Glenluce.—300 Grey Lags, perhaps an occasional White Front, and also an occasional Bean Goose.

Wigtown and Creetown.—300 to 400 Grey Lags, with an occasional Barnacle and Brent Goose.

Southwick.—100 Barnacle Geese.

The Nith and Lochar.—Perhaps 1000 Grey Lags and 500 to 600 Barnacles.

Gretna.—16,000 to 20,000 Pink-foot Geese.

Wampool.—Barnacles and Grey Lags frequent there also, Barnacles moving to and from Caerlaverock across the Solway.

In conclusion, I visited Silloth, and the day being fine and a clear view there I sat and viewed the hills of Galloway and Dumfries from the Abbey Head to Burnswark, and noted every place so well known to me. The love of my Province surged within me after gazing and reflecting. I thought of one fine poem, and it was left to an exile to produce it:—

“ Be it granted me to behold you again in dying,
Hills of Home! and to hear again the call;
Hear about the graves of the martyrs the peewit crying,
And hear no more at all.”

LETTER FROM SIR H. MAXWELL.

Monreith, Whauphill, Wigtownshire,
21st January, 1931.

DEAR SIR,

I thank you for allowing me the pleasure of perusing the paper, which I return herewith.

I note that your interpretation on several Galloway place names does not coincide with what I have ventured to put on them. It is quite natural that such should be the case. A thousand and more years ago Gaelic certainly differed as widely from the speech of present-day Highlanders as English of the 20th century differs—say—from that of Chaucer. Moreover, these names were given to places by a wholly illiterate population: the language in which they are formed has not been spoken in Galloway during the last 300 or 400 years, and they have been written phonetically by clerks and others ignorant of that language. Small wonder, therefore, that students differ about the interpretation of many of them. Take, for instance, the name Auchinleck, which retains sufficient resemblance to the Gaelic *achadh na leac*, stone field, to leave no doubt about its meaning. But locally it is often pronounced Affleck, and had it been the practice to write it in that form, what a variety of interpretations might have been placed on it.

I am sending for your acceptance a copy of my book, which no doubt contains many blunders.

I note that you say that the flints on the Sands of Luce drew the Stone Age folk there, “as the handy material existed for their arrow heads, etc.” There are not, however, and never were,

native flints in Galloway. The material must all have been imported from the chalk in Antrim; and the convenience of dry sand to sit on caused Genoch (*gainmheach*, a sandy place) to become a regular factory of flint implements.

You record having seen a weasel swimming the tidal Cree. I suppose you employ the term advisedly, and that it was not a stoat. It is surprising how many people don't distinguish between the two species, and use the name weasel indifferently for both.

I am, yours truly,

HERBERT MAXWELL.

24th February, 1933.

Chairman—Mr M. H. M'KERROW.

Observations on Birds from a Dumfriesshire Hill Farm.

By A. DUNCAN, Closeburn.

[Mr Duncan gave a number of extremely interesting sketches of bird life in the neighbourhood of Closeburn and elsewhere. These may be printed on another occasion.]

Some Sidelights on Gretna Green.

By FRED. LEE CARTER

The history of a town or country is best considered under two headings, and the same should apply to a village.

In the first division we can deal intimately with the place and its people, and in the second its reactions to, and relations with, the world outside its confines.

The history of Gretna Green — except for one of its activities—is neither exciting nor very interesting, and therefore may be briefly outlined. It first appears on a thirteenth century map under the name of Gretenhow, and in 1552 on a sketch map of the Debatable Lands, as Greatney; with a drawing of a church and a row of cottages. On Aglionby's

Platt of 1590 it is called Gretney, and in Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, 1791, the Rev. John Morgan spells it Graitney or Graitney Green. Later came the more pleasant sounding, Gretna Green. How or by whom these transmutations were made is beyond even speculation, but however it happened it was for the best, as there is no doubt that Gretna Green would have a greater appeal than any of its rather uncouth predecessors.

In 1755 the population of the whole parish was 1051, and forty years later it was nearly double that figure. Farmers and their employees were then the most numerous class.

Among the trades given is a "Travelling Pedlar," which makes one wonder if David Lang is here indicated. The parish was well supplied with drinking facilities, as, besides one principal and three inferior innkeepers, there were, in 1790, no less than fifteen tipping houses where beer and spirits were to be obtained.

It is interesting to note that there were seven blacksmiths in the parish at this time, but the Rev. Mr Morgan only mentions one priest, "who was originally a tobacconist and not a blacksmith as generally supposed." He goes on to describe this priest as being without principles, morals, or manners, and as being in a continual state of drunkenness. By this word picture we can conjure up a portrait of Joseph Paisley, perhaps the most notorious of all the self-ordained priests of Gretna.

John Timbs, Pennant, and Phillips in his *Notorious Characters* similarly describe Paisley, or Pasley, as he sometimes claimed was the correct spelling of his name and that of his relation, General Pasley. A relationship which existed only in his own imagination.

Let us for a moment consider the mythical Blacksmith-Priest so beloved of romantic writers. In a list of nearly fifty of these men only one seems to have had any association with the craft, and he is Thomas Little, better known in his day as Tam t' Piper. Little had certainly been the apprentice of a blacksmith, but there is no record of his

working as a journeyman. Playing at weddings and less decorous festivities was more in his line than hard work at an anvil, and so in due course he became an innkeeper who performed priestly functions on occasion as a side line.

When Mr Justice Rokeby travelled the Western Circuit in 1693 he tried a case in which the man claimed his wife "by a blacksmith's marriage," and gained a verdict. This seems to prove that there was some now-forgotten custom of irregular marriage in England during the 17th century, and it is probable that this legend was carried over the Borders into Scotland to become particularly and intimately associated with a Gretna Green marriage.

The residents, though humble, do not seem to have welcomed these priests in their midst, as the most part of their waking hours were spent in the public-houses.

The most prominent of the marriage merchants were Paisley, Elliott, John Murray, and the three Langs, with John Linton standing in a class far above the others.

But we should hark back to the earliest priests. A millwright named Scott appears about 1754, and Brown in 1756. But, as one of the certificates in my possession shows, Brown was an alias of Paisley, and much used by him until he discovered that he need not fear to use his true name. There was also Johnstone, the ferryman, who would get the first chance with eloping couples when crossing the Solway Firth. His rival was Walter Coulthard, who lived at the Sark Foot, doubling the parts of smuggler and priest. Poor "Watty" was sorely handicapped by a reeky house and a scolding wife, and for this reason he more often than not performed the ceremony on the shore or among the whins.

We can get a good idea of the class of couples who came to these men by the antics of George Gordon, who is supposed to have been a soldier at one time. At any rate he dressed himself in full uniform and wore a cocked hat on his head, and, with a clanking sword at his side, marched down from the Rigg of Gretna to the village when his services were in request. One cannot imagine any reasonable person tolerating such buffoonery at his wedding.

It is when Gretna Hall comes into history that Border marriages generally, and those of Gretna in particular, are raised to a much more creditable position.

For a quarter of the century in which this form of matrimony was an important factor in the social life of this kingdom, Gretna Hall had a prominent place, and it is here that one can allow the use of such adjectives as emotional, and even romantic, without being accused of straining after sensationalism; yet, after all, it may be better to maintain some restraint while describing what really happened between the years 1825 and 1851.

The comfortable, commodious Hall, its convenient ample stabling, the spacious grounds, the well-grown timber, the fruitful gardens and farm lands, were well enclosed by good walls, which were only broken for two gateways—one handy to the main coach road, the other equally so for those who came via Carlisle and the Sark Bridge—was, all things considered, just such a “lot” as that famous auctioneer, Mr Robins, would have delighted in describing in his own inimitable way, and, without seriously departing from correctitude. It had been built in 1722 for a landed family—the Johnstones, whose crest is still over the main door. It was equally admirable and attractive as a country mansion and as an hotel, when the family had lost their love for it after occupying it for a century or so. Then it was turned into an hotel, but that part of its story is not of interest until John Linton became its tenant, when it jumped into a notoriety which was steadily retained until the death of Mine Host, and for some little time after that event.

John Linton first comes to our ken when he was a “scout” at Christ Church, Oxford, at the time when Sir James Graham was an undergraduate at that College. We may reasonably assume that young Graham was one of the men Linton “did for,” and so satisfactorily that we next hear of him as valet and confidential servant at Netherby Hall.

John Linton was a son of Andrew Linton and Jane

Monkhouse, who married in 1785, and in that year John was born. In 1811 he married his first wife — Elizabeth Herring of Penrith—by whom he had twelve children. He married a second time, and that has a personal interest to me, as from the only son of that marriage I have had much information during a very kindly association.

When Gretna Hall fell vacant Linton saw in it the chance of bettering his position and of providing for a family, and he promptly grasped the opportunity. Well educated, enterprising, courteous, and dignified in manner, with a full and ripe knowledge of what to do and how to do it, there can be little doubt that he was an ideal man to run such an establishment and to make it popular.

Under the favourable conditions of situation and management it is not surprising that Gretna Hall soon became well known, or that, within a very few years, the free running pens of scribes and diarists were describing it as "the Temple of Hymen" rather than as an inn or coaching house. These same writers raised Linton to the grade of an ecclesiastical personage as "The Bishop," a nickname rendered appropriate by his placid, pleasing countenance, his dignified bearing, address, and the genial rotundity of his figure. Added to his own personality he had a useful wife and family, and when they were all pulling on the same hawser—as they did—his advantages were many and great. Even a brother-in-law, and in course of time a son-in-law, were to be found in this sphere of endeavour.

Eventually, with his wife as housekeeper, and daughters and his sons in the garden, on the farm, or in the stables looking after the horses of his guests, and himself a "Maister," or Major Domo, to welcome customers, supervise their entertainment and then send them satisfied and suitably on their road, the establishment does not seem to have lacked any essential detail to ensure its success.

Under Linton the Hall was not only an hotel, but it was the centre of most of the local activities. In it the best balls of the district and for miles around were held; the most important meetings, the festivities and various functions of

the village school, *et hoc genus omne*. In the grounds such sporting events as cricket matches, pigeon shoots, etc., took place, and, of course, the inevitable annuals—sports and the like.

Linton's predecessor would not tolerate marriages in the Hall, as it was generally spoken of; nor did he himself in the earlier years of his tenancy, but it is not long before we find him calling in one of the local "priests" to celebrate marriages for couples in a hurry to wed. This has been shown in the earlier pages of the Register of Marriages he so carefully kept, and in which the names of David Lang, Robert Elliott, and Anty Yeoman are entered as celebrants at the ceremony, with Linton as one of the necessary witnesses. It is not until the year 1828 is reached that Linton appears in the dual rôle of host and priest, which he sustained—with few exceptions—up to his last illness.

Keeping in mind that Border marriages were quite valid, though denounced by the Church and looked down on by the better class "residentifier" as unrighteous things, we are arriving at a time when the very minister who had "rebukit" a large number of identical offences in no measured terms, was actually asking and advising Linton to celebrate them, and, in point of fact, to act as his rival in the celebration of the rites of marriage.

One may well wonder at such an extraordinary event as a minister of the Gospel, the head of and leader in a rather dour religious community, rightly respected for his good life and works, prevailing on a layman, and an inn-keeper at that, to do such things. But when we look below the surface we find the minister's reasons.

He was a man with a breadth of vision and sound commonsense, who had come to the conclusion that if he could not—as he had striven to do for so many years—prevent irregular marriages taking place in his parish, the next best thing under the circumstances was to find a man who would conduct them with more decorum and a greater sense of responsibility.

The man he chose was John Linton. It was a high

compliment from such a quarter, and, as events proved, he made a wise choice.

There remains no record, or even suggestion, that Linton did not always perform his office as "priest" in a suitable and serious manner, or that his register was not kept properly posted and correct. On various occasions Linton was called to court to give evidence in relation to, or in proof of, one of his marriages, but as never a magistrate or judge found fault in the entry, or in the least way criticised his conduct, we get proof by negation, but sufficient proof, of the decent and orderly manner in which Linton's marriages were performed.

When a couple came to be married he got from them a Declaration. This Linton sometimes wrote out, and had the principals sign. Sometimes it was written by the groom or bride, but it was always signed by all concerned, including the priest and witnesses present at the time.

This Declaration gave full particulars of the names and residences of the parties, and often of their station in life.

The actual ceremony was the recital of the form of words used in the Church of England, following which came the signing of the register, again by all. To conclude with, the priest wrote out two certificates, both fully signed and witnessed, one of which was given to the bride; the other, together with the Declaration, was retained and carefully preserved by Linton.

It has been my privilege to have full and free access to Linton's Register, and to the box brimming full of such "writings," and, after some days of careful search and scrutiny, I did not find anything which could be considered as wanting in proof sufficient to stand the acid test of a court of law.

The original Register of the marriages celebrated in Gretna Hall covers the period between 1825 and 1840. In the latter year all these entries were transferred to a larger and handsomely bound book—Russia leather, gilt, with a lock. The pages had a printed heading, "Gretna Hall, Register of Marriages," and the entries were made carefully and in a clerkly hand, without blots or erasures.

The original Register remains in the possession of a grandson of Linton, who has also his portrait in oils, some of the Hall furniture, and many other relics. The later Register remained in the family for many years, but was put up at auction by Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, on March 28th, 1912, the hammer falling when 420 guineas was reached. On June 3rd, 1924, it again appears in the same salerooms with an index volume and the large box of papers already alluded to. On this occasion it was knocked down for £280.

A word picture of Gretna Hall and its inhabitants is given in Sir George Head's *Home Tour Through the Manufacturing Districts of England in the Summer of 1836*. Sir George had been Assistant Commissary General to General Picton in Spain, and Deputy Knight Marshal at the Coronation of William IV., and subsequently at that of Queen Victoria, so we may accept him as a credible witness. He wrote his Memoirs in the pleasant graphic style of his day. He was staying at Aglionby when a newly married couple arrived from Gretna Green, and this suggested to the bachelor knight the idea of going to see a place he had so often heard about. He hired a horse at Carlisle and rode to Gretna, and, as he says, found the Hall without any difficulty.

Of Linton he writes: "He is not only a clergyman but landlord, both persons in one, whence it arises, partly owing to his office as landlord, which roots him to the spot, that he possesses the qualifications which every Gretna Green parson ought to have, namely, he is at all times to be found in a hurry, and, finally, sober, and able to perform his duty. In person he is a fair, good-looking man, in age about 40, of prepossessing manner, mild and respectful in his demeanour."

Bishops, antiquaries, soldiers, poets, painters, and the many who had a flair for writing diaries, seldom failed to visit Gretna when within a day's journey of the place. One of the most interesting of these was a Tuscan diplomat, who published a book in the form of Letters from the principal towns on his tour through Britain. It is, as Hamlet said,

“written in very choice Italian.” The letter describing Gretna Green, its function, and its priests, was written from Glasgow, and is dated June 26th, 1788.

A story of a very different kind appeared in a magazine under the heading of “A Wet Night with the Gretna Green Parson.”

Among other things, he describes “the Matrimonial State Bed, a compact, well secured, regular four poster, with two turtle doves sculptured on its head board, as large as geese, billing and cooing in a manner charming to witness.” Considering the agreement of all other accounts of Linton, we may set down this last author as principally indebted to his imagination for his facts—*qua facts*.

It must have been very shortly before Mrs Linton left the Hall that one of the contributors to Charles Dickens' *Household Words* paid her a visit. In all probability this writer was Blanchard Jerrold, but, be that as it may, the contribution duly appeared under the title of *The Harmonious Blacksmith*, and I recommend its perusal, not only because it gives a good description of “the bridal chamber, fitted luxuriously with yellow satin damask hangings,” the various inscriptions on the furniture, walls, and window panes, but for his chat with Sim Lang, the son of David, in the Queen's Head in Springfield.

With the death of John Linton in 1851 the tale of Gretna marriages might be concluded, as all subsequent to that date are not worth a word of comment.

While the Gretna priests sat in their chosen tippling houses waiting for the ripe cherries to drop into their mouths, without doing anything or making any attempt to increase their dubious trade—excepting to tip the chaise drivers who brought their clients—other influences were at work to spread the fame of Gretna. First came the local penny-a-liner, who did not fail to send a sensational account of any out-of-the-way wedding to the papers circulating locally and to the London press; and, from the latter, Gallagni's *Messenger* spread the news throughout the Continent of Europe. And, as I have already indicated, the

more serious novelists and scribes incorporated the so-called romantic episodes in a more permanent way.

It takes some ten or twelve feet of shelving to accommodate my books directly relating to Gretna and its marriages, and I am convinced I have not yet exhausted its bibliographical possibilities.

Another form of publicity was given by the artistic fraternity. This is perhaps the most pleasing to the ordinary man, as taste, skill, and humour here find expression in various ways. Among the artists who dealt with this subject should be mentioned Joseph Farrington, R.A.; Rowlandson, Cruickshank, Newhouse, Westlake, Leighton, Wright, Lasslet Potts, and Leech, without completing the list. In *The Print Collector's Quarterly* of last July I described most of the worth-while prints in my collection, but, beyond these, there are a great number reproduced by mechanical means, i.e., by photogravure, etc., which do not fall within the limitations I imposed on myself under the title. To that article I would refer those interested in Gretna's reactions to the graphic arts.

We also find the potters of Staffordshire had a notable part with a certain class of people. Domestic pottery of various kinds were turned out by these enterprising folk bearing a picture showing—for the most part—"The Red Hot Marriage" as drawn by the earliest of the mezzotinters. Sometimes the piece had little cupids as additional ornament, or perhaps the altar of Hymen with appropriate classic figures. Plates, jugs, mugs, and teapots were made and found a ready sale, especially with the lower classes who had been married at Gretna, while others bought plaques and figure groups as souvenirs of an outstanding event in their lives. Similarly you will find Leeds ware, and Turner ware with Gretna topics, sometimes in transfer and sometimes in raised figures.

The stage had no small part in reconstructing events that had happened, or might have happened, at Gretna. The earliest of these was "A Trip to Scotland," produced at Drury Lane, London, in 1770, but it is only when we

come to the year 1783 that we find a play with Arnold's music and the title of "Gretna Green." Again the same title was used for a different dramatic presentation—a musical farce—which was found to be attractive enough to warrant revival a few years later. One of Sir William Gilbert's most successful comedies, "Engaged," turns upon a Scottish irregular marriage, and, also in 1877, a comedy opera called "Gretna Green" was produced; this also was brought back. A vaudeville, entitled "A Trip to Gretna," is the next on my list, which I must conclude by mentioning a perfectly staged ballet, "Gretna Green," at the Alhambra in 1901. This was a superb spectacle with delightful music, singing, and dancing. All of these dramatic presentations were born in London, and, if some died there, others toured through the provinces, and one at least got as far north as Aberdeen.

An American authoress produced a "Pageant Play" on Gretna Green; and some of her countrymen serious and light plays with the same title. Strange to say, German and French dramatists considered this subject worth working up, and had their efforts suitably rewarded.

Poets are not numerous in this category, although Hood composed an elegy on the death of David Lang, and used the story of the Wakefield-Turner abduction for one of his longer compositions. There are also some songs of merit and a song-cycle in four parts. The most recent musical effort, to my knowledge, was in the Co-Optimists' programme, in which during the singing of Melville Gideon's song, "The Crinoline Gown," there is an action tableau played at the back of the stage, showing a couple joining hands before the blacksmith.

My subject has a greater scope than is generally supposed, and this paper is, necessarily, only a sketchy outline of it, although I hope shortly to publish a book dealing with it in a more exhaustive manner. Therefore I shall welcome letters from those having specific knowledge or intimate associations.

Gretna presents a big field for the psychologist, into

which I have not the slightest intention to trespass. I would rather conclude in a serious way with an extract from a letter I received from a very prominent legal official in your town: "Evidently a considerable number of people still think there is a flavour of romance in getting married at Gretna, but I do not think they appreciate the subsequent trouble and expense it frequently means if they are to have such marriages properly registered. No doubt they are entered in the books kept at Gretna, but unless the parties petition the Sheriff here within three months of the marriage to have it registered in the proper Register of Marriages, the only way such a marriage can be legally proved, after the lapse of that period, is by a Declaratory Action in the Court of Session, which, of course, is an expensive proceeding and one which might be difficult to substantiate if the books at Gretna became lost or were destroyed."

24th March, 1933.

Chairman—Mr M. H. M'KERROW.

Eighteenth Century Meteorological Observations in Dumfriesshire.

By C. BRITTON, London.

On the 8th March, 1793, Dr. Thomas Garnett of Harrogate read before the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester a paper entitled "Meteorological Observations made on Different Parts of the Western Coast of Great Britain." Included in the material which Dr. Garnett used in preparing this paper is a set of observations from the county of Dumfries and made by Dr. Alexander Copland of King's Grange. These observations of Dr. Copland's and their accompanying explanatory matter were evidently considered as being amongst the best material which Dr. Garnett possessed, for he says: "The remarks of Mr Copland of Dumfries are very valuable; they are the result of attentive observation, assisted by a truly philosophic mind: and though

some of the theories are perhaps not perfectly satisfactory, yet most of them are highly probable and many perfectly new : upon the whole, his remarks contain the best and most rational rules for judging of the weather that we possess."

The Dumfries observations dealt with in the paper in question are mostly concerned with rainfall. The tabular statement of figures is headed " By Mr Alexander Copland, Surgeon, at Dumfries." The actual monthly total of rainfall is given for every month of the year, commencing in January, 1777, and finishing in December, 1783. Further figures are given for the period 1784 to 1790, but not in such complete detail. We have merely a monthly and yearly average for this period. A few other observations are also included, which show that from 1784 at least, Copland had maintained a careful record of temperature, pressure, wind and weather, in addition to his rainfall observations. He gives, in fact, a table of monthly mean temperatures over the interval 1784 to 1790.

The remarks upon the weather to which Dr. Garnett refers are printed in full in his paper. A footnote shows that these remarks were originally printed in the *Dumfries Weekly Journal* of 25th September, 1781, some ten years previously. They consist of 28 rules by which the probable course of the weather can be predicted by an observer, and are clearly based upon several years' close observation of the local vagaries of the climate. Like other similar sets of rules, they are of very limited application. Indeed Dr. Copland himself admits this. In giving his rules to Dr. Garnett for printing in his paper he adds a note to them dated 1st May, 1791, in which he says: ". . . after ten years' farther experience I have always found them sufficiently applicable so far as general rules ought to be taken and admitted on so uncertain a subject as the meteorological changes that are constantly going on in an island like ours. . . ." In a further letter dated 15th January, 1793, Dr. Copland tells Dr. Garnett that, after two years' further observation, he does not yet see the reason to alter any of his rules entirely. This last letter is accompanied by very detailed tables of figures giving rainfall.

pressure, temperature, wind and weather data for each month of the years 1791 and 1792.

This paper of Garnett's was evidently thought to form a very desirable communication to the Manchester Society's Memoirs, and he prepared a further and much more extensive one, which was read on 27th March, 1795. A much larger body of observations was discussed in this further article, and Dr. Copland's contribution consists of the monthly barometric and thermometric means for each month of 1793, together with the monthly rainfall totals. There is also an analysis of the various points of the compass from which the wind was observed to blow in that year at Dumfries. A point of interest in this paper is that Dr. Garnett went out of his way to include in it "A few Observations on Rain Gages," in which is found a description of the two instruments in use by Dr. Copland. He used gauges with square funnels, one having an area of 144 square inches and the other of 288 square inches. These instruments were 12 feet apart, and one was 6 feet higher than the other. He definitely recommends square funnels in preference to circular ones. These rain gauges should be compared with the official standard in general use to-day, namely, a circular funnel of 5 inches diameter, giving a catchment area of a little under 20 square inches. The rain water caught in the Copland gauges was carefully weighed at 10 a.m. daily, and the result converted by a simple calculation into inches of rainfall, an indirect procedure rendered desirable on account of the large catchment funnels used. A heavy rain would yield an inconveniently large amount of water to measure by means of the modern method of a graduated measuring glass.

As an appendix to this second paper of Garnett's there is a fairly long letter from Dr. Copland, mostly in the nature of further comments on his weather rules. He mentions, however, that a properly conducted "Calendar of Flora" might be useful in order to ascertain the lateness or earliness of the seasons, and that he had accordingly begun to keep such a record in May, 1793. These phenological observations for the period May to December, 1793, are reproduced, and,

for comparison, the similar observations made by Dr. Burgess of Kirkmichael from 1773 to 1776.

The preceding remarks cover all the observational material of Dr. Copland's to be found in the *Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester*. Other details, however, are available in the *Dumfries Weekly Journal* from time to time. Apparently the earliest of these articles in the local press is that in the issue of the *Journal* for Tuesday, 2nd February, 1779. In this note he commences by giving his monthly totals of rain, beginning at January, 1775, and finishing at December, 1778. The data thus go back two years earlier than those of the Manchester Memoirs.

It is clear that Dr. Copland was observing with conscientious regularity for the period 1775 to 1793, a space of nineteen complete years. His record must therefore rank as one of the longest, by the same observer at the same place in Scotland, which survives from the eighteenth century. The register of Mr James Hoy at Gordon Castle was continuous in that place from July, 1781, to November, 1827, and had thus 18½ years in the eighteenth century. This is the only similar register of about equal length in that century which I can recall at the moment. There can be little doubt that Dr. Copland continued to observe until 1801, the year in which he died, but it is to be feared that his MSS, unlike Hoy's, have failed to survive. It is interesting to note that Copland's mean annual rainfall for the 19 years, 1775 to 1793, is 37.11 inches, which compares very well with the standard normal for Dumfries (1881-1915) of 36.79 inches.

In addition to the large amount of meteorological information which Dr. Copland thus supplied to another author, he himself has a paper in the same volume of *Memoirs*. This paper is headed "Mr Copland's Account of an Ancient Mode of Sepulture, etc." It was transmitted to Dr. Thomas Percival, F.R.S., who was at that time President of the Manchester Society, on the 30th October, 1792, and was duly read to the Society on 30th November of the same year. Dr. Copland describes an ancient burial place on his own land, and two plates accompany the paper to illustrate the cairn,

or burial place, and the metal objects found therein. His hypothesis as to the use of these iron objects evidently aroused a certain amount of controversy. He deals with the objections in a further paper in the same volume under the title, "On the Combustion of Dead Bodies, as formerly practised in Scotland." This paper was sent to Mr Samuel Harvey, the Secretary of the Society, on 30th September, 1793, and read on the 4th October following. If there was any discussion subsequent to this second paper it did not succeed in getting into print. Both these papers show a certain fund of antiquarian knowledge, and the references in footnotes indicate that Dr. Copland both read and discussed this subject freely. As far as I can ascertain no separate work was published by Dr. Copland upon this or any other topic, and I cannot find that he contributed anything to any other learned society beyond these two papers in Volume IV. of the *Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester*.

Little appears to be known about Dr. Copland himself. He was born about 1744, as he was 57 years old when he died on 16th April, 1801. His tombstone alludes to his activity in the discharge of his medical duties in Dumfries, but I have not been able to ascertain the place of his medical education. His name does not appear in any of the Scottish University lists nor in those of Leyden and the other important Continental schools. The only reference that has so far come to my notice is in the *Medical Directory* of 1780, where Alexander Copland is mentioned as a member of the Medical Society of Edinburgh, his date of admission being given as 14th April, 1764. At that time he would be about 20 years of age.

In a footnote to the second of Dr. Copland's papers already mentioned he refers to "William Copland, Esq., of Colliestone, my brother," who apparently presented some coins to the Scottish Society of Antiquaries in 1782. It is thus possible to identify with certainty our Dr. Copland with the Alexander Copland, of the Coplands of Colliston, given in the genealogy in Burke's *Landed Gentry*. Neither Alexander nor William, however, appear to have been either

full or corresponding members of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries.

It is possible to speculate with some degree of certainty as to how Dr. Copland's observations came to be known to Dr. Garnett in the first instance. From Dr. Copland's own papers it seems clear that he was acquainted with Robert Riddell of Glenriddell. This Mr Riddell was a corresponding member of the Manchester Society, and so was Dr. Garnett. No doubt the Copland observations became known to Garnett through the intermediary work of Robert Riddell. Curiously, there is also a paper by Riddell in the same volume of the Manchester *Memoirs* as Copland's and Garnett's papers. It is entitled "A Dissertation upon the Ancient Carved Stone Monuments in Scotland, with a particular Account of one in Dumfriesshire."

The meteorological labours of Dr. John Burgess of Kirk-michael appear, as it were, only incidentally. Dr. Copland communicated a few rainfall observations made by Dr. Burgess in sending the digest of his own figures to Dr. Garnett. All that was given was the mean monthly rain totals over the period 1773 to 1776 inclusive, and these were apparently inserted with the purpose of comparing his own figures with that of a station "near the bottom of high mountains." Dr. Copland adds that the observations were made by one "whose accuracy and abilities for such an undertaking are incontrovertible." The only other observations of Dr. Burgess's which we find are some phenological data for the same period of years included in the letter with Dr. Copland's Calendar of Flora, already mentioned.

Dr. Burgess is already well known, of course, as a botanist and correspondent of Linnæus, but the fact that he was also a meteorological observer appears to have dropped out of sight. It is unfortunate that such an inconsiderable fragment of his observational labours has survived, as there can be little doubt that he was an observer of a scientific type. Perhaps, however, he gave up his meteorological work about 1776. It seems odd that Copland in 1795 had no later figures from Burgess than those of 1776 if the latter was still main-

taining his meteorological record. Dr. Burgess was the author of the article upon the parish of Kirkmichael in Sinclair's *Statistical Account*, and in the course of that article he deals with the climate of the parish, but there is no hint that he had made any meteorological observations to aid him in his note upon the climate.

In addition to the Burgess and Copland records there remains one other from Dumfriesshire which still survives. It consists of some rainfall observations taken at Langholm for the period 1773 to 1777. These observations were printed in Volume I. of the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and were apparently presented to the notice of the Society by its then president, Henry, Duke of Buccleuch. Unfortunately no further particulars can now be obtained as to who actually made these early observations at Langholm, and whether these five years' results represent the complete record. The original MS. does not seem to be extant.

Nature Notes from Galloway.

By the late W. H. ARMISTEAD.

Horse Isle Bay has always been a favourite haunt of wild fowl, and a pleasant and instructive hour or two may be spent hidden among the rocks with a pair of field glasses, watching the birds feeding out on the banks. I remember getting a very striking object lesson in the woeful havoc wrought among the sea birds by shot guns. Watching a flock of over 150 birds through the glass, it was dreadful to see how many of them were maimed. I counted eight with broken legs. These birds were hopping about quite cheerfully, feeding and whistling with the rest, and they seemed to have got quite used to this unnatural state of affairs, but

it was a painful sight and took the keen edge off the pleasure in wild fowling for some time. It has often seemed to me that the love of shooting birds is a barbarous thing, and many a time after the exultation at a successful shot has passed I have keenly regretted taking the life of these beautiful creatures, but the primitive instinct of the chase remains too strong to be overcome by what I admit is a kindlier and more humane attitude towards bird and beast; perhaps it is the awakening of a nobler instinct which will conquer in the end. The new idea of hunting wild birds instead of killing them will appeal to many, and certainly some of the photographs and moving pictures will give more pleasure than much shooting, and cause no pain.

Sailing round Almorness a view opens up which is, I think, unsurpassed along the Solway shore, and indeed it would be hard to beat anywhere. Sailing across from the point to Balcary Head, one can see first up Orchardton Bay and then up Auchencairn Bay, with Screel and Bengairn in the background. Inside Balcary Point is a tower built on the rocks close to the sea, which at a little distance looks very picturesque. Balcary Head is a fine bold promontory, rugged and steep, with several interesting caves at high water mark in which are quantities of rock pigeons; above hundreds of gullimots and razorbills nest on ledges, and when sitting close together look very like rows of champagne bottles. Many ledges are reserved for the cormorants. They sit still and silent, unlike their screaming, chattering neighbours. In the famous cave of Barlocco large numbers of rock pigeons nest, and all the year round they come in quantities to roost.

The cliffs between Barlocco and Abbey Head is interesting from a geographical point of view, and after passing Abbey Head the coast scenery is very fine and the rocks very rugged. It is interesting to notice that the strata of rock clearly marked all along the coast, instead of being

horizontal as at Barlocco, are quite vertical, and this has made the lower rocks by the sea more rugged and sharp than usual. Their summits are jagged like the teeth of a saw, and it makes walking among them very difficult.

During the hard winter of 1894 three smacks while trawling off the mouth of the Nith got fast in a mass of floating ice, which during the night froze firmly together, making it impossible to work the boats clear, and so for three days and nights they drifted backwards and forwards with the tide. They ran out of provisions and coal, and the cold was so intense that in order to keep a fire going they burned all the moveables that could possibly be spared, including the oars and gaff-top-sail yard. Fortunately on the third day they drifted well up the Nith and the ice grounded. They made the smacks as secure as possible, and went ashore to hunt for provisions. They made their way through the deep snow to a farmhouse, and, marvellous to relate, were actually refused food or drink—though they had money with which to pay for what they wanted—so, not wishing to risk another rebuff, they walked to Dumfries and took train to Annan. No explanation has been given as to why men, after suffering such privations, should be refused food, but there must have been some reason for it, and it is possible that, as the whole of that part of the country was snowed up for several days and communication with the outside world entirely cut off, the people were themselves without or on very short commons. No native of Dumfries or Galloway would have acted in such a way through churlishness!

During this long frost of 1894 ducks were very plentiful on the shore and very easily shot, for, so hard pressed were they for food that, even when shot at on the feeding grounds, they would return again, and often a gunner waiting in a creek would have continual shooting the whole day long. After a time the ducks became so thin and poor that they were not worth shooting, and before the end of the frost a great many died, and every day were washed up on the tide line, and many were so starved that they were too weak to fly.

The frost broke very gradually; a day or two of rain and wind, and then several days of frost again, so that late in April many of the lochs were still frozen over. I drove past Lotus Loch one morning in March that year, and found some ducks held fast on the ice by their feet. The day before had been wet, and the ice was covered with half an inch of water when the birds came at night to roost on it. Before morning a sharp frost set in and the water froze, and they were held prisoners. This probably would not have happened had the birds been in their usual condition, but they were weak and starved.

As soon as the ice is off the lochs the pike begin to spawn, and if the sun shines they may be seen in the shallows working among the weeds, and often with their back fins showing above the surface of the water. Their spawning season begins about February 15th and lasts until the end of March, and in a cold season—April, though I have taken pike as late as July just on the point of spawning. Their operations are not affected much by the temperature of the water so long as there is not actually ice on it, but an east wind will put an end to all spawning, even if it lasts, as is sometimes the case in spring, for several weeks. They spawn freely in rainy weather, but it is when the sun shines that they are busiest.

When it is desirable to destroy pike in trout waters, this is an excellent time of year to do so, for they can be shot with an ordinary shot gun. To find them it is only necessary to know the sort of places they frequent for spawning, and anyone who takes the trouble may make a good kill by simply waiting in a suitable position till the whereabouts of spawning fish is indicated by a disturbance on the surface of the water. With care the centre of this disturbance can be judged, and even though no part of the fish may be actually visible a shot well aimed will have such a stunning effect that there is time, if done quickly, to pick up the pike before it recovers. A pair of rubber knee boots will be necessary, and a good retrieving dog. The effect of a shot into shallow water is, of course, to stir up a lot of

mud, and for this reason it is sometimes difficult to find the fish, for it will be lying quietly on its side. Usually, however, the white belly of the pike is easily seen as the muddy water clears away, and then it should be quickly picked up and killed. If you watch a pike that has been stunned by a shot you may notice that the gills are quivering, and in a very short time they open and shut once or twice. When this occurs recovery is not very far off, and there will be no further warning before the fish is off like a flash. Unless part of the back has been actually showing above the water when fired at, as is often the case, no shot marks will be found on the body, for the shot does not penetrate more than an inch or so below the surface of the water, but is stopped by its density and simply sinks to the bottom; it is the concussion which stuns the fish. This can be demonstrated by firing into a shallow vessel filled with water. The shot will be found lying at the bottom slightly bruised, no doubt, by the force with which it strikes the water.

After firing at a place where a fish has been located, it need be no matter of surprise if several pike are picked up instead of one, for the female fish usually has a considerable escort, and I have on several occasions killed five at a shot. As to the range at which it is possible to kill pike in this way, I may say it depends entirely on the angle at which the shot strikes the water and the depth below the surface of the fish. Standing on the shore of a loch on a level with the water, and firing at a fish within two inches of the surface, thirty yards would be the outside limit; if the shooter was above the fish—up a tree, for instance—longer shots could be made, and at fish slightly deeper; but if a fish is nine inches below the surface it would be necessary to be within fifteen feet of it, and right above. Nine inches is the outside limit at which pike can be killed with a twelve-bore. Firing at a fish in a foot of water with the gun barrel only six feet away will nine times out of ten have no effect on it. When firing at a pike more than a couple of inches below the surface it must be borne in mind that he is not where he looks to be, and allowances must be made for this. In

order to find out how much to allow, take a straight stick, and, holding one end in the hand, put the other in the water to a depth of nine inches. It will be at once noticed that from the point where it enters the water the stick appears to be bent outwards, or away from you, so that its end nine inches below the surface appears to be further away than it really is. It is the same with a fish, and though it is impossible to give an absolutely correct idea of the allowance necessary, which can only be ascertained by practice, I should say, roughly, that firing at a fish six inches below the surface with the gun at an angle of 45 degrees it would be necessary to aim one inch underneath the body. There is no advantage, but rather the reverse, in aiming under the head. The stunning effect seems most effective when the concussion takes place under the body, and is probably identical in its effect with a blow under the ribs, which will knock the breath out of a man. It does not take a very powerful concussion to temporarily stun a fish, and even if not actually disabled they are so bewildered that it is possible, if you are quick, to catch them.

It is very little good looking for pike along an open shore. They are there often, it is true, but they are off like a flash long before they have been located by the eye, and all that is to be seen is a V-shaped wave formed on the surface by their rapid return to deeper water. It is in bays and along shallow margins where the weeds are thick, and up ditches and drains, that they spawn, and in order to observe them in such places it is not necessary to hide, but to sit or stand perfectly still and watch for a movement among the weeds. Wherever are found beds of milfoil (*myrio Phyllum spicatum*) or the brown oval-leaved pond weed (*potamogeton nataus*) there will pike be found when spawning. So far as I have been able to judge—and I have studied the matter carefully—pike do not spawn at night. When busy at work in the shallows they often make a considerable commotion and splashing, and this is most noticeable on bright sunny days. Should a cloud suddenly shut off the sunlight all this commotion ceases, but it begins again

when the cloud has passed. During the spawning season pike are more easily caught on night lines than at any other time, and they are not very particular about the bait. There is nothing so good as a frog, but perch, eels, herrings, or even a piece of bacon fat will not be disdained. The frogs are usually spawning in the shallows at the same time as the pike, and they have, I imagine, rather a bad time of it, and perhaps that is one reason why they so often choose such ridiculous puddles in which to spawn, and which any creature with a grain of commonsense would know would dry up in a short time. The large pike, which lie out in the deep water at other times of the year, come to the shallows, and this is almost the only time at which they may be readily caught. I have had some exciting times after monster pike over twenty pounds in weight, and have got them by surprising them in shallow water and scaring them ashore, where they were easily shot.

One sunny day in February I was rowing along the edge of a Galloway loch, not thinking at all of pike, when suddenly I saw a man on the shore kneeling with gun ready and his eyes fixed on the water. Following the direction of his gaze, I noticed a gentle movement among the reeds as though they were being moved down at the roots. A pike was working there, and from the steady bending of the stiff, short reeds it seemed that he must be a large fish. The place was a regular trap, for, though of considerable extent, it was only about eighteen inches deep, and the only approach to deep water was through a narrow channel not more than six feet wide. Working gently forward, I laid the boat across the mouth of this opening, so that the pike was a prisoner. The man on the shore never took his eyes off the place where he had located the fish, but signified by a nod that he understood my manœuvre. We waited some time, but there was no further sign. The sun was shining brightly, and the little bay was sheltered from the breeze by the land, so that the fish could not move without being seen. Just as we were beginning to think it had settled down on the bottom among the reeds, there was a slight

movement, and the tips of the dorsal fin and tail showed above the surface. There was a roar from the overcharged muzzle-loader aimed by the man on the bank, and a terrific splashing in the water; then with a rush the pike made for the opening, but, seeing the boat, turned back for the shallows, where he nearly ran aground. Another shot was fired at him from the bank, and again he headed out and disappeared entirely. There was not a sign on the surface of the shallow, muddied water to show that a big fish was there. After waiting several minutes the man began heaving stones in the direction he thought the fish was lying, and in a short time started him off again. I could see by the V-shaped wake on the surface that he was heading straight for me, and as the water was very muddy now he could not see well, and was no doubt dazed by the shots. On he came straight for me, and at last, when only about three yards away, I saw him, and fired right at the spine just behind the head. When the muddy water had settled somewhat I could see him lying on his side, and with a small gaff which we kept in the boat he was lifted on board. The pike turned the scale at twenty-two pounds. I considered it was the property of the man on shore, but he would not hear of any such thing, so I took it home in triumph. Perhaps someone may say that this was an unsportsmanlike way of killing a pike, so that I must explain that the loch in question was being stocked with trout at considerable cost, and war was being waged against the pike in every possible way.

Coarse fish, so called in distinction to the Salmonidæ or game fish, are all exceedingly prolific, and the astounding number of eggs produced by a pike at one spawning would strike anyone unacquainted with these things as incredible. Various naturalists have at different times taken the trouble to count the eggs, and the figures given below are from Darg's *British Fishes*:—A 35 lb. fish contained 43,000; a 32 lb. fish, 595,200; a 28 lb. fish, 700,000; a 24 lb. fish, 224,640. Naturally the number varies considerably owing chiefly to locality and nourishment, and probably, as with trout and salmon, the comparatively young fish produce the

greatest number of eggs in proportion to their weight. It will be seen from the above figures how important it is in a trout water to destroy the pike on their spawning grounds, and yet at the same time how almost hopeless it would seem to reduce their number appreciably, for if all the pike in a loch were destroyed but one pair capable of producing several hundred thousand eggs there would be a fairly large stock to combat again in a few years. Fortunately the mortality amongst the young is enormous, and, judging from results obtained by other fish, there would not be more than one mature pike produced from each thousand eggs, and probably a much less percentage. On the other hand, an experiment I once tried showed clearly that if the pike fry are protected from their natural enemies about 80 per cent. will survive if there is sufficient food for them.

The eggs of a pike are about the size of a number six shot, and are pale yellow in colour. They do not adhere together like those of a perch, but separate in the water. I am aware that some natural history books state that the eggs adhere, and can be seen in the water in bunches like perch eggs, but this is not so, as I know from careful observation of the fish at spawning time. I believe the eggs do adhere separately to plants, but on the rare occasions on which I have found them they have been easily shaken off.

Incubation takes from three to five weeks, according to the temperature of the water, and when the fry hatch out they are so tiny and transparent as to be almost invisible. Even when in a glass of water it is very difficult to see them until it is held up to the light. In a few days, however, they are quite easily seen.

The enemies of the pike are very numerous, and would make too long a list to give here, but, broadly speaking, all the living creatures in the water larger than they, and that are able to do so, will eat them. Birds which feed in shallows or dive in deeper water catch large quantities, and after a very short time they begin to eat each other. Before they are many weeks old they vary considerably in size, and,

considering their nature, it is not to be wondered at that they turn their attention to their weaker brothers.

It may not be generally known that Loch Ken and Lochmaben have produced some of the largest pike on record. Colonel Thornton alludes to one of 146 lbs. caught in Lochmaben; Daniel (*Rural Sports*) to one upwards of 7 ft. long and over 72 lbs. caught in Loch Ken; Dr. Grier-son, one of 61 lbs. caught in Loch Ken (Thomson's *Ann. of Phil.*, VIII., p. 428). Monsters like these must be terrible brutes in a loch, and one wonders how much it took to feed them. I have taken a 2 lb. trout from inside a 14 lb. pike, and on one occasion took $4\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of perch out of a $4\frac{1}{2}$ lb. pike. That they are voracious feeders everyone knows; but it is not generally known that they go for long periods without food, and at other times turn their attention entirely to beetles, shrimps, and other small creatures. When netting a loch on one occasion every pike caught was opened to see what it had been feeding on, and the result was the same in every case—they were crammed with fresh water shrimps, which are not more than three-quarters of an inch long. Several of the fish taken were over 8 lbs., and their stomachs were distended with shrimps. This was in May. At other times only perch and trout, but chiefly the former, were found in the pike caught. I have in my possession a stone weighing a little over three ounces which I took from a pike's stomach, but I am unable to account for its presence there. During the early summer they destroy a great many young duck, coot, and water hens, chiefly at night. I have seen a pike take a young coot out of a cluster that were swimming past some reeds in company with the parent birds. If you have ever spent a short summer night on a loch you will have heard the pike splashing in the shallows and the cries of various water fowl as they make a rush at their prey. I have known every young duck in a brood taken by pike in the course of a few days. Comparatively little has been written about this most interesting fish, and to the student it is an attractive study.

Scots Peerage Law.

By D. C. HERRIES.

The history of the Scots Peerage with the laws and customs that have gradually come into being concerning it is a large subject, and can only be treated here in a very cursory manner. The word peerage in this paper—which will only deal with the lay peers—will be used in a narrow sense as meaning the dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and lords who were summoned to parliament by the crown as long as parliaments lasted in Scotland, for peerage in this sense was always associated with personal attendance in parliament both in England and Scotland.

Before the time of James I. though there were earls and occasional dukes there can hardly be said to have been a peerage in the more select sense, for it was the duty of all the King's tenants in chief to attend his parliaments and general councils. James during his long captivity in England imbibed English ideas and contemplated making a distinction between his greater and lesser tenants by establishing a system of representation for the latter as had been done in England before his time. He is also credited with a project of creating some of the greater tenants or barons Lords of Parliament, though it is doubtful if he actually made any such creations himself. At any rate this project was carried out by his son and immediate successors. He began his personal reign in 1424, and in a Parliament held at Perth in March, 1425-6, it was ordained and statuted that all earls, barons, and freeholders of the King were to appear in proper person at parliaments and general councils.¹ Here there is no mention of Lords of Parliament as distinguished from the rest of the crown tenants, but at a council general held at Perth in March, 1427-8, to which were summoned representatives of the three estates, the King with consent of his whole council statuted and ordained that the small barons and free tenants need not come to parliaments or general councils provided that of each sheriffdom there were chosen

¹ *Acta Parl.*, ii., 9.

two or more wisemen, to be called commissioners of the shires, to represent them. Bishops, abbots, priors, dukes, earls, and lords of parliament and baronets, whom the King willed, were to be summoned to parliaments and councils by the King's special precept.² The modern Scots peerage with its various ranks as distinguished from the old baronage may be said to have its origin in this statute, but it did not come into being immediately for the act did not forbid the attendance of the smaller freeholders of the crown nor did it define what was a "small" freeholder. Moreover it did not set up proper machinery for their representation.

In parliamentary proceedings in March, 1457-8, it is recorded that it was thought "speidfull" that freeholders holding of the crown under the sum of £20 should not be constrained to come to parliaments or general councils unless they were barons or summoned by the King's commandment;³ and in a parliament of March, 1503-4, it was statuted and ordained that no baron, freeholder or vassal "within a 100 merks of this extent that now is" be compelled to come to parliament unless the King write special for them, but they were to send procurators to answer for them, all, however, that were over the above named sum were to attend in person.⁴ These ordinances, however, though attempting definitions of the term small tenants merely say that such tenants are not to be compelled to attend parliaments and establish no system of representation for them, while tenants of lands valued at over 100 merks still had to give personal attendance. Thus side by side with the clergy, dukes, earls, and lords of parliament of the statute of March, 1427-8, there continued to sit crown tenants, great or small, all through the rest of the 15th and on into the 16th century. This was the more possible owing to a constitutional difference between the parliaments of Scotland and England. In England there was a separate "House of Lords," the portals of which were carefully guarded by its

² *Acta Parl.*, ii., 15.

³ *Ibid.*, ii., 50.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii., 252.

inmates—in Scotland all the estates sat together in a single chamber. The absence of a House of Lords also made a difference in the usages of the two countries with respect to such matters as trials of peers and claims to peerages, and it probably tended to hinder in Scotland the rise of that “*esprit de Corps*” which distinguished the English Peerage.

In 1587 provision was at last made for the representation of the lesser Crown tenants in Parliament—it was settled amongst other provisions that all the King’s freeholders under the degree of prelate or lord of parliament were to be summoned to the choosing of commissioners of the Shires, the qualification for voting being 40 shillings in land in free tenantry held of the King and a dwelling within the Shire. The commissioners were to be wisemen, the King’s freeholders, indwellers in the Shire, of good rent, and well esteemed.⁵ A hundred years later, in 1689, the barons of Berwickshire elected as one of their commissioners Mr Charles Home, as he called himself, though he was in reality Earl of Home in succession to an elder brother who had died in 1687. Parliament, however, declared that he was incapable of election because he was a peer and of the rank of the nobility and not of the barons.⁶ The representative system had done its work and ideas had travelled far since 1426, when, as has already been pointed out, earls, barons, and freeholders of the King were treated as equals or peers, while in 1689 there was a sharp distinction between a “nobleman” and a “baron.”

All the various ranks mentioned in the statute of 1428 may be called lords of parliament, but in that statute that term is applied more especially to the lowest and newest rank. How were lords of parliament, or indeed the other orders of the peerage, created? Written patents of such creations were uncommon before the time of James VI., though it was usual on or after a creation to erect by charter the grantee’s lands into a territorial earldom or lordship, but in such charters there is rarely any mention of a dignity

⁵ *Acta Parl.*, iii., 422, 509.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ix., 7.

apart from the territory. In 1445 a royal charter erecting the lands of Sir James Hamilton into the lordship of Hamilton does record his creation as a hereditary lord of parliament,⁷ and this, I believe, is the earliest known written record of such a creation.

Here it may be necessary to say that no peerage can be inferred from the erection of a man's lands into a barony with "soc and sac tol and theam pit and gallows" and so forth, for many recipients of such grants and their heirs never attained peerage honours: the Baron of Bradwardine in "Waverley" is an instance of this. A peer might be a baron but a baron was not necessarily a peer.

It is probable that in early times peers were created or invested by the King in parliament. For instance, James IV. in parliament the 17th October, 1488, created Patrick, Lord Hales, Earl of Bothwell, by girding him with a sword "as the custom is";⁸ and as late as the time of James VI., when written records of creation were usual, it is mentioned in an Act concerning Kirk Lands in 1592 that lords of parliament were created by the "solempne forme of belting" and other ceremonies observed in such cases.⁹ The parliamentary records mention the creation of several lords. In a parliament of 1473 Alexander Hume of that ilk was created a lord of parliament. In 1476 James III. created in parliament John de Hay, Lord of the Isles, a baron, banrent, and lord of his parliament, and had him proclaimed by the heralds. On the 29th January, 1487-8, the same king in parliament created his second son, James, Duke of Ross with minor titles, and at the same time he made a little batch of lords and settled what titles they were to bear—Lord Drummond, Lord Crichton of Sanquhar, Lord Hay of Yester, and Lord Ruthven.¹⁰

In the absence of written patents of creation or of record in parliament it is not easy to ascertain the dates of

⁷ *Ibid.*, ii., 59.

⁸ *Acta Parl.*, ii., 206.

⁹ *Ibid.*, iii., 544.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, ii., 103, 113, 181.

creation of early peerages. Such dates can only be arrived at approximately by observing change in the style of grantees in charters and other documents and by studying the lists of those present representing the baronage in the various parliaments. Here, however, caution is needed. It is easy to pick out dukes and earls in such lists, but it is not so easy to distinguish between the lords of parliaments and the barons or lairds, who, it will be remembered, continued to attend parliament according to the obligation of their tenures till well into the 16th century. These lists vary much. Some are carefully divided into ranks—earls, lords, and barons or lairds; others are more confused, not marking where the lords end and the lairds begin, but even in these the lairds are placed last, and there is generally a difference in style between the last two ranks. The list of those present at the above-mentioned parliament of January, 1487-8 is of the more careful sort. All the lay landed magnates are classed as barons whatever their rank, but the earls and lords are mentioned without titles—as “Angus,” “Maxwell,” “Oliphant”—while the lairds have the title of *Dominus* followed by their territorial designations—as “*Dominus de Closeburn*,” “*Dominus de Amisfield*,” and so on.¹¹ During the hearing in the House of Lords of the claim to the dignity of Lord Herries of Terregles about the middle of the last century a list of those present in parliament the 4th February, 1489-90, was produced, apparently to show that Herbert Herries of Terregles, the first lord, was sitting that day as a lord of parliament.¹² No questions were asked, but if the lords had examined the list they might have found matter for thought. The list of temporal barons is headed by the Duke of Montrose, then comes a list of earls, followed by another of lords and lairds without any separation between them, but there is a difference of style, the lords being given, for instance, as *Dominus Carlyle*, immediately after whom comes *Dominus de Terregles*, fol-

¹¹ *Ibid.*, ii., 180.

¹² *Herries Peerage Case Minutes*, p. 13; see, too, *Acta Parl.*, ii., 216.

lowed by a list of undoubted lairds who are described in the same way as, for example, Dominus de Corstorphin, who was no doubt Forrester of Corstorphin, the representative of a family which did not obtain a peerage till 1633. Therefore I should infer that Terregles at the beginning of this parliament was a laird, though he may have been created a lord before it was finished. At the same time there was produced a list of those present in parliament the 7th February, 1491-2, in which Dominus Herries de Terregles (the style of a lord) appears immediately below Dominus Crichton de Sanquhar and just above the master of Morton, after whom come the lairds, such as Dominus de Fastcastle (Hume) and Dominus de Corstorphin.¹³

Just as in the absence of instruments of creation it is difficult to discover when the earlier peerages came into being, so also it is difficult to pronounce to what heirs they were meant to descend—so difficult, indeed, that since the Union with England a doctrine has arisen that where no instrument of creation is known to exist a peerage must be held to be limited to heirs male of the body of the grantee unless there be evidence in its history that it has a wider limitation.

It is no doubt convenient to have a rule, but there is no doubt that some of the earlier peerages even of the higher grades have been held by females and transmitted through them, the earldom of Sutherland being an instance. It must be remembered, however, that the rule of descent of many peerages both of the more ancient and the more modern dates has been settled and sometimes changed by a system of surrenders and re-grants that was common in Scotland before the Union. The peerage of Hay of Yester created in parliament in January, 1488, as has been related already, is an example of this. William, 6th Lord Hay, who had several daughters but no son, obtained on his surrender in 1591 a new charter erecting various lands into the lordship of Hay for himself and the heirs male of his body,

¹³ *Herries Case Minutes*, p. 14.

which failing for his brother James with a similar remainder, a clause in the charter provides, for the exonerating of the consciences of the King and Lord Hay, that James if he succeeded was to pay certain sums to his nieces, the daughters of William. William died before being infeft under this charter, and James took possession but fortified his position by obtaining yet another charter erecting anew the lordship of Yester with a seat and vote in parliament and all the honours enjoyed by his late brother. Evidently it was thought a strange thing to dispossess the heirs portioners, and thus this instance, which at first sight seems to confirm the doctrine of the rights of heirs male, in reality tells against it. When, on the other hand, a Lord Sempill, the holder of a peerage of much the same date, died in 1684, he was succeeded by his eldest sister, though not without some contest with the heir male. She, however, thought it prudent to obtain a crown charter confirming her in the title and laying down elaborate rules for its future descent with remainder to any person whom Lady Sempill and her husband, Lord Glassford, should name in writing under their joint hands with a final remainder to Lady Sempill's heirs and assignees whatsoever.

There are several other instances of re-grants following resignations giving to the holder of a peerage this right of nominating his heirs even on his deathbed. Examples will be found in the histories of the Breadalbane, Roxburghe, Rutherforde, and other peerages. An Earl of Breadalbane was allowed in this manner to pass over an elder in favour of a younger son. The crown in Scotland, unhampered by a jealous and watchful House of Lords, had greater power in such matters than that of England, even though the two crowns might be on the same head. These re-grants after surrenders carried the original precedence.

When written patents of creation became general remainder was very often not limited to the heirs male of the body of the grantee of a peerage but was extended to his heirs male general. Occasionally a peerage was granted for life only without any remainder over, especially in the case of

husbands of peeresses in their own right. For instance, Francis Abercromby, who married the Lady Sempill already mentioned, was created in 1685 Lord Glassford for life. The older usage was that such husbands used and represented their wives' titles.

There is one peerage which can hardly be called hereditary in the usual sense, and at the same time it is certainly not a life peerage. This is the Dukedom of Rothsay, which with the title of Prince of Scotland and some minor honours has long been held by the eldest son and heir apparent of the King of Scotland. When its holder succeeds to the throne it passes on to his eldest son if there be one in existence; if not it merges in the crown till a son and heir apparent to the sovereign again appears. It resembles the Dukedom of Cornwall, which with its great and wealthy territorial duchy attached to it is the appanage of the eldest son and heir apparent of the King of England. Rothsay also is or was attached to a territory called the principality and stewartry of Scotland, which gave some work to the lawyers when in 1751 Frederick, Prince of Wales, died, leaving a son and heir, who then became heir apparent to the throne and was created Prince of Wales. Doubts arose as to whether the principality in these circumstances reverted to the crown or passed to the new Prince of Wales, who was grandson and not son to the sovereign. Eventually an Act of Parliament was passed authorising the King to administer the estate during the minority of the Prince without deciding the question as to ownership.¹⁴ Incidentally the Act states that the revenues from the principality scarcely paid the salaries of the officials who collected them. The Prince came of age in 1759, but no further steps were taken to ascertain his rights, and in the following year he became King as George III., and the principality with its dukedom and other honours merged in the crown till the birth of his eldest son in 1762.

There is a title that I believe is peculiar to Scotland,

¹⁴ 25 Geo. II., cap. 20.

that is the title of *Master*, given now, I think, only to the eldest sons of Viscounts and Barons, though formerly it was used also by the eldest sons of Earls. A Master of Huntly and a Master of Angus appear in the list of barons present in parliament in January 1487-8. The title was formerly used by heirs presumptive as well as by heirs apparent. Sir John Maxwell, afterwards Lord Herries, was sometimes styled Master of Maxwell, first as heir presumptive to his brother, Lord Maxwell, and later as heir presumptive to his nephew.

In England when a holder of a barony created by writ of summons dies leaving no son but two or more daughters, the barony falls into abeyance between them and their heirs, and so continues until, if ever, only one representative of such holder is left, who then succeeds to the barony, but the crown can at any time terminate the abeyance in favour of any one of such daughters or her heirs. This doctrine hardly reached its full perfection till the 19th century, when baronies that had been forgotten for centuries were called out of abeyance. Readers of Lord Beaconsfield's "*Sybil*" will remember Mr Hatton, the dealer in such dignities, who had "made more peers of the realm than our gracious Sovereign." There were no baronies by writ in Scotland, and consequently there was no doctrine of abeyance. In a case between two or more daughters the eldest inherited a peerage if it was inheritable by females.

Yet in the history of the Herries peerage there occurred what looks very like an abeyance terminated eventually in favour of the eldest daughter. The 3rd Lord Herries died in 1543, leaving three daughters and co-heirs, among whom his lands were divided. According to theory the eldest of these should have at once inherited the peerage if it was capable of being inherited by a female. In fact, however, no difference in title or description was made between the three in documents emanating from the crown for a period of more than twenty years after the death of their father, though sometimes in more private documents drawn up by the family notary a title is given to the eldest daughter,

Agnes Herries, who had been married about 1547 to Sir John Maxwell. It was not till the end of 1566 or the beginning of 1567 that the latter began to be styled Lord Herries and to sit in parliament as such, though if he was representing his wife's peerage he ought to have done so from the time of his marriage. This was a peculiar case, and it was only with some hesitation and by a majority of one (in a committee of three) that a Committee for Privileges of the House of Lords decided in 1858 that Agnes Herries had succeeded her father in the honour as heir-at-line. This peerage is again at the present moment held by a lady. What happened here is also capable of explanation on a territorial basis. Sir John Maxwell and his wife had succeeded in buying the two-thirds of the territorial barony which had been possessed by her sisters just before he first appears as Lord Herries. The territory being thus re-united the crown was probably ready to recognise the more personal dignity.

This leads to the question as to whether peerages were of a territorial nature or whether they were merely personal honours: the latter view now prevails, and a man without an acre of land may be made a peer, though the territorial idea is not quite extinct, for it is still thought necessary to create a peer as of such and such a place whether he owns that place or not: for example, Lord Roberts of Kandahar and of the City of Waterford. The peerage, however, certainly had its origin in landed possession, being at first a body selected and recruited from the King's tenants in chief, whose *raison d'être* was the holding of lands on certain conditions, such as attendance in parliament. Nevertheless even in the 15th century earls and lords of parliament were no doubt meant to be distinguished from the general run of barons and tenants in chief. In the earliest known written creation of a lord of parliament, that of Hamilton, already mentioned, in the time of James II. his creation as a hereditary lord of parliament is mentioned as a distinct thing from the erection of his lands into a lordship to support the honour. Such creations and the accompanying

solemn ceremonies that have been mentioned, such as belting by the king and proclamation by heralds, must have tended to exalt the personal dignity at the expense of the territory erected into an earldom or lordship in support of it.

Still the territorial idea persisted. Andrew, Lord Avendale, exchanged his territorial lordship of Avendale for the barony of Ochiltree with Sir James Hamilton of Finnart in 1534; and in March, 1542-3, the Regent Arran, in and with consent of Parliament, made and created Andrew, sometime Lord Avendale, a baron and banrent and lord of "our Sovereign Lady's Parliament," to be called, he and his successors, Lord Stewart of Ochiltree.¹⁵ Thus on parting with the land which gave name to his title it was thought necessary to change the title itself and even to make a fresh creation of Andrew's peerage, or so Arran's words seem to imply. On the other hand, Sir James Hamilton did not become Lord Avendale on acquiring that barony, which seems to show that there was no idea then in Scotland of a peerage by tenure of certain lands: that is to say that lands once erected into earldoms or lordships did not convey the title of earl or lord to owners by purchase or other means as was, I believe, the case in some European countries. Yet the subsequent history of the new title of Ochiltree suggests that some such idea was not quite unknown, for the 3rd Lord Ochiltree of the above creation of 1543 sold his lordship of Ochiltree to his cousin, Sir James Stewart, and resigned his title to him in 1615. This looks as if this land carried a peerage with it, but Sir James did not venture to use the title of Ochiltree till he had obtained a crown charter the 9th June, 1615, of the lordship and barony of Ochiltree, with all the honours, titles, and dignities thereto belonging. The dispossessed lord had been summoned with some English and Scots peers to the Irish House of Lords on the 11th March, 1613-14,¹⁶ so though presumably no

¹⁵ *Acta Parl.*, ii., 413.

¹⁶ *Complete Peerage*, 2nd Ed., Title Castlestuart.

longer a Scots he was still an Irish peer. In 1619 he was created Lord Castlestuart in the peerage of Ireland. A descendant, Andrew Thomas Stewart, in 1768 tried to vote at an election of a Scots representative peer as Lord Ochiltree (the peerage resigned by his ancestor), but his vote was not received by the clerks. In 1774 he was recognised as Lord Castlestuart by the Irish House of Lords, and he voted as Lord Ochiltree at an election of Scots representative peers in 1790, but on reference to the English House of Lords it was held that he had not made out his right to the title of Ochiltree.

About the same time as the Ochiltree transactions a certain Sir John Ker of Littledean had acquired lands which had formerly been erected into a barony or lordship in favour of the Abbey of Jedburgh, and he began in charters and other documents to take upon himself the style and title of Lord Jedburgh to the great indignation of James VI., now also James I. of England. The King cited Sir John before the Privy Council, complaining that he had been in nowise created a baron or lord of parliament by any warrant from the crown. This was in 1613, and the Council took a lenient view of the matter. It found that Sir John had certainly not been as careful as he ought in his documents, but that he had erred from "mere simplicities." He was acquitted from all punishment, but admonished not to so offend in future.¹⁷ King James kept a sharp eye on his Scots peerage from his throne in England. Hugh (Montgomery), 5th Earl of Eglinton, who had no children, made a settlement the 27th July and the 1st August, 1611, of his earldom and lands on Sir Alexander Seton, third son of Margaret, Countess of Winton, his father's sister. On the death of the 5th Earl in 1612 Sir Alexander Seton accordingly assumed the title of Eglinton, but James was down on him at once and had him before the Privy Council, protesting that it was a bad example to set, and that such

¹⁷ *Reg. P.C.*, 1613-16, *passim*. Sir Andrew Ker, or Kerr, of another branch of the family, was created Lord Jedburgh in 1622.

dignities could only be conferred by the King, the "fountane of all honour." At length, however, after ample apologies from Sir Alexander, James consented to confirm the arrangement.¹⁸

Parliament more than once insisted that landed possessions in Scotland were essential to the status of a peer, provoked thereto by a practice begun by James VI. and continued by Charles I. of granting Scots peerages to their English subjects, who, though they might possess landed property in England, had none in Scotland. In 1640 parliament protested against granting to strangers titles of honour with right to sit and vote in parliament, whereas no one should have such right but those with interest by birth, blood, or inheritance within the kingdom, and it was ordained that hereafter every nobleman should have at least 10,000 merks yearly rent from land.¹⁹ After the restoration the proceedings of this parliament were annulled,²⁰ and Charles II. resumed the practice of his ancestors. Amongst his creations in favour of Englishmen was that of Churchill of Eymouth for John Churchill, afterwards the famous Duke of Marlborough, who at this period of his career probably had no land even in England. After the revolution parliament took the matter in hand again, and at last in 1704, in Queen Anne's reign, a clause was inserted into the Act of Security to the effect that no English or foreign holder of a Scots peerage could sit or vote in the Estates, without having an estate of £12,000 yearly value in Scotland.²¹ It can hardly be supposed that every native born Scots peer had an income from land of £12,000 a year, a great sum in those days, especially in Scotland, but it was probably thought that no English holder of a Scots peerage would care to purchase an estate of that value in the Northern Kingdom merely for the pleasure of sitting and voting in

¹⁸ *Reg. P.C.*, 1613-16, *passim*: introduction, lxxxviii.

¹⁹ *Acta Parl.*, v., 304.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, vii., 86.

²¹ *Ibid.*, xi., 136.

its parliament.²² Three years later came the Union with England, after which no more Scots peerages were created.

The English holders of Scots peerages had no peerage rights or privileges in England before the Union, and they could sit in the English House of Commons. Both they and the native born Scots peers, if they committed a felony in England, were tried as commoners, as in the case of Lord Crichton of Sanquhar, who was tried and convicted as accessory to a murder before the Court of King's Bench in Westminster Hall in 1612. By the Act of Union in 1707, Scots peers were to have all the privileges enjoyed by the English peerage both in England and Scotland, and in consequence could no longer sit in the English House of Commons, and at the same time the bulk of them ceased to be actual—though they might be potential—lords of parliament. For the Scots peerage was henceforth to be represented in the House of Lords by sixteen of their number, elected by the whole body, not for life but for the duration of each parliament. Only these sixteen were to have the right of sitting on the trials of peers.

Just as the Scots parliament had looked with a jealous eye on the creation of Scots peerages in favour of Englishmen, so now the English portion of the House of Lords (the vast majority of the House), for a long time after the Union disputed in rather a capricious manner the right of Scots peers to sit and vote in the House of Lords by right of peerages of Great Britain²³ granted to them after the Union. In 1708 Queen Anne created the Duke of Queensberry, Duke of Dover in the peerage of Great Britain, and he sat as such in the House of Lords without opposition, though a protest against his voting at elections of representative peers for Scotland was upheld by the House, and

²² The idea that land was essential to the dignity of a peer lingered into the 19th century, when estates were bought to support the dignity of the Nelson and Wellington honours.

²³ After the Union no more English or Scots peerages were created; creations after that event were of Great Britain, and since the Union with Ireland in 1801 they have been of the United Kingdom.

in 1709 the House resolved that no Scots peer who had received a British peerage since the Union could vote at such elections. There seems some reason in this: it seems hardly fair that a man should sit and vote in his own person and also be represented by others. In 1711 the Duke of Hamilton was created Duke of Brandon in the peerage of Great Britain, but the House of Lords refused him as such the right of sitting and voting, though he sat as a representative peer of Scotland. In 1720 writ of summons was refused to the Duke of Queensberry and Dover, whose father had been allowed to sit as already related. The Crown sometimes defeated this opposition of the House by creating the eldest sons of Scots peers in their father's lifetime peers of Great Britain; for instance George Hay, Viscount Dupplin, eldest son of the Earl of Kinnoull, was made a peer of Great Britain in 1711, and continued to sit as such after his father's death in 1719. At last, in 1782, the Lords, after consultation with the judges, withdrew their opposition, and a summons was issued to the Duke of Brandon. In 1787 the House decided that a representative peer of Scotland vacated his seat as such on becoming a peer of Great Britain. This re-opened the question whether such peers who became peers of Great Britain could vote at elections of the sixteen representatives, and in 1792 it was decided that they could do so. An Act of this year (1792) directly concerns Scots peers.²⁴ It is an Act concerning Episcopalian worship in Scotland, and contains a clause that a peer of Scotland, who twice in any year had been present at an Episcopal service in which prayers had not been offered for the King by name, was incapable of being elected as a representative peer or of voting at elections of such representatives. I believe this Act is still in force. Presumably some Episcopal clergy had sometimes prayed for the King without naming him, so that their congregations could take choice and pray for the King in possession or for the one "over the water"; though 1792 seems a late date for this sort of sentimental Jacobitism.

²⁴ 32 Geo. III., cap. 63, sec. 12.

Except for this Act and the disputes as to capacity to sit as peers of Great Britain, the Scots peerage cannot be said to have had much history apart from the peerage in general since the Union. On the whole it seems to have lost a little in dignity by that event, peers of Scotland as such being no longer entitled to sit and vote in parliament without election. On the other hand, the House of Lords seems to have lost, too, in dignity by the introduction of the elective system into its composition; and if any statesman ever takes seriously in hand the thorny question of the reform of that House this precedent will probably be followed and the elective system largely used and developed.²⁵

It would extend this paper too much to consider how peers were tried for treason or other crimes, or how disputed claims to peerages were settled in the days before the Union when there was no House of Lords, which House now deals with such high matters.

I will conclude by mentioning the difference between the custom of our time and that of the sixteenth century in regard to foreign honours conferred on Scotsmen.

When James, Earl of Arran, the Regent in the minority of Queen Mary, had the French dukedom of Châtelleraut granted to him in 1548 he treated it quite as if it had been a Scots title. He is called Duke of Châtelleraut in public documents, he attended parliament as such,²⁶ his eldest son, in his lifetime, was called by his own Scots title of Earl of Arran, and his younger sons were styled Lord John, or Lord Claud Hamilton.²⁷ It is as though Nelson, dropping his British honours, had attended parliament as Duke of Bronté.

²⁵ At the time of the Union (and since that measure) the bishops became such by election by Cathedral Chapters: theoretically at least, but as in practice the electors were directed by the crown to elect a particular person, bishops were really nominated by the crown. Even if the elections were free, the electors merely elected a bishop; they were not directly concerned with his seat in Parliament.

²⁶ *Acta Parl.*, ii., 525.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, iii., 396.

28th April, 1933.

Chairman—Mr M. H. M'KERROW.

Sanquhar Church After the Revolution.

By Rev. W. M'MILLAN, M.A., Ph.D., D.D.

Patrick Inglis, M.A., who had been minister of Sanquhar for about four years, was, as we have seen, "outed" after the Revolution. With regard to Kirkwood it has been suggested that he died before the Revolution, probably at Sanquhar. (See article: "Sanquhar in Covenanting Times, III. The Church." *Dumfries Standard*, 1932.) There is, however, some reason to believe that this was not the case, but that he returned to his native Ireland and there lived for a considerable time. In the *Memoirs of Captain Creighton* mention is made of an Episcopal clergyman whose name was Kirkwood, who "before the Revolution was minister of a parish in Galloway in Scotland and afterwards rector in the county of Fermanagh in Ireland. Among other good qualities," says the writer, "this gentleman was a very facetious person, and by his presence of mind in making use of this talent he had the good fortune to save both his life and goods from the fury of these godly men (the Covenanters) who thought all things their own." Creighton, who was an officer of Dragoons in Scotland during the Persecution, was descended from one of the Crichtons of Sanquhar who had settled in Ireland about the time of the Union of the Crowns. He has been termed "an incorrigible old liar," and there is no doubt whatever that in his *Memoirs*, which were edited by Dean Swift, there are many statements which are demonstrably false. He claims, for example, to have been in command of the Royalist troops at the Battle of Ayrsmoss, while everyone knows that the commander was Bruce of Earlishall. But there is no reason to doubt that he did know a "Mr Kirkwood" in Ireland who had been a "minister in Galloway," and the only person who this could have been was James Kirkwood, minister of Sanquhar. It is true that Sanquhar is not in Galloway, but it is near enough to that ancient province to be included in it by a

person so inaccurate as Creichton. (There was, it may be said, only one other James Kirkwood a minister in the Church of Scotland during the second Episcopacy. This was James Kirkwood who was "indulged" minister in Colmonell in 1683. He was appointed to the Vicarage of Ashkirk, Bedfordshire, the following year, and as he died there he cannot have been the person whom Creichton knew in Ireland.) According to the *Memoirs*, Kirkwood was in bed when the Covenanters forcibly entered his dwelling (whether it was the manse is not stated), intending to drive him out of the parish. "When they broke into his house he was in bed, and sitting up in his shirt, desired leave to speak a few words before he died, which (I cannot tell how it happened) they granted, and he spoke to this effect: that he had always prayed to God he might die in his bed; adding that he had in his house as good ale and brandy as was in all Scotland; and therefore hoped the worthy gentlemen would do him the honour to drink with him before they did anything rashly. This facetious speech, which they little expected from him in the article of so much danger as then threatened him, had the luck to divert them from their bloody purpose and to make them comply with his request; so that after drinking plentifully they said he was 'a hearty cheel' and left him in quiet possession of his house and goods. But he durst not trust his talent to another trial lest the next company might not be influenced as this first had been; and therefore as soon as it was day made off with his family and effects in the best manner he could and rested not until he was safe in Ireland."

The tale fits in well with what we know of Kirkwood's character. His facetiousness has become proverbial in Nithsdale; a contemporary writer bears witness to his love of a "dram," while the traditions which remain regarding him testify to his presence of mind. On the other hand, Kirkwood was not in office in Sanquhar at the period of the Revolution, at which time Creichton dates the incident, and when so many "rabblings" of curates took place. We know, however, that Kirkwood did suffer at the hands of

the Covenanters before the Battle of Bothwell Bridge (*Privy Council Register*, XI., xxvi.), when some of his property was stolen. It is possible that the incident occurred then, and that after the lapse of forty years (Creighton's *Memoirs* were dictated in 1730) it was wrongly dated by the chronicler. It is, however, more likely that as Kirkwood resided in Sanquhar after he had resigned his curacy, that the "rabbling" took place about the same time as Creighton has indicated. Though no longer in office he was still an Episcopalian minister, and as such, we can well believe, an object of dislike and distrust if not of hatred to the extremists among the Cameronians. The fact that he had befriended the Covenanters did not protect him in 1679, and there is little difficulty in believing that it was still less protection ten years afterwards. Through the kindness of the Very Rev. Dean Macmanaway, Enniskillen, I have been able to get some particulars of a James Kirkwood who was appointed by the Crown to the Rectory of Magheracross and Prebend of Kelskeery on March 13, 1692-3. Magheracross, which is now generally termed Ballinamallard, is in the County of Fermanagh, being about six miles north of Enniskillen, and as this Kirkwood appears to have been the only clergyman of that name in the county at that period, I have little doubt that he was the former curate of Sanquhar. Unfortunately no details of Kirkwood's career as Prebendary and Rector have come down to us.

Among the MSS. of Archbishop King there is a reference to a prosecution of Kirkwood in the year 1700 in the Court of the Bishop of Clogher, in whose Diocese Magheracross is situated. We do not know what the prosecution was for, nor is there any reference as to what was the result of the trial. (*Hist. MSS. Com. Reports*, II., 233.) Evidently, however, the offence, whatever it was, did not interfere with his tenure of office, for we know that he continued as Prebendary and Rector there until 1704, when he resigned. (J. B. Leslie: *Clogher Clergy and Parishes*.)

Creighton states that Kirkwood took his family with

him to Ireland, and, while that may have been the case, there is no reason to doubt that his descendants are still to be found in Sanquhar, as has been stated in the article already referred to. Kirkwood was married to a Sanquhar woman, and she may have returned to Nithsdale after her husband's death with some of her family. It seems, however, more likely that when Kirkwood left the district at least one married son with a family remained. "Jennet Kirkwood in Sanquhar," mentioned in the Kirk Session Records of the Parish in 1701, was probably the curate's granddaughter.

Regarding the expulsion of Inglis no details have come down to our day. Tom Wilson (*Memorials of Sanquhar Churchyard*, 3) speaks of "a wild outburst of Cameronian fanaticism" in the parish at this period, and conjectures that some figures in Sanquhar Church were then destroyed, but there is no evidence whatever of such proceedings or of any destruction being wrought here at all at that date. What the people of the parish did for "supply of sermon" in the days which followed the removal of Inglis we cannot tell. As early as November, 1687, some Presbyterian ministers in Dumfries had met for consultation, and had addressed an invitation to John Hepburn, who was afterwards to cause them so much trouble, to take charge of the parish of Irongray. It is possible that some arrangements were made by them for the provision of ordinances in Upper Nithsdale also after Inglis had been expelled. There was a Presbyterian minister, Mr John Lawrie, inducted to Penpont in the latter end of 1689, and it was through him that the "desire of the people of Sanquhar for supply of preaching" was intimated to the Presbytery of Dumfries on April 29th, 1690, and he himself was appointed to "supply them on Sabbath come eight days." If Inglis had been removed on Christmas, 1689, as we know several others in the district were, then there would be a period of fully four months without any definite arrangements being made for holding services. On June 4th, 1690, Mr Lawrie reported that he had "supplied Sanquhar as he was ordered," and at the same meeting "appeared William Creighton of Gareland and William

M'Call in Auchentagart from the Burrowry (Burgh?) and Parish of Sanwhar seeking supply of preaching." The Presbytery appointed Mr Robert Paton, younger, minister of Caerlaverock, to "supply them some day betwixt and next meeting." At the next meeting Mr Lawrie was again appointed to supply "on Sabbath next."

On November 29th, 1690, "the supplication of the Paroch of Sancher for supply being read and taken into consideration," Mr Lawrie was again ordered to give his services, but as it was reported "that Mr Thomas Shields is to come to the country" it was laid upon Mr Lawrie "to acquaint the said Mr Shields that (it) is the Presbytery's desire that he preach at Sancher till the next Presbytery." Mr Shields accordingly came to Sanquhar and acted as minister, for in January, 1691, we find it recorded that he "came into the country and preacht at Sancher according to appointment." There does not seem to have been any formal induction of Mr Shields to the pastoral charge of the church and parish for at least some time, but at that particular period this was by no means unusual. That Mr Shields was now regarded as being legally a minister within the bounds may, I think, be inferred from a further minute of the Presbytery of Dumfries of date April 15, 1691, to the effect that "there being now a quorum of ministers belonging to the Presbytery of Penpont, it is seriously recommended unto them to meet in a Presbyterial way and make tryall of the young men who have calls from paroches within the bounds, and when tryalls are to be made and they cannot make a quorum they are to come either to this Presbytery as formerly or to call for some members to be assistant to them in making their tryalls." (These details are taken from the MS. Records of the Presbytery of Dumfries.) In accordance with this resolution the ministers within the bounds of the Presbytery of Penpont, with the assistance of Mr Samuel Halliday (minister of Dunscore) and Mr Robert Paton (minister of Caerlaverock), met in Penpont Church on 29th May, 1691, and ordained Mr Patrick Flint and Mr John Elder to the Holy Ministry, the former being inducted to

Morton and the latter to Keir. The 29th of May, it may be noted, was the day on which thanksgiving services had been held during the Episcopal régime for the restoration of Charles II. Had this anything to do with the selection of that date? Patrick Flint was minister for a very short time, dying the following year aged about 42. He had graduated a Master of Arts at Edinburgh in 1671. James Elder was a young man from Ireland. He had been taken on trials for license after the Toleration of 1687 by some Presbyterian ministers in Lothian, but apparently these had not been completed then.

Peter Rae mentions in his account of the parish of Morton that he had been present when Flint and Elder passed their trials before the Presbytery of Dumfries in 1691. Thomas Shiels (or Shields), who became minister of Sanquhar after the Revolution is mentioned as a witness to an instrument of Sasine of William Morton of Douglas, which was signed at Eliock on 30th October, 1652. In this he is designated as "Mr Thomas Schiell, chaplain or student of divinity to the said William Douglas of Morton." About six weeks earlier he had witnessed a similar document at Drumlanrig, being designated in the same way. Apparently then, in 1652 Shiels had completed his Arts course but had not yet been ordained. From his tombstone we learn that he became a minister in 1655, and as in 1661 we find him designated "minister at Kirkbride" on another document of William Douglas of Morton, we may take it that he was admitted to Kirkbride in 1655. (Adams, *Douglas of Morton*, 141, 2, 4.) He is known to have been one of those who were "outed" by the Privy Council in 1662. (Wodrow I., 326.) Where he went after he had been legally driven from Kirkbride we do not know. Adams (*Douglas of Morton*, 142) speaks of him as a "foremost protagonist of the Covenant," but of this there is absolutely no evidence. No contemporary covenanting writer seems to have known anything about him. There was no successor appointed to Kirkbride until 1677, and it seems that with Douglas of Morton as his friend he remained in possession for some time after his

legal deprivation. Tom Wilson (*Memorials of Sanquhar Kirkyard*, 8) states that he was on the Continent during the troublous times that succeeded the Restoration, and that in 1689 he returned to Kirkbride, remaining there until he was translated to Sanquhar in 1693. The latter part of the statement is certainly not correct, for, as we see above, Shields was preaching regularly in Sanquhar in 1691, though he does not seem to have been formally admitted until 3rd August, 1693. (*Session Records*.) We learn from the Records of the Presbytery of Dumfries that the inhabitants of Kirkbride were "reluctant and adverse" to having him among them, declaring that "they were not able to maintain or encourage their minister, Mr Thomas Shields." During the period 1689-1693 the former minister of Kirkbride, Robert Lockhart, succeeded in asserting his claim to be minister of the parish, and was alleged by the parishioners of Kirkbride "to have molested them very much in charging them with horning and poynding for the stipend qch he obtained by coming in a clandestine way and preaching with two or three witnesses in their kirk taking instruments and giving it in to the Council." Simpson (*Tradition of the Covenanters*, XXIII.) states that Lockhart was driven from the parish by a band of men headed by a person named Clark about the time of the Revolution, but whatever truth there may be in the story he tells, it does not square with the facts which are recorded in contemporary records. Nor does there seem much difference in the attitude which the people of Kirkbride adopted towards their old minister Shiels as that which they adopted towards Lockhart: "The grayheaded Covenanter was as little welcome as the curate." (Shirley, *Gallovidian Annual*, 1926.)

Whatever happened to Shiels during the Episcopal régime, he was minister of Roberton in 1689. (This Roberton is not that in Clydesdale, but that in the Presbytery of Selkirk.) The daughter of his predecessor in Roberton had married George Cleland, minister of Morton and Durisdeer 1648-1683, and it may have been through her that he was appointed there. It is possible that he was minister in that

parish before the Revolution. At any rate it was while minister of Roberton that in 1690 he was restored to his original parish of Kirkbride on 25th April. But, as we have seen, his reception at his old home was not too favourable, and so he probably came to and remained at Sanquhar. It shows the troublous and unsettled times through which the country was passing, that although he had been legally restored to the parish his predecessor was able to take legal steps to secure the stipend. Of the family of which the Sanquhar minister came we know nothing. He is said to have been related to Alexander Shields, who was the leading Covenantee minister in Scotland after the death of Renwick, and who had certain associations with Upper Nithsdale. Alexander Shields (his name is spelled both with and without the "d") was a son of James Shields of Haughhead in the Merse, and it is possible that the minister of Sanquhar belonged to the same family, but of this there is no evidence. Mr Shiels seems to have been regarded as a man of some standing among the ministers of the district in his day and generation. He was not only the Father of the Presbytery of Penpont, but also the Father of the Synod of Dumfries. He was appointed by the General Assembly of 1695 a member of the Commission, and at that period the Commission did not consist of all the members of Assembly as at present, but only of a select few. In 1695 there were only forty-six ministers on that body. In 1698 the Assembly appointed him one of the Commission "for planting vacant churches in the north and some other particular affairs committed to them." In 1700 "Mr Thomas Shields and Mr James Elder for the Presbytery of Penpont" were among those so appointed. He was again appointed in 1702, in 1704, in 1706, and in 1707. On the last occasion he was over 76 years of age, and he must have been a man of great physical power when at his time of life he was able to ride on horseback from Sanquhar to Edinburgh, for in the seventeenth century there was no other mode of conveyance. We get a considerable amount of light on Shiels' ministry from the old Session Records of

Sanquhar, the oldest volume of which dates from his time. There are two references to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper being celebrated in the church in his day. The first simply indicates the fact that the ordinance was observed. "Sabbath, July 18, 1697. The Communion was celebrated at Sanqr Kirk." There is no mention in the Session minutes of any arrangements being made for the occasion, nor is there any indication that any special services were held in connection therewith. Three years later the Sacrament was again celebrated, and on this occasion there was a Fast day observed on Thursday, July 18, "Sermons being made by Mr Jo. Bryce (minister at Crawfordjohn) and Mr Tho. Tod (minister of Durrisdeer)." The congregation was further "appointed to meet for Sermons on Saturday being the day before the Communion." On Saturday there "preached this day Mr Tho. Laurie (minister at Closeburn) and Mr John Paisley" (minister at Morton), and intimation was made "that the congregation meet to-morrow at 7 hours in the morning." On Sabbath, July 21, 1700, the "Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was celebratt 7 tables and a half table. Preached before the celebration Mr Bryce (minister at Crawfordjohn) and Mr Tho., the minister of Sanqhr." Mr James Murray (minister at Penpont) preached in the afternoon, and intimation was made "of sermon to be to-morrow and to begin at 9 hours." On Monday "Sermon was made by Mr John Murray and Mr John Paseley," and intimation made that "Sabbath first be observed as a Thanksgiving after the Communion." On the following Lord's Day it is minuted, "Thanksgiving observed." Doubtless there were other occasions before 1708 on which the Sacrament was celebrated, but as we lose the guidance of the minutes after 1701 we do not know when these were.

The Presbyterians refused to have anything to do with feasts and fasts, such as Christmas, Easter, Lent, etc., but they had no objection to observing "days" upon occasion when requested to do so by what they considered "lawful authority." We find in the minutes a number of references

to such "days," appointed usually both by Church and State. Thus on January 17th, 1697, it was intimated that a National Fast was to be observed "upon Thursday next the 21 of this instant appointed by the Secret Councill by ane address made to ye Lords thereof by ye Commissioners of ye General Assembly and ye causes yrof read, being most particularly for ye threatened famine and French invasion." In May of the same year another fast was held "for the sins of ye land and for a spirit of wisdom to direct those entrusted in ye generall negotiations abroad, and for a Blessing to ye fruits of ye ground." The last clause indicates a sort of survival of the old Rogation Day festival which usually fell in May and when special intercessions were made for a blessing on the crops. On May 22nd, 1698, "a solemn national fast . . . appointed by the Church and State for the sins of ye land and ye badness of ye season" was intimated. This fast was held on the Wednesday following the intimation, and it is of some interest that at the service that day a man made public acknowledgment of his relapse in transgression and was received into full communion again, the only instance of such a happening on a week day in the Session Book. In September of the following year a "Solemn national fast appointed by order of Parliament and the Commission of the General Assembly" was intimated and the "causes read." In March, 1699, another fast ordered to be observed "throw the whole kingdom" was duly kept at Sanquhar. Doubtless the stress laid on the joint appointment of these occasions by Church and State was meant to satisfy those who were somewhat jealous for the rights of both. A fast ordered by the Church alone might have been neglected by many of the more moderate citizens when one ordered by the State alone would assuredly have been publicly ignored by many of those who considered that such a proceeding was an affront to the Church.

A national thanksgiving service was held on November 30th, 1699 (one wonders whether any reference was made to its being St. Andrew's Day), for the "King's happy

return and for the mercyfull harvest etc.," so that harvest thanksgiving services are not the "innovations" which some have thought them to be in Scotland.

The fast days appear to have been quite well kept, though persons in outlying parts of the parish appear to have had slacker ideas of what constituted "works of necessity and mercy" than the elders. Thus in June, 1697, William Kirkhop in Clenry was delated for leading "peats out of a pot" (a wet hollow) on the fast day. He and another person, William Cowtart, also in Clenry, who had also been at his peats, were publicly rebuked for their offence.

In March, 1699, two ploughmen at Brandleys were charged with ploughing on the fast day. They pled that they had not been at church the Sunday it was intimated and so knew nothing about it. The Session "not finding their excuse relevant ordains them to be publickly rebuked before the congregation." Robert Lorimer, the farmer, was charged with "having accession to their plowing," but he was able to show that he had sent a message by a "servant lass to forbid them any plowing" on the morning of the fast. The servant lass, by name Jean Hunter, being interrogated, stated that she had been sent to Brandlies "partly for some errand yt required haste as she alleadget and partly to forbid the forsaid persons to labor any yt day but confest that she had forgotten ye latter pairt of her commission." Lorimer was therefore "past," and Jean was "rebuked" before the Session.

This Robert Lorimer, it may be noted, is buried in front of the Thomson monument (an obelisk) on the left hand side of the path leading to the church tower. His name can still be seen on the flat stone which lies beside the obelisk. He resided at Connelbush, and on the fly leaf of the copy of *Humble Pleadings for the Good Old Way* in the National Library, Edinburgh, may still be read, "Robert Lorimer, Connelbush." The book in question was the manifesto of the "Hebronites," the followers of the Rev. John Hepburn, minister of Urr. It was written by Gavin Mitchell of Dalzien in Scaur Water, and was published in 1713. There appears

to have been quite a number of "Hebronites" in the Sanquhar district.

Only on one occasion is it noted that there was no service in the church. At first sight this is rather remarkable when we consider the age of the minister and the number of calls which must have been made on him when there were so many parishes vacant and when at communion seasons ministers were expected to leave their own churches for those in which the Sacrament was being celebrated. On 30th May, 1697, it is noted, "No sermon the minister helping at Dumfries Communion." Probably the reason why the Sanquharians did not have to do without "sermon" was that for a number of years Mr Shiels had an assistant, whose services would be available when he himself was elsewhere. More than once, however, no Session could be held (for only an ordained minister could act as moderator) owing to the minister's absence. "In regard to the minister's sickness at yt time and stormy weather after it," the Session instead of meeting as intended on the 19th December, 1697, did not meet until January 9th, 1698. In the same way there was no meeting of the Court from October 23rd to December 18th, 1698, "the minister being at Edinburgh twyce, once upon ye Commission of ye Assembly and another time upon another account."

During Mr Shiels' ministry in Sanquhar he had at least two assistants, both of the name of Hunter. Mr Thomas Hunter, the first, was licensed by the Presbytery of Dunblane on the 31st March, 1702, and was thereafter assistant at Sanquhar, though we do not know whether he came here directly after being licensed. But it was while assistant in Sanquhar that he received a call to New Cumnock, and he was ordained there on the 19th December, 1706. He served that parish for over fifty years, retiring in 1757. He died three years later in his hundredth year, so that he must have been a man over forty years of age when he was in Sanquhar. He was twice married, first to a lady whose name is unknown, who bore him two children, Joseph and Isobel; and second to Jean Welsh, who died 28th December,

1780. He married for the second time on 20th March, 1750, when he was about 90 years of age. Mr Shiels' second assistant was Mr James Hunter. In a memorandum entered on one of the last pages of the Session Minute Book there is a reference to Mr James Hunter having "entered" to preach at Sanquhar upon Sabbath, December 7th, 1707, and to have continued "to preach Sabbathily there" for some little time. He was to have "four hunder merks per annum or a hundred merks each quarter." The memorandum concludes: "This is the agreement Thomas Shiels and the said Mr James." Mr Hunter could not have remained long, for Mr Shiels died on February 8th, 1708, and the probability is that the assistant would leave the parish immediately afterwards. He is, I think, to be identified with the James Hunter who six years later was presented to the Parish of Dornock. He was ordained in April, 1715, and the same year marched to Stirling as a Volunteer in defence of the country during the first Jacobite rising. He was presented by Charles, Duke of Queensberry (Provost of Sanquhar in 1718-19), to the Parish of Hoddam in 1726, but the presentation was annulled by the Commission of the General Assembly in the following year. The Duke presented him to the Parish of Middlebie in 1743, but the Synod refused to allow his translation. He died at Moffat, 3rd July, 1755. He married Isobel Howie, who died at Annan on 4th June, 1793, aged 82. (*Fasti Ecc. Scot.*, II., 245.)

During Mr Shiels' ministry a long conference was held in Sanquhar Church between representatives of the Commission of the General Assembly, representatives of the Synods of Dumfries and Galloway, and Mr John Hepburn and his followers. Mr Shiels was one of the Synod representatives, and took his full share in the work. The conference, which lasted for about a week, was for the purpose of finding a "bridge" by which Hepburn and his flock might return to the church. An account of the conference will be found in a later paper.

Mr Shiels died on February 8th, 1708, in the 78th year

of his age and the 53rd of his ministry. He had been a man of twenty-five when he was ordained to Kirkbride, and when he was admitted to Sanquhar he had passed his 63rd birthday. His grave lies a little to the west of the lower of Sanquhar church, and is covered by a "thruch," the oldest tombstone of a minister in Sanquhar Churchyard. It is said to have been re-cut by Old Mortality. Mr Shiels seems to have been unmarried.

Notes from Sanquhar Kirk Session Records.

By Rev. W. M'MILLAN, M.A., Ph.D., D.D.

It is well known that in all Presbyterian Churches the minister and elders form the Kirk Session. The elders are laymen elected by the congregation or chosen by the Session (the latter being the old Scottish method), and are set apart to their office by the minister. While the minister conducts the public worship of God and administers the sacraments the elders assist him in superintending the religious condition of the people. The Session judges of the fitness of those who wish to enjoy the privileges of the Church, exercises discipline, grants certificates to members severing themselves from the congregation, and settles the time for dispensing the ordinances of religion in the parish. It is not so well known that Sessions have existed ever since the Reformation in Scotland under Episcopacy as well as under Presbytery. Indeed for long after the Revolution many of the separated Episcopal congregations continued to be under the charge not only of the Presbyter but also of "Ruling Elders." In all probability there would be a Kirk Session in Sanquhar during the time of Kirkwood and Inglis, but we have no means of knowing who were members of it. But it is at least possible that some of those aftermentioned were members of Session before 1688.

Members of Session.

It is somewhat remarkable that though there are over a hundred meetings of Session duly minuted in the oldest minute book extant belonging to Sanquhar Kirk, only on one

occasion, viz., June 19, 1700, are the names of those present given, and even then the minister and clerk are not named. "Sanqr., June 19, 1700. The quhilk day convened Alexander Williamson William Orr James Wolls and Archbald Hare elders with the Minister and Clerk." There is therefore no list of the elders in the period covered by Mr Shiels' ministry, nor, it may be added, for more than a hundred years afterwards. It so happens, however, that in the months shortly after this minute book was commenced the Session appointed two of their number each Lord's Day as "searchers," and it has been possible to compile a list of those whose names are given, but one has no guarantee that such a list is a complete one. The first elder mentioned in the records is designated "Gairland," who on the 11th of October, 1696, was appointed "Ruling Elder for ye Synod." At next meeting we find that "Gairland" reported he was at the last Synod, as he was appointed and attended "ye severall dyets yrof and which was attested by the minister." The person mentioned was probably William Crichton, who in 1689 was appointed by the Convention of Estates overseer of the election of Magistrates in Sanquhar. Crichton must therefore have been a supporter of the Revolution. The lands of Gairland came into the Crichton family in 1656, when William Crichton of Spoth purchased them from Andrew Wilson. (The statement in the *Annals of Sanquhar*, 61-2, is misleading, two or more lines of print having apparently dropped out.) The William Crichton who purchased Gairland is buried near the east end of Sanquhar Church, and his tombstone bears that he died at the patriarchal age of 103 years. He was succeeded by his son William in 1667, when his father resigned his lands in his son's favour. It is this second William that I take to be the Sanquhar elder. He is buried beside his father, and his age at the time of his death is stated to be 84 years. The first reference to him in connection with the Church which I have noticed is in the Records of the Presbytery of Dumfries under date June 4th, 1690, when "William Creichton of Gairland and William M'Call

in Auchentagart " came before the court asking for " supply of preaching, which was granted. Like his father he resigned the lands of Gairland in favour of his son (Abraham) in 1686, so that the latter may have been the person designated " Gairland " in the Session records. This is, however, unlikely, as he could not have been much more than thirty years of age in 1696, and in those days elders were usually elderly men. His father may have resigned the lands to him when he became of age. That William Crichton was alive in 1696 is evidenced by the fact that on the 26th of August in that year " William Creichton of Garland and Abraham Crichton his son " are witnesses to the baptism of " Abraham son lawfull of William Tait in Carko and Nicholas Wauch his spous." Abraham Crichton had a precept and seizin of the lands of Gairland as heir to his father William on June 9th, 1705, and July 2nd, 1706 (Wilson, *Folklore and Genealogies*, 191), and by that time it may be taken as certain that our elder had gone the way of all the earth. Abraham, his son, must have been an elder also, for in August, 1708, " Garland and Provost Hunter " were appointed to go to the Presbytery for further " supplie of preaching and Garland tooke with him the Burser's monic quhich was six pund Scotcs." Abraham—who must not be confused with that other Abraham Crichton of " Ghostly " memory—is buried beside his father and grandfather, and from his tombstone we learn that he died at the comparatively early age of 50 years. He was Provost of Sanquhar in 1714, perhaps earlier, and continued in office until 1718. He must have died either in office as Provost or shortly after leaving it, for the Town Council minutes of 8th August, 1719, make reference to " Grizel Crichton relict of the deceased Abraham Crichton in Gareland." He left two sons — Alexander, who succeeded him in Gareland; and Charles, who became a surgeon in Sanquhar. Peter Rae, minister of Kirkbride, afterwards of Kirkconnell, mentions in his *History of the Rebellion of 1715* that when the alarm was sent out that the Jacobites intended to attack Dumfries companies of volunteers at once came to the assistance of

the people there from all over the district, "among whom was Abraham Creighton of Gareland Provost of Sanquhar with a company of foot from thence who . . . mounted themselves on country horses for greater expedition." (See *Annals of Sanquhar*, 160-5.)

It is possible that both the "Garelands," older and younger, were on the Session together for some time, but of this there is no evidence, there being a blank in the minutes from 1701 to 1707, and probably Abraham Crichton would be appointed an elder between those dates. The Gareland Great House, as the residence of this family in Sanquhar was called, occupied the site almost opposite the Royal Bank. The western half of the building, much altered, is still standing, and is the property of Mrs Tweddell. The eastern half was demolished about 1890.

Another elder designated by the name of his lairdship was Cruffell, and here again there is a slight doubt as to whether the father or son is meant, though it is every way likely that it was the father. Alexander Williamson of Cruffell resided latterly at Burnfoot, to which place he removed after the Revolution, while his son, also Alexander, appears to have continued to reside in the house at the head of Euchar. As has been already noted, Cruffell appears to have been the property of the Williamsons. It passed from them to the Eliock family, and in 1810 was sold to the Duke of Buccleugh. Alexander Williamson is mentioned in the *Traditions of the Covenanters*, Simpson devoting the whole of Chapter XIX. to him, and he notes that the Covenanter "was familiarly denominated" as Cruffell. Alexander Williamson in Burnfoot and Jas. Williamson, yr. (there), are witnesses to the baptism of "Alexander son lafull to David Williamson in Glenmaddie and Janet Wilson his spouse." James was Cruffell's son, and succeeded him in Burnfoot, and with his father and mother is buried before the east door of Sanquhar Church. Alexander Williamson belonged to the family of the Williamsons of Castle Robert (now Corsebank), and was born in 1635. His wife was Marion Haining, and she is

commemorated along with her husband on the family tombstone, which is said to have been re-cut by Old Mortality. Alexander, who succeeded his father in Cruffell, is buried beside the west end of the church. His tombstone was shifted about forty years ago to make room for a larger one commemorating his descendants, but the inscription on the old one was transferred to the new. He died in 1746, and the tombstone was erected by his son David. The old stone is said to have been cut by Old Mortality, but this is unlikely. Tradition says that Alexander was the child carried by his father to be baptised by Renwick.

The late Thomas Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America during the Great War, was a descendant of this family through a grandson of Cruffell, who went to Ulster in the 18th century.

Provost Hunter is first mentioned in a minute of February 28th, 1697, when he was appointed "to search the toun the next Lord's Day" to find out those who were not at church. The Provost is believed to have been a descendant of the Rev. Robert Hunter, minister of Sanquhar, 1594-1617; and it certainly is the case that he held lands which had been in the minister's possession. He is described as being of Blackaddie, and he also held the "lands of Maddersknowe," which he disposed of to Bailie James Fisher." These lands, it may be said, lay to the north-east of the burgh. His lands of Blackaddie were sold in 1712 to the Earl of Carnwath, then resident at Eliock. In May, 1695, he is mentioned as "Ja Hunter Provost of Sanqr," when with "Alexr Crichton Bailzie yr (there)" he witnesses the baptism of Mary, daughter of William Johnstone in Mains, and Jennet Hare, his wife. Perhaps he was a connection of the Hares, for in January, 1698, he witnessed the baptism of John, son of Archibald Broun in Sanqr, and Janet Hare, his spouse. He was Provost in 1708, when he was appointed to go to the Presbytery to arrange about getting a minister to take the services after the death of Mr Shiels, though he had not held that office continuously, as in 1703 Robert Park of Roddings is named as Provost. Hunter was again chief magistrate in 1710.

Another James Hunter was an elder. Indeed it is not absolutely certain that he and the Provost were not one and the same, though on several occasions "Provost Hunter" witnesses a baptism, and on the same page "Ja Hunter in Tounheid" witnesses another. What, however, does seem to indicate that the two were quite distinct is the fact that they are both named in one minute. On April 11, 1697, "Provost Hunter" is appointed one of the searchers," while James Hunter in Tounheid is appointed representative elder "for the nixt synod." James Hunter was the Session Clerk, and seems to have been in great demand as a witness for baptisms, his name appearing much more often in the Register than that of any other person. One of these entries is of particular interest, in that he was accompanied by Samuel, his son, as co-witness. The baby whose baptism was witnessed was probably the clerk's granddaughter, being the daughter of James Gibson, merchant in Sanquhar, and Elspeth Hunter, his wife. This was on December 5th, 1697. The will of a James Hunter in Tounheid, Sanquhar, is registered in the Dumfries Commissariat in 1673. Probably this was the father of the Session Clerk.

William Hare in Maynes, who is mentioned first in 1697 when he was appointed one of the "searchers," was in all probability the person who is referred to by Simpson in the *Traditions of the Covenanters*, chapter xvii., as having sheltered some Covenanters in his barn. Simpson conjectures that he belonged to the family of Glenwharry, which is in every way likely, though there is no proof now extant. He witnesses the baptism of two children on March 11, 1694, one of them "Thomas son lawfull of William Hair in Mains and Agnes Gibson his spouse," being probably his grandson. Three years later he witnesses another, probably the child of one of his servants — Mary, daughter lawfull of William M'Klin in Mains and Jennet Russell, his spouse. There was another William Hare on the Session. This was "William Hair in Conrig," whose name appears for the first time in a minute of May 23, 1697. He is men-

tioned in the Register of Baptisms as having a child christened. On November 17th, 1695, "David son lawfull of William Hare in Conrick and Helen M'Kall his spouse" was baptised. So that he shares with James Wols the distinction of being one of the two elders who had their children baptised by Mr Shiels. He is not mentioned as a witness in the Register of Baptisms, unless he is the William Hare in Knockenhare, who in 1693 and in 1694 witnesses baptisms. The first of these may have been that of a relative, "Marion lawfull daughter of Ninian Hare in Cleughfoot and Nicholas Hare his spouse."

Patrick Hare is noted as one of the "searchers" appointed on April 18, 1697. He seems to have been farmer of Drumbuoy, for "Patrick Hare in Drumbowie" witnesses baptisms on no less than six occasions. Indeed his name appears as that of the first witness in the Register in 1693. On one occasion his co-witness was William Hare in Knockenhair; on another William Hare in Mains. So that in all probability they all belonged to one family. On a third occasion (in 1694) he was accompanied by "Pat his son yr."

Richard Hare was likely a member of the same family. He was appointed a "searcher" on May 9, 1697, but that is the only reference to him that I have been able to find.

Yet another Hare was an elder. Archibald Hare is mentioned first in a minute of June 17, 1700, when a special meeting was held of "so many of the Elders as could conveniently meet with the minister." A person of this name witnesses the baptism of William, son lawful of Wm. Hare in Drumbrainzen and Margaret M'Klein, his wife, in 1694. Archibald Hare, weaver in Sanquhar, is noted as a witness in 1695; and Archibald Hare in Sanquhar witnesses the baptism of Isobel, daughter lawfull of Ninian Hare in Cleughfoot, and Nicholas Hare, his wife, on December 22, 1695. These entries probably both refer to this elder. As William Hair of Knockenhair witnessed the baptism of another child of the same parents two years before, it is quite likely that all were of the same stock.

James Wilson was appointed a "searcher" on March 21, 1697. He probably belonged to the Wilsons of Spango, and to have been resident at Duntercleugh. He witnesses the baptism of a child of his fellow-elder, William Hare, in 1695, and on three different occasions he is noted as having been witness of baptisms at Wanlockhead and Leadhills.

William Laidla was appointed to search the same day as James Wilson. He probably belonged to the Laidlaws of Cog, one of whom, Thomas Laidla, had his marriage stopped because the woman he wished to marry was found to be the widow of his mother's uncle! There was another family of Laidlaws in Todholes, one of whose wills was registered in 1692. John Laidley in Cog is mentioned as a rescusant in a list preserved by Wodrow, and Cog, according to Simpson, was one of the meeting places of the Cameronians in the later days of the Covenanting period. (*Times of Claverhouse*, 177.) On April 18, 1697, the Session decided to call the roll at each meeting and to censure any elder who was absent without excuse, and William Laidla had the misfortune to be the first to be named as absent. However, his reason must have been a good one, for at the following meeting he was excused. He and James Wilson were the last to be appointed searchers. On June 13, 1697, both were absent when they should have reported their diligence, "and the appointment continued upon them," but that was the last time searchers were mentioned. Let us hope the members were attending so well that no such supervision was required.

John M'Kenrick, another of the elders, belonged to an old Sanquhar family which still has its representatives among us. The earliest of the name known in Sanquhar was Thomas M'Canryg, who took part in the election of a clerk in the Parish Church of Sanquhar in 1548. One Robert M'Kenrick, a carpenter, is mentioned in a deed of 1554 referring to some property belonging to the chapel of St. Nicholas, Newark. (*Register of the Great Seal*.) In 1601 John M'Inrig in Mennockmiln is one of those who denounced James Weir to the Privy Council for some maladministration

connected with the lead mines in the district, while a little later (1624) there was a family of the same name in Dalpeddar. Strangely enough there is only one M'Kendrick mentioned in the list of inhabitants of the burgh in 1684. (*Privy Council Register*, IX., 258.) This was Agnes M'Kendrick, who appears to have been a widow living alone. In 1694 John M'Kenrick in Oylieside witnesses the baptism of "Mary daughter lawfull to umquhile James Williamson in Drumbrainzien and Mary Mckmillan his spouse," his co-witness being Alexr. Williamson in Burnfoot. Drumbringan is on the farm of Ulzieside, and this may account for John being witness. The same year we find his name as witness at the baptism of one who was probably his grandson: "John son lawful of Matthew M'Kenrick in Oylieside and Margt Wigholm his spouse." The following year John M'Kenrick was again witness at the baptism of a son (Ninian) of Matthew M'Kenrick and Margaret Wigholm.

William Orr is mentioned as a "searcher" in 1697. A person of this name is numbered among the inhabitants of the burgh in 1684. (*Privy Council Register*, IX.). He witnesses a baptism in 1694 and another in 1695, being termed in the latter case "Bailzie in Sanquhar." At another baptism in the latter year he is called "doctour in Sanquhar," while at one two years later he is entered as "Doctor Orr." He was still a Bailie in 1697.

James Wols or Wels is named as a "searcher" on May 9th, 1697. A person of this name is found in the list of the inhabitants of Sanquhar (*Privy Council Register*, IX.) in 1684, and if this is the same person then he was the son of John Wols and Helen Macmath.

"James Wols weaver in Sanquhar" had a daughter, Isobel, baptised on June 16th, 1695. His wife is named Jennet Moskin, and the witnesses were Robert Lorimer in Connelbush, Archibald Hare, weaver in Sanquhar, and John Wols, yr. (there). If this is our elder, as it seems to be, then he shares with William Hare the distinction of being one of the two elders known to have had children baptised by Mr Shiels. Ja. Wols, probably the same person, wit-

nesses two baptisms in 1694, being then described as a weaver in Sanquhar. The will of John Walls, merchant and tailor in Sanquhar, was registered in the Dumfries Commissariat Books in 1734. This may have been a son of the elder.

Archibald Brown was apparently admitted as an elder some time after 1701, for he is not mentioned in the first section of the minutes. His name occurs in a few notes relating to finance, dated 1704, from which it would appear that he had charge of £5 belonging to the "Poor Box." In 1708, after Mr Shiels' death, he received the Communion Table Cloth and Poor Box into his custody when these were given up by "John Turnbull servitor to the deceased Mr Tho. Shiels." In 1709 he was appointed to go to the Presbytery to see about pulpit supply during the vacancy, and in the last minute engrossed in the old book he is mentioned as being treasurer and as receiving a fine as such. There might be some dubiety as to whether he was treasurer of the Town Council or Kirk Session, as the fine was inflicted by the Provost though it was imposed at a Session meeting. We know, however, from other sources (Wodrow, *Analecta*, IV., 77) that it was a common practice for fines for vice inflicted by magistrates to be received by the Session, so that there need be no doubt that he was treasurer for the Kirk Session. He witnesses two baptisms on January 9, 1707, being described as "Arch. Broun in Sanqr." He is probably the person mentioned in a minute of 1694. If so, his wife was Jean Hair, and they had a son, John, baptised on January 2nd, 1698, the witnesses being Provost Hunter and John Hare in Whitehill.

George M'Kall is first mentioned in a minute of July 2, 1699, when he was one of four elders who were to meet with the minister and clerk in the clerk's house to receive the money of "the Duke's Mortification" from the Duke's chamberlain for the poor. He is not mentioned among the searchers, nor is there any reference to his admission as an elder at all. The M'Calls of Guffolkland were an old Nithsdale family (Wilson, *Folklore and Genealogies*, 243.) George

M'Kall in Glengenie had a daughter, Isobel, baptised on February 25, 1694. His wife was Agnes Ker. He may have been the elder, but it is perhaps more likely that it was "Georg M'Kall in Kellosyd" who the same year was witness to the baptism of Samuel, son of Thomas M'Millan in Kellosyd, who was the member of the Session. His fellow-witness was Wm. M'Kall, also in Kellosyd. There were M'Calls in Dalpeddar and Castlemains in 1638 (*Dumfries Register of Testaments*), and, as has been stated, William M'Call in Auchentaggart was one of those who attended the Presbytery of Dumfries from Sanquhar in 1690.

These M'Calls seem to have had their share in the troubles of the times. On 27th September, 1688, there was registered a Bond by William M'Call, son of George M'Call in Auchintaggart, and Robert M'Call, servitor to the said George, and George Lorimuire in Gateside, brother to Thomas Lorimuire in Knowe, tenants of the Duke of Queensberry, as cautioner for the said William and Robert and the said Thomas Lorimuire as cautioner for his brother, to appear before the Privy Council when required. (*Register*, xiii., 318.) What the trouble was which necessitated this bond is not stated, but probably it had something to do with Covenanting matters. In June, 1688, the last skirmish between the military and the "hillmen" took place at Bellopath, in the neighbouring parish of Cumnock. The Covenanters had planned the rescue of David Houston, one of their ministers, who had been captured, and at the place mentioned they succeeded in carrying out their design. The plot was hatched at Cogshead, no great distance from Auchintaggart, and it would be interesting to know if there was any connection between the two things. In the printed copy it may be said M'Call is spelled "M'Aall" and Lorimuire "Lonimuire." The latter, however, signs the bond Tho. Lorimer.

Armstrong of Woliva.

By R. C. REID.

In the month of June, 1684, an English Borderer of Scottish descent lay awaiting sentence in the Tower of London. He had had a distinguished military career as Lieut.-Colonel of the Horse Guards and Master of the Horse to the Duke of Monmouth, under whom he had served at Maestricht in 1673, and had received the honour of knighthood.¹ In 1678 he entered Parliament as member for Stafford Burgh, was involved in the Rye House Plot, attainted of high treason, and now lay waiting execution.² He could look back on a career of activity and usefulness in public life and national affairs that has earned him a niche in that temple of distinguished Englishmen—*The Dictionary of National Biography*. To correct the account of him that is given in that *Dictionary*, to show that it has confounded his father with him—both of them being Sir Thomas Armstrongs—and to indicate his descent, is the object of this notice.

Baptised on 27th December, 1633, at St. Steven's Kyrk, Nymegan, in the Province of Gelderland, where his father was stationed as a Cornet of Horse, he had made good use of his 51 years of life, being the owner of the estate of Straffarn, Co. Kildare. All his life had been spent in England, Ireland, or on the Continent, and there is no evidence to show that he ever visited the Border home of his ancestors.^{2a} Indeed until quite recently his descendants knew nought of his forebears, accepting the statement of *The Dictionary of National Biography* that he was the son of an unnamed English soldier. Yet there is a document on record which states that his father came from Woliva in Cumberland,^{2b} which has been identified with an almost for-

¹ Shortly before 7th Sept., 1668.

² Executed at Tyburn, 20th June, 1684.

^{2a} On 2nd July, 1679, as gentleman of the Horse of the Duke of Monmouth he was made a gratis burgess of Edinburgh (*Edin. Burgess Roll*).

^{2b} *State Papers, Domestic (Interregnum)*, vol. 203, p. 49 (1659).

gotten place name in the parish of Lanercost, where must once have stood the small steading occupied or owned by his forebears.

Sir Thomas Armstrong was not the first of his family to know the inside of an English prison. His father, also Sir Thomas Armstrong, had languished a prisoner in the Gatehouse of Westminster for fully four years³ in the Cromwellian period, being released on bail just before the Restoration.^{3a} To the Wardens of the Marches the brood of Woliva were no better than any other members of the Armstrong clan—at one moment the recipients of their bribery and cajolery, at the next the object of their wrath, punishment, and repression.^{3b} To the harassed Wardens and Border Commissioners there was only one way to make an Armstrong honest, and that was to hang him. Service in the English army, in spite of the discipline it entailed, afforded an escape from such conditions, and had been readily seized on by the Cornet of Horse. His forebears had been less fortunate.

The Armstrong clan seem to have originated in the parish of Castleton, Co. Roxburgh, where their chief resided at the old Tower of Mangerton⁴ at the head of Liddesdale. No one has yet attempted to deal constructively with the genealogy of the clan. Few of them, save Mangerton, owned their land in the 16th century.⁵ They were rarely described by their holdings. Patronymics there were in abundance — such as Rowie's Ninian,⁶ Evil-Willit Sandy,

³ 13th April, 1655—30th June, 1659. *Notes and Queries*, 1905, p. 282.

^{3a} *State Papers, Domestic*, vol. 203, f. 49.

^{3b} Lord Hunsdon to Cecil (1568): "Having got six notabill theftis of Tyvidale into my hands I bestowed a new pair of gallows and executed three of them" (*Hayne's State Papers*, 497).

⁴ Edward Aglionby to Burghley (1592): "The cheif Arme-strange is of Mangerton" (*Cal. of Border Papers*, I., 394).

⁵ Whittauch, Arkleton, Kirkton of Ewes were amongst the few.

⁶ i.e., Ninian, son of Robert.

William the Bauld, or David the Lady. They figure but infrequently in the usual sources of research, save in the Criminal Records, where are references superabundant. At the hands of the law they met with every conceivable fate. Hanging, branding on the cheek,^{6a} cutting off of the right hand, imprisonment, and even execution by drowning in the Nith.⁷ Many were banished or deported to Ireland. More fled to that distressful country to avoid a worse fate. Such as survived these rigors of the law became respectable citizens. But that respectability was still too often skin deep.

The difficulties of the genealogist are increased by the absence of parish registers and testaments. Even if a burial register survived it would not record the interment of a felon, whilst few Armstrongs had anything to bequeath that did not belong to other people.

It has been stated that the house of Woliva, Willieva, or Willieaway was founded by one George Armstrong, "brother to the centenarian, Hector Armstrong of Harelaw." George was at one time "in Railtoun," and both brothers were sons of George Armstrong of Ailmure (c. 1500).⁸ It is further averred that the house of Chingils, of which Ill Will Armstrong was the head, was sometimes called of Ralton.⁹ Unfortunately no evidence has been found to corroborate these statements. Ill Will's son, known as Ill Will's Sandy, had received from Henry VIII. a grant of land in England, though its location has not been established, and other branches of the clan certainly settled there. In the mid 16th century there were Armstrongs of Spaidadam and Crumcruiks in Gilsland,¹⁰ but there is not

^{6a} John Armstrong in Catgill to be branded on the cheek, 1623 (*R.P.C.*, xiv., 713).

⁷ John Armstrong, called Bould Jok, condemned (1622) to be drowned in the Water of Nith till dead; he had been accused of stealing three sheep from the miller at Hairlaw Mill (*R.P.C.*, xiv., 672, 677).

⁸ *Chronicles of the Armstrongs*, pp. 258-9.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

¹⁰ *R.P.C.*, xiv., 318.

sufficient evidence to establish their relationship with Woliva.

The history of the house of Woliva can, however, be traced, since its founder, Anthony Armstrong, was a person of some note in those days. It may be remarked that the Christian name, Anthony, common to the Woliva family, is but rarely met with elsewhere in Armstrong families. Amongst the Scottish Borderers who followed Lord Maxwell to the Raid of Stirling in 1585 was Ninian Armstrong in Brumeholm, and John, Ekkie, and Anthony Armstrongs there.¹¹ That Anthony was obviously a Scot, but may conceivably have been a son of the founder of Woliva.

The earliest extant notice of the Woliva family occurs in 1528, when Anthony Armstrong, tenant of Lord Dacre, was indicted at Carlisle.¹² His offence is not stated, and Anthony may not have appeared to answer the indictment, or, if he did, must have successfully repelled it, for three years later he commenced a feud with the Musgraves, which continued at irregular intervals for many years. Anthony had as near neighbour John Musgrave, captain of Bewcastle. Like so many other Armstrong vendettas, this one arose over a horse. Some of Musgrave's horses had strayed on to John Armstrong's ground and had been pointed by the Armstrongs. This in law they were entitled to do, but their reputation in the matter of horse flesh being what it was, the Musgraves justifiably may have considered that their horses were being lifted for midnight transmission across the Border rather than being pointed. The Musgraves arrived in force to recover the animals. The Armstrongs showed fight, and in the scrimmage one, Ambrose Armstrong, was slain. The Armstrongs pursued the Musgraves to Bewcastle, and Anthony Armstrong charged John Musgrave, elder, to deliver up the slayer, which was refused from the castle walls.¹³

¹¹ *S.A.P.*, iv., 393-5.

¹² *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*, vol. iv., pt. ii., 4421. Dacre was Lord of the Barony of Gilsland, which formerly was part of Lanercost parish, a vast area of 59 square miles, from out of which was formed in 1855 the parish of Gilsland.

¹³ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*, vol. v., 477 (10th Oct., 1531).

The suspicions of the Musgraves were doubtless well founded, for in 1534 Anthony Armstrong, "Englishman," was indicted for March Treason, being charged with selling horses (probably not his own) to the Scots, and for bringing Scots into Hexhamshire. As usual Anthony did not appear. He had no intention of placing his neck in a noose. So Thomas Clifford with a squad of soldiers was sent to apprehend him. Anthony took to the woods with one John Irwen, a Scot whom he was harbouring from Scottish justice, and raised all the tenants of Gilsland to withstand the soldiers. This, of course, could only be regarded as open rebellion. A fresh indictment for rebellion was issued, but he was still at large. Accordingly the harassed Warden "desires the King's pleasure."¹⁴ The displeasure of Henry VIII. can only have taken one form—outlawry—and in 1540 Anthony figures in an English "List of Rebels in Scotland." With him were Ingram Armstrong of Graynys (Graines),¹⁵ Christie

¹⁴ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*, vol. vii., 1588 (30th December, 1534).

¹⁵ At Graynes, in Askerton, was a colony of Armstrongs, of whom Ingram Armstrong is the first recorded. He may have been father of (1) Alexander A. of Graynes, 1575, the father of Thomas, who was a juror of Askerton in 1576; (2) Arthur A. of Graynes, 1589, whose eldest son, Archibald, was of age in 1618. Another son, William A., stole goats from the Parson of Castlecarrok. At a later date there is recorded William A. of Graynes, his wife, Margaret, and their son, John A., 1622. There was a High and a Low Graines, and the last named John may be identical with John A. of High Graines, who sold his land to Lord William Howard in 1622-3. If so, he had two sons, William, outlawed for sheep stealing and fled to Ireland, c. 1614, and Hector of Low Graines, executed at Carlisle, c. 1618. A Thomas A., son of Robert A. of Low Graines, was accused of stealing cattle (*Household Book of Lord Wm. Howard*, 437-447). In the Court Books of 1596 Graines was occupied by Hector and Anthony A., and in 1579 by a Thomas and Alex. A. Some idea of the difficulties in tracing these individuals can be obtained when it is realised that, apart from a house, Thomas and Alex. were only in possession of 10 acres. Hector was of High Graines in 1595, was dead in 1622, and was succeeded by his son John (ex. *Heaton-Armstrong MSS.*).

Armstrong, and Thomas Armstrong, Sandy's son. They were all reported as reset at Tweden in Liddesdale by young Hector Armstrong.¹⁶

Though in Liddesdale, Anthony did not rest quietly there. He was a thorn in the English Warden's side. Writing on 25th September, 1541, to the English Privy Council, Sir Thomas Wharton complained of these troublesome outlaws: "One of the chief of them is one Anthon Armstrong, Englishman, rebell, and fled further of Gilsland when my Lord of Cumberland was Warden and continued since in Liddesdale, a great offender against Englishmen."¹⁷

On 4th December of the same year Wharton again sent to London a list of rebels almost identical with the one given above. Here the English Armstrongs reset in Tweden by young Hector are referred to as "Ingram Armstrong and Anton Armstrong his broder, Thomas Armstrong, Sandy's son."¹⁸ From this it is clear that Ingram Armstrong of Graines was brother, and probably elder brother, to Anthony Armstrong of Woliva.

Though living in banishment, Anthony must have pined for his accustomed hearth at Woliva. If he could not visit it peacefully, he was determined to give it a war-like visitation. As an outlaw he must have forfeited his tenant's rights, and no doubt his steading was occupied by someone on whom the Warden and Dacre could rely. An entry in a "List of

¹⁶ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* [1540], 160 (3rd Feb., 1540). As will be seen hereafter, young Hector in Tweden was son of Hector Armstrong of Harelaw.

¹⁷ *Hamilton Papers*, I., 101. The Earl of Cumberland was appointed Warden, in succession to Thomas Lord Dacre, who died on 24th October, 1525, so Anthony must have been granted Woliva between 1525 and 1528.

¹⁸ *Hamilton Papers*, I., 136. It is clear that there were two Anthony Armstrongs on the English Border, for Sandy Armstrong, Anthony Armstrong, and Edward Noble were reset in Scotland by George Armstrong, called George Ga-with-him (*ibid.*, 137). The last named, a Scot, with Red Andro Armstrong, had slain Wat Atkinson at Kirkcambok in Gilsland (*ibid.*, 134-136).

Slaughters and cruel Murders," compiled in 1541 by Wharton, preserves an echo of the raid. Its brevity tells its own tale: "Anthon Armstrong, Thomas Armstrong, John Armstrong, Alexander Armstrong broder, sons of Braide Christopher Armstrong, came to Wilyaven in England and slew Henry Story." That is how Anthony re-visited his steading. Story was probably the new occupant.¹⁹ Nor did Anthony forget his old feud with John Musgrave, captain of Bewcastle. In the autumn of 1541, with his Scottish cousins, he staged a big raid on Bewcastle, which was duly reported by Wharton to the Council.

The raid took place on the night of Tuesday, 20th September, and though the castle itself was not taken nor apparently assaulted, the barnkyne was destroyed, the barns with all the crops stored therein burnt, and the "fewell" (i.e., peat and wood) added to the flames "to the grete hurte and loss of John Musgrave."²⁰ The flames and the tumult aroused the neighbourhood, and a large party attempted a rescue, but were driven back and seven Fenwicks slain.²¹ Henry VIII. at once wrote to James and complained.²² That monarch answered Henry on October 22 evasively, and pointed out what steps he had taken to prevent a recurrence.²³ On 15th November Wharton himself inspected the damage at Bewcastle, and recommended the Crown to construct a new barmekyn and to clean out the great ditch around the castle at a cost of £40.²⁴ Nothing is said about Musgrave's personal losses, but Wharton knew on whom to lay the blame. "One of the chief offenders is Anthon Armstrong, Englishman, who fled out of Gilsland when the Earl of Cumberland was Warden."²⁵

¹⁹ *Hamilton Papers*, I., 1345.

²⁰ *Hamilton Papers*, II., 101.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 103.

²² *Ibid.*, 104 (on 26th September, 1541).

²³ *Ibid.*, 113.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 124.

²⁵ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*, vol. xvi., 1203. The *Hamilton Papers*, II., 101, add, "and continued sence in Liddisdail a great offendir against Englishmen."

Anthony is now definitely established as a *de jure* Englishman and tenant of Lord Dacre on his Gilsland estate; as a brother of Ingram Armstrong of Graines, and with other brothers named Thomas, John, and Alexander.²⁶ Further, his parentage is established as son of "Braid" Christopher Armstrong.²⁷

Now "Braid" Christopher was a known character. After Sir Ralph Eure had burnt Mangerton,²⁸ Thomas Arm-

²⁶ A fifth brother can be added in the person of Christopher Armstrong, brother of Anthon Armstrong. This identification can be established by the fact that Anthon's servant was Eddy Wigham (*Hamilton Papers*, I, 139; cf. *ibid.*, 136). In 1527 Christopher was in an English prison as the result of a raid into Hexhamshire that miscarried, several headmen of the Armstrongs being taken prisoner and lodged by Sir William Eure at Newcastle. There they made friends with Sir William Lisle, also a prisoner. The jail was raided by a party of Armstrongs, led by John Armstrong, and nine prisoners escaped, amongst them being Lisle, who at once took over the leadership of the broken men on the Borders and became an international nuisance. The Earl of Cumberland had as prisoner one of the headmen of the Armstrongs, called Christie Armstrong, who was offered to the Scots in return for the surrender of Lisle. Mr Bruce Armstrong suggests he was Christopher, brother to Anthony Armstrong. Two other forays by the Lisles ended in disaster, the above John Armstrong being captured and Roger Armstrong executed. Whereupon Lisle surrendered to England (*History of Liddesdale*, pp. 238-243).

²⁷ Braid Christopher may have been Anthony's uncle, not father. It is a problem of punctuation whether the MS. reads "broder sons" or "broder, sons." The point is not material in establishing lineage, though inconclusive for parentage.

²⁸ Mangerton and Copshawholm were burnt in October, 1540, by Thomas Dacre and John Musgrave, constable of Bewcastle, with an English force of 800 men, damage to the value of 500 angel nobles being done and enormous loot driven away (*Bruce Armstrong*, app., p. 54). It followed another English raid, 500 strong, when Quhisgill, Flatt Tinnisburn, and Dalferno, all belonging to the Armstrongs of Whittauch, were burnt, and Andro Armstrong, brother to Sym and Lencie, slain (*ibid.*, app., p. 50). These raids immediately followed the abortive meeting of the Wardens of the Middle Marches of Hexpethgate (*ibid.*, p. 52). Retaliation by the Armstrongs was the

strong, Laird of Mangerton, and thirteen of his kinsmen came to Carlisle, and there in the castle garden swore allegiance to the English Crown and gave pledges.²⁹ The second name on that list is Christopher Armstrong called "Braid Crystall," the third is Panton Armstrong, and the fourth is Archibald Armstrong. If the last named can be identified with Archibald Armstrong, young Laird of Mangerton, who captured Johnstone of that Ilk at the Wamphray ambush in April, 1547, and whose demand for a ransom of 200 merks was referred to Protector Somerset,³⁰ then we may conclude that both Braid Christopher and Panton were brothers of Thomas Armstrong, Laird of Mangerton.

If further evidence were required, it may be noted that Ingram Armstrong of Grainies was brother to Anthony. This also is an uncommon Christian name, a relic of the feudal days when Ingleram was a name of dread throughout the Borders.³¹

In the Mangerton list of Armstrongs who swore allegiance at Carlisle in 1543 was an Ingrie Armstrong, probably identical with the Iymgrie Armstrong of Ralton (or Railton) who followed Lord Maxwell in 1585.³² The family of Railton can be shown to have sprung from Mangerton. Lastly, it is significant that when Anthony fled an outlaw from Gilsland he took refuge at Tweden, hard by Mangerton, and then occupied by cadets of Mangerton. He would naturally take refuge with his kith and kin.

In the winter of 1543-4 Anthony was once more busy raiding. In combination with the English Fosters he burnt

result. Hector invaded Tyndale and slew Barty Young, whose friends had been Eure's guides when he burnt Mangerton (*Cecil MSS.*, 6th March, 1543-4), whilst Anthony Armstrong of Woliva dealt with Musgrave.

²⁹ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*, vol. xviii., pt. ii., 137.

³⁰ *S.P. Dom. Add.*, 1547-65, 323 and 393.

³¹ Ingelram de Baliol, Ingleram de Gynes, etc.

³² *S.A.P.*, iv., 393-5.

Ormiston and despoiled Borthwickshields.³³ That is the last we hear of Anthony for 25 years, during which he seems to have remained in Scotland, though he does not figure in the records.

In 1569 Anthony once again appears in the picture of the Borders, in what was known on the English side as "Dacre's Raid." The great estate of the Lords Dacre had fallen to three co-heiresses, whose uncle, Leonard Dacre, a man of few principles and vaulting ambitions, "stomached it much," says Camden, "that so goodly an inheritance should fall to his nieces." He claimed the estates and assumed the title of Lord Dacre. He had plenty of local scope for his schemings. Ever since the Pilgrimage of Grace (October, 1536) the northern counties had been unsettled, and the advent of Mary Queen of Scots, first as refugee at Carlisle and later as prisoner at Bolton and further south, had given the local Catholic party a rallying ground and objective. Amongst her sympathisers were the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland.

If trouble was brewing on the English Border, it had long been chronic on the Scottish side, and in September, 1569, the Regent Murray had passed through the Border in great force to overawe and pacify it. An immense number of Border pledges were taken and placed in the care of landed gentry far remote from the Border. Many prominent members of the Armstrong clan were amongst them, including Thomas Armstrong, son of Hector Armstrong of Harlaw, who was pledge for his father and two brothers, young Hector Armstrong in Tweddane and William Armstrong.³⁴ Anthony being a fugitive reset my young Hector

³³ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*, vol. xix., pt. ii., p. 14. They were separate efforts—Ormiston on 9th October and Borthwickshields on 7th November (*Bruce Armstrong*, app., pp. 56 and 57). At the burning of the latter it is recorded there were "sundrye hurt."

³⁴ *R.P.C.*, ii., 45. This was on 21st October at Hawick. Bearing the same date has survived a list of "Names of the persons of the Harlaw Fugitives," containing names of 15 Armstrongs of this branch of the clan. The Regent Murray's drive seems mainly to have been directed against the Harlaw family (*ibid.*).

might have been expected to have lain low. But that was not our Anthony's method. Though the Armstrongs were overawed, there had been some resistance, and Anthony had been in the thick of the fight. Two of Murray's men had been slain, one of them by Anthony, "who had committed several murders." In an undated list, entitled "Names of Offenders against the Earl of Murray when he was in Liddesdale," apparently compiled from an English source, there is recorded under the heading of Gilsland the following :

"Under the rule of Thomas Carleton; John Armstrong called Spaidadam and Anthony Armstrong (young Anthony) who slew one of Moray's men and committed several murders Thomas Armstrong called Crystie's Tom and Andrew Armstrong, who are fellow to John Armstrong in all his felonies and in slaying one of Moray's men. They are fugitives; their wives remain at home save Thomas who has no wife. . . . Anthony Armstrong of Wyllgavay and Edward Armstrong his son who was in Liddesdale with Jock Armstrong one of the greatest rebels there, who married the daughter of the said Anthony."³⁵

The Regent no doubt thought he had quietened the Border for a time, but he failed to reckon with the English side. There the crafty Leonard Dacre persuaded the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland to take up the cause of Norfolk in his project to marry Mary, and in order to ingratiate himself with Elizabeth in his claim to his niece's estates betrayed the Earls to his Queen. So without waiting for Norfolk to act the Earls had to take the field. In the confusion that followed Dacre seized Naworth Castle and rallied his tenants to the old Border slogan, "A red Bull, a red Bull." His action must have seemed a golden chance for Anthony to obtain a return to Woliva. From across the Border Anthony answered to the call, probably securing a

³⁵ *R.P.C.*, xiv., 316. It is possible that the slayer of Moray's men was an Anthony A., son of John A. of Spaidadam, in view of the fact that Anthony A. of Woliva is mentioned a few lines lower down in the *Report*.

promise of restitution and protection, if not a pardon from the Crown. Lord Scrope, the English Warden, soon had the rising in hand, and the Earls fled to Naworth, but receiving no encouragement from Dacre retreated into Liddesdale. Scrope and Lord Hundson, who had come across from Berwick with reinforcements, then dealt with Dacre, whose double dealings had been disclosed to Elizabeth. Defeated at Gelts Bridge, near Naworth, Dacre fled into exile abroad, whilst Lord William Howard, who had married one of his nieces, received the estates, restored Naworth, and was long known on the Border as the redoubtable "Belted Will."

Meanwhile the presence of the Earls in Liddesdale was an international menace. An odd outlaw or two, like Anthony, might be ignored; but the Earls and their followers created a situation that had to be dealt with. Their retinue was probably a large one for fugitives, which may be the reason for the Earls parting company, Northumberland remaining in Liddesdale, whilst Westmorland passed on to Jedburgh, where he was entertained by the Kers of Ferniehirst Castle.

The advent of the rebel Earls placed the Scottish Regent in a delicate position. Queen Mary was a prisoner in England. He did not want her back, but a strong party in Scotland did. He dare not displease Elizabeth, who demanded the surrender of the Earls. Those unfortunate nobles were a vital pawn in the game of diplomacy, and he must secure them before Elizabeth did. He must have been kept well informed, for 4 days before the Earls crossed the Border the Regent (on 18th December, 1569,) issued proclamation to the lieges to gather at Peebles on the 20th with 10 days' victuals and "bodin in feir of weir." The Toun of Edinburgh furnished "100 men of warre."³⁶ On the 20th the Regent himself arrived at Peebles and thence advanced with his forces to Jedburgh. That night about midnight the earls crossed into Liddesdale with their principal confederates, conducted by Black Ormiston, John [Armstrong] of the Syde, the Laird's Jock and other outlaws. Such was the informa-

³⁶ *Diurnal of Occurents*, p. 153.

tion sent next day (21st December) by the Earl of Sussex to the Regent Murray asking him to apprehend the Earls.³⁷ The following day (22nd December) the authorities on both sides of the Border were sending dispatches to each other. Sussex wrote to George Carey, who was with the Regent at Jedburgh, to say that the Earls were accompanied by 100 horse³⁸ and had been received by Black Ormiston, who was an outlaw in hiding for the murder of Darnley; and to suggest to the Regent that a reward be offered to Ormiston or a promise of free pardon for betrayal of the Earls, failing which the Regent was to be asked to allow English troops to enter Scotland to apprehend the Earls.³⁹ At the same moment the Regent was writing to Cecil in London that the Earls had repaired to Harlow Woods, "a ground hanted by the rebellis of both the realmes," under the conduct and protection of one called the Laird of Ormiston.⁴⁰

But the Regent needed no promptings as to how to set about his task. By 25th December he had got in touch with one Martin Elliot⁴¹ with a view to the betrayal of Northumberland. It was arranged that Elliot was to persuade Heckie Armstrong (of Harlaw) to desire Northumberland to go and speak with him under tryst with a view to Hector and his friends openly joining the Earls. Hector Armstrong's position was difficult. The Regent lay with an army some 15 miles away. His son was in the Regent's clutches as a pledge for his father's good behaviour. English forces were gathering on the other side of Liddell Water. The Earls with all their followers were eating up the land, which could scarce support the Armstrongs alone. The moral and

³⁷ *Cal. of State Papers, Foreign*, 1569-71, 547.

³⁸ Ridpath quoting Camden, a contemporary, says that the Earls with their gentlemen, accompanied by 500 horsemen, retired into Scotland.

³⁹ *Cal. of State Papers, Foreign*, 1569-71, 556.

⁴⁰ *Cal. of Papers Relating to Scotland*, III., p. 33.

⁴¹ Perhaps the Martin Elliot of Braidley who in 1580 reset Lancy Armstrong of Whittanch (*R.P.C.*, iii., 335). In 1557 there was a Martin, brother to Robert Elliot of Redheuch (*Bruce Armstrong*, app., p. 99).

material pressure on Hector was very great. On the other hand it was an unwritten law on the Border to provide sanctuary to the outlawed. Sussex himself in a letter (28th December) to the English Privy Council has placed on record that "the Scottish Borderers are very unwilling to deny aid to banished men who sought it at their hands, affirming that it was against their custom and their own surety to deliver such as fled out of England, for they many times in like manner received succour in England."⁴² If the Armstrongs were a clan of Border thieves there was still some honour amongst thieves. In this dilemma it may seem harsh to condemn Hector now. But his contemporaries had no such hesitation, and the betrayal at Harlaw has sullied the name of Hector in Border ballad and tradition. For Hector succumbed. Martin Elliot was apparently on the English side of the Border line, and the duty of Hector was to bring the Earl to Martin. At a convenient spot the Regent's light horse lay in ambush.⁴³ On 23rd December the Regent's spies reported that Ormiston had departed from Harlaw Woods, with the Earls and their companions. Northumberland had been conveyed back into England by one Elliot, bailiff to Lord Dacre, and by Anthony Armstrong, Englishmen.⁴⁴ On 24th December Carey wrote to Sussex that the Regent's schemes were nigh fruition; both pardon and large rewards had been promised to Hector and his friends, and even Ormiston had secured the same conditions.⁴⁵ Northumberland walked straight into the trap. His capture was easily effected, but the alarm was given. Some of the Earl's friends, hoping to effect a rescue, pursued Martin, who was retreating with the Regent's horse and the Earl towards Hawick. They caught up with the party, but were beaten off, though Capt. John Borthwick, in command of the Regent's horse, was slain by Fosters from Bewcastle, whilst the Lairds of Mangerton and Whithaugh were hurt.⁴⁶ The remainder

⁴² *Cal. of State Papers, Foreign*, 1569-71, 565.

⁴³ *Diurnal of Occurents*, 154.

⁴⁴ *Cal. of State Papers, Scotland*, iii., p. 35.

⁴⁵ *Cal. of State Papers, Foreign*, 1569-71, 557.

⁴⁶ *Cal. of State Papers, Foreign*, 1569-71, 560.

reached Hawick with the Earl, and thereafter moved to Jedburgh, where the Earl was brought before the Regent on 27th December and taken to Edinburgh.⁴⁷

To crown his perfidy, complete his reward, and celebrate his pardon, the renegade Black Ormiston looted Northumberland's effects and stripped the Duchess of all her jewels and even her clothing, along with 30 score Portingal ducats.⁴⁸ She was, however, rescued by Lord Home and brought first to Fernihurst, thence to Home Castle after detention at Roxburgh owing to the soreness of the weather.⁴⁹

It has been narrated that Anthony Armstrong, Englishman, conveyed the Earl of Northumberland out of Scotland into England.⁵⁰ What share, if any, he had in the actual betrayal is not known. But he was the natural person to choose for the job. He must have known every ford and peat bog on both sides of the Border, and there can be little doubt that he seized this opportunity of ingratiating himself with the English authorities. His dream of return home had been shattered at Gelts Bridge, and a fresh, if final, effort must be made if he was not to die in exile. For Anthony must have been an old man by then, filled with a longing for that little steading at Woliva. Hope of return had been long deferred. For thirty years he had been an outcast; and residence with cousins is no substitute for home. So he took the last step to complete the perfidy of Hector and delivered Northumberland to the scaffold. Yet to his dying day he denied all foreknowledge or complicity in the betrayal.

But his reward did not come at once. One relatively humble but helpful friend he had in Thomas Carleton, land sergeand of Gilsland, who had married an Armstrong—a daughter of Kinmont Willie—and who detested and was sus-

⁴⁷ On 2nd January, 1570, he was lodged in Lochleven Castle. He was still there on 26th November, 1571 (*ibid.*, vol. ix., 2140), and was not handed over to Lord Hunsdon at Berwick till July, 1572.

⁴⁸ *Diurnal of Occurents*, 154.

⁴⁹ *Haynes*, 573.

⁵⁰ *Cal. State Papers (Scot.)*, iii., 35.

pected by Lord Scrope. Scrope would have no dealings with Anthony, whom he hunted ruthlessly. On 18th October, 1571, the Warden wrote to Burghley that he had examined Thomas Carleton about his alleged resetting of Anthony Armstrong. Carleton denied that he had seen Anthony since he had been rebel with Leonard Dacre, who had fled the realm. He admitted, however, that Anthony sometimes came to Woliva (Willieaway) by stealth, but had been unable to catch him. As against this admission, Carleton declared that he had killed George Wigham, a notable thief and a special friend of Anthony. This apparently mollified Scrope, who added in his report that he would do his best to apprehend Anthony, "who once only very narrowly escaped me."⁵¹

It is clear that Scrope was by no means satisfied with Carleton's reply.

On 5th April, 1572, Scrope wrote to Burley that on the previous night the Laird's Jok with 40 others out of Liddesdale came to Whitehall in Gilsland belonging to Christopher Dacre, burnt 5 homes and slew a young man named Hetherington, carrying off his brother as a prisoner. They seized 24 nolt, which, however, were rescued by Wm. Dacre and John [Armstrong of] Spadadam.⁵² Scrope opined

⁵¹ *S.P. Dom. Add.*, 1566-79, 366. There was probably some relationship between Anthony and the Wighams. When in 1540 he was reset in Twedale, it was in company of Edy Wigham.

⁵² There seems good reason to assume that John Armstrong of Spaidadam was a brother of Anthony. He was apparently the progenitor of that branch of the clan. He may be the man referred to in a letter by Sir John Foster to Cecil, 30th July, 1569: "Having received a letter from the Lords of Council anent the taking of one Armstrong called Spledeadam who was on the wastes between Tynedalehead and Liddesdale, I tried to take him, but he was out at night stealing. But I took his son and lodged him in the High Castle of Newcastle pending delivery of him to the Regent on his coming to the frontier" (*State Papers, Foreign*, 1569-71, 357). John Armstrong was dead by 1575, when there is mention of his wife, Elizabeth Armstrong. He was succeeded by his son Thomas, alias Thomas of the Oakes, who sold his tenement at Spaidadam and a tenement in High-

“ that old traitor, Anthony Armstrong, to be the principal procurer of the raid; that Anthony’s house standing within this (English) realm he dare not burn without the Council’s pleasure.”⁵³

The following year Scrope conducted an examination of Leonard Musgrave, who had been implicated in “ Dacre’s Raid.” From him Scrope learnt that Carleton had agreed with Jok Armstrong called Laird’s Jok⁵⁴ and other outlaws of Liddesdale, including Anthony and Edward Armstrong, traitors and rebels, to forbear the Laird’s Jok and his accomplices in the riding upon Christopher Dacre and his tenants, the Queen’s subjects in England; and that he had also suffered Anthony to occupy his farm in Gilsland without disturbance.⁵⁵

So at long last Anthony returned to die at Wyllicaway. The exact date of his death is not known, but on 20th October, 1574, he was on his death bed and made a will, the original of which is not now known to exist. Lying slowly sinking at Williava in Askerton, Anthony must have reviewed his turbulent and lurid career. What regrets he may have had, what remorse he may have felt, we may not know; but this is clear: he wished his memory to be dear to his children, and his honour and reputation handed down unsullied

stedeestre to Lord William Howard in 1608. His son John predeceased him in 1594. A Richard Armstrong of Spaidadam, who may be a brother of Thomas, sold his tenement there to Howard in 1608. There was also an Alex. A. of Spaidadam in 1565, who may be the Alex. known to be brother to Anthony of Woliva. He certainly had a son Thomas of Spaidadam, 1596, who in a 1579 Court at Askerton is described as Thomas the elder, a tenant at will, along with Thomas the younger, presumably his son. There were three Thomas Armstrongs at Spaidadam recorded in that roll. An Ambrose, 1580, and a William, 1621, cannot be placed. As late as 1650 there was a Jenkin Armstrong of Spaidadam (ex. *Heaton-Armstrong MSS.*).

⁵³ *Cal. of State Papers, Foreign*, 1572-4, 292.

⁵⁴ The Laird’s Jok was a son of Mangerton, and an even more redoubtable outlaw than Anthony. The story of his life would well repay the telling.

⁵⁵ *S.P. Dom. Add.*, 1566-79, p. 420 (21st July, 1572).

to his descendants. So at the end of his will he appended a declaration of his innocence "as I shall answer to God now at my last hour on my death bed lying," and he must have given instructions that it should be preserved in some place of record where it should for all time remain in evidence of his innocence. A copy of it was accordingly engrossed in the Manor Court books of Askerton, still preserved at Brampton. The declaration runs as follows:—

"And fooranentes the Erlle of Northowmberland yt went into Scotland, I wyll tayke it on me nowe at my last owre that I hat no wyt of him bot that my maysters broder resed me out of my bed and desyred me to comvaye hym into Scotland; and I gave Mayster Edwart Dayker in his chose whidder that he would go to Mayrtinge Ellot or to the Layrde Joccke or to Ector of the Herelawe, and he seyde that he would to Ector of the Herelawe be resoune that his fader and his was gryt togydder; and I had no knowledge that the Errle of Northumbeland was therein the Herlawe or in the cowmpane unto the tyme yt he was ther. And Ector Armstronge sayd he schould mayk hym seyker except the zerd and the lyft brayke. And this he promesed me, as I schall answer to God nowe at my last owre on my ded bed lyand."

Copia vera. W. H.⁵⁶

Thus Anthony in vindication of himself speaks to us across the centuries from beyond the grave. And it is surely only fitting that his declaration should have been brought to light by a direct descendant who was making a research into his own pedigree.⁵⁷

His son Edward, already mentioned, retained a fitful occupation of the farm. In an undated memorial (c. 1587) prepared for Mr Francis Dacre v. Lord William Howard, the former complained that at Belted Will's instigation he had been set upon and molested by Anthony Armstrong, alias

⁵⁶ From an MS. book endorsed "225. Surrey, 1574," being a survey of Gilsland Barony, *penes* (1924), Messrs Cartmells of Brampton.

⁵⁷ Ex. *Heaton-Armstrong MSS.*

Anthon's Edward, and other Armstrongs from Gilsland.⁵⁸ So Edward was proving of use to the new Lord of the Barony of Gilsland. But, like his father, he, too, was soon in trouble, and on 8th February, 1595-6, Lord Eure wrote to Burghley that "Antone Armstrong alias Anthon's Edward has lately since my coming fled out of the West March into Liddesdale, and is offered living by Buccleuch."⁵⁹ He was soon back in his steading, however, for Eure, writing on 8th June, 1597, concerning one John Charlton, "a great thief and maintainer of many others about him," states that Charlton had married a daughter of Anthon's Edward living at Williava on the West March.⁶⁰ That May a renewed effort was made by the authorities on both sides of the Border to enforce pacification. The Scots were to give pledges to England and vice-versa, a useful way of getting rid of undesirables on both sides. From a list of pledges forwarded by Sir Robert Bowes to Scrope on 31st May, 1597, the Scottish pledges from Liddesdale included Symon Armstrong of Mangerton and Symon Armstrong, younger of Whittauch.⁶¹ The English pledges included the name of Anton's Edward Armstrong of Wilzeton.⁶² Edward, however, was an unwilling pledge. He disappeared, and was denounced outlaw. On 11th June Lord Dacre desired to be advised by Sir Robert Bowes whether if he could not apprehend Anthon's Edward, "denounced outlaw of England and appointed pledge," he might burn down Edward's house or what course he should take.⁶³ Crown instructions were issued on 13th June that if Edward or any other fugitive appointed to be delivered to Scotland could not be captured,

⁵⁸ *Household Book of Lord William Howard*, p. 403. The others were: Wm. Armstrong, alias Andro's Will; Thomas A., alias Christie's Tom; and Gavin Armstrong, alias Ecky's Gavin.

⁵⁹ *Bain's Cal. of Border Papers*, ii., 105.

⁶⁰ *Bain's Cal. of Border Papers*, ii., 339.

⁶¹ The Scottish pledges for the West March were John Armstrong of Hollas (Holehouse); Jok Armstrong, Kinmont's Jok; and Will Bell, Redcloak.

⁶² *Cecil MSS.*, vii., 227.

⁶³ *Cecil MSS.*, vii., 251.

the next-of-kin of such fugitive was to be delivered in his stead.⁶⁴ On 16th June Edward was still reported to be a fugitive,⁶⁵ but at Norham, where the Joint Commissioners met a few days later, Edward offered himself to be delivered to the Scottish King.⁶⁶ So on 25th June Anthony Edward Armstrong of Wilzeton was delivered to the Scots as pledge for the English on the West March.⁶⁷ Perhaps to ensure that he did not attempt to escape (for pledges were allowed a reasonable amount of freedom) Scrope may have detained his son, for a letter to that nobleman mentions "Anthon's Edward whose son your Lordship hath in howld."⁶⁸

Of the fate of Edward Armstrong only a conjecture can be hazarded. In April, 1607, the Commissioners of the Middle Shires wrote to Salisbury :—" We have shipped over into Ireland Edward Armstrong, a man of principal note upon the late Borders of both Kingdoms and one that hath continued a fugitive for the most part of these 40 years. His offences have been so great and so many that if we could have been in any hope of his apprehension we would not have consented to his banishment."⁶⁹ This description would indicate Edward Armstrong of Woliva as the banished man. It is the last reference that occurs. His exploits and fate in Ireland have not been traced. But he left a son behind him, " Thomas Armstrong, Edward's son," who figures in a list of persons taken in Gilsland and executed prior to 1612. This Thomas had in March, 1598, purchased from Thomas Tweddell of the Brume for £46 13s 4d his freehold tenement called the Brume, in the parish of Over Denton.⁷⁰

⁶⁴ *Cecil MSS.*, vii., 263.

⁶⁵ *Cecil MSS.*, vii., 257.

⁶⁶ *Cecil MSS.*, vii., 274.

⁶⁷ *Bain's Cal. of Border Papers*, ii., 350.

⁶⁸ *Bain's Cal. of Border Papers*, ii., 500, dated 19th January, 1597-8.

⁶⁹ *Heaton-Armstrong MSS.*, quoting *S.P. Dom.*, *James I.*, vol. 27, f. 651.

⁷⁰ *Heaton-Armstrong MSS.*, quoting *Naworth Papers*, bundle 66a.

With the execution of this Thomas Armstrong and the death or at least disappearance of his father Edward, the continuity of the family is broken, and it is extremely difficult to re-establish it.^{70a} For at Woliva were located a whole colony of Armstrongs, many of whom defy identification. But they were all of the one brood, and though they were sometimes described by the name of their holdings, most of them also had grazing rights on the common of Woliva, and so could claim to, and did, call themselves of Woliva. In the Feodary of Thomas Lord Dacre, 1502,⁷¹ under the heading of Little Askerton, occurs the following:—"There is also four messuages called Darlingholm, whicheverie of them is worth by yeare 3d. There is also 24 messuages joyning upon the four Pykes of Wilyavay which each is worth by year 2d"; etc. These four pykes or hills are depicted on a Survey Map of 1828-30 as being on Wiley Syke Farm, which provides further identification for Woliva.⁷² It would seem that of these 24 messuages the bulk of them were held by Armstrongs. In a Survey of Gilsland Barony, 1574,⁷³ under Askerton, occur amongst many other Armstrongs the following:—

Askerton.—John Armstrong, bailiff there, holds 80 acres of land arable and meadow, and renders yearly 13/4.

Gullilea.—(1) George Armstrong holds a tenement and 6 acres arable, rendering 5/-. (2) George Armstrong holds ditto, rendering 5/-.

Thornithwaite.—Renzion Armstrong holds tenement and 16 acres, rendering 6/8.

^{70a} Edward is known to have been occupant of Eschecleuch, Unmanrawe. In 1596 occurs mention of Andrew A. of Unmanrawe, perhaps a son of Edward.

⁷¹ *Heaton-Armstrong MSS.*, quoting a 17th century transcript, *penes* Messrs Cartmell.

⁷² The House of Woliva stood near Parkgate, and though traces of foundations have been found, there must be some doubt whether it ever was a pele tower. "Probably of late date" (*Curwen's Castles and Towers of Cumberland*, p. 409).

⁷³ *Heaton-Armstrong MSS.*, quoting *Naworth Papers*, 225, Surrey, 1574.

Eschecleuch.—Anthony Armstrong⁷⁴ holds a tenement and 30 acres, rendering 13/4.

With this Survey of 1574 we may compare a *Survey of Possessions of Leonard Dacre*, 1589,⁷⁵ where under Askerton we find :—

Stubhill.—George Armstrong holds one tenement and 5 acres of land there and common pasture in Willyeaver, rendering 5/-.

Gullilea.—George Armstrong holds a tenement and 5 acres with common pasture in Willyeaver, rendering 5/-.

Thornithwaite.—Edward Armstrong holds a tenement and 6 acres with pasture in Willyeaver, rendering 6/8.

Ashcleuch and Unmanrawe. — Edward Armstrong holds a tenement and 12 acres with common pasture in Willieeaver, rendering 13/4.

In addition to the above Armstrongs with holdings at Woliva, the Manor Court Rolls for 1576 onwards contain references to the following who figure in court cases :—

Jenkin Armstrong of Wilyaway, 1576.

John Armstrong of Wilyaway, 1576.

Ingram Armstrong of Wilyaway, 1576.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ As will be seen, this is the Anthony, Englishman, whose history is set out above.

⁷⁵ *Heaton-Armstrong MSS.*, quoting *Exchequer K.R. Misc. Bks.*, vol. 42, m. 61.

⁷⁶ Ingram Armstrong is mentioned in the will of Anthony (1574) as to remain in the steading he sits on, till Anthony's son Edward makes settlement with him. He can hardly be identified with "Smith's Imgrie," who in 1576-7 was a defendant, for John Armstrong, smith, witnessed the will of George Armstrong of Gullilea in 1605. Ingram, who may have been a son or more probably a nephew of Anthony, had two sons—Anthony Armstrong of Wyllyaway, alias Imgrie's Antin, who witnessed the will of George A. of Gulhilea (1605), and Andrew A., who prior to 1608, as Imgrie's Andro, had fled to Ireland, having been three times outlawed for murder. He had had two wives, one of whom, Janet, left behind by him in Cumberland, had married Andrew Nixon (ex. *Heaton-Armstrong MSS.* and *Household Books of Lord William Howard*, pp. 436-447). There was also an Ingram Armstrong of Moorguards, 1576, who had a son, William A. (1581). He was probably "Quentin's Imgrie," 1580.

John Armstrong, sowter, of Wilyavey.⁷⁷

Gerard Armstrong of Wilyavey.

Anthony Armstrong, son of Gerrard, Feb., 1577/8.

Richard Armstrong of Wilyavay, April, 1577/8.⁷⁸

Anthony Armstrong of Wilyavay, June, 1578.⁷⁹

Edward Armstrong of Wilyavay.⁸⁰

George Armstrong of Wilyavay, November, 1578.⁸¹

George Armstrong, son of David of Wilyavay, January, 1578/9.

Richard Armstrong, son of Thomas of Wilyavay.⁸²

⁷⁷ He had a son, Thomas Armstrong, alias Sowter's Tom, to whom and Nicolas Robson the Crown gave a pardon on 13th December, 1609, for stealing an ox from Lord William Howard (*State Papers, Domestic*, 1603-10, 572). Rinion Armstrong, alias Sowter's Rinion, had been an outlaw for three years (*Household Books of Lord William Howard*, pp. 436-447). Rinion had a son Willie, a clerk, executed at Newcastle, 1632.

⁷⁸ Probably the same Richard, son of Thomas A. of Wylleaway (see footnote 82).

⁷⁹ Perhaps identical with Imgrie's Anton (see footnote 76).

⁸⁰ Son of Anthony A., "Englishman," of Eschecleugh and Unmanrawe.

⁸¹ Probably George Armstrong, son of Gerrard, who must be distinguished from the next entry in the above list, George Armstrong, son of David. Both were of Gullielea, though the latter is usually described as alias Stubhill. Gerrard had three known sons—(1) the above George, (2) Adam of Dallerline, and (3) Anthony, 1577-8. David had two sons—George and Edward, 1595 (ex. *Heaton-Armstrong MSS.*).

⁸² Richard Armstrong of Willyaway was son of Thomas Armstrong of Collingbank, in the manor of Askerton, who probably held rights to the common of Willyaway, and was dead by 1576, leaving two sons, Richard and William. Richard, who is described as both of Collingbank and Willyaway, married a lady named Elizabeth [], and died before 8th April, 1613, leaving three daughters, Elizabeth, Jane, and an unnamed daughter married to Christopher Bell of Clarkeshill. Elizabeth married Clement Armstrong of the Syde, described as of Willyaway, and on 8th April, 1613, they surrendered in the Baron Court their right of being called as tenants of the Lord. Clement's will is dated 15th February, 1622-3. It mentions his five children, then minors, Thomas, John, Annas, Janet, and Margaret. In 1593 Collingbank was tenanted by Achilles, Richard, and William Armstrong (ex. *Heaton-Armstrong MSS.*).

Adam Armstrong of Wilyavay, November, 1579.⁸³
 Ambrose Armstrong of Wilyavay, March, 1579.⁸⁴
 Bartholomew Armstrong of Wilyavay, April, 1580.⁸⁵
 William Armstrong of Wilyavay, November, 1580.
 Thomas Armstrong of Wilyavey, April, 1593.

Apart from the footnote appended thereto, the above list demonstrates the genealogical difficulties and proves that the designation "of Wilyavey" is generic to all the Armstrongs of that branch. It establishes, for instance, that the two George Armstrongs of the 1574 Survey both were offshoots of Woliva. Stubhill, *vide* Survey of 1589, was the holding of one of them, and he was son of a David Armstrong; Gullilea was the holding of the other George, son of Gerard Armstrong.⁸⁶ It was from George, son of Gerard, that Sir Thomas Armstrong was most probably descended.

⁸³ Probably Adam Armstrong of Esche or Ashe (1595), which seems to be Highstedeshe. There was also an Achilles A. of Esche, as well as a Thomas A. of Esche and Quentin A. of Esche. Yet another unidentified Adam was Adam, son of Clement Armstrong (19th May, 1520). Lastly, there was Adam A. of Dallerline, son of Geary (Gerrard), 1578 (ex. *Heaton-Armstrong MSS.*). *Circa* 1618, Anthony and Adam Armstrong, brothers, of the Ashe fled to Ireland (*Household Books of Lord William Howard*, 436-447).

⁸⁴ Perhaps Ambrose Armstrong of Greensburne (1581). There was a Thomas A. of Greensburne in January, 1611-12, and also a William and a Robert.

⁸⁵ There were two Bartholemew Armstrongs, one of Fawceteles (1580), a customary tenant of Askerton in 1590, and the other of Rinionhills, in the same manor. Prior to 1579-80 there do not appear to have been any Armstrongs at Rinionhills, which was occupied by Wm. Richeson (1579-80) and John Barnfader (1577). In the Survey of 1589 Edward Armstrong appears as of Rinionhills and Greensburne. He was customary tenant in 1596 along with Bartholemew A. of Rinionhills, whose inventory is dated 5th May, 1607. He left a widow, Helinor, married to Edward Stevenson of Starriesholm, who administered his estate. In 1624 there was a James Armstrong of Rinionhills, and in 1650 a John Armstrong of Rinionhills (ex. *Heaton-Armstrong MSS.*).

⁸⁶ See Note 81.

Gerrard, a Christian name essentially English and probably derived from a marriage with an Englishwoman, was probably a son of Anthony Armstrong, "Englishman." Beyond the fact that he had three sons, nothing is known of him. His son George had a minute holding at Gullilea, for which he paid as customary tenant the rent of 5s, and where his descendants remained till 1652 or later, at which date there was an Anthony Armstrong of Gullilees.⁸⁷ His will was recorded in 1605, and he must have died between 12th June and 24th August, and been buried according to his directions in the churchyard of Lanercost. He had been twice married, and was survived by Margaret Armstrong, his second wife. He rented the farm of Chappleburne. Of his two daughters of the first marriage, the name of only one is known, Annas Armstrong, his eldest daughter, wife of Rinyon Armstrong, to whom he left a quarter of the corn growing on Chappelburn. The other daughter must have married George Foster of Reedsheed, to whom another quarter of the corn was left. The remaining half of the corn, with all his goods and chattels, he left to his widow and to Thomas, Mabell, Janet, Elizabeth, and Annas, his *children* by his second wife. The wording of the will is quite specific, and George Armstrong must have had two daughters named Annas. In this there is nothing remarkable especially in the Armstrong clan. The celebrated Kinmont Willie had two brothers, both called John. But if George had an Annas by each wife it almost seems equally clear that he had sons named Thomas by each of his wives as well. At some unknown date prior to 1612 Lord Wm. Howard records the execution at Durham of Thom Armstrong, Geordie's Tom, of Willavey.⁸⁸ This cannot refer to the son of the second marriage, because he must have been a minor, and very young at that, when his father died in

⁸⁷ *Heaton-Armstrong MSS.* "The foundations of this house (Gillalees) are to be found on the west side of the hill near the head of Meleferm Beck in the Yellow Coat slack" (*Castles and Towers of Cumberland*, 408).

⁸⁸ *Household Books of Lord William Howard.*

1605, else surely he would have sworn to and given up the Inventory; and as a Thomas Armstrong of Willieavey was flourishing in 1615 we have no option but to conclude that he was the Thomas, the eldest child of the second marriage.

George Armstrong then was succeeded by the eldest son of his second marriage, Thomas Armstrong of Willieavey, who may be identified with Sir Thomas Armstrong.⁸⁹ Born about—probably shortly before—1600, he would in 1633, when he first appears in Holland, be just about the age for the rank of Cornet. In 1612 Lord Wm. Howard paid him 12d for carrying a beagle to Hessilsyde.⁹⁰ Indeed there seems to have been some sort of intimacy between Woliva and Naworth Castle, for the same source records payment by Howard of 4d for carrying a letter to Willigavy.⁹¹ In 1616 Thomas Armstrong of Willieavey had some sheep stolen from him by another Armstrong, Rinion Armstrong alias Gowdie,

⁸⁹ There would be another likely claimant for identification were he not too old, in the person of Thomas Armstrong, alias Whitecloak. In April, 1607, the Commissioners of the Middle Shires, who had taken over the duties of the old Warden's office, wrote to the Earl of Salisbury as follows: "There remaineth in prison one Thomas Armstrong, alias Whitecloak—a pestilent fellow—accused of contriving the murder of Lord William Howard. Acquitted at the Gaol Delivery, he is still held pending your Lordship's pleasure. At the time of his trial he demanded banishment to Ireland, yet being acquit he refuseth the same. If your Lordship do not think fit that he be urged into Ireland, we desire he be confined to the cautionery touns or sent into some other service in the wars." Thomas must have been released and received in favour again by Howard, for on 23rd March, 1612, that nobleman's *Household Books* record payment of 5s to Whitcloake for two weeks due (p. 60, n.). Only a guess can be made at the identity of Whitecloak. He may have been of Spaidadam, for at the Regent's raid on the Armstrongs of Harelaw in 1569 there is mention of "John Armstrong of Spadadam and Anthony Armstrong (young Anthony), who slew one of the Earl of Murre's cumpanye and hath a cloyk" (*R.P.C.*, xiv., 316).

⁹⁰ *Household Books*, p. 81.

⁹¹ *Household Books*, p. 28.

a common thief, who paid 5 nobles compensation.⁹² That Rinion was let off with compensation might imply close relationship, and it is to be hoped that this "common thief" was not the same Rinion who was married to Annas, sister of his victim. On another occasion Rinion must have been caught redhanded, for he, too, was executed at Carlisle in 1624.⁹³

At what date Thomas Armstrong left Woliva is not known. All that can be said is that in all probabilities it was with the assistance of Lord William Howard that he secured a commission in the Army. All these Borderers were first class fighting material and as early as 1543 the English Lords of Council proposed to the Earl of Hertford that he should raise 150 Scots Border Horse to serve in France at the wages of the English Crown.⁹⁴ The Union of the Crowns in 1603 vastly simplified the maintenance of law and order on the Borders. The Joint Commissioners of the Middle Shires speedily made raiding unprofitable and the wilder and more restless spirits were either broken, banished to Ireland, or sought a more congenial occupation in foreign climes.⁹⁵ Service in the English Army was made easy for Borderers, just as after the '45 the raising of Highland Regiments helped to solve some of the more difficult administrative problems of that area. At any rate, Thomas

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 436-447.

⁹³ *Household Books of Lord William Howard.*

⁹⁴ Haynes, *State Papers*, p. 16. They were intended to serve in France (*Hamilton Papers*, ii., 731), and Bewcastle was to supply 36. But Wharton estimated only 100 horse in all could be raised (*ibid.*, 739).

⁹⁵ In 1629 Cornelius Armstrong, son of John Armstrong of Holehouse, complained that he had been wounded by William Whippa, and prevented from serving under the Earl of Buccleuch in the Wars of Holland (*R.P.C.*, 3rd series, iii., 167). The first Earl entered the service of the States General in 1627, till he was recalled in 1631. His father, Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, in 1604 commanded a body of troops in the Netherlands under Prince Maurice of Nassau, where he fought till the truce of 1609 (*Scots Peerage*, ii., 233).

Armstrong of Woliva next appears in 1633 as a Cornet of Horse in Holland, at the baptism of his son Thomas.⁹⁶

The Cornet soon made his mark, and in 1638 was appointed Governor of Culmore Fort in Ireland, and on 7th February, 1640, Quartermaster-General of Horse in that Country.⁹⁷ His name is prominently associated with the Irish Rebellion, and he was Knighted in 1643.⁹⁸ From 1655-59, he was for most of the time a prisoner in the Gatehouse of Westminster — a Cromwellian precaution. After the restoration, Sir Thomas Armstrong the elder recovered all his offices, and in 1660 was given power to coin farthing tokens of copper in Ireland.⁹⁹ He died on 24th November, 1662, and was buried in St. Werburgh's Church, Dublin.¹⁰⁰

It is possible that some such retrospect may have been in the thoughts of his son, Sir Thomas Armstrong the younger, whilst in the Tower awaiting execution. He himself had led a debauched life and fell into disfavour at Court, having murdered a Mr Scroop in the Playhouse. In 1679 he went to Flanders with the Duke of Monmouth and became involved in the Rye House Plot. On 28th June, 1683, a proclamation was issued for his arrest, 5000 guilders reward being offered. He fled to Leyden in disguise, but was extradited. Titus Oates was one of his accusers; counsel were denied him; the notorious Jeffries was his Judge; and as an outlaw he was denied even the right of being heard. He was executed on 20th June, 1684, his head affixed in Westminster Hall between those of Bradshaw and Cromwell.¹⁰¹ But he left a written statement, protesting his innocence, which was published, and in 1689 the attainder

⁹⁶ Elsewhere it has been stated that the younger Thomas was born abroad whilst his father was employed on a diplomatic mission (*Notes and Queries*, 4th series, xi., 256).

⁹⁷ *Notes and Queries*, 10th series, iv., 281.

⁹⁸ *Ormonde MSS.*, vol. i., 144, and *Shaw's Knights*, ii., 217.

⁹⁹ *B.M. Add. MSS.*, 33, 118, f. 387.

¹⁰⁰ *Funeral Entry, Ireland*, x., p. 59.

¹⁰¹ One of his quarters was set up on Temple Bar (ex. letter dated 25th June, 1684, *Hist. MSS. Com.*, 7th Report, 482).

was reversed and £5000 compensation paid by the Crown to his widow.¹⁰²

In all the bloodstained annals of the clan, countless Armstrongs must have been executed. Sir Thomas was the last to suffer—and he was innocent. One wonders how many of the others may not have been innocent too!

¹⁰² There is a portrait of Sir Thomas Armstrong the second in the *Roxburgh Ballads*.

RAINFALL RECORDS FOR THE SOUTH-WESTERN COUNTIES 367

Rainfall Records for the South-Western Counties for the Year 1931.

SUPPLIED BY THE METEOROLOGICAL OFFICE, EDINBURGH.

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	N.v.	Dec.	TOTAL
DUMFRIESHIRE.													
Ruthwell (Comlongon Castle)	3.08	2.43	.82	1.82	2.70	6.28	4.34	2.68	1.88	2.08	8.55	2.99	40.45
Mouswald (Schoolhouse)	3.61	2.84	1.04	2.34	4.21	6.35	3.92	2.39	1.49	2.89	10.70	3.24	45.52
Dumries (Crichton Royal Inst.)	4.20	2.47	.83	1.73	3.41	6.14	4.50	2.40	1.49	2.82	8.38	3.56	41.43
Carnsalloch	3.96	3.36	1.07	1.87	4.62	5.93	5.20	2.40	1.49	2.80	8.36	3.50	41.41
Moniaive (Glencrosh)	7.32	5.81	.84	2.14	3.98	6.94	4.39	2.19	1.75	3.82	12.22	5.80	56.79
Maxwellton House	4.84	4.42	1.04	2.13	3.90	6.82	4.01	2.44	1.70	2.85	11.51	5.25	54.18
Durisddeer (Drumlanrig)	3.78	4.42	1.04	2.17	3.79	7.50	4.82	2.04	1.29	3.04	11.31	4.09	52.25
Dalton (Whitecroft)	4.05	2.79	1.04	2.32	3.51	6.94	4.82	2.47	2.11	3.13	10.30	4.02	47.23
" (Kirkwood)	4.59	3.51	.87	2.33	3.36	7.33	6.22	2.55	2.20	3.63	11.46	4.45	51.94
Lockerbie (Thorn Bank)	4.89	3.24	.95	1.79	4.28	7.64	4.62	2.46	1.64	2.65	10.09	3.59	47.54
Lochnaben (Esthwaite)	4.24	3.45	1.08	1.70	3.88	6.89	5.75	1.67	1.33	2.55	9.52	3.36	46.07
Gubhill School	4.47	4.54	1.24	2.70	4.13	7.18	5.66	3.28	1.85	3.51	13.11	4.61	55.95
Evan Water School	3.41	3.16	.93	2.32	4.12	7.47	4.20	2.40	1.41	3.63	12.44	5.24	53.98
Eaglesfield (Springkell Gardens)	4.36	4.43	1.07	2.49	3.45	7.71	5.22	2.04	1.45	3.69	8.84	5.92	46.45
Canombie (Irvine House)	5.04	4.00	1.20	2.73	4.39	7.68	4.91	2.41	1.94	4.34	8.88	5.61	52.68
Langholm (Drove Road)	5.42	4.00	1.57	2.91	4.54	8.01	6.10	2.65	2.52	5.39	10.15	5.48	58.36
" (Ewes)	5.11	4.17	.97	3.31	4.67	7.16	5.92	3.22	1.92	4.82	9.32	4.96	54.96
Eskdalemuir Observatory	5.11	5.93	1.12	3.15	4.59	10.24	5.74	1.80	1.46	5.84	11.26	5.76	61.50

(These data should be taken as provisional).

368 RAINFALL RECORDS FOR THE SOUTH-WESTERN COUNTIES

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	TOTAL
WIGTOWN.													
Castle Kennedy (Lochinch) ..	5.78	3.36	1.24	2.22	3.32	4.93	2.85	2.59	2.69	3.43	9.72	4.89	47.02
Logan House ..	5.09	2.67	1.23	2.09	2.87	5.09	2.55	2.37	3.03	2.86	7.78	3.27	40.75
Corsewall ..	6.60	3.89	.87	1.74	4.06	5.07	3.83	2.04	2.27	3.83	5.18	2.20	40.63
Whithorn (Phyngill) ..	3.72	3.09	.70	1.76	2.33	5.41	3.06	3.46	2.43	2.59	8.57	3.82	40.98
Port-William (Monreith) ..	3.97	3.27	.75	1.95	2.47	5.79	2.87	3.78	2.42	2.77	9.42	4.06	43.52
Stoneykirk (Ardwell House) ..	4.22	3.79	1.01	1.92	2.24	5.31	3.61	3.74	3.60	3.97	8.77	4.55	44.73
New Laces (Public School) ..	5.38	2.52	1.39	2.01	2.32	5.24	2.81	2.24	2.36	2.73	7.97	3.46	40.91
Kirkcovan (Craigshaw) ..	6.42	3.80	1.40	2.56	2.88	4.68	3.65	2.52	2.55	3.37	9.32	4.72	47.87
Newton-Stewart (Little Barraer) ..	6.34	4.73	1.42	2.47	3.40	5.65	3.95	3.23	3.03	3.65	9.98	6.25	54.10
" (Dunree) ..	5.70	4.16	1.07	2.13	2.70	4.73	3.85	2.38	2.73	3.47	10.26	4.87	48.05
" ..	6.24	3.91	1.00	2.33	3.13	4.35	3.61	2.11	1.61	3.02	10.28	4.46	46.05
KIRKCUDBRIGHTSHIRE.													
Borgue (Corseyard) ..	3.43	3.37	.93	1.85	2.37	4.23	4.94	2.25	1.30	2.98	10.95	2.31	41.41
Mossdale (Henson) ..	6.05	4.32	1.16	2.21	4.08	6.39	4.40	2.36	1.59	3.83	13.64	6.21	56.33
Dairy (Gendarroch) ..	6.25	4.39	1.45	2.37	4.53	6.25	4.24	2.10	1.46	3.45	13.37	7.00	55.90
" (Garroch) ..	7.31	6.26	1.63	2.46	4.56	7.05	6.05	2.18	1.61	4.61	14.16	5.54	65.58
" (Forrest Lodge) ..	8.33	7.59	1.53	3.27	5.51	8.31	5.22	2.19	1.54	5.69	16.35	8.23	74.76
Carstairs (Shiel) ..	10.07	7.61	1.89	3.53	5.33	8.89	6.79	2.81	2.19	5.51	17.44	8.12	80.11
" (Knoekgray) ..	7.47	6.23	1.65	2.54	4.14	7.11	4.56	2.71	1.63	3.83	15.77	5.55	63.24
Auchencairn (Lorr House) ..	5.68	3.94	1.14	2.12	3.66	6.15	5.12	3.14	1.43	4.24	7.53	5.89	50.30
Dalbeattie (Kirkennan) ..	5.17	3.89	1.24	1.83	4.25	6.30	4.32	3.23	.77	3.91	10.05	4.86	51.41
" (Drunstinchall) ..	4.37	3.61	1.22	1.83	4.23	6.80	6.35	3.24	1.36	4.32	9.41	5.59	53.27
Chipparkyle ..	(4.51)	2.94	1.06	2.00	3.31	5.72	4.94	2.47	.98	2.32	7.48	3.42	(41.95)
Lochnuton (Dumfries W. W.) ..	5.24	3.78	1.00	2.17	3.56	7.51	5.28	2.82	1.30	3.67	9.28	4.95	50.43
Carrachan ..	4.54	3.54	.97	1.97	3.50	6.76	5.86	2.68	1.43	3.00	8.97	4.31	47.53

(These data should be taken as provisional).

Rainfall Records for the South-Western Counties for the Year 1932.

SUPPLIED BY THE METEOROLOGICAL OFFICE, EDINBURGH.

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	TOTAL
DUMFRIES													
Ruthwell (Comlongon Castle)	4.88	.05	2.88	2.46	2.68	1.83	3.34	1.21	3.40	5.97	2.23	5.92	36.85
Mouswald (Schoolhouse)	5.26	.10	2.92	2.81	3.08	2.13	3.82	1.60	3.85	5.74	2.61	8.64	43.06
Dumfries (Crichton Royal Inst.)	5.24	.07	2.96	2.54	2.59	1.93	3.12	1.86	4.05	6.02	2.65	7.19	40.22
Blackwood	6.39	.09	3.77	3.82	3.71	1.85	4.35	2.39	4.05	7.17	2.83	8.48	48.90
Moniaive (Glencrosh)	9.37	.07	2.88	4.92	3.48	2.11	4.82	2.31	5.28	8.37	4.73	12.67	61.01
Maxwellton House	9.13	.01	2.83	4.25	3.42	2.12	4.41	2.33	5.36	7.68	3.73	11.67	56.94
Durisddeer (Drumlanrig)	8.72	.13	3.15	4.18	3.54	1.91	5.43	1.67	5.44	7.79	3.90	11.39	57.25
Dalton (Whitcroft)	5.18	.11	3.49	2.79	3.82	2.12	4.75	1.77	4.02	6.63	2.91	7.40	44.99
Lockerbie (Kirkwood)	5.44	.16	3.93	3.73	3.65	2.16	5.22	2.02	5.17	7.50	3.59	7.49	50.06
Gubhill (Thorn Bank)	5.20	.06	3.67	3.63	3.13	2.49	6.09	1.61	4.69	7.30	2.92	7.43	48.12
Evan Water School	8.49	.11	3.78	3.82	3.39	2.34	5.37	1.87	4.99	7.47	3.79	11.07	56.63
Eaglesfield (Springkell Gardens)	10.40	.12	3.78	4.73	2.86	2.14	6.57	1.43	5.33	7.42	4.92	13.55	63.25
Canonbie (Irvine House)	4.34	.03	3.61	2.92	2.67	1.05	6.37	1.68	5.40	6.76	3.16	5.18	48.07
Langholm (Drive Road)	6.45	.15	3.61	4.57	3.56	1.87	5.81	1.04	6.91	7.12	3.54	7.06	51.69
(Ewes)	8.31	.19	3.96	4.55	3.75	2.40	6.22	1.46	7.04	7.38	3.90	8.34	57.50
Eska'dalenmuir (Observatory)	10.04	.20	3.76	4.61	3.88	1.97	5.51	1.20	6.54	7.32	4.11	9.43	58.57
	12.17	.18	4.19	5.30	3.39	1.38	8.29	2.11	6.20	9.18	5.55	13.37	71.31

(These data should be taken as provisional).

370 RAINFALL RECORDS FOR THE SOUTHERN COUNTIES.

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	TOTAL
KIRKCUDBRIGHT.													
Borgie (Corseyard)	4 08	41	2 53	2 80	2 90	1 19	3 02	1 92	4 07	3 95	3 49	5 76	35 92
Mossdale (Hensol)	8 42	09	2 78	5 01	4 12	1 64	4 02	1 81	5 16	7 13	4 15	11 73	56 36
Dally (Glendaroch)	9 07	11	3 05	5 70	3 73	1 64	3 49	2 84	6 15	6 71	4 14	10 42	56 60
" (Garroch)	12 07	07	3 49	6 82	4 03	1 91	4 04	2 70	8 92	7 60	5 71	12 91	68 68
" (Forrest Lodge)	14 00	16	3 65	8 09	3 57	2 13	5 35	2 10	9 22	10 08	7 92	15 57	80 75
Carsphairn (Shiel)	12 76	17	4 22	7 35	3 55	2 71	5 89	2 51	7 61	11 04	7 92	16 83	83 58
" (Knockgray)	8 99	15	3 29	5 74	3 40	2 03	4 64	1 86	7 33	3 06	5 16	11 39	62 08
Auchencairn (Torr House)	6 86	08	3 26	4 89	3 49	1 29	4 26	2 50	5 64	2 95	4 11	5 93	49 49
Dalbeattie (Kirkennan)	8 05	13	3 30	4 18	4 68	1 43	4 64	2 55	5 55	7 34	3 92	8 04	54 96
" (Drumstinchall)	3 23	02	3 53	4 21	2 84	1 68	5 32	2 43	5 31	6 97	3 82	10 03	54 73
Chipperkyle	6 44	00	2 92	4 04	3 93	1 39	3 10	2 21	4 81	5 85	3 15	7 88	46 75
Lochrutton (Dumfries Waterworks)	8 34	08	3 13	3 73	3 07	2 10	4 47	2 67	5 29	6 87	3 67	9 98	53 40
Carrachan	6 23	09	3 34	3 33	2 84	2 28	3 50	2 42	4 87	6 71	3 50	8 72	47 83
WIGTOWN.													
Castle Kennedy (Loch Inch)	3 42	10	2 50	4 96	2 96	2 13	3 76	2 31	5 31	6 59	3 70	6 67	44 44
Logan House	2 41	18	2 14	3 67	2 75	1 66	3 91	2 31	4 27	6 75	3 75	5 34	37 14
Corsewall	2 69	00	2 76	2 64	2 09	2 01	3 42	2 63	4 03	4 10	2 86	5 72	32 85
Whithorn (Glasgerron)	2 96	07	2 25	3 61	3 42	1 17	2 69	2 26	6 31	6 10	3 33	4 74	37 80
" (Physgill)	3 18	07	2 46	3 76	3 50	1 24	2 34	2 12	6 74	6 10	2 88	5 45	40 32
Port William (Monreith)	3 07	01	2 78	2 65	3 30	1 25	2 72	2 08	6 16	6 91	2 88	5 45	38 26
Stoneykirk (Ardwell House)	2 49	12	2 36	3 84	2 86	1 80	3 83	2 24	4 36	5 63	3 09	4 83	37 50
New Luce Public School	3 19	04	3 67	5 23	3 04	1 72	4 01	2 74	5 23	7 04	4 36	5 68	45 95
Garlieston (Galloway House)	3 10	06	2 98	4 00	3 21	1 36	2 88	3 01	4 62	5 76	2 66	5 95	39 62
Kirkcowan (Craighlaw)	4 26	08	2 87	4 88	3 22	1 69	4 04	2 88	5 86	8 16	4 18	6 85	48 97
Newton-Stewart (Little Barraer)	4 49	08	2 76	4 87	3 44	1 49	4 26	2 29	5 17	6 22	4 38	7 06	46 51
" (Dunree)	4 85	05	2 76	4 93	3 95	1 72	3 87	2 08	4 80	6 91	4 30	8 00	48 22

(These data should be taken as provisional.)

Field Meetings.

10th June, 1933.

The first Field Meeting of the season was held on the above date, when about 35 members of the Society left the Ewart Library at 1.45 p.m. for the Lockerbie district. At Lockerbie they were joined by the members of the Lockerbie Literary Society and also by several other members from Moffat and Beattock. Under the able leadership of Mr R. C. Reid, who arranges these excursions, the first objective was reached, Spedlins Tower, where the party was welcomed by Mr and Mrs Cunningham Jardine, and shown over the Tower. The Rev. J. R. Thomson, B.D., minister of Applegarth and Sibbaldie, gave an interesting paper (which will be found hereunder) on the building and its history, with some notes on the Jardine Family. Mr Reid read a short paper, contributed by Mr H. S. Gladstone of Capenoch, on Sir William Jardine, and a cordial vote of thanks was given to Mr Thomson and Mr Reid on the motion of Mr G. W. Shirley.

The company then proceeded to Gillesbie, where they were most hospitably entertained to tea by Colonel and Mrs Melville. Provost Jardine of Lockerbie voiced the thanks of those present to their host and hostess.

Hutton Mote was next reached, and though the weather was cloudy and drizzling the members listened with interest while Mr Thornton L. Taylor, of Dumfries Academy, gave an account of its history. His paper will be found here subjoined.

From this point the party went to Corrie Mains, where they were met by Mr Anderson, who acted as guide to the ruins of Corrie Castle, where Mr R. C. Reid was again the speaker. His paper will be found below. A hearty vote of thanks to Mr Taylor and Mr Reid was moved by Mr Hamilton, Rector of Lockerbie Academy, who also conveyed the

thanks of the Lockerbie Society for the invitation to this Field Meeting. The Lockerbie contingent then left, and the party left for Dumfries, which was reached by way of Tundergarth about 9 p.m.

Spedlin's Tower.

By Rev. J. RAMSAY THOMSON, B.D.

All of us, when we were at school, were taught, I expect, what different places were "famous for." And in the course of a lifelong search for knowledge the habit of searching out what different places are famous for still remains with us.

Spedlin's Tower, the ancient seat of the Jardine family, is chiefly famous for a ghost story. Yet the apartment connected with the story is itself worthy of notice. Most castles or keeps had their prison. This was known as the "pit," as the familiar phrase "pit and gallows" expressed the baronial range of punishment for crime. The pit at Spedlins was smaller and less commodious than almost any other in the country. It was a dismal cavity, unlit and almost unventilated, 11½ feet deep, 7 feet 4 inches long, and only 2½ feet wide. It was entered by a trap door at the foot of the stair which led upwards from the dining hall. In the time of Charles II. Sir Alexander Jardine had confined in this dungeon a miller named Porteous, who was accused of having wilfully set fire to his own premises. Sir Alexander was soon after suddenly called away to Edinburgh, and he carried the key of the vault with him, and did not recollect or consider his prisoner's care till he was passing through the West Port of Edinburgh, where perhaps the sight of the warder's keys brought the thing to his mind. Sir Alexander immediately sent back a courier to liberate the man; but Porteous had in the meantime died of hunger. It is said that famine constrained him to devour one of his own hands; and it was on some steps of a stair within the small dungeon that he was found stretched out in

this deplorable condition. No sooner was the man dead than his ghost began to torment the household; and no rest was to be had within the tower of Spedlins either day or night. In this dilemma Sir Alexander Jardine, according to old use and wont, summoned a whole legion of ministers to his aid. By their strenuous efforts, by a week's fasting and prayer, Porteous was at length confined to the scene of his mortal agonies, where, however, he continued to scream occasionally at night: " Let me out, let me out; I'm deean o' hunger " . . . to flutter like a bird against the door of the vault, and to remove the bark of any twig that was sportively thrust through the keyhole. The spell which thus compelled the spirit to remain in bondage was attached to a large black letter Bible, used by the exorcists, and afterwards deposited in a stone niche, which still remains in the wall of the staircase. It is said that the clergyman of the family who had been mainly responsible for the exorcism did not long survive this task. After the lapse of many years, when the family repaired to the newer mansion on the other side of the river, the Bible was left behind to keep the restless spirit in order. On one occasion indeed the volume required to be re-bound, and was despatched to Edinburgh; but the ghost getting out of the dungeon and crossing the river, made such a disturbance in the new house, hauling the baronet and his lady out of bed, that the Bible was recalled before it reached the capital, and placed in its former situation. The good woman who told Grove this story in 1788, declared that should it again be taken off the premises no consideration whatever would induce her to remain a single night.

It is interesting to recall also a story associated with the wife of this same Sir Alexander Jardine. She was Lady Margaret Douglas, a sister of the persecuting Earl of Queensberry, and was so extremely penurious that she generally went abroad covered with rags. So anxious was this lady to amass money that she would sit for whole days on the bank of the Annan near her home of Spedlins to carry people across on her shoulders for the moderate re-

muneration of a halfpenny. What must we think of a country and an age, in which a lady of the first quality and sister of a Prime Minister undertook the office of a porter?

To come to the tower itself.

The two lower storeys probably date from the 15th century—probably late 15th century. They have barrel-vaulted ceilings, and the ground floor would perhaps be used to house the cattle and stock.

On the first floor is the banqueting hall. The windows contain stone seats, and it has been suggested that it was there that the retainers partook of their meals. Of considerable interest in the banqueting hall is the fireplace. It is carried deeply into the wall, and suggests that it was not, in its present form, part of the original structure built in the 15th century, but was an improvement carried out probably in the 16th or 17th century when the additional height was given to the tower itself. The fireplace is in a good state of preservation. It is fine early Renaissance work, with moulded cornice, and a frieze enriched with fluted consoles. The jambs are console-shaped and fluted, and have moulded capitals and bases. The mouldings show traces of the lingering Gothic form. The keyed stonework above the lintel is of recent construction, and has been built to preserve the fireplace itself.

The original entrance was probably at this the first floor level, but the present entrance is at ground level and opens on to the basement. The stairway is within the thickness of the wall. In the earlier portion which we are now considering the wall is 9 feet thick. The stair is commanded by a squint from the window of the first floor chamber.

Regarding the stairway. In some towers one has to cross to the far end of the hall to reach the spiral continuation of the stair to the upper floors. This has sometimes been attributed to defensive design, but might more reasonably be attributed to reasons of privacy and propriety. To the mediæval mind the game was up by the time the invaders had reached the banqueting hall. The approach to the

private apartments was normally from the dais end of the hall, which was the private end, without any military device being in question. In Spedlin's Tower, however, the turnpike to the upper floors started on the same side directly opposite to the straight flight from the ground. Even in earliest times there must either have been upper apartments, or else upper battlements for the defence of the tower—hence the structure of the stairway.

The tower was added to in the early 17th century, probably in 1605—the date which appears on a carved stone near the top of the building bearing a coat-of-arms. The upper walls are only 3 feet to 3 feet 6 inches thick. At the foot of the wheel stair leading upwards from the banqueting hall there is the hatch over the pit or prison, that dismal cavity of which I have already spoken. The second floor (or third storey, if you prefer it so) evidently consisted of four rooms, 10 feet high. They were evidently commodious, and, for the time, luxurious apartments. In each there is a fireplace, an aumbry, and a garderobe. The aumbry is an inset cupboard let into the wall, in which in a church the elements and utensils of Holy Communion would be kept. As I cannot imagine that the piety of the owners of such a tower would extend to preserving the elements of Communion in every guest room, the aumbry would no doubt be used as a receptacle for arms and weapons of offence and defence, or simply as a cupboard. The garderobe, which appears in every one of these rooms and always without a flue, was a mediæval sanitary provision. The roof had twin ridges separated by a valley, in the line of which was the passage on the second floor. It is interesting to notice that the stair to the third floor is on the opposite side of the building, no longer within the thickness of the wall. The third floor bears evidence also of four rooms, 8 feet high. Beyond that there is evidence, I think, of two attics under the eaves of the roof, making the tower at the period of its greatness a building of five storeys. One of the skew-puts bears a carving of a human head; another is moulded; the remainder are plain.

A dwelling such as this is not to be regarded as a castle built to stand a siege, but rather as a fortified dwelling-house, giving ample protection against a raid. The site was carefully selected. At one time the River Annan would flow at the base of the steep bank. Spedlin's Moss would stretch round two other sides of the tower, and the main approach was perhaps by a rough track through the moss. Traces of earthworks at a little distance round the tower, and at one time forming a first line of defence, can still in places be discernible.

It only remains to be said, I think, that the tower is in a remarkably good state of preservation, due to the care and interest of Mrs Cunningham Jardine's father, Mr David Jardine, who carried out a scheme of restoration and preservation.

Gillesbie Tower.

By R. C. REID.

The fragments of masonry which you see here are all that remains of the old Tower of the Grahams of Gillesbie. In addition to being perched on a naturally strong site, it must have been a building of considerable strength, as its walls were 6 feet thick. It has been further strengthened on the western side by an artificial earthen rampart some 10 feet in height and an outer ditch 25 feet wide by 9 feet deep. Formerly this rampart ran like an arc from the steep river bank round the tower to the bank again, forming an additional defence of a somewhat unusual nature, though now a modern road leading to the farm of Closs cuts right through it. No date can be assigned to the Tower, though the thickness of wall may indicate a structure of the 16th century, the period of erection of most of our small towers. But the earthen outworks are probably much more ancient, and may have surrounded the habitation of the early Grahams of Gillesbie. This family was apparently descended from the Grahams of Moskesso or Maskesswra, on the farm of Closs, who in turn were descended from the Grahams of

Dalkeith and Eskdale, ancestors of the present Duke of Montrose. In 1355-6 John of Grame, son and heir of Sir John of Grame, sometime laird of Maskesswra, wodset to Roger Kirkpatrick, laird of Torthorwald, an annual rent due to him from the lands of Over Dryfe, the deed being signed at Carlaverock.¹ It must be assumed that from him were descended the two branches of Gillesbie and Mosskesso, which about 1540 were united in the person of James Graham of Gillesbie and Moskesso. It was from the Grahams of Moskesso that Long Will Graham, ancestor of the Grahams of Netherby, Viscounts Preston is alleged to be sprung. As early as 1485 John Grame was owner of Gillenbye (Gillesbie).² He seems to have been succeeded by Robert Graham (1508) and then by James Graham of Gillisby (1530),³ who had two sons, James of Gillesbie (1582) and John called Jok of Dryff, who followed the usual pursuit of theft and raiding both across the Border and upon their neighbours. Jok, as tutor to his nephew, John of Gillesbie, is stated by Colonel Rogerson to have led the Graham clan at Dryfesands in 1593, and to have been ancestor to the Grahams of Shaw. The tombstone of his son, John Graham of Shaw, "ane honest gentleman," who died in 1681, aged 80, is still to be seen in Hutton Kirkyard.⁴

This old Tower, which is stated to have been uninhabited since 1641,⁵ has passed through many hands. Grahams gave place to Scotts, whose heiress married an Edinburgh writer named Fordyce, who was followed by a Porteous, who sold to Kirkpatrick of Fenton. Ultimately in 1782 Gillesbie and Boreland were acquired by Dr. John Rogerson, physician, to the Empress Catharine of Russia, from whose descendant, Colonel Rogerson, it passed to Colonel Melville.

A Border ballad named *Christie's Will*, probably invented and written by Sir Walter Scott, who has enshrined

¹ *Drumlanrig Papers*, p. 43.

² *Annandale Papers*, p. 13.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁴ *Hutton Under the Muir*, p. 25.

⁵ *Hutton Under the Muir*, p. 25.

it in his Border Minstrelsy, has an association with this ruin.

Christie's Will was grandson of Johnny Armstrong of Gilnockie, and the ballad recites how at the instigation of Traquair Christie's Will kidnapped Lord Durie, Lord of Session, 1621-42. Durie was about to give judgment in a case against Traquair, when on the links of Leith he was kidnapped and detained without benefit of daylight for three months, during which his family went into mourning and the case satisfactorily disposed of. He was then taken back and released at Leith.

“ Willie has hied to the tower of Grame;
 He took auld Durie on his back,
 He shot him down to the dungeon deep,
 Which garr'd his auld banes gie mony a crack.”

Within the basement of this ruin a pompous Lord of Session is supposed to have sat in darkness for three months. Even if the ballad is an invention we are grateful to Sir Walter for the idea.

Hutton Mote.

By T. L. TAYLOR.

A little over a mile to the south of the village of Borland, on the high ground to the east of the Dryfe Water on the farm of Nether Hutton, is one of the less well-known Norman sites in Dumfriesshire—Hutton Mote. For miles around, the little artificial mound on the hilltops is a well-known landmark, and it seems fairly certain that the original builder chose this site because of the commanding view it afforded.

Hutton Mote, 718 feet above sea level, is a good example of Norman earthworks. The mote itself is a truncated cone about 25 feet high, with a top diameter measurement of about 24 feet. The top is now most uneven, and could not support any sort of building, but the exposed position accounts for this. The mote is completely surrounded by a ditch about 7 feet deep and varying in breadth from 8 feet on the north to about 25 on the south. The outer wall of

the ditch would carry a stout wooden palisade, and the top edge of the mote would be similarly defended. From the outer rampart of the ditch on the north-west side of the mote an earth wall runs out for a distance of 28 feet, and then turning at right angles runs southwards about 50 feet. This ear-shaped area has no mound at its southern extremity, and it appears that this was a narrowed entry to the mote. The usual mode of ingress to the Norman castle was across the bailey, but it is doubtful if there was a bailey on this site, and even if such existed the lie of the land and the surrounding marsh would have made entry across it almost impossible. It is most likely that the way into the castle led through a stout wooden gate at the south end of this narrowed entry, and through another gate at the foot of the mote, thence by a path, within wooden walls, either straight up or winding round the mound to the summit, on which was the wooden castle. This would be a small wooden edifice, probably only some 15 or 16 feet square and two storeys high. The lower storey, windowless and entered by a hatchway from the floor above, would be used as cellarage, while the first floor or hall would be one large apartment—living and dining-room by day, and sleeping-room by night. Entry would be by ladder, and the room would be lit by unglazed windows provided with wooden shutters against hostile arrows and the cold night air. This humble wood and thatch building was the typical Norman castle of the 11th and 12th centuries—indeed it persisted in Scotland for another two hundred years.

The usual Norman earthworks show the double mound or mote and bailey plan. It is uncertain whether the comparatively large plateau to the south of the mote should be taken as a bailey or not. It is well defended on the east, where the ground falls steeply to a depth of about 50 feet, and it is not impossible that eight centuries ago a burn flowed in this little valley. On the west also the plateau is sufficiently well defended by the natural fall of the ground. To the south, however, there is no clear line, only a gradual downward slope, and it is now impossible to say where the

bailey, if such it were, ended. There seems to have been considerable later drainage on the hillside to the south and east, and the artificial loch to the south has possibly made what was formerly marsh comparatively firm ground. If we suppose the south end of the plateau to have sloped down to marshy ground, we see at once a reason for the absence of an earth wall—a fence of stakes would be sufficient defence. It must be borne in mind, however, that this plateau may never have been a bailey, though its ample proportions would have made it ideal for carrying the usual out-buildings—servants' and soldiers' quarters, stables, smithy, kitchen, store-house, etc.—and as a corral for animals. In shape this plateau is an irregular quadrilateral—the north side (nearest the mote) is about 30 yards, the east side about 90 yards, the south about 40 yards, and the west about 70 yards. This is an unusually large area for a bailey, but the natural defences of the site would account for its size.

The site is particularly well chosen if one considers the castle as the seat of a Norman baron set down in a disaffected area to maintain the King's Law. Its remoteness and inaccessibility, on the other hand, probably prevented Hutton Mote ever becoming the abode of any powerful lord, and this, I think, is borne out by the scant information there is to be found about the occupiers of the mote. We know that at different times the lands of Hutton-under-the-Muir (it is generally referred to in old charters as *Hutone sub mora*) belonged to great Scottish families, but it is unlikely that they ever lived there. In the 12th century, we may be quite certain, the hill on which the mote stands arose from boggy ground, and except from the north-east would be quite unapproachable. This, combined with the magnificent view of the surrounding district, would be a tremendous asset to the original settlers at the time of the Norman conquest of Scotland. This was not a conquest in the military sense of the word—rather a peaceful penetration at the invitation of King David I. (1124-53). David had been brought up at the English court, where his sister, Matilda,

was Henry I.'s queen, and when he succeeded to the Scottish throne in 1124 he was more Norman than Scot. He had learned to appreciate the thorough methods of the Normans and to admire the excellent order they maintained in their baronies. It was natural, then, that on his accession he should invite the impecunious younger sons of the great Norman families to settle in the more unruly parts of his kingdom, particularly in the north-east and south-west. It is possible that Hutton Mote was erected in his reign: it was certainly occupied within 30 years of his death (c. 1180).

The usual Norman barony had three component elements—the castle, the seat of the Lord of the Manor; the village, the collection of peasants' and serfs' huts; and the church—generally all within sight of each other. Occasionally, however, owing to the contour of the countryside or for some other good reason, castle, church, and village might be some little distance apart. Such, I think, was the case at Hutton. The castle required a commanding site, the villagers naturally preferred to be near the village fields in the more fertile land around the present church and village of Borland, and the church chose the more sheltered position. We do not know for certain where the original "capella de Hotoun" was situated, but places of burial are not easily forgotten, and there is no reference to any other church site in the immediate neighbourhood, so I think we must take it that the present church is on the site of the 12th century chapel of Hutton, which had been about a mile to the north of the castle.

Few churches in the county can have a longer record than this of Hutton. Colonel Rogerson in his admirable little history of the parish, *Hutton-under-the-Muir*, gives an account of the history of the church, which may be briefly summarised here. About 1180 the Chapel of Hutton was dependent on the mother church of Sibbaldbie, and it was agreed in that year that, on the death of the incumbent Gilbert, the chapel should belong in full right to the church

of Sibbaldbie.¹ In 1193 Adam, son of Gilbert, Lord of the Manor of Hutton, obtained the recognition of Hutton as an independent church with full ecclesiastical rights, and after adding eight acres to the land already in possession of the church gifted it to the Abbey of Jedburgh.² In 1220 Walter, Bishop of Glasgow, obtained the church of Hutton and its revenues from the Abbot of Jedburgh, so that it became a prebendary church of Glasgow Cathedral.³ A generation later, in 1258, William, Bishop of Glasgow, made a gift of the church of Hutton and its revenues to the Chapter of the Cathedral, as he had increased the number of non-residentary canons, and this gift was for their welfare and sustenance.⁴ There are also several references to the church of Hutton in lay charters during the 15th century, but from then till after the Reformation there is no mention of it to be found.

The derivation of the name Hutton is obscure. *The Old Statistical Account* suggests that the name is derived from *Holt*—hilly ground; or *Haut*—a wood; either of which is applicable to the district. *The New Statistical Account* suggests that the name means "town of huts," but neither derivation is satisfactory. Like Hutton in Cumberland the name is probably Norse, though the significance is uncertain. Colonel Rogerson suggests "Hugo's tun," that is the dwelling of Hugo, who he takes to be the original holder of the castle on this site. This is an ingenious and not impossible derivation—but I have been unable to trace any Hugo in connection with this site. *The Old Statistical Account* goes on to say: "Hutton, it should seem, was at some early period a more distinguished place than in later times. Upon the farm of Nether Hutton there is a mount, artificially formed, now called Hutton Moat. . . . It is granted by all that these moats were places where courts were held for the distribution of justice." Moat here is not the Anglo-Saxon and Gaelic *mot*—a meeting place, as the writer goes

¹ *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, vol. I., charter 83.

² *Reg. Epis. Glas.*, vol. I., charters 78-81.

³ *Reg. Epis. Glas.*, vol. I., charter 114.

⁴ *Reg. Epis. Glas.*, vol. I., charter 206.

on to suggest, but the old French *Motte*—a clod of earth, which was regularly applied to the artificial mounds erected by the Normans on which they superimposed their wooden castles.

The history of the owners and occupiers of Hutton Mote is obscure and full of gaps. "It may be accepted," says Colonel Rogerson, "that Hugo, an Anglo-Norman, settled at Hutton" in the 12th century. As I have mentioned I can find no authority for this, and Rogerson unfortunately gives no references. We can be more certain of Adam, son of Gilbert, and Juliana, his mother, the Lord and Lady of Hutton, who were almost certainly resident at the end of the 12th century (c. 1180).⁵ They held the manor of Hutton from Adam, son of Adam, son of Richer. Unfortunately I have been unable to trace Richer. From Volume I. of the *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland* we find Gilbert, son of Richer, witness to a charter, dated Lochmaben, 1166, in which the King, William the Lion, confirms Robert de Brus and his heirs in the lands which his father and he have held in Annandale.⁶ Between 1194 and 1214 (date uncertain) Adam, son of Adam, is witness to a land deed referring to a resignation of land in Annandale to William de Brus.⁷ It is not impossible, therefore, that the Adam, son of Gilbert, who held Hutton, was a grandson of Richer and cousin of the overlord, Adam, son of Adam, son of Richer.

A few years later we find the lands of Hutton in the possession of the Avenel family, but when or by what means the change of ownership took place is again a mystery. Sir Henry Graham of Dalkeith married the daughter and heiress of Roger Avenel (who died in 1243) and acquired, along with other territory, lands in Eskdale in Dumfriesshire, and we find this Sir Henry styled "dominus de Hutoune."⁸ This Sir Henry was succeeded by his son, Sir Nicholas, who died in 1303-6, and by his grandson, Sir John, who died in 1337.

⁵ *Reg. Epis. Glas.*, vol. I., charter 83.

⁶ *Calendar of Documents*, No. 105.

⁷ *Calendar of Documents*, No. 606.

⁸ *Registrum Honoris de Morton*, vol. II., charter 3.

Sir Nicholas de Graham forfeited lands in Dumfriesshire for "rebellion" during the English domination,⁹ and in 1307 Lord Hereford, the English Lord of Annandale, made a grant for life of lands in Hotone and Locardebi to Sir Bartholomew Denefand. It is not certain whether this refers to Hutton-under-the-Muir or to Little Hutton in Dryfesdale. Sir John de Graham, filius (i.e., son of Sir John, who died in 1337), was the last direct male of the elder branch of the family of Graham, and he resigned Dalkeith in favour of Sir William Douglas de Laudonia, 6th January, 1341-42.¹⁰ Margaret, the younger sister of Sir John de Graham, is said to have married Sir William Douglas, the Knight of Liddesdale, though this is very doubtful, as his only known wife was called Elizabeth. This marriage, it is said, brought Hutton and certain other lands of the Grahams into the Douglas family.¹¹

In 1373 Alan Grahame of Morton resigned all his territories of Hutton-under-the-Moor to his overlord, George, 10th Earl of Dunbar and 3rd of March, Lord of Man and Annandale, on condition that the lands be granted to James Douglas of Dalkeith, nephew and heir of the Knight of Liddesdale,¹² who was to pay a rent to Alan Grahame and to his male heirs for all time. But, and this is interesting, should Alan leave no male heirs the lands of Hutton were to revert not to the overlord but to James Douglas.¹³ Nothing else appears to be known of this Alan Grahame, and it is to be assumed that he died without male heirs and the lands of Hutton thus became part of the Douglas estates. Either by marriage or agreement, then, the lands of Hutton formerly held by the Grahams passed into the hands of the Douglasses in the latter part of the 14th century.

In 1388 James Douglas of Dalkeith confirmed William

⁹ *Calendar of Documents, Scotland*, vol. II., 1138, 1359, 1770.

¹⁰ *Reg. Honor. de Morton*, II., charters 58 and 59.

¹¹ *Scots Peerage*, vol. IV., p. 197.

¹² *Reg. Honor. de Morton*, II., charter 70.

¹³ *Reg. de Morton*, vol. II., charters 143, 144, 145.

de Caldecotys and his wife in the tenement of Hutton in the valley of the Annan,¹⁴ and we know that lands in Hutton-under-the-Moor were held by the de Caldecotys in the later English occupation of Annandale.

In 1410 James Douglas, Lord of Dalkeith, granted to Thomas of Carruthers the lands of Brandriggs in Annandale in the holding of Hutton-under-the-Moor resigned by Elizabeth Cryspyne.¹⁵ I doubt whether it is now possible to find out anything about Elizabeth Cryspyne or Thomas Carruthers, but it is likely that by the beginning of the 15th century Hutton Mote had lost any strategic importance it may once have had, and by that date the stone castle had come into common use. If the wooden castle on the Mote still existed, it was the dwelling of a farmer, not of a feudal baron. There are several late references to the tenement and lands of Hutton-under-the-Moor which show that they were in the possession of the Douglasses, Earls of Morton, as late as the end of the 16th century, by which time Hutton Mote would certainly be out of commission.

Corrie Castle.

By R. C. REID.

The ruins of the tower of Lun, or Lunelly as it is known in the Ordnance Survey, are now in too dilapidated a condition to permit us to form any conclusion as to what it once was like. What survives is probably all that remains of the 16th century Tower of the Johnstones when they owned the lands of Corrie. But the place name of Corrie Castle has tenaciously adhered to this site, and we must therefore regard it as the home of that once important family.

Like the early occupants of Hutton Mote, the Corries were an Anglo-Norman family, who first appear in Dumfriesshire at the close of the 12th century. A man named Hugh, a follower of one of the early Brus, must have re-

¹⁴ *Reg. Honor. de Morton*, vol. II., charter 187.

¹⁵ *Calendar of Laing Charters*, No. 90.

ceived a grant of these lands which later were to develop into the Barony of Corrie. As owner of Corrie he was naturally called Hugh of Corrie, which became the surname of his descendants. We would expect to find here a mote as at Hutton, but there are no indications of one. At the same time it must be remembered that the levelling or truncating of a mote, in order to provide a foundation for a stone tower, is not unknown, and such may have occurred here.

As late as 1894 the southern gable of the tower still stood 30 feet high.¹ Since then disaster must have overtaken it. The tower stood within a courtyard surrounded by a stone wall, and remaining foundations imply that there were outhouses within the courtyard. The steep bank down to the river affords an excellent defence on the east, but apart from the natural rise of the ground the position is otherwise not remarkable for its strength. Yet on this site, within some sort of wooden stockaded dwelling, Hugh of Corrie must have lived between 1190 and 1218, when he last appears on record. Of his descendants who became known as Corrie of that Ilk, full accounts will be found in two articles in our *Transactions*, 1912-13, p. 86, and 1915-16, p. 29. There were no less than four Walters in succession. The first married one of the co-heiresses of the great Levinton inheritance in Cumberland. The third adhered to Scotland at Bannockburn, and so forfeited his English inheritance. He was knighted at the siege of Carlisle in 1315. The fourth Walter, during the interlude when Balliol was King and all Annandale held by England, came to some arrangement whereby his brother, John of Corrie, who supported the English cause, was infeft in the estate forfeited by the English from Walter.

John's descendants remained in possession till 1484, when George Corrie of that Ilk was attainted for supporting the Albany and Douglas invasion that was repelled at Lochmaben. Three days after that battle the lands of Corrie were granted by the Scottish Crown to one Thomas Car-

¹ *History of Corries*, p. 142.

ruthers. There must, however, have been some remission of the forfeiture, for Carruthers is nowhere else associated with this castle, whereas till 1516 George Corrie was certainly in possession. By 1510 George had become involved in debt, owing £200 to the Maxwells. Maxwell distrained and then resigned his interest in favour of James Johnstone of Lochwood, who granted it to his second son, Adam. The Corries disappear entirely, though the younger branches of Newby and of Kelwood survived for a while. Three generations of Johnstone of Corrie lived here, and this tumbled tower is probably their handiwork and residence. In 1623 they exchanged with their chief, Sir James Johnstone of Lochwood, their lands of Corrie for the small estate of Girthhead, where they died out in the male line a century later. Since that date, 1623, Corrie Castle has been swallowed up in the Annandale estate, till acquired by Castlemilk.

Two traditions relating to this site should be referred to. The first *Statistical Account* (1794) stated that the Johnstones acquired Corrie by marriage with the daughter of Sir Thomas Corrie "near 300 years ago." That passage was penned by William Stewart, factor to the Annandale Estate. His son, Charles Stewart at Hillside, succeeded him as factor, and in 1858 wrote to George Dickson of Royal Circus, Edinburgh, a letter which was still in existence in 1897, and of which I have a copy.

It contains a copy of the tombstone of George Johnstone of Girthhead, which had then been removed for preservation to the Raehills vault at Johnstone Kirk. It fully substantiates Wm. Stewart's statement. It runs as follows :

"Here lyes George Johnston of Girthhead and Margaret Johnstone, his spouse, who was Laird of Corrie and Lenellie; descended by Father to son to (? from) Adam Johnston, brother german to the Laird Johnston of Lockwood, who married Sir Thomas Corri of that Ilk [his] only daughter and heir to him, and so became Laird of Corrie; and Georg Johnston son of the said Georg of Girthhead and Elizabeth Young his spous and all their progenie since they cam from Corrie."

The copy of this inscription would go far to establish the tradition if only history recorded the existence of a Sir Thomas Corrie. The inscription was copied for Stewart by one Mr Graham, steward of Raehill, so Mr Dickson only possessed a copy of a copy. The evidence is not conclusive, and we must suspend judgment.

The other tradition is, in its most recent form, far more graphic and exciting, and far more untrustworthy. I do not know where it originated, but I first found it in Miss Jessie Corrie's *Records of the Family of Corrie*, Vol. I., p. 142, where it is stated that "according to tradition it (Corrie Castle) was burned by the Bells of Blackwood House (Blackethouse), who carried off a daughter of the Corries." The author of *The Bell Family in Dumfriesshire*, p. 9, referring to this tradition, somewhat sceptically gives another version: "Walter Bell of Crowdie Castle was never known to grant quarter to a foe, and his looks were harsh and forbidding. One day he went to make love to Isabella de Corrie, daughter of Sir David de Corrie of Corrie Castle. On his way he encountered a rival in the person of Johnstone of Tundergarth, whose suit Isabella favoured. Bell slew him on the banks of the Milk and carried off the distracted girl to Crowdie Castle, and there got a priest to marry them. Next day Bloody Bell gave a grand dinner in honour of the event, and invited Sir David de Corrie to the feast, and all went well until the priest appeared to announce that the bride was dead. Bell became insane and died in a dungeon in his own castle."

It will be noticed that this version of the tradition is not only much fuller but materially differs from Miss Corrie's. Unfortunately we have never heard of Sir David de Corrie or his daughter, and Crowdie Castle (i.e., Crowdieknowe in Middlebie) was not owned by Bells till long after the death of the last Corrie of this castle. But we need not be troubled by that, for a more romantic version appeared in 1867 by the author of the *Bard and the Belted Knight*. In passing it may be remarked that the Belted Knight was Sir Andrew Halliday and not Sir David de Corrie, but our

author's account of Sir Andrew's genealogy is just as romantic and bard-like as is his traditions of Sir David. If anyone wishes to ascertain how traditions grow, let him study this one. In its earliest form the tradition is contained in one sentence. In its latest it covers 13 pages of print. Into the mouths of the aged priest, the fair Isabella, and the forbidding Bell he places long and eloquent speeches. One is reminded of the rhetorical addresses to their troops by the generals of Attica that enliven the pages of Thueydides' *Account of the Peloponnesian War*. William Johnstone, author of the *Bard and the Belted Knight*, was a Corrie man, and apparently a member of the teaching profession, and when we learn that he also wrote a book on *French Pulpit Eloquence* we can realise how our tradition has been transformed.

Apparently an ancient stone coffin was found in Old Carruthers Kirkyard, which lies close to Crowdieknowe. It was empty, and at once the romantic disposition of William Johnstone set to work. He proceeded to fill it, then to empty it, and finally to moralise over it. And all the time the story of Fair Helen of Kirkconnell may have been at the back of his mind. Isabella becomes youngest daughter to Sir David. When Bell has found her lying dead he swears that worms shall never pollute her corpse nor that it should mingle with common and vulgar dust. So he ordered to be prepared a coffin hewn from the solid rock—a coffin that the worms could not enter. So she was buried in Carruthers Kirkyard.

Stricken with remorse, Bell visited the kirkyard in the gloaming. He heard a hollow voice like a stifled moan proceed from Isabella's grave uttering audibly the word, "Cauld, Cauld!" Thereafter he was haunted, and in his castle the silence of the night was broken by the sepulchral accents, "Cauld Cauld!" He consulted the priest, who instructed him to remove the corpse of Isabella from the stone coffin and re-bury it in a wooden one as a warmer resting place. This was done, and the voice was heard no more. But when Bell saw the mouldering and polluted corpse he went mad at the ghastly sight and spent the rest

of his days a raving maniac in the dungeon of his own castle.

So the tradition which began with the burning of Corrie Castle and the abduction of a daughter of that house has blossomed out into a whole chapter in the *Bard and the Belted Knight*, entitled "The Stone Coffin." Who now will say that romance is dead?

1st July, 1933.

The second Field Meeting of the season was held on this date, when a large company left the Ewart Library at 10.30 a.m. and travelled via Beattock and Broughton to the upper waters of the Tweed. The first halt was made at Drummelzier, where, after lunch by the river, a very interesting paper was read by Mr W. R. Gourlay on Merlin and his traditional connection with this district. The Grave of Merlin, so-called, was visited nearby, and Mr Gourlay was cordially thanked on the motion of Mr R. C. Reid.

The next halt was made at Stobo Kirk, where the Rev. Mr Cruickshank, minister of the parish, proved a delightful and interesting guide to the ancient edifice. Mr Reid again voiced the thanks of the company, which thereafter travelled down the beautiful Tweed valley to Neidpath Castle. Here they were received by Mr Walter Buchan, Town Clerk of Peebles, who took them over the Castle and related something of its history and traditions. A splendid view of the surrounding district was had from the battlements, enhanced by the perfect weather.

After tea in Peebles the next objective was the Old House of Traquair, where much interest was shown in the avenue of ancient trees and the gates, said to have been closed after the battle of Culloden Moor until another Stuart King should again enter them. Mr Buchan again spoke, relating something of the history of Traquair and its owners, and Mr R. C. Reid conveyed the thanks of the company for the time and trouble he had taken. The route homewards was by Ettrick and Yarrow and St. Mary's Loch, and Dumfries was reached about 9 p.m. after one of the finest excursions ever enjoyed by the Society.

**Notes of an Informal Talk given by Mr W. R. Gourlay
at Merlin's Grave.**

Two years ago at one of our field meetings I quoted a fragment from the *Ancient Annals of Cambria*. The fragment (under date 573) is as follows: "The battle of Arterid between the sons of Ellifer and Guendoleu the son of Kediau, and in this battle Guendoleu fell. Merlin became insane." I then gave you an account of what I believe to be the history of the battle: how Guendoleu was defeated: how the remnant of his followers escaped into the wood of Calydon: how Merlin having lost his reason wandered for many years in the forest of Etrick, and how to this day his grave is pointed out in the valley of the Tweed. To-day we are standing by the site of the grave.

Arthurian legend tells how the powers of Evil sought to counteract the influence upon men of the Incarnation. Therefore there was born of a virgin one who was to be the supreme anti-christ. The father confessor of the mother claimed the child for the Church, and at the moment of its birth baptised it. Thus Merlin, though the incarnation of Evil, was re-born into the Christian Faith and his actions through life show this double personality. Vortigern, the British leader, was in despair over the building of a Tower. What he built in the daylight crumbled to pieces in the dark hours. His priests, the Druids, warned him that the Tower could not stand unless its foundations were sprinkled with the blood of a man-child born of a virgin. This led to the discovery of Merlin, who by his magical power saw that below the site of the Tower was a lake, in which lived a Red and a White Dragon, and that the foundations were destroyed by the Dragons moving in the night. The lake was found and drained, and Merlin (the truth of whose vision was thus proved) became the advisor of Vortigern and of his successors, Ambrosius and Uter Pendragon. Arthur, when he was born of the Duchess of Cornwall and Uter Pendragon through the magical influence of Merlin, was entrusted to the Wizard. When the hour came Merlin

revealed to Arthur his royal descent, and that his destiny was to lead the Britons in their struggle against those who from overseas were steadily driving them westwards, into the wilds from Strathclyde to Cornwall. Then Merlin disappears. According to one account he was betrayed by a woman to whom he had been induced to tell the secret of his magic power, and who used this secret to imprison him alive in a rock. According to another account the prison was one of air solidified, and Merlin (though himself invisible) sees and hears and even at times speaks to passers-by. Still another account says that he retired voluntarily into a Tower and was never seen again.

The main source of these tales is the *Chronicon sive Historia Britonum*, written by Bishop Geoffrey of Monmouth previous to 1147, a work which (though not reliable as history) profoundly influenced English literature. Geoffrey had before him as his materials the treatise *De Excidio Britanniae* of Gildas, the earliest native British historian, and the later work of Nennius. But Geoffrey also drew upon his knowledge of old Welsh literature and the memories which still survived among the people of Wales.

In modern times the remains of this ancient Welsh literature have been collected and studied. Embedded in a mass of legend and romance scholars have found pieces of authentic history. Names of places recorded there have been identified with sites known to have been part of the old Kingdom of Strathclyde. These identifications show that there is no incongruity in finding sites of the actions of Arthurian legend in the South of Scotland.

The Roman legions were withdrawn from Britain in the first half of the 5th century. The Saxons (and their continental neighbours) had already appeared on the south and west coasts and up many of the river valleys. Tribes from North Caledonia had swarmed across the Roman Wall. There were hard-fought encounters between the old people of the land and the new-comers. Gradually the Britons (known to their enemies as the Wealas or Welsh) were consolidated into a nation—the Cymri—occupying the west of

our island from Dumbarton and Linlithgow on the north to the shores of Cornwall on the south. Lloyd in his history of early Wales writes: "There is excellent evidence that these encounters, whether with the foreign foe or among the Cymry themselves, were the theme of poets who sang their glories while they were still recent in the Brythonic tongue. The Welsh tribes retained (in spite of the Roman occupation) their native system of poetry and music, owing its origin, most likely, to the Druidic discipline. Thus there is no difficulty in accepting the statement of the *Saxon Genealogies* that in the age of Ida about 550 A.D. *Talhaearn*, 'the Father of Fantasy,' was famous in poesy, and that *Aneirin*, *Taliesin*, *Blwchfardd*, *Cian* . . . were all at the same time renowned composers of British verse. . . . To what extent the poems ascribed in mediæval MSS. to Taliesin and Aneirin may be regarded as the work of those poets is a question which has occupied critics for a century and has not yet received a final solution. It is indeed certain that not one of these poems has come down in a sixth century dress, and certain, also, that many of them were written in the Middle Ages, with an eye to political conflicts then raging, and were merely assigned to an ancient bard . . . for stage effect. But it still remains doubtful whether some of these warlike strains, in which the setting is *Cumbrian rather than Welsh*, *primitive rather than mediæval*, may not embody fragments of the older music, fitted to the diction of a later age. This is a possibility which has to be seriously considered in the case of the principal work attributed to Aneirin, the 'Gododin.' Though it no doubt contains many late additions, its principal theme—the ill fortune of the Brython on the field of Catraeth—seems to belong to early Cymric history, and to have nothing to do with the Wales of the Middle Ages. Catraeth has not been satisfactorily identified, but *Gododin* or *Gododdin* has been generally taken to be the country of the *Otodini* or *Votodini* placed by Ptolemy between the Tyne and the Forth."

Professor Veitch, following in the footsteps of Skene, brought to bear upon this problem his detailed knowledge

of the Border country and its lore. He came to the conclusion that Arthur's great campaign was fought, *first*, against the men of North Caledonia, who had pressed in upon the Cymri from the Highland line, and *then* against the Saxons (temporary allies of the Northerners), who had already obtained a footing on the southern shores of the Firth of Forth: that Arthur, the Dux Bellorum or Captain of the Cymric Hosts, marched from the south by the western way (the eastern half of Britain being occupied by the Saxons). He encountered the Northerners on the hills about Loudon, where the shires of Ayr and Lanark meet. He drove them north into Lennox: defeated them in four pitched battles, and drove them back to their strong places. Then he turned west and south against the Saxon allies, defeated them at Carron, followed them by the old Roman Road which leads by Biggar, and defeated them again at Cadmuir (near to this spot in the valley of the Manor), and still again at Wedale (the valley of Woe), by the waters of the Heriot. Having defeated his enemies in these eight field engagements, he attacked successively their strong places on the Rocks of Dumbarton, Stirling, and Edinburgh, and overcame their final resistance in 516 "*in Monte Badonis*," which Professor Veitch identifies with Bowden Hill, near Linlithgow. It was thus that the foundation was laid upon which Rydderich built the ancient Kingdom of Strathclyde.

As a general confirmation of this Professor Veitch adds: "No portion of Great Britain is so full, in the same space, of Arthurian names, as that part of Scotland which stretches from the brown slopes of the Grampians to the blue line of the Cheviots. . . . But the strength of the argument from the existence of these names does not, as appears to me, rest wholly on their number: it rests, *chiefly even*, on the fact that all other memory of Arthur and his associates, *except what lies in these names and traditions*, has died out of the Lowlands of Scotland ages ago. We have no popular songs or ballads commemorating the Arthurian exploits from which, in the period of Scottish history proper, these Arthurian names might have been borrowed, and this for

the reason that *a new race with a new language had come to occupy the country*. We are thus led to the conclusion that these designations have come down to us from a time and people that are almost prehistoric."

In the ancient Welsh poems two Merlins can be distinguished. One is referred to as Merlin Ambrosius or Myrddin Emrys, the legendary enchanter of the time of Vortigern. It is possible that a historic personage lies behind these tales of wonder, but, if so, he lived in the second half of the fifth century. The other Merlin of the Welsh Bardic poems lived a century later. The Bards referred to him as *Merddlin Wyllt*, son of Morvyrn, or Merlin Silvestris (Merlin of the Wood). He was a celebrated poet. Six poems attributed to him have come down to us, and references to him are found in others. From these we learn that he was the friend and bard of Guendoleu, that he knew Rydderich, that he was present at the battle of Arterid in 573. In that fatal engagement, as you remember, Guendoleu was killed, and Merlin, too, lost his nephew, the son of his twin sister Gwynnedd. He seems to have felt personally responsible for his death. Merlin escaped into the Forest of Ettrick, but his reason was affected by the calamity, and for many years, bereft of reason, he wandered in the forest.

The ancient poem known as the Avellenau, one of the oldest poems in British literature, represents him as singing during a gleam of sanity when nearing his end :

Death takes all away, why does he not visit me?
 For after Guendoleu no princes honour me:
 I am not soothed with diversion: I am not visited by the fair.
 Yet in the battle of Arterid golden were my torques,
 Though I am now despised by her who is the colour of the swans.
 Sweet apple tree which grows by the river side
 The keeper will not thrive on its splendid fruit.
 Before I lost my reason, I used to be around its stem
 With a fair sportive maid, a paragon of splendid form.
 Ten years and forty as the toy of lawless ones,
 Have I been wandering in gloom among sprites,
 After wealth in abundance and entertaining of minstrels
 After suffering disease and despair in the forest of Calydon.

Scottish tradition tells how one day St. Mungo was kneeling in solitary prayer in the wilds of Drummelzier when a mysterious figure suddenly stood before him, "weird like, unearthly in look with hair growing so grime, fearful to see, horrible as an embodied fury." The Saint asked him who and what he was. The reply came: "Once was I the prophet of (Guendoleu) Merlin by name: now in this solitude enduring privations. For I was the cause of the slaughter of all those who fell in the battle of Arterid, between the Lidel and Carwanolow." After a time the bard passed from the sight of St. Kentigern, "more bewildered, weary and perplexed than before, to chase, if that might help him, the gleam and shade on the hills and seek his heart's solace in the pulsings of the burn in common with the creatures of the wild."

Tradition tells how the old bard met his death near this spot at the hands of the shepherds of Meldred, a chief whose name may be commemorated in Drummelzier.

Let me quote Professor Veitch again: "There is no wilder or more solitary mountain land in the South of Scotland than these high spreading moors. There is no scene which could be more fitly assigned to a broken hearted and despairing representative of the old Druidic Nature worship, at once poet and priest of the fading faith, yet torn and distracted by secret doubts as to its truth and not knowing well where his beloved dead had gone, or what was their fate in that mysterious spirit world he felt was above and around him."

"Ah! Well he loved the Powsail burn,
 Ah! Well he loved the Powsail glen!
 And there beside his fountain clear,
 He soothed the frenzy of his brain.
 The wayward music of the stream
 Found echo in the poet's heart:
 The fitful pulses of the burn
 As broken rhythm of his art." (Scott.)

9th September, 1933.

The last Field Meeting of the season was held on the above date to the Borgue district of Kirkcudbright. A large turnout of members left the Ewart Library at 1.30 p.m., and travelled by way of Castle-Douglas to Borgue House, where they were received by Lord and Lady Dalziel. After inspecting the remains of the Old Place of Borgue, Mr Henderson, Borgue Academy, gave an interesting paper on the "Place of Borgue and Historical References to the Parish," and also gave some notes on the successive owners. At the conclusion of the paper the company, under the direction of Mr J. M. Gilmour, Chapelton, Lord Dalziel's manager, viewed the model byres and dairy, containing the most up-to-date plant, and which were greatly admired, as also the steading, remodelled on the most approved principles. Lord Dalziel's prize horses, including the well-known "Belle of Borgue," were also shown. Mr W. R. Gourlay, Kenbank, returned the thanks of the party to Lord and Lady Dalziel.

The next visit was made to Senwick Old Kirkyard, where Mr Henderson was again the speaker. On the motion of Mr R. C. Reid, who supplemented Mr Henderson's paper by some notes, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to him for both of his papers.

After tea at Kirkcudbright a visit was paid to Cumstoun Castle, where the members were received by Colonel and Mrs Maitland, who acted as guides to the old building. Mr R. C. Reid gave a scholarly paper on the history of the Castle and its owners, and Mrs Maitland also made a few supplementary remarks, while Colonel Maitland pointed out the partial restoration, already undertaken. A vote of thanks, moved by Mr Reid, was accorded to them, while Mr Reid himself was heartily thanked not only for his papers but for the time and trouble he expended in arranging these Field Meetings, on the motion of the Secretary. Dumfries was reached about 8 p.m.

The papers mentioned above will be found as under.

Borgue House: Outline of Ownership.

By JOHN HENDERSON.

As our time is strictly limited I propose to cut out preliminaries and draw your attention to the subject of this excursion—Borgue House or Laigh Borgue. In order to gain a little confidence in the prosecution of what is admittedly a difficult task I shall begin with known facts, and fact number one is that the present proprietor of this house and estate is the Right Hon. Lord Dalziel, Privy Councillor. Fact number two is that since the erection of the first edifice on these grounds nothing so great has been achieved as the most recent addition, viz., the commodious and modern—ultra-modern—byre and steading which you see over the way. So far remote is this from being a subject of antiquarian study that I can foresee the learned historians of 3000 A.D. debating as to whether it was erected in the 20th century or in the 22nd. May I be permitted to remark here that surely never in its long and chequered history has this estate changed hands in more romantic manner than when it was purchased by the Borgue boy, who went out into the world, became a great nobleman, and returned to own his native soil.

Glancing rapidly backwards through history, the following is an outline of the ownership of this estate and mansion or manor house. The proprietor immediately preceding Lord Dalziel was the late George G. B. Sproat, the poet of Borgue, and author of the famous song, "Bonnie Gallowa'." Before him was Andrew Pringle, in whose memory a bronze tablet was erected in Borgue High Church after his recent death. In 1876 died Dr. David Blair, the last of a distinguished line of lairds, and the last to be born in the old house in or about 1790. From this we see that the building has been occupied till within recent years as antiquarians reckon. As a matter of fact it was occupied as a dwelling-house till well into the nineteenth century. A few months ago there died in Kirkcudbright Miss Blair, the last local representative of this family. We can trace the Blairs in

ownership here back through the 18th century, with David Blair of Borgue, father of Dr. Blair, 1799; Lieut.-Colonel J. Blair, 1797; John Blair, who married, in 1761, Miss Catherine Gordon, daughter of Sir Alexander Gordon of Earlston, thus uniting two historic families; 1713 Wm. Blair M'Guffog, who appears to have taken the last part of his name from a M'Guffog of Mochrum, who is named as proprietor in 1671. In 1704 appears the name of Lady Rusco.

Towards the end of the 17th century—1682 to be exact—the owner was John M'Lellan, afterwards Lord Kirkcubright, or his lady, and with the exception of a few years after 1668, when Dame Anne Lyndserfe, wife of Sir David Dunbar of Baldoon (Kirkinner), was in possession, the M'Lellan family can be traced as far back as 1648, when the estate was acquired from Gordon of Lochinvar. With Gordon of Lochinvar, 1635, and Sir Patrick Vans of Barnbarroch (Kirkinner) interpolated, we pass from the M'Lellans back to the famous (or notorious) family of Douglas, so well known in Gallovidian as well as in general Scottish history. From Sir George Douglas, 1588, the year of the Spanish Armada, we pass back to the better known Sir James, the fourth Earl of Morton. This was the Regent Morton, known to history as the man “hoist with his own petard” or rather executed by his own maiden, which he brought from England for the chastisement of rebels, and whose efficiency he himself was forced to test. In 1565 these walls, or, more correctly speaking, the walls of an earlier building, presumably on this site, were silent witnesses of a real mediæval act of cruelty when Francis Douglas was mutilated by George Lord Seytoun. It is said that the middle fingers of his hands were struck off for some treasonable offence.

For two centuries before the unfortunate Douglas episode records are confused, but it may be assumed that the land and buildings changed hands frequently in the continuous uproar of the dark ages. The next authentic account is that from the list of charters granted by King David II., and here Borgue lands figure twice—first when one Dowgall or

Dougal M'Dougal received them from the king, and later when Fergus M'Dougall also received them from the same Royal hand after they were declared forfeit by John Mowbray, who must have in some way or other acquired them from Dougall aforesaid. We have now gone so far into the hazy past that it becomes difficult to distinguish the lands of Borgue from the glebe and tithes of its church. Of course this estate would be affected, if not in its entirety at least in its tithes, when in the 14th century the church of Borgue was transferred from the jurisdiction of Dryburgh Abbey to Whithorn Priory, and this leads us to the first written record of Borgue, when in 1150 David I., the "sair sanct," brought Hugo de Morville from Cumberland, and probably inspired him not only to build a church here, but to endow the same, and transfer its revenue to the Abbey of Dryburgh, which he (de Morville) had founded previously.

It must be explained here that Borgue church and churchyard appear to have been erected not on this Laigh Borgue, but on the neighbouring estate of South Carleton, and on a part of that estate called the Shank, which remains to this day the name of a field. Accordingly it is possible that the earliest records of Borgue church and lands may not have direct reference to this site. Possible, I say, but hardly probable. In any case the estates appear to have had a separate existence prior to the 17th century. In 1638 we find the name of Fullerton of Carleton appended to the Borgue Covenant, and at this date Gordon of Lochinvar had retour of Laigh Borgue. But as Durod was only a chapel, without so far as is known a churchyard, and as it is unlikely that an estate such as Laigh Borgue would be in such close proximity to a church without being definitely associated with it, probably the estate of Carleton was at one time a part of this. The valuation roll for the early 18th century—1728 was the date when the roll appeared for the first time in anything like its present form—shows the valuation of Laigh Borgue to be £333 6s 8d, which is identical with the figures for 1819.

In connection with what I have already said about the

endowment of Borgue kirk, the ancient roll shows that the whole parsonage teind for Borgue lands was assessed on Meikle Carleton, and amounted to £88. The exact words of the document are "Meikle Carleton, the half thereof is worth to him (Laird of Carleton) yearly (the parsonage teind of the whole lands of Borgue being deduced off the rent of this room, eighty-eight pound." However, as it is a well-established historical fact that only two individuals ever understood the intricacies of parsonage teinds, namely, their inventor and his satanic majesty, I do not propose to enter this unequal contest. It is interesting to find appended also to the Borgue Covenant the names of Robert and John Dalziel, so our host can therefore dispute with the Browns and Sproats the claim of representing the most ancient family still in existence in the parish. By family I mean human family, for the bees brought by the Irish immigrants of prehistoric times must be granted pride of place.

The following are some particulars of the old house.

The contours are easily followed, the plan being the well-known L shape. The main block lies approximately N.-E. and S.-W., with a short wing jutting out S.-E. There is another wing at the S.-W. corner, and a third attached to the north wall. This may have contained a staircase leading to a look-out tower, or may have been the main entrance to the second storey. The entrance is in the south wall. To the south of the S.-W. wing is an archway, probably leading to the courtyard or steading. The slots for beams for barring the door are still visible. The main building is approximately forty-eight feet, and the shorter wing thirty feet in length. The north or staircase wing is thirteen and a half by twenty feet nine inches. The S.-W. wing projects ten feet five inches from the south wall, and is eighteen feet ten inches wide. The walls are two feet six inches to three feet six inches in thickness. These are the measurements given by the Historical Monuments Commission in 1912. The building appears to have been a very substantial dwelling-house of two storeys and an attic, and being by situation and thickness of wall not well adapted for defence has been attributed

to the 17th century, and may have been built by a member of the M'Lellan family.

Tradition gives to the level park in the orchard behind the name of the tilting ground, and perhaps we have here a historic playing field of the mediæval type, such as we find at Stirling Castle. It is highly probable that there may be something in this tradition, for although the Douglasses might not have spent very much of their time in Borgue, they would certainly miss the amenities of jousting-park as well as of pit and gallows, remains of which so far have not been verified.

In conclusion I must confess that Nemesis has overtaken me to-day, for I feel in the position of a schoolboy who has not learned his lesson properly, or perhaps rather like one who has been tempted to "copy" and has copied the wrong answers. Please, sir, as many of you will have observed, the self-confident M'Kerlie was the source of very much of my matter and presumably of some of my errors.

A Borgue Covenant, 1638.

By R. T. YOUNG, M.A.

The literature of Covenanting times is already very extensive, and is likely to grow as long as public interest in this period of our national history is unabated. But the history of this period is by no means fully documented, and a hitherto unknown local example of the Covenant deserves a record in our *Transactions*. How long it has remained at the Register House or how it got there is unknown. It is not mentioned in Dr. King Hewison's List of Extant Covenants. It is in very faded condition, especially where the vellum has been folded, but with patience and expert treatment it has been read. The body of the document, as is usual, presents but few and trifling variations to the formula on which they are all based. If it be compared to the printed version of the National Covenant reproduced in the Book of Facsimiles it will be found that there are only verbal differences that do not affect the sense. The Borg Covenant,

though written in a very clear and readable seventeenth century hand, has, through age and much handling, become so blurred in some places that towards the middle of the parchment the beginnings and ends of the line are almost totally illegible. Yet when collated with the facsimile it is found to be an almost exact reproduction. It is well known that these Covenants were copied wholesale, one parish's copy being borrowed by another parish for that purpose. This explains the few verbal differences.

The present-day importance of such a document lies in the signatures appended to it and the list of those who subscribed but could not write. Very few local parish registers of this period have survived, and such a list of names must record at least the great majority of the inhabitants of the parish. Unfortunately the names alone, without any designation, are given, otherwise this Covenant would have preserved for us a Borgue directory for the year 1638.

None of the signatures of the "Barrones Gentlemen, etc.," attached to the manuscript, are in the same handwriting as the body of the document, whilst the list of subscribers or "commones" mentioned in the body of the document, over 200 in number, are all in the handwriting of the notary, Robert Heuchan. In a different hand from that of the unknown writer of the document the words are added between the Covenant and the signatures: "At Borg Kirk the twenty twa day of Apryll the zeir of God sixteen hundred and threthe-aught zeiris." The hand in which these words are written bears a remarkable resemblance to one of the signatures that follow, namely, that of the minister of the parish. His name is at the top of the second column of autograph signatures, and is written in a bold clear hand, very different from the sprawling penmanship of some of the country lairds. He adds under his name his proud avowal of his status, "Minister at Borg," a position he had occupied since 1607. So he must have seen, and perhaps suffered from, ecclesiastical changes, those "Innovations" which are referred to so bitterly in this very Covenant to which he was adhibiting his signature.

The signatures are as follows :

Robert Makcellane of Bar-	Mr Gaw. Maxwell, minister
magacheine.	at Borg.
Thomas Lennox of Ploun-	John Fullartoune of Carle-
t[own].	toun.
John Lennox.	James McClellane in B . . ard?
Andro Lennox.	Robert McCellane.
A. Cairnis.	James Kirk.
John Robisoune.	William Arnot.
John McGwpane.	Robert Gordon of Knockbrex.
Robert Heuchan, notary.	Thomas Sproit.
John McTagart.	John Palling.
Samuel Arnot.	Robert McGarmarie.
Thomas Arnot.	Thomas Robesoune.
John Hutcheon.	James Robisoune.
George Gordon (?).	Johne Sprot.
Andro Sprot.	Robert McCwffie.

The names of the " Communes " are as follows :

Thomas Fullartone, James Diell (Dalzell), John Diell, Thomas Tagart, Robert Gordone, Robert Bryce, James Tagart, Thomas McRobert, James Thomsonsone, David Thomsonsone, James Pauling, James Tagart, James McCrobert, John Marteine, Wm. Thomsonsone, James McKittrik, John Kirkpatrick, John Tagart, James Carsane, Andro Carsane, Thomas McKennay, John Hendrie, Ninian McIlnae, John Hendrie, William Bryce, James Tagart, John Tagart, Thomas Sproyt, Alex. Cambell, Andro Sproyt, John Newall, John Haichell, Wm. Cliltone, Alex. McQn, Thomas Kingane, Thomas Kenne, Thomas Kenne elder, James Kenne, Patrick Tagart, Thomas Johnstone, John Herreis, George Bryce, Andro Kenne, John Herreis, Wm. M'crobert, Adam Haffie, John McQuhitrok, Wm. Mccuffie, John Corbie, John Sproyt, James McMirie, John Sproyt, Robert Thomsonsone, James Bryce, Symone Clark, John Gordone, Allexander Muirhead, John McQuhitrok, John Gordone, Marteine Callane, John McKittrik, George McKnaucht, Thomas Clark, Andro Sproyt, James Gordone, John Cairnes, John McKie, John Comblene, Robert M'crobert, John Cliltane, Edward Pauling, Alex. Clark, James McCuffie, William Cuffie, John Diksone, George Gowne, Wm. McMine, Andro Cuffie, Thomas Browne, John Tagart, John Symsonsone, John Sproyt, John McGowne, George Warnok, Thomas Carsane, James Bell, James Cliltane, Andro Bell, Wm. McGhie, Thomas Robsone, Alex. Bryce, Cuthbert Clark, James McMine, Thomas Comblene, John Bryce, John Browne, John Williamsone, Wm. McCallell, John Robisone, John McKittrik, John Tagart, John McGowne, John Law, Robert Sproyt, John McCallell, Alex. Murrie, John Bryce, James Thomsonsone, Thomas Raen, Wm. Shaw, Gilbert McGhie, Thomas Synpsie, John McGhie, John McMildroche, Allex. Williamsone, John McMollane, David McQuhae, John Porter, John

Kingane, John Sproyt, John Herreis, Andro Kittrik, Marteine Halline, Symone Kingone, John Johnstone, James Johnstone, James Cultane, Wm. Browne, John Gordone, John Hunter, Thomas Gordone, James Jellie, Thomas Tagart, Patrick Bryce, John McCouchtrie, Thomas Robisone, John Edger, John Douglas, Andro McKie, Edward Robisone, Andro Suord, Andro Gowne, James Gowne, Thomas Gowne, George Muirheid, Wm. McMurrie, John McCornok, James Corrie, James Car, John McNishe, James Dungalson, James McGown.

After this list of names comes the pathetic notarial affix : " With our hands at the pen be the not[ary] following at our comand becaus we cannot wryt ourselves."

After this declaration that the adherents are unable to write there follows this additional list of illiterates :

John McGacheane, James and Robert Dallzellis, Wm. and James Henries, John Dallzell, Thomas Layng, William Newall, Gilbert Bryane, Robert Makgowne, John McMairteins, Andro Carsane, Andro Karrnochen, James Carsane, John McNishe, John Jelic, Andro Schaw, William Welsch, Andro Makcuffie, John Carsane, John Combell, Ninian Dallzell, John Carnes, Thomas Kinzeane, Andro Corsane, John Dowglas, John Stewart, John Thomsone, Thomas Gibsone, Robert Hunter, John McMurrie, James McTagart, Robert Makquhen, John MakHallowe, James Makillnere, John Corsane, and John Sprott.

On the back of the vellum, in handwriting similar to that in the body of the document, is endorsed the formula known as the Glasgow Determination, followed by these autograph signatures, most of which are appended to the other side of the document :

Thomas Lennox of Plunton.
Robert Maclellane of Barmagacheine.
Walter Hammiltoune.
Andro Sproyt.
John Sprot.
James Robisoune.
William Tait.
John Gordoun.
James Kirk.
Johne Lennox.
Robert Lennox.
John McClellane.
Robert McClellane.
George Gordoun.

M. Gaw. Maxwell, minister at Borg.
Johne Fullartone of Carleton.
James Lennox of Plun[toun].
William Gordoun of Rober-toun.
Robert McClellane.
John Robisoun.
John McQuhane.
. . . Sympsone.
John Paulling.
Thomas Sproyt in Brechors (?)
William Arnot.
A. Cairnis.
John McTagart.
Robert McGarmarrie.

Senwick Churchyard.

By JOHN HENDERSON.

As in the case of Borgue proper, the parish of Senwick makes its first appearance in authentic history when it was handed over to a monastic settlement. Senwick was gifted to Tungland Priory by David II. (1329-1371), but no doubt it had an earlier existence as a church. Having obtained possession, the Priory appears to have retained Senwick till the Reformation, after which it experienced the vicissitudes common to similar institutions in Scotland, and after being served by readers it was suppressed as a separate parish and united to Borgue in 1618. In studying Senwick reference must be made to Dunrod and Balmangan or Senwick Tower, situated a short distance away. On the shore of Brighthouse Bay and near the foot of the brae leading to Cairniehill the Chapel of Dunrod is said to have stood. In 1246 Dunrod was given to Holyrood by Fergus, Lord of Galloway, and is said to have been one of the places where the monks of Holyrood were authorised to hold courts. A charter of Malcolm IV. gave special royal protection to residents here. This protection was doubtless extended also to the occupants of Manor Castle, remains of which are traceable on the south shore of Balmangan Bay. The Blairs of Dunrod were in their day as illustrious as their kinsmen of Borgue, who attained eminence later, and their ashes mingle in the earth of this God's acre. In my remarks on the history of Laigh Borgue I referred to the union of the houses of Borgue and Earlston, Dalry, by the marriage of a Blair with a Gordon in 1761. My friend, the oldest inhabitant, informs me of an interesting episode in the history of this churchyard. When the first wife of Sir John Gordon of Earlston died she was buried in the Blair portion down there, and a tablet was erected. To this the Blairs took strong exception and ordered its removal. At one time exhumation was threatened, but this did not actually take place, although the tablet was removed to its present position at the "foot" of the vault. Much of the history of Borgue as well as of Senwick may be read on these tomb-

stones. Sproats, Browns, and Blairs are very numerous, and are now the only families with right of sepulture here. Many representatives of these families rose to positions of eminence at home and abroad, in peace and in war. One coincidence may be referred to here. In 1682 the owner of Brighthouse, now on this estate, was Thomas Sproat. At the present day the tenant of Brighthouse bears the same name.

The Sproats distinguished themselves in Government service and in commerce, while the Blairs chose another avenue to wealth—the less spectacular and perhaps less sanguinary profession of law.

The manor house of this estate appears to have been Balmangan or Senwick Tower, of which a considerable portion is still standing, is no longer in use except as a repository of garden tools, but the tenant who preceded Mr Gilmour used the vaulted basement as a coalhouse. The building was not extensive, on ground plan measuring only twenty feet by sixteen, with walls of about four feet in thickness. A spiral staircase with carved stonework leads to the upper storeys, the first of which is still accessible, and permits a wide survey of the surrounding country, especially of the coast line. Above the level of this floor the walls are ruined and difficult of access. Tradition says that there is an underground passage from the tower to the coast, but this has not been traced. One side of the vaulted room has an opening, from which a musket might be fired, but would scarcely permit of the use of a bow and arrow. If smugglers were ever allowed to fortify themselves in a laird's mansion surely this basement was that strong point. Speaking of smugglers brings in two references (1) to Sproat of Millha', who lived about the close of the seventeenth century, and whose animadversions have been preserved. While lamenting the passing of the good old days, he says :—
“ Oh for the days when I was young. I kenna what the chiels aboot twenty are guid for noo, ava; they want the hert someweie a' thegither. They canna tak a dram o' liquor noo without haein' as mony mimins an' preein's to gang through, as if they were a' born gentry. Lang syne

I kent Tam M'Minn an' me coupin' ower a dizzen bumpers o' strong Holland gin (rare smuggled stuff) doon at the Brighthouse Bay, in the wee while o' a forenicht an' never giein' a kink either ower't or after 't." And (2) to an English traveller who passed through Galloway in 1745, and was accompanied through Borgue by the old minister of Kirkmabreck and by an elder named Galt, a decent, grave man, who spoke but little, and who had important business at Senwick Kirkyard. The stranger understood it to be a funeral, but his aged friend whispered to him that a lugger in which the elder had an interest had reached a secluded neuk in that neighbourhood.

There is in existence a document narrating that "in 1629 Thomas M'Clellan of Balmangan gave sasine to Mr Gavin Maxwell, minister of Borgue, and his heirs in the £10 lands of Balmangan, alias the Grange of Senwick, with tower, &c., and special power of wraik and wair from the sea, in fulfilment of a charter dated 17th April."

And what more natural than that loyal parishioners should occasionally take an interest in the minister's affairs about high water mark!

In the seventeenth century the M'Lellans of Bombie, i.e., the family of Lord Kirkcudbright, owned Senwick and Ross Island, and at one time (1648) Chapelton and Balmangan both belonged to this nobleman. To-day the tenant of Chapelton is the son of the tenant of Balmangan. The Blairs of Dunrod were proprietors in the 18th century, but by 1799 most of the farms had been acquired by the Earl of Selkirk, St. Mary's Isle. In that year Corrie of Dunrod owned Brighthouse, and here we have another old Borgue name, not seen on the tombstones here but in Borgue Churchyard.

Of more than territorial interest here are two graves:—
 (1) That of James M'Minn, the Borgue philosopher; (2) that of John M'Taggart, the Galloway Encyclopedist. Of M'Minn, M'Taggart says:—"There dwelt in the obscurity of a lowly hut beside the glebe of Senwick, Deacon M'Minn, the Borgue philosopher, who had he possessed the benefits

of education might have risen to eminence in the paths of science. Though only a day-labourer in a quarry, he was so famous as a botanist that he was known to all the gardeners of Galloway, and many of them frequently came a distance of twenty miles to have a 'crack' with him and exchange plants. He also knew something of astronomy, and was so learned among his brother rustics that they honoured him with the title of 'the Deacon.' One of his pawky sayings referred to what he considered the vulgarising of preaching when some Gatehouse "sutors" began to hold forth. "Preachin'," said the deacon, "will sune be gaun wi' watter."

M'Taggart had the advantages of education, the lack of which he deplotes in M'Minn. Born at Lennox Plunton in the early years of the eighteenth century, he studied at Edinburgh University, and in 1826 went to Canada as clerk of works of the Rideau Canal at Ottawa. There he is said to have distinguished himself by his strong natural abilities and integrity of character. After a few years he returned to this country in bad health, and published a book, *Three Years in Canada*. He also compiled the famous *Galloway Encyclopedia*, which in its quaint definitions and pawky sidelights reminds one of Dr Johnson's dictionary. He died in 1830 at a very early age. Looking around this churchyard and others in this area one is struck by the large proportion of people who died young. Were they carried off by epidemic disease, the result of faulty sanitation, or had the inter-marriage anything to do with the weakening of the human stock? I leave this to elucidation by our medical friends.

As might be expected in a seaside churchyard, there are a few interments of persons (including at least one woman) who met their deaths through action of the sea.

Turning now to the church, we see that it appears to have been of small size, measuring but 44 feet by 16 feet within the walls. These appear to have been about 3 feet in thickness, but their outline is difficult to follow. The manse is near the church, and its walls are in a better state

of preservation. Extending a considerable distance through what is now known as Senwick Wood is a substantial dry-stone wall, which appears to have been the boundary of the manse garden or orchard. Having regard to its exposure to wind and wave, it is surprising to find even so much building extant, for it must be remembered that Senwick was suppressed as a parish in 1618. We can imagine, therefore, that these walls are in much the same state as they were when King William III.'s fleet under the Duke of Schomberg was windbound in Balmangan Bay, or when Paul Jones passed on his way to and from St. Mary's Isle. But when the rock out there in the Channel sealed the doom of the thieving Frenchmen, who pillaged the church and probably also the manse, there must have been more wealth of life as well as of silver plate.

Cumstoun Castle.

By R. C. REID.

Those of us who are familiar with the volumes of M'Kerlie¹ may search them in vain for any light on the early history of Cumstoun Castle. In its place we find a rather dogmatic and certainly erroneous assertion that Chalmers was wrong in saying that Cumstoun was part of the ancient barony of Twynham. It was whilst trying to clear up this point that the following notes on both Castle and Barony were compiled.

Chalmers, one of our earliest antiquaries, produced in his *Caledonia* a work which was a wonderful effort for his day, long before the publication of the Scottish records that we find so useful in our work. It has for some time been the fashion to belittle him, but with regard to Cumstoun he is fully vindicated, for there is abundant evidence to show that Cumstoun was part of the Barony and even its capital messuage from the end of the 15th century. The story of the Castle is therefore a substantial part of the history of the Barony.

¹ Vol. v., p. 265.

The first reference to Cumstoun takes us back to Ragman Roll, that great record of homage rendered by Scotsmen to Edward I. in 1296. Amongst those who signed the roll was Walter fitz (son of) Walter of Cummstoun,² Gilbert de Sutheyk, Thomas de Sutheyk, Adam de Culwen, and Walter fitz Ricard of Twynname.³ These names take us back to the days of the De Levington inheritance, when that great Cumberland estate was broken up in 1274 amongst six co-heiresses, three of whom married Scotsmen—Agnes de Levington, wife of Walter de Corry; Eva, wife of Patrick de Suthayk,⁴ father of the Gilbert of Ragman Roll; and Isabella, wife of Walter de Twynname.⁵

This gives us a start with the Twynname family, who derived their surname from their lands, and whose home would naturally be at Twynholm Mote. Richard of Twynname, the first recorded member, was succeeded by his son, Walter, husband of Isabella de Levington. Walter, who may be provisionally identified with Sir Walter de Twynname, sheriff of Wigtown in 1296,⁶ but dead by June, 1300, being succeeded by his son, Adam,⁷ who in 1300 is described as nephew and heir of Richard de Levington.⁸ In addition to his Twynname estate, Adam also owned part of the de Levington lands in Cumberland, and at the outbreak of war between the realms sided with Scotland, where his principal interests lay.

On 20th September, 1300, Adam de Twynname, a Scot and liege of England, was pardoned by Edward I. for admitting to the King's peace in England Edmund de Twynname and Isabella, his own sister, enemies and rebels,

² *Bain*, ii., 810. There was an Adam de Combistoun, Collector of Customs at Kirkcudbright, in 1331 (*Ex. R.*, i., 374).

³ *Bain*, ii., 198.

⁴ For the de Suthayk family, see *D. and G. Trans.*, 1926-8, 220.

⁵ For the de Levington family, see *Cumb. and West. A. and A. Soc. Trans.*, 1931, p. 21.

⁶ *Bain*, ii., 824.

⁷ *Fine Rolls*, i., 430, and *Cal. Inquis.*, iii., 583.

⁸ *Bain*, ii., 1140.

who also were pardoned.⁹ In 1305 Adam was again pardoned for acquiring land in Kirkandrews on Esk without license from Christopher de Seton,¹⁰ who was shortly to be executed and commemorated with a chapel in Dumfries where now stands St. Mary's Church. Adam died in March, 1306-7, holding of the English crown land in Kirkandrews on Esk worth 43s a year,¹¹ which was sold by his son, Walter de Twynname, in 1318, to Walter de Kirkbride, a descendant of another of the de Levington heiresses.¹² This last Walter may be identical with Sir Walter de Twynname, Chancellor of Scotland in 1327, a position he retained as late as 1340, when he returned from France with King David II.¹³ About this time the family disappears from record, having either died out or been driven out of Galloway. For, situated as Twynholm is in the very heart of the old Balliol province of Galloway, it is reasonable to infer that the Twynames suffered and perhaps lost their lands in the intermittent warfare that ended when the Anglo-Balliol influence was finally driven out of Galloway in 1369.¹⁴ Archibald Douglas, the Grim, was mainly responsible for the success, and was rewarded that year with the Lordship of Galloway. He settled his own followers in Galloway, but no definite record exists of these grants. We therefore do not know who owned Twynname and Cumstoun during the century that preceded the fall of the Douglases in 1454. But very shortly after that date Cumstoun and Twynname must have been granted by the Crown, to whom the Lordship of Galloway had fallen

⁹ *Bain*, ii., 1154.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1717.

¹¹ *Cal. Inquis.*, 35 Ed. I., p. 280.

¹² *Cal. Patent Rolls*, p. 146.

¹³ *Ex. Rolls*, i., introduction. In 1339 John of Twynham was Clerk of the Kitchen and King's Purveyor in Galloway (*Ex. R.*, i., 151 and 196).

¹⁴ There are references to grants by David II. to Dougal M'Dougall of the lands of Twynam and others (*R.M.S.*, 1308-1414, app. ii., 1006, 1147, 1193), but these grants may never have been enforced, owing to the Anglo-Balliol predominance in Galloway.

on the Douglas forfeiture, to John Kennedy of Blairquhan, in Ayrshire, who first appears in 1455¹⁵ and got a Crown grant of Myretoun in 1474 as a reward for putting down rebels and outlaws.¹⁶ John Kennedy must have acquired about the same time the lands of Twyname, including Cumstoun, for as early as 1488 his eldest son was known as Sir John Kennedy of Cumstoun and Twyname.¹⁷ The father was Steward of Kirkcudbright in 1465 in succession to Donald M'Clellane of Gelston,¹⁸ and almost the only detail of his private life known to us is that he bought his oatmeal at Sannaik (Senwick) Mill.¹⁹ John Kennedy, the father, was dead by May, 1501,²⁰ and Sir John, the son, on succession was described as "of Blairquhain,"²¹ and at once obtained a Crown lease of Sannaik Mill, paying rent in kind, i.e., in oatmeal, together with "service with a bow" as feudal duty.²² It is clear that Twyname, including Cumstoun, was regarded as the property of the eldest son; for following his father's example, Sir John Kennedy in 1604-5 granted to his eldest son, Sir Gavin Kennedy, "the Castle of Cumstoun and the £10 land of Over and Nether Cumstoun in the barony of Twyname."²³ This is the first reference to the

¹⁵ *R.M.S.*, 1424-1512, 604.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1162. Myretoun was erected into a barony on 10th December, 1477-8 (*ibid.*, 1356).

¹⁷ *R.M.S.*, 1424-1513, 2433 and 1884. It is clear that Kennedy only had the Cumstoun portion of Twynholm parish, the northern part, including Forest of Buchan, being retained by the Crown (*Ex. R.*, xii., 654). Castlemains of Kirkcudbright, on the other side of the Dee, was also in the old Lordship of Twyname (*Ex. R.*, x., 742). This curious fact must conceal a lot of unknown history.

¹⁸ *Ex. R.*, vii., 312.

¹⁹ *Ex. R.*, ix., 382.

²⁰ *R.S.S.*, i., 685.

²¹ As Sir John Kennedy of Twynam he held sasine of Myretoun on 18th May, 1501 (*Ex. R.*, xi., 339*). In addition to Sir John, he had two other sons, George Kennedy of Dalveen and Thomas Kennedy of Carslo, who married Margaret Kessok of Little Dunrod, and was ancestor of the Kennedies of Dunrod.

²² *Ibid.*, 454.

²³ *R.M.S.*, 1424-1513, 2829.

Castle that has come to light, and it may reasonably be conjectured to have been built by Sir John Kennedy of Blairquhan.

Sir John did not long survive his father. On 8th February, 1506-7, he set forth on a pilgrimage to the shrines of St. Thomas à Becket at Canterbury, and St. John at Ameas (Amiens),²⁴ probably in expiation of some crime. On his return he founded and endowed in 1508 a chapel dedicated to St Ninian at a place in the barony of Myretown called "the Crevis of Cree."²⁵ His wife's name was Margaret Campbell,²⁶ and he was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Gavin Kennedy of Blairquhan and Twyname, whose first wife was Janet Stewart.²⁷ Gavin's second matrimonial adventure, with Elena Campbell, was unfortunate, the marriage being dissolved on canonical grounds, an only daughter being thereby illegitimised. This, however, in no way affected Helen Campbell's liferent interest in Cumstoun.²⁸ Sir Gavin must have died without lawful issue, for in 1522 his brother, James Kennedy, succeeded,²⁹ who in turn was followed by his grandson, John Kennedy of Blairquhan, whose infettment on 4th May, 1553, states that sasine was given at "the principal messuage of the barony of Twyname called Comstone."³⁰ It is clear that the Mote of Twynholm, which must have been the principal messuage in the days of the de Twyname family, had given place to Cumstoun Castle on the centre or caput of the barony. In 1588 this John Kennedy parted with the barony, giving it

²⁴ *R.S.S.*, i., 1425.

²⁵ *R.M.S.*, 1424-1513, 3245.

²⁶ *R.S.S.*, i., 1225. She may have married secondly John Schaw of Haly (*ibid.*, 1531). By her Sir John had a "filio carnali" named John (*Protocol Book of Gavin Ros*, 103), who may be identified with John Kennedy of Skeich (*R.S.S.*, i., 1325).

²⁷ *R.M.S.*, 1424-1513, 2943.

²⁸ *Ex. R.*, xv., 620; and *Laing Charters*, 329.

²⁹ *Laing Charters*, 340. James had been previously known as "of Craigfyne."

³⁰ *Laing Charters*, 609. The grandson, John, was son of Gilbert Kennedy, apparent of Blairquhan, by his wife, Margaret Cunningham (*R.S.S.*, ii., 4457). Gilbert, d.v.p.

to Wm. M'Clellan of Gelston in exchange for the barony of Remiston.³¹

Wm. M'Clellan of Gelston³² was succeeded by Sir Thomas M'Clellan of Gelston, who entailed the estates of Gelston and Twyname³³ and apparently lived at Cumstoun.³⁴ With consent of his heir, Wm. M'Clellan of Auchlane, Sir Thomas feued the barony of Twyname in 1608 to Mr Thomas Hay for financial reasons,³⁵ parting with the superiority in 1612 to the same person.³⁶

In 1614 Hay sold the barony to the first Lord Kirkcudbright, the contract being signed "at the Castle of Twyname alias Cumpstoun."³⁷ This continued historical sequence of ownership of Cumstoun is sufficient to refute the statement of M'Kerlie that the Castle had been owned by the Brown family.³⁸ The Brouns of Kempleton and of Inglistoun have a very different history.

The new owners of Cumstoun were zealous Covenanters who suffered imprisonment and heavy fines. The fourth Lord Kirkcudbright, who died in 1668, in the three short years during which he enjoyed the title saw all the estates of his fathers seized by his creditors. Cumstoun passed into the hands of the Dunbars of Baldoon, and remained in that family till sold by the Earl of Selkirk to Adam Maitland of Dundrennan about 1819. Maitland removed from Dun-

³¹ *R.M.S.*, 1580-93, 1636. The barony of Twynham is here stated to be a £50 land. Kennedy had married in 1569 Margaret Keith, daughter of William, Earl Marischal, the Manor of Cumstoun and its tower being part of her life-rent (*R.M.S.*, 1546-80, 1900). In 1591 they sold to Thomas M'Clellan of Bombie the 8 merkland of Kirkerist (*R.M.S.*, 1593-1608, 33).

³² He was retoured heir to his father, Alexander M'Clellan of Gelston in 1585, and married Margaret M'Clellan, sister of the 1st Lord Kirkcudbright (*Scots Peerage*, v., 264).

³³ *R.M.S.*, 1594-1608, 1693. Sir Thomas was retoured heir to William, his nephew, in 1605.

³⁴ *R.M.S.*, 1609-20, 602.

³⁵ *R.M.S.*, 1594-1608, 2169.

³⁶ *R.M.S.*, 1609-20, 707.

³⁷ *R.M.S.*, 1609-20, 1059.

³⁸ *M'Kerlie*, v., 265.

drennan and built the present mansion-house at **Cumstoun** about 1824,³⁹ and it is his descendant who has permitted us to come here to-day.

It is not known to whom we owe the present condition of the Castle, of which almost one half is missing. It must have been found a convenient quarry for other buildings. The present proprietor has done a little excavation, which reveals the foundations of the missing part of the Castle and what appears to be the entrance on the ground level. But the position of the staircase is undetermined. The ivy, too, which completely obscured the tower, has been stripped off the lower part, and Colonel Maitland hopes to complete the work, which is rather perilous at that height. Two personages known in Scottish literature have some association with the Castle. Montgomerie, the poet, author of the "Cherry and the Slae," is stated to have stayed here.⁴⁰ He died in 1610, so we may take it that he visited Cumstoun in the last days of the Kennedy ownership. He claimed to be cousin to the noble house of Eglington, an Ayrshire family like the Kennedys of Blairquhan. Perhaps he had some blood affinity with the Kennedys. The other literary character was none other than the Bride of Lammermuir, the betrothed of Basil Dunbar of Baldoon. It is said that this Castle is mentioned in the marriage contract as the future residence of the unfortunate bride.

The Castle is built on a site which surely indicates an earlier residence. It lies in the midst of a rectangular enclosure, the mound of which, with its entrance on the north side, is still quite distinct. This, of course, may have been a barnkyn surround, though there are no signs of masonry; but perhaps it is all that remains of the site from which Walter de Cumstoun of Ragman Roll derived his surname. Charteris of Amisfield seems to have resided on a similar site.

The Historical Monuments Commission has very little

³⁹ *M'Kerlie*, v., 267.

⁴⁰ *Dict. Nat. Bio.*

to say about this ruin. The walls average 5 feet 9 inches thick, and none of the floors have been vaulted. The Commission sums up as follows: "The width of the windows on the ground floor and the absence of a stone vault seem to indicate a date not earlier than the beginning of the 16th century," i.e., 1500. These notes have arrived at a similar conclusion, pre-dating that verdict by just a decade.

Presentations.

- 20th November, 1931.—By Mr G. W. Shirley—A Metal Token of Admission to Dumfries Theatre. On the obverse side were engraved the words: Admission Ticket, Theatre, Dumfries; and on the reverse: John Aitken, Esq., now Adam Rankine.
- 1932.—By Mr G. W. Shirley—A Token found where excavating work was recently being carried out at Whitesands. It is described as a Gatehouse halfpenny, bearing on one side the picture of a factory with the words, "Payable at the house of Scott"; and on the other, "Gatehouse Halfpenny," with the Galloway coat-of-arms and the date 1793.
- 4th November, 1932.—Mr G. W. Shirley, Librarian—Hat and Smoking Cap of Thomas Carlyle. Three Volumes of Newspaper Cuttings with some original documents, accounts of the Grierson estate of Lag, made up by the late John Aitken.
- 20th January, 1933. — Mr Wm. M'Nae, Springkell — Piece of Timber cut from Thorn Tree that marked the spot where "Fair Helen of Kirkconnel" was shot by her cousin.
- Mr A. Birrell, Creetown—Curious Old Piece of Iron found near Creetown, the use of which has not yet been determined. Oblong Box, which is supposed to have been used for detecting counterfeit coins.
- Mr M. H. M'Kerrow—Engraving of Wm. MacDowall, author of the "History of Dumfries."
- 24th February, 1933.—Mr J. Shields, Lockerbie—Holed Stone found by Miss J. J. Jardine, Cogrie Schoolhouse. Perforated Stone found by Mr Jas. Johnston when ploughing at the Camp Field at Cogrie Farm, December, 1932. It was unearthed at a depth of 11 inches close to the enclosure referred to in "Transactions," 1930-31 (page 133). It had become fixed in the sharp point of the plough, which travelled some feet before being turned over to expose the cause of obstruction, thus accounting for the scratches on the face of the stone. Five similar specimens have been discovered during the past few years by school children nearer the river. These appear to have been shaped by chipping.
- Mr M. H. M'Kerrow—Copy of Index to the "Scottish Historical Review," which has now ceased publication.
- 24th March, 1933.—Mr R. C. Reid—Coin identified as a silver groat of Mary, Queen of England, 1553; found by Mr Wm. Gillespie, gardener at Auchenbrack, Tynron, while levelling the tennis lawn there.

Exhibits.

20th January, 1933.—Mr R. C. Reid, on behalf of Mr J. Robson, Carsethorn—Fossilized Antlers of old British Red Deer. These were found in a sandbank, exposed by erosion, on West Preston shore, some three miles below Carsethorn, about four years ago. When found they were in perfect condition, but now the tips of three of the points are broken. It is a 20-pointer of great weight and size, measuring 3 feet 8 inches over all.

Mr J. Shields, Lockerbie—Photograph of Trailflat Old Church. Photograph of the Burying Ground of the same, showing the grave of Dr. Mounsey.

Obituary.

Mr E. A. Hornel, Broughton House, Kirkcudbright.

Mr Wm. J. Herries Maxwell of Munches, President of the Society from 19th October, 1899, to October 26th, 1900.

Abstract of Accounts

For Year ending 30th September, 1932.

I. Members' Subscriptions	£96	5	0
II. Interests	18	17	4
III. Donations	4	15	0
IV. Sale of "Transactions"	7	16	0
By Interest on Money in Savings Bank	2	8	0
	£128 19 4		
By Transferred from Publication Account to			
Balance		23	14 0
	£152 13 4		

EXPENDITURE FOR YEAR.

I. Rent and Insurance	£13	6	0
II. Publication of Volume 16 of "Transactions"	103	10	0
III. Printing and Advertising, including Garratt & Atkinson for Plates ...	19	18	4½
IV. Postage and Delivery of "Trans- actions"	6	4	9
V. Miscellaneous	4	19	3
VI. To Transferred to Publication Account —Donation during year	4	15	0
	£152 13 4		

CAPITAL.

Capital at close of last Account	£454	3	6
Interest on Money in Savings Bank	2	1	7
Bonus on War Stock	2	6	0
Invested as follows:			
War Stock, £230	£218	10	0
Dumfries County Council	124	10	0
Dumfries Savings Bank	115	11	1
	£458 11 1		

PUBLICATION ACCOUNT.

Invested at close of last Account	£110	3	2
Due by Revenue at close of last Account	119	15	0
Interest on Money in Savings Bank	1	2	6
Donation during year	4	15	0
Invested as follows:			
Consolidated Loan	£50	0	0
Savings Bank	61	5	8
Due by Revenue (in Revenue Bank Account and Savings Bank Account)	124	10	0
	£235 15 8		

EXCURSION ACCOUNT.

By Balance	£8	16	6
By Proceeds of Three Excursions	25	2	6
To Paid Hires	£18	10	0
To Paid Advertising	1	2	6
Balance	14	6	6
	£33 19 0		

Abstract of Accounts

For Year ending 30th September, 1933.

I. Members' Subscriptions	£81	0 0
II. Interests	15	0 4
III. Donations	4	15 0
IV. Sale of "Transactions"	0	12 6
V. Excursion Account for Advertising	1	19 0
VI. Interest on Money in Savings Bank	1	11 8
VII. By Transferred from Publication Account to meet Cost of Publication of Volume 16	58	0 3½
	£162	18 9½

EXPENDITURE.

I. To Paid Mr Chas. Maxwell for Work at Palmerston	£6	0 0
II. Rent and Insurance	13	6 0
III. Publication of Volume 16 of "Transactions"	116	4 3
IV. Printing and Advertising, including Garratt & Atkinson for Plates	13	18 11½
V. Miscellaneous	8	14 7
VI. To Transferred to Publication Account—Donation for year	4	15 0
	£162	18 9½

CAPITAL.

Capital at close of last Account	£458	11 1
Interest on Money in Savings Bank	4	16 4
	£463	7 5
Less County Council Stock Uplifted to Pay for Observatory Relics	100	0 0
Amount of present Capital—Invested as follows:		
War Stock	£218	10 0
Dumfries Savings Bank	120	7 5
Deposit Receipt	24	10 0
	£363	7 5
	£363	7 5

PUBLICATION ACCOUNT.

Invested at close of last Account	£235	15 8
Interest on Amount in Savings Bank	2	11 9
Donation during year	4	15 0
	£243	2 5
Less Transferred to Revenue as above	58	0 3½
	£185	2 1½
Invested as follows:		
Consolidated Stock	£50	0 0
Savings Bank	63	17 5
In Bank on Current Account and in Revenue, Savings Bank Account	71	4 8½
	£185	2 1½
	£185	2 1½

EXCURSION ACCOUNT.

By Balance	£14	6 6
By Proceeds of Excursions	14	2 0
To Paid Hires	£11	5 0
To Advertising	1	6 6
Balance	15	17 0
	£28	8 6
	£28	8 6

INDEX.

- Accounts (1931-32) 420
 — (1932-33) 421
- Adam, Commendator of Cambusken-
 neth 111
 s. of Gilbert of Hutton 382, 383
 William, architect 87
- Aglionby, Mr 59
 Aglionby's Platt 272
- Ahalya Bai, Princess 19
- AILSA CRAIG AND ITS BIRDS: By J.
 M'CRINDLE, DUNURE 242
- Aitken, John 225
 Miss M. Carlyle 225
 Thomas, in Miln of Dalswinton ... 195
- Alan, Lord of Galloway, 226, 227, 230
 s. of Roland, Lord of Galloway ... 208
- Alexander II. 205
- Allan, J., of Fountainbleau 72
- Allenite, Crystals of 36
- Ambrosius 391
- Amisfield, Charteris of 416
- Ancrum Moor 50
- Anderson, Mr, Corrie Mains 371
 Homer, wright, Dumfries 136
- Aneirin 393
- Angus, Earl of 52
 Fencibles 161
 Master of 305
- ANNAN CHURCHYARDS: by W. CUTH-
 BERTSON 28
 common muir of 31
 heritors' books of 28
 New Church of 29
 Parish Church of 29
 Parish Council of 28
 Town Clerk of 31
 Town Council of 29, 30, 31, 32,
 Town Council Minutes of 28, 35
 verses on 13
- Annandale, 3rd Marquis of 29
 geographical names of 253
- Anne, Queen 310, 311
- Anwoth, Kirk of 219
- Armistead, W. H., of Kippford.. 9, 288
- ARMSTRONG OF WOLIVA: By R. C.
 REID 338
- Armstrong, Agnes, Jean, and Mar-
 garet, daughters of John of Hol-
 mains 70
 Alexandér, of Rowanburn 63
- Armstrong—
 Alexander, father of Kinmont
 Willie 50
 Alex., "Ill Will's Sandy" .. 63, 340
 Ambrose 341
 Annas, wife of Rinion 364
 Anthony, of Woliva, "Englishman,"
 341
 Archibald 346
 Brothers of Anthony 345
 "Christie's Will," grandson of
 Johnny of Gilnockie 378
 Christopher, of Auchingavill, brother
 of Kinmont 65
 Christopher, grandson of Kinmont, 67
 Christopher, "Braide," 344, 345, 346
 Cornelius, son of John of Holehouse,
 364
 David, of Canonbie 65
 David, son of Ninian 63
 Sir David 207, 209
 Edward, of Woodhouselee 63
 Edward, son of Anthony of Woliva,
 348, 354, 355, 356, 357
 Francis, "of Kinmonth" 62
 Gerrard, son of Anthony of Woliva,
 362
 George, of Ailmure 340
 George, of Rowanburn 65
 George, brother to Hector of Hare-
 law 340
 Hector, of Harelaw,
 340, 347, 350, 351, 355, 363
 Hector, of the Hill House 53
 Hector in Tweden, son of Hector in
 Harelaw 342, 347
 "Ill Will" 340
 Ingram, of Graines 343, 345, 346
 Ingrie, of Ralton 346
 Jock, Francie, Geordie, Sandy, sons
 of Kinmont Willie .. 60, 62, 63, 66
 Jock, son-in-law of Anthony of
 Woliva 348
 "Jocke," son of Kinmont 53
 John "Bould Jok" 340
 John, Ekie, Anthony, in Brumeholm,
 341
 John, in Catgill 340
 John, "Laird's Jok," son of Arm-
 strong of Mangerton, 349, 354, 355

Armstrong—
 John, of Holehouse 364
 John, of the Syde 349
 John, of Woodhouselees 68
 John (Skinabake), brother to Kin-
 mont Willie 65
 John, son of John Armstrong of
 Creive 70
 Johnny, of Gilnockie 49, 378
 Jok, brother to Kinmont Willie,
 62, 64
 Krystie 60
 Lencie, Hew, Archie, Wat, brothers
 of Thomas 63
 Margaret, wife of W. Graham of
 Milntoun 70
 Ninian, in Brumeholm 341
 Panton 346
 Ringan (or Ninian), of Auchinhedrig,
 64
 Rinion, "Gowdie" 363
 Robert, brother of Kinmont Willie, 62
 "Sandie's Fergie," in Kirtillheid,
 62, 64
 "Sandie's Ringan," brother to Kin-
 mont Willie 62, 64
 Sons of Edward 63
 Symon, of Mangerton 356
 Symon, younger of Whittauch .. 356
 Thomas 58
 Thomas, of Mangerton 346, 351
 Thomas, of Rowanburn 65
 Thomas, son of Edward of Woliva,
 357
 Thomas, son of Hector in Harelaw,
 347
 Thomas, son of Ringan 64
 Thomas, "Whitecloak" 363
 Sir Thomas, of Woliva, 338, 363, 365
 Sir Thomas, son of Sir Thomas of
 Woliva 339, 361, 365, 366
 William 60, 61
 William (Ill Will) 50, 63
 William (Kinmont Willie) 49
 William, John, George, Francis,
 Gavin, Alexander, and Christopher,
 sons of Francis of Kimmont 68
 William of Sark 67
 William, son of Armstrong of Sark,
 67
 William, son of Francis 62
 William, son of Hector in Harelaw,
 347
 Armstrongs of Ash 361
 of Graynes 342, 343
 of Gullilea 362
 of Mangerton 63, 339
 of Morton Tower 50

Armstrongs—
 of Spaidadam and Cumeruiks,
 340, 348, 353, 363
 of Whithaugh 63, 345, 351
 of Woliva .. 358, 359, 360, 361, 362
 Arnott, David, member for Kirkeud-
 bright 116
 Arran, Earl of, Regent .. 52, 308, 313
 Arthur, King 391, 394
 Arthuret (Arterid), Battle of, 395, 396
 Atlas, of Bleau 218
 Auchenbeatie Burn 188, 195, 196
 Austin, Robert 193
 Avellenau, poem of 395
 Avendale, Andrew, Lord Stewart of
 Ochiltree 308
 Avenel, Roger, of Hutton 383
 Family, of Hutton 383
 Ayrshire, Permian rocks of 45
 Ayrsmoss, Battle of 314
 Bag-net fishing 265
 Bailleul-en-Vimeux 236
 Gui de 256
 Baillie, Agnes, sister of Joanna,
 13, 14, 20, 22
 Alex., son of Wm. in Bakkie 112
 Dr James 10
 Dr Matthew, brother of Joanna 20
 Mrs, wife of Dr Baillie 20, 21, 24
 Wm., of Bakkie 112
 Balcairy Head, birds at 289
 BALDOON CASTLE, By A. S. MORTON,
 210
 Baldoon, Charter of Lands of 210
 Rental of 213
 BALLIOLS, THE EARLY HOMES OF
 THE: By J. PELLIAM MAITLAND,
 235
 Balliol, family of 236
 Edward, son of King John ... 227, 239
 Hugh 240
 John, husband of Devorgilla,
 227, 237, 239, 240
 John, King of Scotland,
 227, 228, 239, 240, 241
 Marjory, daughter of Edward 227
 Ballantyne, family of, in Glenmaddy, 107
 Robert, vicar of Sanquhar,
 106, 108, 124
 Bannatyne, of Kinnadie 107
 Wm., of Corhouse 107
 Barbour, John Gordon, of Borgue .. 152
 John, "Life and Acts of Robert
 Bruce" 143-4
 Barclay, David, minister at Dumfries, 115
 Barlocco, cave of 289
 Barncluth 202
 Barndarroch, Lands of 140
 Baronies: Mouswald, Middlebie 86

- Barony, Norman 381
 Bedford, Duchess of 258, 265
 Bell, Dr Andrew 12, 16, 25, 27
 Belleval, Marquis René de 236, 239
 Bells, of Blackwood House 388
 Bernard, St. 229
 Bewcastle, Captain of 54
- BIRD LIFE BETWEEN THE TIDE MARKS:** By HENRY JOHNSTON, 34
- BIRDS, OBSERVATIONS ON, FROM A DUMFRIESSHIRE HILL FARM:** By A. DUNCAN 271
- Birley, Mr E. A. 203
 Birrell, Mr Adam, Creetown ... 204, 257
 Birrenswark 15
 Black, Anna, wife of Geo. Johnston, 121
 Blackadder, Wm., vicar of Sanquhar, 109, 112
 Blackie, Elizabeth Jedburgh ... 138, 166
 Blackwood, Mr James, parson of Sanquhar 101, 102, 103, 104
 James, son of James of Sanquhar, 104
 Blair, Dr David, of Borgue 398
 James, of Ardblair 144
 Miss 398
 Blairs of Borgue 399
 Blaket, John, minister in Sanquhar, 108
 Blantyre, James, Master of 105
 Blind Harry "Wallace" 143-4
 Bonar, Mr Horace 34
 Books printed at Dumfries 129-186
 Boon-Work 191
- BORGUE HOUSE: OUTLINE OF OWNERSHIP:** By JOHN HENDERSON 398
- Borgue (Borgie), lands of 214
 Church of 400
 Borthwick, Captain John 351
 Bothwell Brijdge, Battle of 316
 Bothwell, Manse of 10
 Bowes, Sir Robert 356
 Bowman, Charles, weaver, Dumfries, 136
 Boyd, George, maltster, Dumfries ... 150
 Thomas 189
 William, bookseller, Bailie of Dumfries, 145, 149-151, 153
 Boyle, the Hon. Patrick, of Shewalton, 86
 "Brandy Hole" and Brandy Port ... 264
 Breadalbane, Earl of 304
 Breadalbane Fencibles 76
 Britton, C. 282
 Broun, Archibald, in Sanquhar, 331, 336
 John, s. of Arch. in Sanquhar, 331, 336
 Brown, Sir John, of Fordell 122
 Dr John, "Albanus," 161, 184, 185
 Gilbert, of Sweetheart Abbey 232
 Family 415
- BRUCE STONE, THE:** by C. J. N. FLEMING, H.M.I.S. 221
- Bruce, Robert, E. of Annandale 226
 Robert the 221, 222, 226
 Isabella, wife of Eric, King of Norway 222
- Brus, Robert de 383
 Wm. de, of Annandale 383
- Bryce, Mr Jo., minister at Crawfordjohn 322
- Brydekirk 17
 Buccleuch, 1st Earl of 364
 Duke of 49, 58, 59, 61, 66, 288
 Duke of (1810) 330
 Scot of 356
- Buchan, Mr Walter 390
 Buchanites 154
 Buittle, Castle of 227
 Mote of 237
- Burgess, Dr, of Kirkmichael, 285, 287, 288
- Burghley, Lord, 50, 54, 57, 59, 62, 353, 356
- Burn, Mill 198
 Burn Stanes Park 188
 Burness, John, Stonehaven, "Thrummy Cap" 161, 185
 Burnet, Bishop 128
 Burnett, Dr T. 225
 Burnfoot of Cluden, Lands of 140
 Burns, James Glencairn, s. of Robert Burns 14
 Robert, 11, 14, 71, 75, 76, 80, 148, 152, 161
 Robert, "The Court of Equity," 162
 Robert, "The Merry Muses of Caledonia" 161-2, 185
 Wm. Nicol, s. of Robert Burns 14
 Burnside, Dr 73
 Byrsie 196
 Cadzow 202
 Caerlaverock Castle 268
 Caird, James, of Cassenary 220
 Mr and Mrs Henryson, of Cassenary, 204
- Caldecotys, Wm. de, of Hutton ... 385
 Calder Abbey 50
 Calderwood, David 127
 Caledonian Forest 202
 "Calendar of Flora" 284, 287
 Calside, Lands of 140, 150
 Campbell, Elena, w. of Sir Gavin Kennedy 414
 Margaret, w. of Sir John Kennedy, 414
 Canongate Church 115
 Carey, George 350, 351
 Sir Robert 58

- Carleton, Lancelot, br. of Thomas ... 58
 Thomas, of Gilsland,
 51, 53, 54, 57, 58, 59
 Thos., serjeant of Gilsland,
 348, 352, 353
- Carlile, John, Lord 199
 Robert 199
- Carlisle Castle 61
- Carlyle, Dr Alexander, of Inveresk, 135
 Thomas 225
- Carmichael, John, minister of Sanquhar,
 121, 122, 124, 125
 Sir John, of Raeknowis 63
- Carnwath, Earl of 331
- Carron Water, Permian rocks of .. 42
- Carruthers, Hugh, in Townfoot of Dal-
 swinton 194
 John, of Holmains 62
 Dr. Robert, editor, "Inverness
 Courier" 152
 Thomas, of Brandriggs 385
 Thomas, of Corrie 386
 William, of Wormanbie 85
- Carruthers Kirkyard 389
- Carsethorn, emigrant ships from. 268
- Carson, William, writer and printer,
 Dumfries 131, 155, 176-8
- Cassercary 218
- Catherine, Empress of Russia 377
- Catraeth, Battle of 393
- Cecil, Lord 60, 350
- Chalmers 410
 William, bookseller, Dumfries .. 158
- Chambers, Robert 161-2
- Chatelleraut, Duke of 313
- Charles I. 123, 310
- Charles II. 123, 310, 319, 372
- Charlton, John 386
- Charteris, Janet, wife of David Dunbar,
 211
 John, in Amisfield 113
 of Amisfield 211
 Robert, of Amisfield 199
- Chisholm, Arch., schoolmaster in San-
 quhar 108
- Chrystie, George, baker in Dumfries,
 76, 79, 80
- Churchill, John, Duke of Marlborough,
 310
- Cistercian Order 228, 230, 232
- Clark, Rev. Hugh 135
 Janet, wife of Robert Hunter .. 113
- Cleland, George, minister of Morton
 and Durisdeer 117, 320
 George, son of George at Durisdeer,
 117
 John, minister at Stow 117
 Lieut.-Colonel, Covenanter 117
 Robert, of Castle Robert 117
- Clerk, Captain Hugh 86
 Sir John, of Penicuik 87
- Clifford, Thomas 342
- Clinston, Lands of 140
- Closeburn Kirk 88
- Clutag, Mr Neillie N. 262
- Cochrane, Jean, wife of Robert Jack-
 son, Dumfries 150, 153
 James, of Roslyh 150
 "Collection of Psalm Tunes" .. 141-2
- Collingwood, Mr, of Coniston,
 207, 225, 269
- Collium Burn 82, 84
- Comrie, Jane, Glasgow 155
 William, supervisor of Excise, Dum-
 fries 155
- Commissioners at Berwick 53
 of the Shires 300
- Comyn, The Black 227
 The Red 227
- Cook, Mr, of Annan 32
- Copeland, Alexander, of Collieston, 286
 Dr. Alexander, of King's Grange, 152,
 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288
 Dr. 76
 William, of Colliestone 286
- Corehouse 202
- CORN BIN, A: By J. M'CARGO .. 81
- Corncockle Quarry, fossil prints at, 36
- Cornwall, Dukedom of 305
- Coronation of George IV. 12
- CORRIE CASTLE: By R.-C. REID, 385
 Corrie Castle, Traditions of 387
- Corrie (Corry), Walter de 411
 George 385, 386
 Isabella de Levington, wife of Walter
 de 411
 Miss Jessie 388
 William, in Braehead 194
- Corries, of Hutton 385, 386
- Corsane, Agnes, wife of Mr Peter Rae,
 136, 139
 Robert (Robert Rae) of Meikleknock,
 131-140
 Robert, younger 140
- Corsen, John, member for Dumfries, 116
- Costine, A. H., of Cleator Moor .. 159
- Couper, Rev. W. J. 139
- COVENANT, A BORGUE: By R. T.
 YOUNG, M.A. 402
- Covenant, Borgue, Signatures to .. 404
- Covenanters 211
- Cowan, James 194
 James, in Yett 196
 John, in Boguehall 194
 Nathaniel, in Leyes 195
- Cowper, William, Bishop of Galloway,
 108

- Cowtart, William, in Clenry 324
 Craig, Mr, of Edinburgh 24
 Craik, William, of Arbigland 21
 Crannog 259
 Creetown, Weirs at 266
 Creighton, Captain 314, 315
 Creiffe (Crieve), Lands of 62
 Crichton, Abraham, of Gairland, Provost
 of Sanquhar 329, 330
 Alexander, Bailie in Sanquhar (1695),
 331
 Alex., of Carco 99
 Alexander, of Gareland 329
 (Creichtoun), Andro, in Ulzieside, 114
 Chas., surgeon in Sanquhar 329
 Edward, 7th Lord 99, 100, 101
 Elizabeth, in Auchentaggart 107
 Eliz., w. of George Johnston ... 120
 Grizel, w. of Abraham Crichton.. 329
 Helen, w. of Wm. Farquharson.. 115
 James, of Carco 110, 112
 James, "The Admirable" 100
 James, son of 9th Lord 122
 (Creichtoun), John, notary in San-
 quhar 114
 John, of Ryehill 99
 John, son of 9th Lord 122
 Lord, of Sanquhar 301, 303
 Margaret 103
 Marion, sister to "The Admirable," 100
 Robert, in Cairn 110
 Robert, Laird of Elioek 99, 101
 Robert, of Bakquarter of Blacaddie,
 115, 118
 Robert, of Carco 108, 111
 Robert, of Ryehill 107
 Robert, Rector of Sanquhar ... 98, 100
 Robert, 6th Lord 99
 Robert, 8th Lord,
 99, 102, 103, 107, 109, 110
 (Creichtoun), Wm., in Hill 114
 Wm., in Gairland 317, 328
 Wm., son of Wm. of Gairland,
 328, 329
 Wm., of Libere 112
 Wm., of Spoth 328
 (Creichtoun), Wm., member for San-
 quhar, 1645-6-8 122
 Wm., Rector of Sanquhar 101
 Wm., Tutor of Sanquhar,
 99, 101, 102, 111, 112
 Wm., 5th Lord, Earl of Dumfries,
 101, 116, 119
 Crichtons of Sanquhar 314
 Crighton, James, in Rulietown 195
 Crocket, Robert, in Netherholm of Dun-
 cow 192
 Crowdie Castle 388
 Crugleton Castle 207, 208
 Cruickshank, Rev. Mr 390
 Crispyne, Eliz., of Hutton 385
 Cullogen, Battle of 390
 Culwen, Adam de 411
 Cumberland, Earl of ... 343, 344, 345
 Cumberland, Permian rocks of 44
 Cummin's Pool 189
 CUMSTOUN CASTLE: by R. C. REID,
 410
 Cumstoun (Combistoun), Adam de, col-
 lector of Customs at Kirkcud. ... 411
 Walter of 411, 415
 Walter (ftz), s. of Walter 411
 (Compston), Barony of 214
 Cunningham, Allan 187, 189
 Barbara, w. of General Peters 22
 Janet, w. of Gavin Dunbar 211
 Margt., w. of Gilbert Kennedy ... 414
 Nicol, member for Sanquhar, 1621, 116
 Currochs 198
 Cuthbertson, Mr W. 28
 Cymri, the 391, 394
 Dacre, William Christopher ... 353, 354
 Edward 355
 Francis 355
 Leonard, Lord, 347, 348, 349, 351,
 353, 356, 359
 Lord (1528) 341, 345
 Thomas, Lord (1502) 358
 Dacre's Raid 347, 353
 Dalrymple, Sir James (Viscount Stair),
 212, 214, 216
 Mr James, s. of Sir James 215
 Janet, w. of David Dunbar,
 212, 214, 215, 217
 Wm., of Watersyde 86
 Dalswinton, Boat of (ferry) 200
 Castle Hill 188
 Common of 197, 198
 Mains of 189
 Old Castle of 187, 194
 Old House of, 187, 188, 191, 199, 200
 rental of, in 1760 190
 village of 200
 Dalryell, Robert, of Elioek 101, 114
 Dalziel, Robert 401
 John 401
 Lord and Lady, of Borgue, 397, 398
 Wm., of Drumlanrig 89
 Darnley, Lord 100, 350
 Daviad, The, by "Rodondo" 147
 David I. 226, 380, 400
 II. 399, 406, 412
 Debatable Land 50
 Denniston, James 207
 De Peyster, Col. Arent Schuyler ... 152
 DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCOTTISH
 CASTLE, THE: By T. L. TAYLOR,
 34

- Devorgilla, Lady of Galloway,
210, 226, 227, 237, 239, 240
- Dialect, Dumfriesshire 253
- Ersch, in Galloway 253
- North of England 251
- DIALECTS, SOME DUMFRIESSHIRE,**
by J. G. HORNE 245
- DIARY, AN OLD DUMFRIES:** by R. A.
GRIERSON 71
- Dickie, Wm. 38
- Dickson, Geo., of Edinburgh 387
- Mr Robert 32
- Directory for Public Worship, 123, 124
- Dirom, Lieut.-General Alexander, of
Mount Annan 11, 15
- Alexander, son of Lieut.-General
Dirom 15, 23, 25, 31, 32
- Andrew, son of Lieut.-General Dirom,
12
- Francis Moira, son of Lieut.-General
Dirom 15
- Miss, daughter of Lieut.-General
Dirom 18, 20, 26
- Dobie, Mr W. G. M. 204
- Dompierre-sur-Authie, Castle of .. 240
- Dougan, Thomas, in Bankfoot 192
- Douglas, Archibald (the Grim), 235, 412
- Elizabeth, wife of Sir Wm. de Lau-
donia 384
- Francis (1565) 399
- George, of Pinzerie 125
- Sir George (1588) 399
- James, of Dalkeith 384
- Colonel James 211
- Sir James, 4th Earl of Morton .. 399
- Lady Margaret, wife of Sir A. Jar-
dine 373
- Mary, wife of William Mundell
M'Lachlan 160
- William, of Morton 319
- Sir William de Laudonia 384
- Douglases of Queesberry 122
- "Dumfries Mercury" 139, 166
- Drumlanrig, James, 8th Baron of, 113
- Accounts of 89
- Charters 97
- Rents of, in 1740-45 96
- Drummond, Lord 301
- Dryburgh Abbey 400
- Dryfesands, Battle of 377
- Dudgeon, Patrick, of Cargen 36
- "Duke's Mortification" 336
- "Dumfries and Galloway Courier," 156
- "Dumfries and Galloway Herald," 156
- "Dumfries and Galloway Standard,"
156
- "Dumfries Times" 156
- "Dumfries Weekly Journal,"
151-6, 283, 285
- "Dumfries Weekly Magazine," 144-151
- Dumfries: Corsane's House, 136, 140;
County Hotel, 157; Dyers and
Glovers, 141; Fish Cross, 136, 157;
Fleshers' Incorporation, 153, 154;
Hammermen, 131; Justices of the
Peace, 119; Kirkgate, 136; Library,
Committee of, 75; Old Freemasons'
Lodge (Dumfries Kilwinning, No.
53), 135-6; Old Jail, 156; Records
of Presbytery of, 328; Royal ex-
pedition to (1587), 52; Ruinous
walls, 157; St. Michael's Press, 159,
181-3; Theatre, 79; Tolbooth, 156;
Town Council, 73, 173, 178, 140,
141, 145, 148, 150; Trades Hall,
79; Turnpike House, 157; Volunteers,
Royal, 76, 152; Wauchope's
Walls 157
- Dumfries, Wm., 1st Earl of 123
- Dunbar, Archibald, son of David .. 211
- Archibald, son of Sir J. Dunbar of
Mochrum 210
- Archibald, son of Sir John 210
- Basil, of Baldoon 416
- David 204
- David, son of David 211, 212
- Sir David, of Baldoon 399
- David, son of Sir David Dunbar,
212, 214, 216, 217, 218
- David, son of Gavin Dunbar 211
- Earl of 384
- Gavin, Archbishop of Glasgow .. 210
- Gavin, brother of Archibald 210
- Gavin, son of Archibald Dunbar, 211
- Janet, wife of David Dunbar of Bal-
doon 204
- Sir John, of Mochrum 210
- Mary, wife of Lord Hamilton 212
- May, daughter of Sir David Dunbar,
211
- Dunbars of Baldoon 415
- Duncan, A., of Closeburn 271
- Rev. Henry, Ruthwell,
23, 25, 156, 174
- James, printer, Glasgow 142
- John, printer, Dumfries,
130, 131, 140-3, 166-7
- Matthew, bookbinder, Kilmarnock, 141
- Mr, minister of Lochrutton 73
- Walter Bryce 243
- William, printer, Glasgow 142-3
- Dundee, Priory at 230
- Dundrennan, Abbey of 229, 230
- Dunegal of Stranith 205
- Dunrod, Blairs of, 406, 408; Chapel of,
406; Corrie of 408
- Durie, Lord 378

- EARTHWORK AT ENOCH, NOTES ON
AN: By J. SHIELDS and R. C. REID,
82.
- Earthworks at Spedlins Tower 376
- Norman 578
- Edgar, David, in Riddings 70
- David, son of David Edgar in Riddings,
70
- Edmondston-Cranstoun, Major 202
- Edward I. 234, 269, 411
- Eglinton, Earl of 212
- EIKON BASILIKE 123
- Elder, James 319, 321
- Mr John, minister of Keir 318
- Elizabeth, Queen, 49, 61, 100, 348, 349
- Ellicoek 351
- Elliot, Martin 350, 351, 355
- Wm., writer, of Holmains 70
- (Ellot, Wm., of Lauriston 54
- Ellwood, Gyp 58
- Enoch Castle 83, 84
- Erie, King of Norway 222
- ESTATE BOOK, A DRUMLANRIG: By
R. C. REID 85
- Estates, Scottish Convention of 98
- Eure, Sir Ralph, afterwards Lord,
59, 345, 356
- Ewing, J. C., editor, "Burns Chronicle,"
162
- "Exercise, The" 113
- Exhibits 419
- Fairise, James, in Bankfoot 192
- Fairley, John A., Librarian, Lauriston
Castle 160
- Farquharson, Wm., of Heilar 115
- Fast, National 323
- Featherston, family of, Cumberland,
208, 209
- Fergus, Lord of Galloway, 205, 229, 406
- Ferguson, David, of Dunfermline 106
- James, of Craigdarroch 85
- Robert, "Dumfries" 147, 148-9
- Field Meetings, 1932 202
- Field Meetings, 1933 371
- Fiorin grass 197
- Fisher, James, Bailie of Sanquhar 331
- Robert, in Roddings 113
- Fleming, Mr C. J. N., H.M.I.S., 204, 221
- Flett, Mr James 82
- Flint, Mr Patrick, minister of Morton,
318, 319
- F'losh Burn 248
- Foreign honours conferred on Scotsmen,
313
- Forrester, of Corstorphin 303
- Forster, John 54
- Foster, George, of Reedsheed 362
- Fraser, Thomas, Dalbeattie 129
- Frazer, Miss 78, 79
- Freebairn, Robert, printer 144
- Fullarton, Bessy, daughter of John
Fullarton 111
- Hew, minister at Kilmarnock 115
- (Fouller), John, ... 102, 109, 110, 124
- Wm., son of John 111
- Fullerton of Carleton 400
- Fullertons of Dreghorn 109, 110
- Fulton, George, printer 148
- Galloway, Lord 213
- Galloway, flints and flintworkers in, 258,
259, 271; Gaelic place names in,
270; Ice Age in 261
- Garies, Stewarts of 198
- Garnett, Dr Thos., of Harrogate,
282, 283, 284, 286
- Gauden, Bishop 123
- Geikie, Sir Archibald 36, 38
- General Assembly, 102, 103, 104, 109
111, 115, 116, 119, 121, 124, 127
321.
- Geoffrey, Bishop of Monmouth 391
- Geological Magazine 36
- George III. 305
- IV. 12
- Gibson, Agnes, w. of Wm. Hair 332
- Mr J., F.S.A. Scot. 203
- James, merchant in Sanquhar 332
- Gideon, Melville 281
- Gilbert, Lord of the Manor of Hutton,
382, 383
- Sir Wm. 281
- Gildas, the historian 391
- GILLESBIE TOWER: By R. C. REID,
376
- Gilmour, Mr J. M. 397
- Gladstone, Mr H. S. of Capenoch, 371
- Glaisters, lands of 62
- Glasgow, Archbishop of, 105, 114;
Chapter of, 102, 103, 106; Univer-
sity Library of, 118; Cathedral
of, 382
- "Glasgow Determination" 405
- Glasgow, Walter, Bishop of; William,
Bishop of 382
- "Glasgow Courant" 139
- Glassford, Lord (Francis Abercromby)
304
- Glen, Lands of 140
- Glenluce, Abbey of 229
- Glentrool, Battle of 222
- Globe Inn 77
- Goldie, Mr, of Shaws 74
- Thomas, W.S. 87
- Thos., s. of Thomas Goldie 87
- Gordon, Sir Alexander, of Earlston, 399
- Alicia, of Muirfad, w. of —. M'Cul-
loch 207

- Gordon—
 Catherine, d. of Sir Alexander of Earlston 399
 George, of Barskeoch 118
 Sir John, of Earlston 406
 Miss 76
 Wm., of Cullindoch 219
 William, weaver, Dumfries 157
 Gordon, Hugh, yr. of Grange 215
 Gordons, of Muirfad 207
 Gordoun, Adam, of Auchindoun 65
 Gourlay, Mr W. J., of Kenbank, 202, 204, 390, 391
 Gracie, J. 72
 Mrs 78, 79
 Graeme, Andrew 58
 Dougal 207, 208
 Effie 207, 208
 Francis, of Canabie 58
 George, of Cluny, Bishop of Dunkeld, 100
 Ritchie, of Brackenhill 58
 Robert, of Fauld 53
 Walter, of Fauld 53
 Walter, of Netherbie 58
 "Will's Jock" 58
 Graemes (family) 59
 Graemes of Esk 58
 Graham, Gorth 51
 Hannah, daughter of Town Clerk of Annan 31
 Sir Henry, of Dalkeith 383
 Hotchan 51
 James, of Gillesbie, son of James, 377
 James, of Gillesbie, son of Robert, 377
 James, of Masskesswra and Gillesbie, 377
 Sir James of Netherby 274
 John, "Jok of Dryff" 377
 John, of Gillesbie 377
 John, of Shaw 377
 Sir John, son of Sir John 384
 Sir John, son of Sir Nicholas .. 383
 "Long Will," of Netherby 377
 Margaret, sister of Sir John 384
 Mr, steward of Raehills 388
 Sir Nicholas, son of Sir Henry .. 383
 Ritchie 51
 Richard, in Milntown 70
 Robert, of Gillesbie, son of John, 377
 Sibbie, wife of Alex. Armstrong of Auchengavill 65
 Walter of Milntoun 70
 William, "Long Will" 50
 William, of Milntoun 70
 Alan, of Morton 384
 Grahams of Dalkeith and Eskbank, 377
 of Gillesbie 376
 of Shaw 377
 Grame, Sir John, of Masskesswra.. 377
 John of, son of Sir John of Masskesswra 377
 Grant, Dr. William 247
 Gregan, Anne, Dumfries 148
 Gretna; and Staffordshire potters, 280; artists of, 280; blacksmiths of, 272; "Declarations" at, 277; marriage "priests" at, 273, 275; "Matrimonial bed" at, 279; population of in 1775, 272; stage plays about, 280; trades of 272
 GRETNA GREEN, SOME SIDELIGHTS ON: By F. LEE CARTER 271
 Gretna Hall, 274, 275, 278; Register of Marriages at 277, 278
 Grier, Harbert 190
 William, son of Harbert 190
 Grierson, Dr. 297
 Gilbert, of Lag 138
 R. A., Mr 71
 Sir Robert, of Lag 138
 Thomas, of Maynes, Provost of Sanquhar (1631, 1641) 118
 William, Bailie in Sanquhar 120
 William, in Dumfries 71, 78, 80
 Guendolen 395
 Guthrie, Mr John, minister of Perth, 118
 Haco, King of Norway 222
 Haining, James 193
 Marion, wife of Alex. Williamson, 330
 Robert, bookseller, Dumfries 141
 William, in Connelcraig 193
 Hair, David, son of Wm. in Conrig, 333
 Marion, of Glenwharry, wife of John Fullarton 109, 111
 Thomas, son of Wm. in Mains .. 332
 William, in Conrig 333
 William, in Mains 332, 333
 Halbertson, William 193
 Hales, Patrick, Lord, Earl of Bothwell, 301
 Halliday, Sir Andrew 388
 David, printer, Dumfries 156
 Robert 72
 Mr Samuel, minister of Penpont, 318
 Mr T. A. 49
 Hamilton, Lord A. 23
 Lord Basil, of Baldoon 212
 Lord Basil, son of Lord Basil 212
 Basil William, Lord Daer ... 212, 214
 Lord Claud, son of Earl of Arran, 313
 Dunbar, 4th Earl of Selkirk 212
 Helen, wife of 4th Earl of Selkirk, 212
 James, Minister at Lesmahagow ... 117
 James, 5th Earl of Selkirk, 212, 213
 Sir James (1445) 301, 306
 Sir James, of Finnart 308

- Hamilton—
 James, brother of Margaret 117
 John, brother of Margaret 117
 Lord John, son of Earl of Arran, 313
 Margaret, wife of Robert Hunter,
 113, 115
 Marquis of 119
 Mr, of Lockerbie Academy 371
 William, 3rd Duke of 212
 Sir William, of Whitelaw 217
 and Brandon, Duke of (1711) ... 312
 Hannavy & M'Munn, printers, Dumfries,
 156
 Hare, Archbald 328
 Archbald, elder in Sanquhar (1700),
 353, 355
 Isobel, daughter of Ninian 333
 Janet (Jean), wife of Arch. Broun,
 331, 336
 Jennet, wife of Wm. Johnston ... 331
 John, in Whitehill 336
 Marion, daughter of Ninian 333
 Nicholas, wife of Ninian 333
 Ninian, in Cleuchfoot 333
 Patrick, in Drumbowie 333
 Richard 333
 William, in Drumbrainzen .. 333, 334
 William, in Maynes 332
 William, of Knockenhare ... 333, 334
 William, son of William in Drum-
 brainzen 333
 Harkness, Professor 35, 36
 Hartfell, Earl of 30
 Harvey, Mr Samuel 286
 Hastings, Marquis of 15
 Marchioness of 14
 Hay, Barbara, wife of John Duncan,
 Dumfries 141
 George, Viscount Dupplin 312
 Hugh, merchant, Ayr 141
 James, brother of Lord Yester .. 304
 John de, Lord of the Isles 301
 Lord, of Yester 301, 303
 Thomas, of Twyname 415
 William, 6th Lord Yester .. 303, 304
 Head, Sir George 278
 Hebronites 324
 Heddle, Prof. 36
 Helen of Kirkeconnel, ballad 147
 Helicourt, Castle of, 239; Church of,
 239
 Henderson, Alexander, Moderator of
 Glasgow 121
 Mr John 397
 Henry I. 380
 VIII. 50, 63, 340, 342, 344
 Hepburn, Rev. John, of Urr,
 135, 137, 165, 166, 317, 324, 326
 Hereford, Lord, of Annandale 384
 Heron, Rev. George, Minister of Ter-
 regles 155-6, 178-9
 Patrick, of Heron 89
 Herries, Agnes, daughter of Lord
 Herries 306
 D. C., Mr 298
 Lord, of Terregles 232, 302, 303
 3rd Lord 306
 Herring, Elizabeth, wife of John Linton,
 275, 279
 Hertford, Earl of 364
 Heuchan, Robert 403
 Hewison, Dr. King 402
 Hexham Abbey 203
 Hill, James, surgeon, Dumfries .. 146
 HIMALAYAS, SOME NOTES ON THE
 WESTERN: By WALTER BRYCE
 DUNCAN 243
 Hogg, James, the Ettrick Shepherd.. 14
 Holm Cultram, Abbey of 232
 Holmains, Lands of 69
 Holywood, Abbot of 115
 Home, Earl of 300, 352
 Hood, Thomas 281
 Hope, Captain Charles Dunbar, of St.
 Mary's Isle 213
 Hon. Charles, son of 4th Earl of
 Hopetoun 213
 Lady Isabella, wife of Hon. Charles
 Hope 213
 Captain John, R.N., of St. Mary's
 Isle 213
 Hopetoun, 3rd Earl of (Earl of Hart-
 fell) 29, 30, 31
 4th Earl of 213
 6th Earl of 212
 Horne, Mr J. G. 245
 Hornel, A. E., Kirkeudbright,
 71, 130, 137, 139, 142, 159, 163, 164
 Hornoy, Castle of 239, 240
 Housesteads, Roman wall at 203
 Houston, David, Covenanting minister,
 337
 Howard, Lord William, "Belted Will,"
 61, 349, 355, 362, 363, 364
 Howie, Isabel, wife of Jas. Hunter in
 Sanquhar 326
 Howy, Mr Thomas, minister at Amnan,
 164
 Hoy, Mr James, of Gordon Castle.. 285
 Hugo, of Hutton 383
 HUTTON MOTE: By T. L. TAYLOR,
 378
 Hume, Alexander, of that Ilk 301
 Hundson, Lord 349
 Hunter, family of, in Drumshinnoch,
 112
 Duncan, in Sanquhar 112
 Elspeth, wife of Jas. Gibson 332

Hunter—

Isobel, daughter of Joseph Hunter in Sanquhar 325
 Captain James 114
 Mr James, assistant minister in Sanquhar 326
 James, in Tounheid (Sanquhar) .. 332
 James, Provost of Sanquhar,
 115, 329, 351, 352, 356
 Jean, servant at Brandleys 324
 John, minister at Air 154, 163
 John, of Glasgow 10
 Joseph, son of Joseph Hunter in Sanquhar 325
 Robert, minister in Sanquhar,
 108, 112, 114, 115, 123, 331
 Samuel, son of James in Tounheid, 352
 Thomas, in Sanquhar 325
 William, of Glasgow 10
 Huntly, Master of 305
 Hutton, Sir William 60, 61
 Church of, 381; Derivation of name,
 382; Under-the-Muir, Lands of, 380
 Huyshe, Mr Wentworth 236, 241
 Hynnem, Robert, bookbinder, Dumfries,
 141
 Inglis, Patrick, minister of Sanquhar,
 314, 317, 327
 Irvine, George, of Woodhouse, 114, 115
 Irving, Blench, of Mortoun Tower.. 67
 John, of Bonshaw 86
 Robert, writer 86
 Irwen, John 342
 Isobel, wife of Robert Bruce, Earl of Annandale 226
 Jackson, Elizabeth, wife of Andrew M'George, writer in Glasgow.. 155
 James, son of Provost Jackson.. 155
 Janet, wife of William Comrie, Supervisor of Excise, Dumfries, 155
 John, deacon of the Weavers, 1677, Dumfries 150
 John, deacon of the Weavers, 1702, Dumfries 150
 Marion, wife of James Milligan, Liverpool 155
 Robert, printer, Provost of Dumfries, 131, 144-154, 162, 167-174
 Robert, jun., printer, Dumfries,
 131, 154-5, 156, 174-5
 William, weaver, Dumfries 153
 Jackson's Isle 189
 James I. 298
 Crown tenants of, 299, 300; Parliament of 298
 II. 307
 III. 301
 IV. 301

James—

V. 21
 VI., 54, 109, 113, 116, 300, 301, 309, 310, 344.
 Jardine, Alex., younger of Ardsartre 63
 Sir Alexander, of Spedlins Tower. 372
 Mr David, of Spedlins Tower 376
 Mr and Mrs Cunningham .. 371, 376
 Nicholas 190
 Provost of Lockerbie 371
 Sir William 35, 36, 371
 Jedburgh, Abbey of 309, 382
 Jeffries, Judge 365
 Jerrold, Blanchard 279
 Johnston, Agnes, wife of Wm. Armstrong of Holmains 699
 Elizabeth, daughter of Geo. Johnston. 121
 George, minister of Sanquhar,
 119, 120
 George, son of George, of Sanquhar. 120
 Mr Henry 34
 James, of Barncluch 192
 James, of Fingland 67
 James, of Westraw 67
 James, son of Jean Armstrong .. 70
 Margaret, daughter of Geo. Johnston, 121
 Mary, daughter of Wm. Johnston, 331
 Samuel, in Corsehill 194
 William 389
 William, deacon of the Hammermen, Dumfries 131
 William, in Mains 331
 William, of Bearholm 86
 Adam, of Lochwood 387
 George, of Girthhead 387
 George, son of George of Girthhead, 387
 James, of Brackenside 68
 James, of Lochwood 387
 Sir James, of Lochwood 387
 Janet, wife of Wm. Armstrong of Sark 68
 John, parson of Tundergarth 63
 Laird 53, 113
 Margaret, wife of George of Girthhead 387
 William, in Barngleish 70
 William, uncle of George, of Sanquhar 120
 Johnstones of Corrie 387
 Johnstones of Gretna Hall 274
 Johnstones, Tower of 385
 Jones, Paul 21, 410
 Juliana, Lady of Hutton 383
 Jupiter, Altar to 244

- Kain 190
- Keith, Margaret, wife of John Kennedy
of Blairquhan 415
- Kelburn, Isobel, wife of Allan M'Lachlan,
bookseller, Dumfries 157-60
- Kemble, John 10
- Kenmure, Lord 212
- Kennedy, Sir Gavin, son of Sir John,
413, 414
George, of Dalveen 415
Gilbert, of Blairquhan 414
James, brother of Sir Gavin 414
John, grandson of James 414
John, of Blairquhan, Steward of Kirk-
cudbright 413, 414
John, of Skeich 414
Sir John, of Cumstoun and Twyname,
413
Thos., of Carslo 413
Will 72
- Ker, Agnes, wife of George M'Call, 337
Robert, feuer in Gilmerton 133-4
- Kerlie, Alan, son of Sir Ronald 208
Sir Roland, of Cruggleton 208
- Kerr, Sir Andrew, Lord Jedburgh ... 309
Sir John, of Littledean 309
- Kessok, Margaret, of Little Dunrod, 413
- Knox, John, Liturgy of, 99, 106, 107,
123, 127, 235.
- Kyndness (tenant) right 190
- Kidston, Dr 38
- Kilncloss, field of 31, 32
- Kindarloch, lands of 231
- King, Archbishop 316
- KINMONT WILLIE, THE KINSMEN OF:**
By R. C. REID 62
- KINMOUNT WILLIE IN HISTORY:** By
W. T. M'INTIRE 49
- Kinnoull, Earl of 312
- Kirk, William, in Smithtoun 195
- Kirkbean 147
- Kirkbride parish, Nithsdale ... 131, 132-5
Walter de 412
- Kirkcaldy of Grange 124
Thomas, minister of Dalsarf 124
- KIRKCLAUGH MOTE AND ITS TRADI-
TION:** By R. C. BEID 205
- Kirkconnel, Lands of, 86; pulpit at, 88
- Kirkcudbright, Priory at 229
1st Lord 415
4th Lord 415
- Kirkdale, de, family of 207
- Kirkhop, Wm., in Glenry 324
- Kirkleys Fort 84
- Kirkpatrick, Helen, wife of Adam
Sinclair 128
Roger, of Torthorwald 377
Thomas, innkeeper in Dalswinton... 200
- Kirkpatrick—**
Sir Thos., of Closeburn 199
Mr William, of Ellisland 199
- Kirkwood, James, minister of Col-
monell 315, 327
James, minister of Sanquhar 314
Jennet, in Sanquhar 317
- Laidla, Thomas, in Cog 334
William, in Cog 334
- Laidlaw, Maxwell 40
- Laidley, John, in Cog 334
- Lammermoor, Bride of 416
- Lanercost Chronicle 52
- Lang, David 272
Sim, son of David Lang 279
- Langcake, A., of Carlisle 72
- Laurie, Mr Thomas, minister at Close-
burn 322
- Lawrence, John, rector of Sanquhar,
100, 101, 106
- Lawrie, Mr John, minister of Penpont,
317, 318
- Leigh, Henry 57
- Le Sueur, Caunon 236
- Leslie, J. B. 316
- Lincluden, Abbey of 229, 232
- Lindsay, David, minister of South Leith,
Euphan, wife of George Johnstone, 121
James, in Auchentaggart 112
James, of Fairgirth 112
- Linnaeus 287
- Linton, Andrew 274
John 273, 274
- Lisle, Sir William 345
- Little, Andro and Thomas, in Rig ... 68
John, in Woodend 113
Thomas, "Tam t' Piper" 272
- Livingston, William, minister of San-
quhar 115, 123
John, brother to William 117
Marion, wife of James Hamilton ... 117
William, son of William of San-
quhar 117
- Locherben, Silurian rocks of 48
- Lochinvar, Gordon of 399, 400
- Lochmaben, battle at 386
- Lochwood Tower 63
- Lockerbie Literary Society 371
- Lockerby, Johne of 114
- Lockhart, Robert, minister of Kirkbride,
320
- Logan, Barbara, wife of William Living-
ston 116
John 116
- Longman, Mr, publisher, 18, 19, 24, 26
- Longpre, Collegiate Church of 240
- Lorimer, Robert, at Brandleys 324
William, chamberlain of Drumlanrig 86

- Lorimuire, George, in Gateside 337
 Thomas, in Know 337
 Lorrimer, Robert, in Connelbush 335
 Lotus Loch, pike in 291
 Lowe, John, " Mary's Dream " 147
 Lowrie, Simon, schoolmaster in San-
 quhar 108
 Lowthian, Richard, Dumfries 157
 Luce Bay, fish weirs at, 260; millstones
 of 261
 Lyell, Sir Charles 36
 Lynderf, Dame Anne, wife of Sir D.
 Dunbar 399
 M'Burnie, Mr John 204
 M'Caig, Thomas, in Drumbankhead, 193
 M'Call (M'Kall), George, in Auchen-
 taggart 336, 337
 George, in Kellosyde 337
 Isobel, daughter of George 337
 Robert, servant to George M'Call, 337
 Wm., in Auchentaggart, 318, 328, 337
 Wm., in Kellosyde 337
 M'Calls of Guffokland 336
 M'Cellan, Margaret, sister of 1st Lord
 Kirkcudbright 416
 Thomas, of Bombie 415
 M'Clellane, Alexander of Gelston 415
 Donald, of Gelston, Steward of Kirk-
 cudbright 413
 Sir Thomas, of Gelston 415
 William, of Auchlane 415
 William, of Gelston, son of Alexander,
 415
 M'Conochie, Robert 72
 M'Cormick, Peter 88
 M'Crindle, Mr J., Dunure 242, 258
 MacCulloch, Janet, wife of John Mac-
 millan 120
 M'Culloch, Eliz., wife of David Dunbar,
 211
 John, of Myrton 211
 Margaret, of Ardwall (Mrs Thos.
 Scott) 220
 of Kirkclaugh, 208; of Merton and
 Cardoness 208-9
 M'Cullochs of Cardoness 207
 M'Diarmid, John, of Dumfries 14
 M'Dougal, Dougal, of Borgue 400
 Fergus, of Borgue 400
 Dougal 412
 M'Eachern, Sir Malcolm, of Baldoon, 213
 M'Greddan, Thomas, servitor to Sir Jas.
 Dalrymple 215
 M'Guffog, Wm., of Altierye 215
 Wm. Blair, of Borgue 399
 M'Guire, Mr C. 263
 M'Intire, W. T., B.A., F.S.A.Scot 49
 M'Kall, Helen, wife of Wm. Hair ... 333
 M'Keen, John, in Bankfoot 192
 M'Kie, Colonel 222
 M'Kenrick, Agnes 335
 John, in Oylieside 335
 (M'Inrig), John, in Mennockmilk, 334
 John, in Sanquhar 334
 John, Ninian, sons of Matthew in
 Oylieside 335
 Matthew, in Oylieside 335
 Robert, carpenter in Sanquhar 334
 (M'Canryg), Thomas 335
 M'Kerrow, Mr M. H., 9, 10, 34, 40, 85,
 203, 204, 225, 226, 271, 282, 314
 M'Klein, Margaret, wife of Wm. Hare,
 333
 M'Klin, Wm., in Mains 332
 M'Lauchlan, Margaret 210
 Margaret, Martyr at Wigtown 210
 M'Lellan, John, Lord, Kirkcudbright,
 399
 Thomas, of Balmangan 408
 M'Lellans, of Bombie 408
 M'Millan, Mary, wife of Jas. William-
 son 335
 Samuel, son of Thomas in Kellosyde,
 337
 Thomas, in Kellosyde 337
 Dr. William 98, 314, 327
 M'Minn, James 408
 M'Morine, Mr, minister of Caerlaverock,
 73, 75, 77
 M'Taggart, John, encyclopedist,
 408, 409
 Macdonald, Mr James 244
 Mackenzie, Margaret, of Delvine.. 219
 Rev. John, " Gallovidianus " of Port-
 patrick 148
 Macmanaway, Very Rev. Dean 316
 MacMath, Helen, wife of John Wols,
 335
 Macmillan, John, parson of Sanquhar,
 105, 109, 118, 119, 120, 123
 John, son of John, of Sanquhar, 120
 MacNae, William 243
 McDiarmid, John 152
 McDowall, William 130
 McGeorge, Andrew, writer, Glasgow,
 155
 John, sen. 72
 McGowan, Agnes, wife of Robert Cor-
 sane of Meikleknock 140
 Alexander, of Meikleknock 140
 McLachlan, Allan, bookseller, Dumfries,
 157-60
 Allan, planter in Tobago,
 157, 158, 159
 Ann, wife of William Gordon, weaver,
 Dumfries 157-8
 Cuthbert, printer, Dumfries,
 131, 156-160, 162, 180-3

- M'Lachlan—
 J., printer, Dumfries, 156, 160, 183-4
 Isobel, daughter of Allan M'Lauchlan 157
 James Clerk, bookbinder, Dumfries, 158-9
 Jessie, wife of James M'Lean, master mariner 160
 John, paper manufacturer, Tongland, 158
 Robert, printer, Dumfries, 131, 156-160, 179-180
 Susan, wife of William Chalmers, bookseller, Dumfries 158
 William Mundell, Dumfries 160
 McLean, James, master mariner ... 160
 McMath, Family of, in Dalpeddar ... 112
 William 129, 139
 McMillan, Elizabeth, daughter of John, of Sanquhar 120
 McMurdo, Rev. John, of Torthorwald, 135
 McNaught, Duncan, "Vindex" ... 161-2
 M'Taldrach, James, Galloway 147
 Master, Title of 305
 Madras System of Education 16
 "Maggie Lauder," ballad.. 132-3, 163
 Maitland, Adam, of Dundrennan ... 415
 Colonel, of Cumstoun 416
 Colonel and Mrs. of Cumstoun .. 397
 Mr J. Pelham 226, 235
 Makillwitty, Robert, writer 66
 Makilmeane, Margaret, spouse to Herbert Grier 190
 Malcolm IV. 406
 Malcolm, Sir John, cousin to Mrs Dirom 19
 Malcolmson, Robert 152
 Mangerton, Laird of 54
 Tower of 339
 Marchhill, Lands of, Dumfries ... 151
 Margaret, wife of Allan, Lord of Galloway 226
 Marlow, John, Dumfries 166
 Marshall, George, vintner, Dumfries, 148
 Mary, Queen of Scots, 100, 101, 232, 267, 313, 347, 348, 349.
 II. 50
 Matilda, Queen 380
 Maxwell Family of Tinwald 140
 Maxwell, Mr C. 226
 Gavin, minister of Borgue 408
 Sir Herbert, "History of Dumfries and Galloway," 129, 142, 143, 258, 270
 Hugh, of Dalswinton 190, 192
 James, of Barncluch 86
 Sir John, afterwards Lord Herries, 305, 307
 Sir John (Lord Pollock) 123
- Maxwell—
 Sir John Heron 243
 Lady, wife of Sir William of Calderwood 11, 15, 15, 17
 Lord, 52, 53, 64, 65, 66, 67, 341, 346 of Conheath 65
 Robert, Provost of Dumfries 73
 Robert, brother to Lord Maxwell ... 53
 Sir William, of Calderwood, 11, 13, 15, 16
 Lords 235
 Mayne, John, editor of "The Star," 149, 168
 Meikleknock, Lands of 136, 140
 Meldred 396
 Melville, Colonel and Mrs. of Gillesbie, 371, 377
 Menzies, Mr 72
 Merlin 395
 Merlin's Grave 390, 391
 "Messenger of Mortality" .. 158-9, 182
 METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS IN DUMFRIES, 18TH CENTURY. C. BRITTON 282
 Midsteeples 73
 Miller, Archibald, of Milheugh, 15, 16, 27
 David, member for Annan 116
 Mr Frank 10, 49, 56
 Mr, Hamilton 204
 Rev. J. F. 143-4
 Miss, of Milheugh 14, 15
 Patrick, of Dalswinton, 152, 175, 195, 197, 200
 Milligan, James, Liverpool 155
 Mitchell, Gavin, of Dalzien 324
 Mitford, Miss 11
 Moffat, Alexander, of Calside 150
 Margaret, wife of William Boyd, Dumfries 150
 Montgomerie, James 416
 Montgomery, Hugh, 5th Earl of Eglinton 309
 Lady E., wife of Sir D. Dunbar ... 212
 Robert, Archbishop of Glasgow .. 104
 Monilaws, Rev. Mr, parish minister of Annan 32
 Monmouth, Duke of 338, 365
 Monkhouse, Jane 274
 Mons-en-Vimeu, Chateau of 241
 Monteith, Mr James, minister in Borgue, 137, 164
 Robert, of Egilsay 121
 Montrose, Duke of 302, 377
 Marquis of 120, 121, 122
 Moray (Murray), Regent, 100, 101, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351
 Morgan, The Rev. John 272
 Morville, Hugo de 400

- Morton, Mr A. S., of Newton-Stewart,
204, 210
- Moskin, Jennet, wife of James Wols in
Sanquhar 355
- Mount Annan 11, 13, 17, 27
- Mowbray, John, of Borgue 400
- Mudie, Mr 77
- Muir, James, Kirkbride 132-3
- Janet, wife of Arch. Dunbar 211
- Marion, wife of W. Gordon of Cullin-
doch 219
- of Rowallan 211
- Mundell, Dr. 74, 75, 76
- Helen, wife of James Clark M'Lach-
lan, Dumfries 160
- Mungo, Saint 396
- Murchison, Sir Roderick 35, 38
- Murdoch, John 72
- Mure, Agnes, wife of William of
Cassencary 219
- George, in Edinburgh 219, 220
- Janet, wife of John of Cassencary,
219
- John, of Cassencary 219
- Richard, John, William, William, 219
- M'Kenzie, Sir Alexander, 1st Baronet,
of Delvine 219, 220
- M'Kenzie, Sir A., 3rd Baronet, of
Delvine 220
- M'Kenzie, Sir John, 2nd Baronet, son
of Sir Alexander 220
- M'Kenzie, Sir Robert, 4th Baronet,
220
- Murray, Euphame, wife of Robert
Stewart of Rosyth 103
- Mr James, minister at Penpont.. 322
- Sir James 247, 250
- Mr., publisher 18
- Musgrave, John, Captain, of Bewcastle,
341, 344
- Leonard 353
- Thomas 50, 51
- Thomas, of Bewcastle 62, 66
- Musgraves 55
- Mutter, Dr., minister of St. Michael's,
73
- Nairn, John, of Greenyards 144
- Thomas 131
- NATURE NOTES FROM GALLOWAY:**
By W. H. ARMISTEAD 288
- Naworth Castle 348, 349, 363
- Neidpath Castle 390
- Nennius 391
- Neuropteris loshii (fossil fern), 37, 38;
ovata 38
- Newlands, Jasper, of Newlands 199
- Lands of 62, 199
- Nicoll, Prof. Allardyce 10
- Nicholson, James 262
- William 267
- Ninian, St., Chapel of 414
- Nisbet, Katherine, wife of Geo. John-
ston 121
- Noon, Mr 243
- Northumberland, Earl of, 52, 347, 348,
349, 350, 351, 352, 355
- Oates, Titus 365
- Obituary 419
- Ochiltree, 3rd Lord 308
- Ogilvie, the Jesuit 100
- Ogilvy, Mr, County Librarian of Lanark,
202
- Old Mortality 327, 331
- O'Reilly, Mrs W. H. 10, 11
- Orniston, Black 349, 350, 352
- Orr, Wm., doctor in Sanquhar (1697),
328, 335
- Parsley ferns 261
- Paisley, John 272
- Mr John, minister at Morton 322
- "Papers on the Burgh Politics of Dum-
fries" 144
- Park, Robert, of Roddings, Provost of
Sanquhar (1703) 331
- Pasley, General 272
- Magdalen, wife of Lieutenant-General
Dirom, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 20, 21,
22, 26, 27.
- Robert, of Mount Annan 11
- Paton, Mr Robert, minister of Caerlave-
rock 318
- Paul, John, father of Paul Jones 21
- Penpont, Manse at 88
- Percival, Dr Thos., F.R.S. 285
- PERMIAN VOLCANOES: PROGRESS IN
GEOLOGY: By ROBERT WALLACE,
34.**
- "Perth, Five Articles of" 116, 120
- Peters, Joanna, wife of Alexander Dirom,
23
- General Thos. of Greeneroft, Annan,
22, 25
- Petition from Mechanics of Lanarkshire,
23
- Picton, General 278
- Pollock, Rev. John, minister at Glen-
cairn 165
- Lord (Sir John Maxwell) 123
- Ponche, M. Emile 236
- Pont, Timothy 52
- Porphyrite 46
- POST-REFORMATION MINISTERS OF
SANQUHAR: By WM. M'MILLAN,
M.A., Ph.D. 98**
- Presentations 418
- Pringle, Andrew, of Borgue 38, 398

- PRINTERS, DUMFRIES, IN THE 18TH CENTURY:** By G. W. SHIRLEY, 129-186.
- Preston, Viscounts 377
- Psalter, The Metrical, 127; The Reformation 127
- Queensberry, Charles, Duke of 326
- Duke of, 73, 74, 85, 199, 310, 312, 337
- Earl of 122, 125, 126, 373
- Quinn, Roger 266
- Rae, James, son of Peter Rae 86
- John, of Holmains 70
- Peter, minister at Kirkbride and Kirkconnel, 86, 131-5, 137, 138, 140, 165, 319, 329.
- Robert (Robert Corsane), printer, Dumfries 131, 140, 163-6
- Ragman Roll 411
- "Rain Gages, Observations on" 284
- Rainfall Observations at Langholm, 288; Records, 367, 368, 369, 370.
- Raining, William, in Smithtoun 195
- Ranken, Robert, rector of Sanquhar, 105
- Readers 107, 108
- Rebellion, 1715 137, 212
- RECORDS, NOTES FROM SANQUHAR KIRK SESSION:** By WM. M'MILLAN, Ph.D. 327
- Register of Gretna Marriages (Linton's), 277
- Reid, Mr R. C., of Cleuchbrae, 34, 82, 85, 138, 202, 203, 204, 205, 338, 371, 376, 390, 397, 410.
- Renwick, Alexander, Covenanter 351
- Richardson, Dr William, of Clonfeckle, 197
- Richer, Lord of Hutton 383
- Richley, J. E. 38
- Riddell, Maria, Notice of Burns 152
- Walter, of Glenriddell ... 74, 198, 287
- Robeson, Rev. Alexander, of Tinwald, 135, 163, 165
- Robieson, Mary, Millburn of Kirkeudbright 159
- William, tanner, Millburn of Kirkeudbright 159
- "Rodondo," "The Daviad" 147
- Rogation Day Festival 323
- Rogerson, Colonel, 377, 381, 382, 383
- Robinson, Henry Crabbe 11
- Robertson, Miss Isabella 225
- Rogerson, Dr John, of Gillesbie 377
- Rokeby, Mr Justice 273
- Roland, Lord of Galloway, son of Uchtred 206, 229
- Roman Wall 269, 391
- Rome, John, of Dalswinton 190
- Rosse, Dame Margaret, wife of Lord Stair 214, 216
- Ross, General Alexander 25
- James, Duke of, son of James III., 301
- Rothsay, Dukedom of 305
- Royal Oak Club, Edinburgh 149
- Ruddiman, Walter, printer, Edinburgh, 150
- Ruseo, Lady, of Borgue 399
- Russell, Jeannet, wife of Wm. M'Klin, 352
- Lord John 16
- Rutherford, Lord 216, 217, 218
- Ruthven, Lord 301
- Rüthwell Cross 252
- Rydderich 394, 395
- St. Bride, Chapel of 200
- St. Genevieve, Abbey of 241
- St. Medana 262
- St. Ninian's Cave 262
- St. Patrick 269
- Salkeld, Mr 55, 58
- Salmon, Charles 148-9
- Samsoun, Andro 112
- Sandford, Thomas, of Howgill 60
- Sandyflat 84
- SANQUHAR CHURCH AFTER THE REVOLUTION:** By WM. M'MILLAN, Ph.D. 314
- Sanquhar, Castle of, 101, 122, 126; Church, 334; figures in, 317; mass in, 98, 126; Churchyard, 327; Kirk lands of, 112; Kirk-Session of, 328, 336; Manse of, 117; Town House of 87
- Santenel, Baron de 237
- Saul Seat, Abbey of 229
- Saunders, Mr, of Glasgow Circus .. 79
- Schoolmasters in Dumfriesshire 87
- SCOTS PEERAGE LAW:** By D. C. HERRIES 298
- Scott, Mr, minister of St. Michael's, 75
- Mrs Thomas, sister-in-law of Sir Walter 220
- Sir Walter, 10, 11, 12, 22, 63, 140, 207, 209, 220, 221, 227, 377.
- Sir Walter, of Buccleuch, 54, 55, 56, 57, 365
- Sir Walter, of Harden 56, 58
- Scroop, Mr 365
- Scrope, Lord, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 66, 349, 353, 354, 356, 357.
- Security, Act of 310
- Selkirk, Earl of 212, 408, 415
- Sempill, Lady, sister of Lord Sempill, wife of Lord Glassford 304
- Lord (died 1684) 304
- Semple, John, minister of Carsphairn, 125, 126

- Senwick, Church of 409
SENWICK CHURCHYARD: By JOHN
 HENDERSON 406
 Senwick Tower 407
 " Serious Warning by the Ministers of
 the Synod of Dumfries " 144
 Sery, Premonstratensian Abbey of, 241
 Seton, Sir Alexander 309
 Christopher de 412
 Seytoun, George, Lord 399
 Shank Castle 61
 Sharpe, Matthew, of Hoddom 157
 Shaw, Thomas, in Forresthead 196
 Shields, Alexander, son of James of
 Haughhead 321
 Mr James 9, 82
 James, of Haughhead 321
 Thomas, minister of Sanquhar, 319,
 320, 321, 325, 326, 328, 331
SHIRLEY, G. W.: Dumfries Printers in
 the 18th Century, with Handlists of
 their Books 129-186
 Shirley, Mr G. W. 9, 71, 225, 320
 Sibbald, Mr, minister of Johnstone,
 73, 74, 75, 77
 Siddons, Mrs 10
 Silver-Rent 190
 Simpson, Dr., of Sanquhar 126
 Sinclair, Adam, minister of Sanquhar,
 122, 125, 126, 127, 128
 Sinclairs, of Closeburn 128
 Skynbank, John 60
SMITH, A. CAMERON: DALSWINTON
BEFORE PATRICK MILLER .. 187
 Dr. A. L. 241
 Andrew, in Crofthead 194
 Christian, wife of Henry Wilkinson
 and William Boyd, Dumfries .. 150
 James, in Townhead 193
 John, in Townhead 193
 William 79
 Solway, birds of, 259; smugglers of,
 260, 262, 267
 Somerset, Lord Protector 346
 Sorbie, Tower of 219
 Sowrebie, James 51
SPEDLINS TOWER: By REV. J. RAM-
 SAY THOMSON, B.D. 372
 Spedlins, Prison at 372
 Sphe, Crystals of 36
 Spottiswood, Archbishop 118
SPRINGKELL, ON TWO FORTS NEAR:
 By WM. MACNAE 243
 Sproat, G. B. 398
 Mr John, of Baldoon 204, 213
 Of Millha' 407
 Thomas, of Brighouse 407
 Stackhouse, Thomas, " Body of Divinity,"
 151, 153, 168
 Steel, —, printer, Dumfries 136
 Katherine, Dumfries 136
 Stewart, Admiral Johnston, of Glasser-
 ton 264
 Sir Alexander, of Garlies 210
 Andrew Thomas, Lord Castle Stuart,
 309
 Annabel, daughter of Regent Moray,
 100
 Sir Archibald, of Garlies 210
 Captain, of Shambellie 9
 Charles, at Hillside 387
 Sir James, 4th Lord Ochiltree and
 Castle Stuart 308
 Janet, of Garlies, wife of Archibald
 Dunbar 210
 Janet, wife of Sir Gavin Kennedy, 414
 Janet, daughter of Sir A. Stewart of
 Garlies 210
 Robert, of Rosyth 103
 William, factor to Annandale Estate,
 387
 Stirling, Mrs, of Glasgow 13
 Stirling Raid 66, 341
 Stoddart, David 86
 Stone coffin 389
 Story, Henry, of Woliva 344
 Strathclyde, Kingdom of 394
 Sussex, Earl of 350, 351
 Sutherland, Earldom of 303
 Sutheyk, Eva de Levington, wife of
 Patrick de 411
 Gilbert de, son of Patrick 411
 Patrick de 411
 Thomas de 411
 Swan, James, in Broadriggs 194
 John, in Leyes 195
 William, Covenanter 195
 Sweetheart Abbey, Abbots of 233
SWEETHEART ABBEY: By M. H.
 M'KERRROW 10, 226
 Swift, Dean 314
 Penelope, wife of William, Master of
 Sanquhar 118
 Sir Robert 118
 Syme, John, of Ryedale 14
 Symson, Rev. Andrew 214
 Tailer, Simon 58
 Tait, Abraham, son of William of Gair-
 land 329
 William, in Carco 329
 Taliesin 393
 Tarras Moss 53
 Taylor, Mr James 9
 Jeme, of Harperfield 65
 Mr John, minister at Wamphray,
 137, 138, 166
 Thornton L. 34, 371
 Teind, parsonage, on Borgue 401

- Telfer, Alexander, at Wanlockhead.. 86
 Thomas, grandson of Dunegal of Stranith 205
 Thomson, Archibald, in Whiteleys.. 196
 George 11
 Joseph, of Gatelawbridge 37, 38
 Rev. J. Ramsay, B.D. 371, 372
 Thornton, Colonel 297
 Tibbers, Barony of 113
 Tillietudlem Castle 202
 Tilting ground at Borgue 402
 Tod, Mr Thomas, minister at Durisdeer, 322
 Tongland, Abbey of, 229, 232; Boat Pool and Paper Mill, 158, 159
 Torhouse, Standing stones of 210
 Torthorwald and Ross, Baronies of.. 86
 Trades, 7 Incorporated of Dumfries, 74
 Train, Joseph 207, 209, 221
 Traquair House 378, 390
 Trueman, Prof. A. E. 39
 Tungland Priory 406
 Turnbull, John, servitor to Thomas Shields 336
 Tweddell, Mrs, Sanquhar 330
 Thomas, of the Brume 357
 Twynname, Adam de, son of Walter, 411, 412
 Edward de 411
 Isabella de, sister of Edmond 411
 Isabella de Levington, wife of Walter de 411
 John de (1339) 412
 Richard de (1300) 411
 Walter de, son of Adam 412
 Walter Fitz Richard de 411
 Twynham, Barony of 410, 413, 418
 Tyrrel, Dr., Glasgow University 40
 Uchtreid, son of Fergus, Lord of Galloway 205, 229
 UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF JOANNA BAILLIE: By F. MILLER 10
 UPPER SOLWAY, A RAMBLE ALONG THE: By ADAM BIRRELL 257
 Urns, Burial, at Palmerston 226
 Vans, Sir Patrick, of Barnbarroch, 399
 Veitch, Professor 393, 394, 396
 Veitch, Rev. William, minister at Dumfries 137, 139, 165, 166
 Victoria, Queen 246, 278
 "Vindex" (Duncan M'Naught).. 161-2
 VOLCANIC ROCKS, RESEARCH IN CARRON AND LOCHERBEN: By M. LAIDLAW 40
 Volcanoes, Formation of 40
 Vortigern 390, 395
 Wallace, John 196
 Robert 34
 Sir William 210
 Wales, Frederick, Prince of, son of George II. 305
 John, tailor in Sanquhar 336
 Wanlockhead, Coal at, 86; lead mines at 86
 Watson, Mr C. 33
 James, printer 131
 Waugh, Nicholas, wife of Wm. Tait, 329
 Weir, James 334
 Wellington, Duke of 27
 Welsh, Jean, wife of Joseph Hunter in Sanquhar 325
 John, son-in-law of J. Knox 235
 Wer Pendragon 391
 Westmoreland, Earl of, 52, 347, 348, 349, 350
 Wharton, Sir Thomas 343, 344
 White, Rev. Hugh: "The Divine Dictionary" 154, 169
 Whithorn, Priory of 229, 400
 Wigham, George 353
 Witholm, Margaret, wife of Matthew M'Kendrick 335
 Wightman, Mr David, minister of Applegarth 138, 165
 Dr. John, Kirkmahoe, 152, 174-5, 177-8, 187.
 Wigtown, Bridal stone at, 210; Castle of, 210; Dominican Priory at, 230; Monastery of, 210; Stone Circle at (Torhouse) 210
 Wigtown Bay, Moraines at 266
 Wild Geese, Census of on Solway.. 269
 Wilde, James, writing-master, Dumfries and Kirkcudbright 148
 Wilkie, Mr Robert, minister of Glasgow, 117
 Wilkin, John 117
 Robert, son of William 117
 William (Wilkie), Member for Sanquhar (1581-93) 117
 (Wilkie) Ishbell, mother of William Livingston 116
 Wilkinson, Henry, joiner, Dumfries, 150
 William III. 409, 410
 IV. 278
 The Lion 226, 383
 Williamson, Alexander, of Cruffel, 330
 Alexander, son of Alexander of Cruffel 330
 Alexander, Sanquhar 328, 335
 Alexander, son of David in Glenmaddie 330
 David, in Glenmaddie 330
 David, son of Alexander 331
 James, of Drumbrainzien 335
 James, yr. in Burnfoot 330
 Mary, daughter of Jas. Williamson, 335

- Williamsons, of Castle Robert, 117, 330
 Wilson, Andrew, of Gairland 328
 Ebenezer, bookseller, Provost of Dum-
 fries 151
 James, of Duntercleuch 334
 Janet, wife of David Williamson in
 Glenmaddie 330
 Lieutenant, of the Navy 148
 Margaret, martyr at Wigtown 210
 Robert, weaver, Dumfries 153
 Thomas Woodrow, U.S.A. 331
 Mr Tom 99, 317, 320
 Winnie, Robert, bookbinder, Dumfries,
 141
 Winning, Robert, stationer, Dumfries,
 141
 Winton, Margaret, Countess of 309
 Wolfgill, Lands of 140
 Wols, James, Sanquhar, 328, 333, 335
 Isobel, daughter of James Wols, 335
 (Wells) John, in Sanquhar 335
 Woodhouselee Tower 51
 Wordsworth, William 11
 Wright, Mr, minister of New Abbey,
 228
 Yorkston, Mr John, minister of Morton,
 77
 Young, Elizabeth, wife of Geo. John-
 stone 387
 Young, John, vicar of Sanquhar,
 105, 106, 108, 124

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